## GUIDE TO THE SP22 TAPIRAPE FILE

[This file, on a Tupi-Guarani speaking people of Central Brazil, consists of 13 sources, five of which are translations from the Portuguese. The major source [no. 1], by Herbert Baldus, an outstanding Brazilian anthropologist, is a general survey of Tapirapé culture. Four other short sources by the same author cover specialized aspects of Tapirapé life. Charles Wagley, a prominent American anthropologist and specialist on Brazilian cultures, is the author of the remaining 8 sources in the file. The disintegration of Tapirapé culture under the impact of Brazilian national culture is fully described. Though the file is not as complete as could be desired in description of many aspects of the culture, the materials given are of high professional quality. The file was processed between 1960 and 1970.]

1:Baldus--3 E-5 (1935, 1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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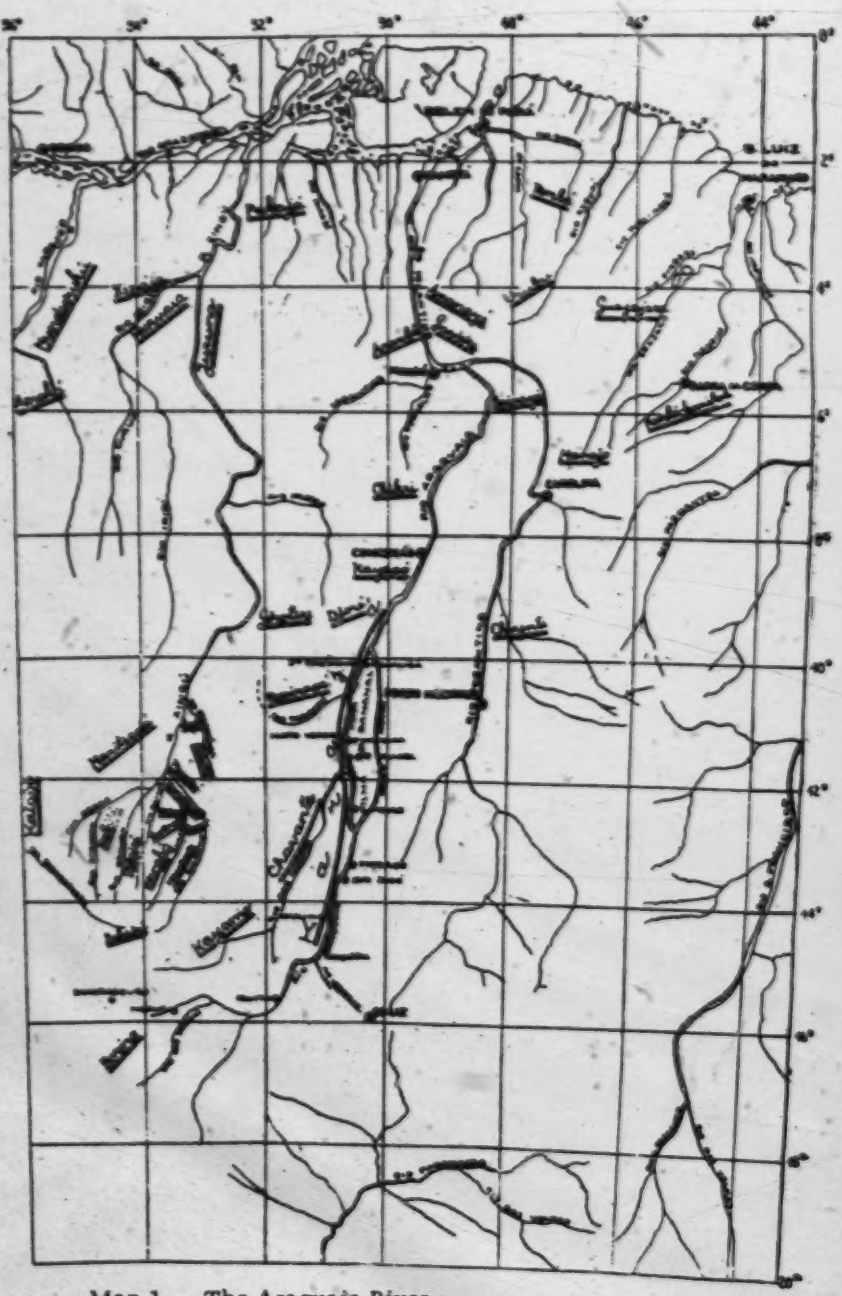

Map 1. The Araguaia River

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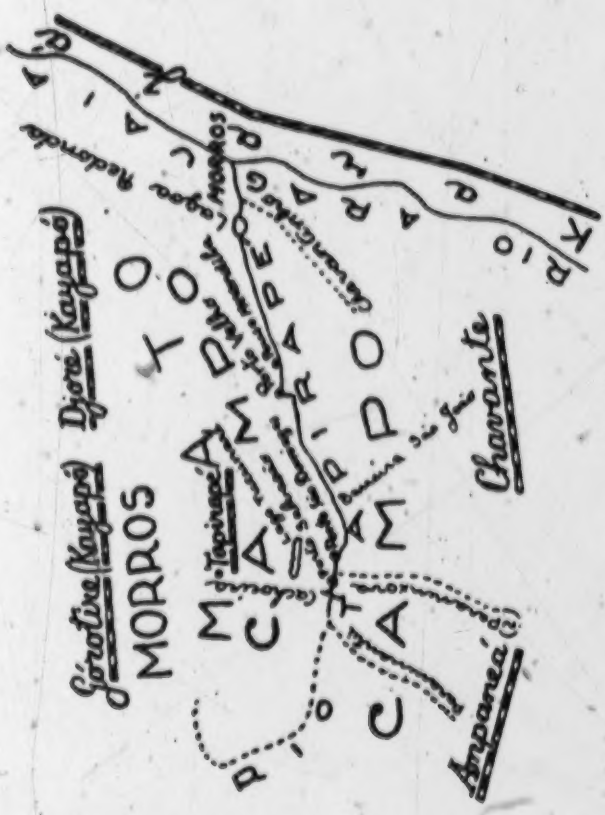


Map 2. The Tapirapé River.

[MAP 2]

## Chapter 2

### [98:105] Name and Origins of the Tribe

101 The Tapirapé River is the watercourse of the Tapirapé Indians. They are known as the inhabitants of this river basin.

103 I have already stated that the word tapirapé means "tapir path" in Tupí, tapira meaning "tapir," and pé, "path." I have also mentioned that the river known by this name differs from the Araguaia in the profusion of the paths cut along its banks by these large mammals. In view of this, it may be that White travelers gave it the name "Tapirapé" to point out this characteristic, and that the name was later extended to the tribe known to inhabit the region. However, on a map of the area (No. 220 in the collection at Itamaratí, the Brazilian Ministry of External Affairs), which, according to Dr. Afonso de E. Taunay, one of the greatest authorities on the subject, must date from the end of the eighteenth century, we find the word "Tapirapé" applied only to these Indians and not to a river, and the watercourse that flows close to the villages of this Tupí tribe, along the ninth degree of south latitude (cf. Map 3), remains anonymous. In view of this, it also may be that the name "Tapirapé" was extended from the tribe to the river. Finally, there is the possibility [98:106] that the tribe and the river were given the same name independently, since we do not know whether or not the river bore this name prior to the time when the tribe settled in its vicinity, or whether the people were already called this before they came to the area.

133 It is worth noting that on the map reproduced by Kissenberth (137 and 237), between the sixth and seventh degrees of south latitude and about the fifty-first degree of west longitude, therefore almost exactly to the north of Tamputáua and separated from this village by some three or four degrees of latitude, there appears a second Tapirapé river marked as one of the southern tributaries [Map 3 appears here] [98:107] of the Itacaiunas River, which empties near Marabá into the body of water formed by the juncture of the Tocantins and Araguaia. It may be that the Tapirapé Indians lived there in former times and got their name from that river, or that the river got its name from them. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[Text continues on p. 11]

175 villages, asking them to come and visit the Whites who were with
648 them. The 30 men, wary and afraid that some treachery might be afoot, resolved not to stay long in those parts. They sang the praises of the Whites, asked the Indians to come with them to São Paulo where they would be near their churches and all that was necessary for their salvation, but they did all this deceitfully, in a professional backwoods way. They stirred 3,000 souls. And since the
[241] Indians not long before had changed the site [of their gardens] and the provisions of manioc flour from the plots they had abandoned were almost exhausted, they embarked four days later in 300 canoes
[501] out of the many they owned. On embarking, the 30 men managed to take from them all their bows and arrows. They proceeded up-river, touching ground every day to rest and sleep. Among the 3,000 souls was an Indian woman (who must have been the daughter of one of the seven Frenchmen, whose progeny was numerous), the wife of the son of a certain chief who had followed our men. This woman (who had been neatly endowed by nature, according to the informant, with all the parts requisite to a perfect body) was given by the captain to one of his henchmen. The latter, either to rid himself of the worry caused by the presence of the woman's husband, or perhaps to add to it still further, returned the woman to the captain. The wretched Indian was so deeply affected by the usurpation of his rightful matrimony, and the others by the fact that within a few days they would all be separated, that at a certain time and place they got together and rose against the 30 men, killing 16 and a few of the Indians they had taken with them. Satisfied with the death of these men, they turned back toward their villages in the same canoes. The 14 men who got away, but whom the Indians could have killed, proceeded up-river with only two of the aforementioned Caatingas, who either would not or could not follow the other Indians. They reached the São Paulo settlement, which they had left 19 months earlier..."

174 The identification of their language with Lingua-geral [Tr.,
● 101 the Tupi lingua franca] characterizes the "Caatingas" as Tupí. To
[197] my knowledge, there is no evidence of the existence of other Tupí Indians, besides the Tapirapé, along the part of the Araguaia that stretches between its confluence with the Tocantins and the northern part of Bananal Island. We must take into account, however, that

101 relatively close to this confluence, that is to say, to the north of
174 it, there lived such Tupí tribes as the Anambé of the lower Tocantins mentioned by Couto de Magalhães (2, 267) and Ehrenreich (1 and 3, IV), the Manajé of the Ararandéua River studied by Nimuendajú (2), and the Urubú cited by Rice and Raimundo Lopes (2).

[98:109] The fact that the "Caatingas" owned many canoes
101 does not rule in any way against their identification with the
501 Tapirapé. The latter, although at present they are not navigators
174 like their neighbors the Karajá [Caraja] or the old-time Tupinambá, still retain the Tupí word for canoe, yana in Tapirapé pronunciation. Furthermore, in 1935, I saw on the Tampiitáua village stream a tree trunk hollowed out in the shape of a dugout. It is true that apparently it had been made just for fun, since it lay with the opening facing downward and was not used as a boat even in play. This, however, does not make it unlikely that the Tapirapé should have owned many traveling canoes in former times.

101 Caatinga, a Tupí word consisting of caá, "bush," and tinga,
174 "white, whitened," may refer to the region inhabited at the time
[137] by the Indians of that name, for it is known that the forests of gnarled, stunted trees that shed nearly all of their leaves during the dry season, forests called catingas or matos secos [dry bush], extend to the north of the state of Goiás (cf. Bernardino José de Souza 120-121). In any case, this designation does not rule against the identification of the "Caatingas" Indians with the Tapirapé or any other tribe with a different name. [Ed., the remainder of this page and part of the first paragraph on p. 110 are omitted.]

[98:110] The Tapírapé appear in the eighteenth century as
101 "Tapuyrapé" and "Tapirasse," in the nineteenth century as "Tappiraques" and "Tapirapeques" and in the twentieth century as "Itapirapés," there being even a street by this name in the city of São Paulo (see Airosa 2, 152). This leads us to assume that the name of the tribe changed over these four centuries in accordance with variations in pronunciation. In any case, I agree with the
101 opinion of Nimuendajú (ibid. [letter of October 12, 1935]) accord-
114 ing to whom it is more probable that the "Pirapêz" of Bento Maciel
174 Parente [cited apud Mendes de Almeida II, 35-37] should be

101 identified with the Tapirapé, than that there should have existed
174 in the Tocantins basin two different tribes with such similar
[114] names. [Ed., the last half of p. 110 and the first half of p. 111 are omitted.]

[98:111] Assuming, now, that the "Caatingas" and "Pirapés" were the seventeenth century ancestors of the Tapirapé, which is not impossible in the case of the former and probable in the case of the latter, it must be admitted that the Tapirapé reached their present habitat from the north.

The hypothesis in favor of such an origin is strengthened
173 further by the statements made to me by the Tapirapé themselves. They say that they lived formerly to the north of Conceição and closer to the Araguaia than today, but that they gradually moved farther south out of fear of the Kayapó [Cayapo] and farther west out of fear of the Karajá. They add, however, that they never lived south of the Tapirapé River, which is the southern boundary of their present territory.
619 It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the inhabitants
648 of Tampiitáua maintained continuous relations with another Tapirapé village located "ten days' march to the north," and therefore, in any case, at a considerable distance, while they had no contact whatever with their supposed neighbors to the southwest, the so-called Ampaneá, who apparently are also Tupí and who are much less distant from Tampiitáua than that northern Tapirapé village. It is possible that the Ampaneá
[174] and Tapirapé reached their present habitats from different directions, or that the former got there long before the Tapirapé became their neighbors.

[98:112] Kissenberth (2, 40-41, 75-78) believes it possi-
114 ble that the potsherds he found on the Morro dos Cayapós [Hill
172 of the Cayapo], located in the hinterland west of Conceição
174 do Araguaia and almost at the same latitude as this locality, are products of the Tapirapé ceramic industry (see ibid., 37, map). Stating that he is not familiar with Tapirapé pottery, the same author goes on to say (ibid., 77): "Even a cursory comparison of these fragments with the ceramics and potsherds of South American peoples forcibly suggests the Tupí-Guaraní."
[323] Regarding this, I must say that I did not encounter among present-day Tapirapé pottery the ornamentation found on these potsherds.

302 covered, in addition, with a number of irregular lines, and so is the leg from the knee to the ankle, and sometimes the arm and forearm as well (Photos. 3, 4, 7, 8, 48, 67). The woman is not [841] painted during menstruation. [108:123] As soon as the blood stops flowing, however, the characteristic lines on the belly and thighs are renewed. Photograph 67 shows a girl of about 13 who has not yet menstruated, but who nevertheless wears the women's painting. [513] This is because she shares her sleeping hammock with a 20-year-old boy.

The chief genipap paintings used by the men are, with slight

Fig. 2. Vuangkané male body painting.

[825] variations, (1) vuangkané (Fig. 2), the name of a water bird, [Fig. 3 appears here] possibly a kingfisher (Ceryle spec.); (2) ipihaufua (Fig. 3), the name of a fish; (3) chankoaka (Fig. 4), the name of an anchinga, a spirit seen by a sorcerer--medicine man; (4) [101] kananchahó (Fig. 5), the name by which the northern Kayapó are known (cf. Ch. 4). It is doubtful that the name of this latter painting alludes to its origin. Krause (2, 386) found nothing similar [171] among the Kayapó. [Ed., the last sentence on p. 123 and the first paragraph of p. 124 are omitted.]

302 set forth by ethnocentric Europeans. Among the precautionary
789 measures taken by the killer of the Tapirapé shaman, listed by Wagley (4, 16-17 [Tr., in English at 4, 72]), there is also painting the entire body with genipap and the hair with urucú. According to the same author (ibid., 11 [Tr., in English at 4, 67]), a certain Tapirapé medicine man painted his chest and chin with urucú to represent the cauí of blood that drools from the mouth of forest spirits. [Ed., the remainder of p. 127, p. 128, and all but the last paragraph of p. 129 are omitted.]

000 [108:129] Krause (2, 214) writes that the Karajá, when they paint their bodies, usually reserve the color red for men and adolescent boys, and the black for boys and young girls. He adds (ibid.), "Only once did I see a woman painted wholly with red." I wish [108:130] to note in this connection, however, that as far as our trading fabrics are concerned, the Karajá in 1935 left the red ones exclusively to the women, while the men dressed in those of other colors, such as white or green. They might already have learned from the Whites that men do not wear red. A person like the
[291] Tapirapé Kamairahó, who had had less contact with so-called civilized people than the Karajá, hid his charms at that time under a woman's dress which had originally been red and which might be said to have remained red in spite of daily wear for weeks on end.

In view of the facts noted by Krause (ibid., 386) about the
•101 northern Kayapó and by Von den Steinen (2, 184-188) about the
171 Indians of the upper Xingu basin, it may be said in summary that
302 the Tapirapé are quite sharply differentiated from their neighbors in facial and body painting, although certain similarities exist with the Karajá in torso painting, and with the Kayapó and Xingu Indians in the red "stockings." It is worth noting that such "stockings" were also used by the Tupinambá.

According to what I saw, the Tapirapé stick soft plumage
301 (avió, aviñ) chiefly on the arms and legs of children. The girl
237 Ampitánia was often adorned in this way. Grownups, however, also use white down glued on the arm when wearing a certain
[881] mask (Photo. 70). At the initiation ceremony, the adolescent has white down glued on the forehead, arms, torso, and thighs, with the exception of the buttocks. The glue is a resin (ykyryva in

114 in this house with No. 48, that is, the husband's mother (the hus-
591 band's father and the wife's parents were dead); (6) couple 35 and 40, in the same house, did not live with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother, who lived in house d (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (7) couple 51 and 58, in house d, lived in this house with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (8) couple 85 and 92, in house f, did not live with No. 22, that is, the husband's mother, in house a (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead). As we can see, these data do not permit us to mention the existence of either a matrilocal or a patrilocal pattern among the Tapirapé in 1935, nor do they contribute any answer to the question as to whether these Indians were formerly patrilocal or matrilocal. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 108, p. 109, and the first paragraph of p. 110 are omitted.]

[111:110] Thus, while the villages of various tribes at the
171 headwaters of the Xingu resemble Tampiitaua in their inclusion
361 of a ceremonial house and in the arrangement of the dwellings around it, they differ from it in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of dwellings and ceremonial houses. In that
171 region of the Xingu basin, the houses do not have, like those of the
342 Tapirapé, a rectangular plan. They are elliptical or round, and similar in their beehive shape to the hemispherical houses of the Rio das Mortes Chavante rather than to the elongated dome (cf. Max Schmidt 3, 460-461; Meyer, 1, 62; and the figure in Von den Steinen 1, 124). There, in addition, the ceremonial house
171 is not larger than the family dwellings around it, as is the takana
345 at Tampiitaua, but as a rule is actually smaller (Max Schmidt 3, 462). [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 110, p. 111, and all but the last two paragraphs on p. 112 are omitted.]

•[101] [111:112] The use of a sleeping hammock also points out the
171 kinship of the Tapirapé with the Tupinanbá and with the Tupi fam-
513 ily as a whole (cf. Métraux 2, 60-62). Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá also slept naked and without blankets, maintaining a fire beside the net through the night (cf. Staden p. 4; Dialogos
114 das grandezas do Brazil [Dialogues on the Grandeurs of Brazil] 270;
171 Salvador 35). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] While according to
513 Father Vicente de Salvador (35), the Tupinambá husband usually

439 southern band they were regarded as precious articles." This may explain why Nuerehí, a Karajá about 50 years old and an inhabitant of Beroromandú, a village located near Santa Teresinha, asked me to bring him a bow and a handful of arrows from the Tapirapé, stating that these objects were better in the Tupi tribe than in his own. I already mentioned in Chapter 2 that, according to Krause (2, 456), the word uohú, with which the Karajá designate the Tapirapé, means "arrow." This may possibly refer to their capacity as arrow suppliers. [101]

171/411 The arrows (oyva) of these Indians, shown in Photographs 27, 29, and 30, resemble the corresponding Karajá and Kayapó arrows described by Krause (2, 264-270, 392-393). The corresponding arrows are the barbed ones and those with a simple, rounded, wooden tip. I have not seen any Tapirapé arrows like the two encountered by the same author (2, 411 and Fig. 270), of which one had a flat wooden tip with "barbs cut out on both sides and a double edge," while the other had a cane tip. Nor did I find [112:54] arrows with notched wooden tips among the Tapirapé, such as those Krause (2, 265) encountered among the Karajá. On the other hand, the bird arrow with a thick wax tip which that author (2, 247) noted in the same tribe is also used by the Tapirapé (see Photos. 25 and 26).

Like the Karajá, Kayapó (loc. cit., 267 and 392), and tribes of the Xingu headwaters (Von den Steinen 2, 229), the Tapirapé also make a kind of barbed arrow by fastening to the tip of the wooden part of the shaft, previously grooved laterally, a small piece of bone that is slightly curved and sharp at both ends. This piece is tied on, and the whole binding is covered with black resin. In the barbed Tapirapé arrows tipped with the spine of the sting-ray, the barb is not made with the spine also, as Krause (2, 393 and Fig. 249h) asserts of a Kayapó arrow that is similar but made of wood. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.] [314]

The length of barbed arrows with bone or sting-ray tips is roughly identical among the Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé. The tip, on the average, is six centimeters long, the wooden part of the shaft from 35 to 50 centimeters, and the cane part about one meter long. [237]

The wooden rod bearing the arrow point (oyvanchí, chi meaning "point") is inserted into the cane stem (angkamanchyva) and

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

# TAPIRAPÉ SOCIAL AND CULTURE CHANGE 1940-1953

by

CHARLES WAGLEY

The Tapirapé are a Tupi-speaking tribe whose aboriginal habitat lay between the Araguaya and Xingu rivers in central Brazil. Tapirapé society and culture, as it existed before 1940, has been described by Herbert Baldus and the present author in a series of articles and monographs.[1] In 1940, when I left the Tapirapé village after approximately eighteen months of residence and research, I was convinced that Tapirapé society was rapidly disintegrating and that it would soon cease to exist as a distinct organized unit. At that time, although Tapirapé culture was essentially unchanged from its aboriginal condition, severe depopulation had so disrupted the social structure that the society seemed no longer to satisfy the minimal conditions for group survival.[2] A mere 147 individuals grouped in but one village were all that remained in 1940 of this tribe that once had numbered at least one thousand people living in five large villages. In 1953, when I returned for a short visit of three weeks with the Tapirapé Indians in their new village at the mouth of the Tapirapé River on the Araguaya, I found but 51 individuals. The rapid process of depopulation

101 [197] 161 176 [131]

1. Cf. Herbert Baldus, *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, São Paulo, 1937, and "Os Tapirapé, tribo Tupi no Brasil Central," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, Vols. XCVI-CV, CVII-CXXVII, São Paulo, 1944-49; and Charles Wagley, "Tapirapé Shamanism," *Boletim do Museu Nacional, Antropologia*, N.° 3, Rio, 1943.

2. Charles Wagley, "The Effects of Depopulation upon Social Organization as Illustrated by the Tapirapé Indians," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Series II, Vol. 3, N.° 1, pp. 12-16, New York, 1940.

## INTRODUCTION

101 13 [197] [198]

The Tapirapé Indians are a Tupi-speaking tribe living in Central Brazil west of the Araguaya River. Their villages formerly extended some two hundred miles to the north of the Tapirapé River, an affluent of the Araguaya; but today their one remaining village lies west of the Araguaya, about forty miles north of the Tapirapé and 160 miles from the point of union of the two rivers. This settlement contains a total 161 population that does not exceed 150 people, the residue of five villages that probably existed so late as the turn of the century and that are said to have had a population of about two hundred people each. A progressive population decline has followed the acquiring of diseases from contact with the neighboring Carajá Indians of the Araguaya River and from European visitors. Such contacts, however, have left their aboriginal culture little changed.

The Tapirapé are properly a forest people, maintaining an agricultural 241 life on clearings hewed from the great tropical forest. Their cultivated 462 fields are large producing manioc (both *Manihot manihot* and the sweet species *Manihot palmata aypi*), maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, yams, kará (*Dioscorea sp.*), cotton, and bananas.

The dry months of June through September of each year are devoted [132] to clearing the garden sites. This work is done by men, frequently working individually, sometimes in communal labor formed by the men's moiety groups (1). When the clearing is done collectively, the large field is divided into individual plots which become individual property; [423]

(1) There is an excellent description of this communal activity, called *apatxiru* by the Tapirapé in Herbert Baldus, 1937, "Os grupos de comer e os grupos de trabalho dos Tapirapé", *in Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, pp. 98-111, São Paulo.

[p. 61]
[p. 60 blank]

128 [Ed., p. 86 and all but the last two lines of p. 87 are not translated.]

[87] In the pages that follow I wish to discuss a social institution
121 of the Tapirapé, the like of which I have not yet found [88] either among the other tribes I have visited or in the literature. I call it "eating groups." [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

The social significance of this organization into "eating groups"
264 derives from their purpose, which is as follows. Sometimes it happens
224 that the produce of the hunt or of the harvest, which among these Indians may be eaten by either sex and also by the children (for exam-
[262] ple, wild pig, curassow, guan, turtle, honey, etc.), is too sizable for the hunter's family and not sizable enough to be shared justly and advantageously with the entire population of the village. In such a case, to avoid a less equitable act, the distribution is made among the mem-
574 bers of the eating group to which the hunter belongs.
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At the time of my stay among the Tapirapé, they were divided
264 into seven eating groups [89]. They say that in the old days the groups
551 were more numerous. The names of the existing groups are Txankanépéra [Tr., the Portuguese x equals English sh], Pananivũína, Maniitivuéra, Kãũmanõí, Tãũãupéra, Ãmpirampé, Avãinki'. Whenever I asked for an explanation of their meaning, I was merely given the word tãtãupãũã. Undoubtedly, however, some of the group names are related to the names of animals and plants, Txankanépéra with txankané (alligator), Maniitivuéra with mandiivũnã (a variety of manioc), Ãvãinki' with vuãiki'tã (a variety of manioc). This may be
[771] a vestige of totemic ideas, although they are not manifested in the behavior of the group members. For example, the attitude of the Txankanépéra group members toward the alligator is no different from that of the members of other groups. It is true that at the common
551 feasts each person is called by the name of the group and also is what
476 the name represents. Thus, for example, a member of the
264 Txankanépéra group will say, "Txe Txankanépéra," which means both "I am called Txankanépéra" and "I am Txankanépéra," and says to his group-fellow, male or female, "Ãné Txankanépéra ('You are called Txankanépéra,' or 'You are Txankanépéra')."

192 Tãtãupãũã designates both the common feast of a group and the
574 institution of eating groups in general. When I asked the Tapirapé what
476 they called themselves as a community, I got the answer "Ampiãũã"
264 (a word that means "man" in the Tupí of the Amazon) and the statement
[101]

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476 that all participants in the tãtáupáũã [90] are called this. Nothing
574 could point up the importance of the institution more effectively than
364 [101] this observation. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The word tãtá is used both by the Tapirapé and by the Karajá
171 824 [Caraja] to designate cultivated bananas in general. It also means "fire" in their language, as in all Tupí-Guaraní tongues, and it differs
[194] from these only in its nasalization, an element which is peculiar to the Tapirapé language as a whole.

[192] The word upáũã means "everything eaten."

The word tãtáupáũã may mean that the fire went out, or that everything that was near the fire was eaten.

264 Every individual belongs to the same eating group through life.
476 Sons belong to their father's group, daughters to their mother's.
574 The eating groups are not important to marriage; some of the
[611] men belong to the same group as their wives, while others belong to a different group.

[91] The principal chief, Kamairahó, was a Txankanépéra, while
173 the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ', was a Pananĩvũãna. As I lived in
[622] Kamairahó's household and belonged, in a way, to his family, I also became a Txankanépéra, and they explained to me that as a consequence my own relatives, although absent, had also become Txankanépéra.

264 Within their group, all members regard one another as brothers
476 and sisters.
574 Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life,
[608] namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group companions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond oc-
[621] casionally bringing together the inhabitants of different houses from birth to death.

264 At certain times the entire population of the village gathers to-
574 gether for the tãtáupáũã, which at such times is not really a feast
621 carried out to meet the obligations imposed by the consumption-group organization, but a veritable banquet.

On July 3, the time of the kãũihó, or "bad kãũí" (literally, "big kãũí" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the
[252] chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kãũí, which formerly was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was warm and so good that I ate my fill.

648 been explored by the Whites nevertheless has its owners. Those owners, that is, the Indians, do not as a rule overstep the boundaries of their own territory and strictly respect adjoining areas unless they intend to make war or to trade. Since ethnocentrism is the very human tendency to regard all things exclusively from the standpoint of one's own people, as though, with their concepts, they were the center of the world, it is not surprising that what seems "raw" to us often is not so to men of another culture. This attitude leads people of limited intellectual horizons, such as the frontiersmen, to regard the differences between themselves and the Indians as so enormous that the latter do not seem to be "people." Taking this as a premise, they act with impeccable logic when they conclude that the land of the aborigines is untenanted. And the authorities who ratify this conclusion prove themselves equally ethnocentric.

Far be it from me to depict the inhabitants of the Tapirapé River as furious invaders. They are humble people, movingly naive, who represent what is conventionally called "good people." It seems that it is not only for reasons of numerical inferiority that they seek peace with the Indians by treating them with kindness. In spite of this, of course, shocks are unavoidable. There are encounters where no blood is shed. Economic interests are met in the hunting and fishing zone of the Tapirapé, and the latter are deprived of protein. The interests which spread gonorrhea among the Karajá [Caraja] are of a different sort. In both cases, however, the Indians concerned are so pleasant that these encounters, in spite of their baleful consequences for the tribes concerned, are at worst "mild shocks" to the frontiersmen as compared with those they suffered from Indians of quite a different temper, namely, the Kaiapó and Chavante.

These Chavante and Kaiapó are Gê Indians, that is, they belong to the large group of tribes that offered greater resistance and gave greater frights to the White intruders than most other Brazilian Indians. They usually find the clash of solid clubs preferable to idle talk. [101] Tapirapé territory is wedged in between them. The northern Kaiapó are feared more than the Chavante, and in fact the number of their victims is larger than that of the strangers who lost their lives in Chavante territory. [726] Furthermore, the Kaiapó not only march on the Araguaia to do away with the frontiersmen and their houses, but also march south and attack Tampiitáua, as I shall mention later.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

# WORLD VIEW OF THE TAPIRAPE INDIANS

By Charles Wagley

101 The Tapirape live in Central Brazil north of the Tapirape River, a western affluent of the Araguaya River. They are a Tupi-speaking people [131] isolated from other peoples speaking the same language. Culturally they [197] are related more closely to the Tupi-speaking people of the coast than to those of the head waters of the Xingu River. The only peoples with whom they have had contacts within historic times are their northern neighbors, the Gês-speaking Northern Kayapo and the Carajá (including the Javahe branch) of the Araguaya. Because of hostility with both these neighboring [449] peoples, the Tapirape have withdrawn farther from the Araguaya and have contacts at present with the Carajá only through occasional European visitors. Introduced disease, acquired from these visitors and earlier from [161] the Carajá, have reduced the Tapirape from five large villages (originally more than two hundred per village) to one with less than 150 people. Con- [177] tacts with Europeans, however, have been short and few, leaving the Tapirape aboriginal culture little changed.

According to Tapirape tradition, they came to their present home from 173 the north and east.[1] One group of them lived on the Araguaya and for a 823 time shared a common village with the Javahe branch of the Carajá. The Tapirape are traditionally interested in country to the east, not to the west. It is to the east that Maratawa, the "home of the gods," lies, and in this [772] direction, too, is the home of two legendary peoples: the Wanchira, a cannibalistic tribe which ate a famous mythical ancestor of the Tapirape, and the "other Tapirape," speaking the same language and sharing the same culture. East of the Araguaya River there is said to be another large river and great mountains where various supernaturals live.

448 Formerly, Tapirape who were captives of the Carajá returned to tell of that country and people, and in modern times Tapirape have visited both Carajá and Kayapo, as well as various Brazilian settlements on the Ara- guaya. No foreign or hostile tribes prevent them from wandering west- [484] ward into the open country toward the Xingu River, but it is a region of little interest to them, and they never travel far in this direction. Of the 823 Xingu River and people, they know only what Brazilian visitors have told

[1] According to Métraux, the Tapirape were known to have been on the Araguaya as early 114 as the 18th century. He believes the Tapirape to be fugitives from the coast of Brazil, probably 174 from the vicinity of Rio, possibly from the Tamoyo. Certainly they came from the east, but my material points to a migration from the northeast rather than from the southeast, as would be the case if migration had been from the forests of Rio. Métraux, Alfred, Migrations Historiques des Tupi-Guarani, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N.S.* 19, 24 (1927).

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



823 memorate the spot where he had eaten plentifully of fish. The Tapirape
772 view of the world is an expanding one; the people are eager to acquire more knowledge, as is attested by their numerous questions about one's home and one's people, about the sea, the mountains, and distant places.

773 In point of time, the Tapirape consider the present as the third world. Twice people were destroyed, once by flood and once by universal fire. Before these catastrophes, there were pre-Tapirape called Karanjuntuwera. These people lacked the many refinements which were later brought to the Tapirape by their culture heroes. They ate several varieties of wild seeds, they did not have maize, manioc or any modern garden plants, and they lacked the bow and arrow. The Tapirape are not certain whether the Karanjuntuwera lived before or after the flood, but when the great deluge came, one man and one woman climbed a small palm tree which grew as rapidly as the water rose, carrying them above the flood. After they had been there some time the man began to spear fish and snakes[3] which swarmed in the waters, using the long narrow palm leaves as spears. As he killed a fish or snake, the waters gradually diminished and finally ran back into the river-beds.

Four ancestors escaped the second destruction[4] of people—the universal fire. These ancestors took the form of birds: there were two *jacu* which were men, and one periquito and one *mutum*, both women.[5] These escaped underground and from the union of the two couples came "men" or *ampa awa*, as modern Tapirape call themselves.[6]

[101] "Culture heroes" were primarily instrumental in making the Tapirape
773 world what it is. When and in what order these heroes came is not stated.
776 Among them was Petura, a supernatural ancestor and great trickster. He stole fire from the vultures, day or dawn from the night owls, and *genipa*[7] from monkeys. These he brought as gifts to the Tapirape. Finally Petura
776 went far to the northeast "where the earth ends and water begins" to live
[775] in Maratawa,[8] the home of all Tapirape culture heroes, of shamans after
[756] death, and of the sun and the moon. There he lives today. He never dies,

[3] From these primordial flood snakes, say the Tapirape, descended their neighbors and enemies, the Carajá. "They (the snakes) had circles under their eyes" (the tribal face tattooing of Carajá).

[4] The sequence of fire and flood does not seem to be clear in legends. Two informants placed the fire before the flood. Priqle during both epochs are spoken of as Karanjuntuwera.

[136] [5] *Jacu*: edible forest fowl, about the size of a large chicken, genus *Penelope*, several species. Periquito: *Pyrrhura rufata*. *Mutum*: *Crax lecter*.

[6] See Baldus, Herbert, Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira, pp. 207-219.

[7] *Genipa rubicera* or *Genipa americana*: fruit from which black body dye is made.

[823] [8] Several informants described Maratawa as an island. To the Tapirape, the lighted sky is encircled by black sky and on all sides below the edges of the lighted sky "where the black sky begins", the earth ends and water begins. Thus earth is a large island surrounded by water on all sides. The Tapirape are quite willing to grant, however, that beyond this water may be another earth.

101 [16] The Tapirapé Indians live in central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a left tributary of the Araguaia located in the extreme south of the state of Pará. They speak a dialect of Tupi-Guarani, the most widespread aboriginal tongue in Brazil. In spite of a great decline in their population, they still possess a rich cultural tradition which is peculiar to them and which distinguishes them [173] from other tribes. Their customs and traditions are transmitted orally with great care from generation to generation. One of the most 881 interesting among them is the ceremony in which the youth assumes the status of a grown man. This change in status is marked by nearly all peoples. Among us, when a young man reaches the age of 21, he can vote, marry, sign documents, etc.; among many primitive groups, the youth proves that he has become an adult by undergoing torture or achieving success in the hunt.

Among the Tapirapé, this tradition is observed with a festival [302] of song and dance called "hair-tying," for henceforth the young man will wear his hair tied at the back of the neck in adult fashion. For 858 several years before the ceremony, the boy keeps his body painted [302] black with genipap, wears his hair cropped close to the head--"like a monkey," in the words of the Tapirapé-- is subjected to food re- [304] strictions, and has his arms and legs scarified until they bleed so he [856] will "grow strong." When he reaches 14 or 15 years of age, his family decides that the time has come for him to become an adult.

881 At the close of the rainy season, the time of harvesting and [221] thus of plenty for the tribe, the "hair-tying" ceremony is carried out. For months beforehand, the youth allows his hair to grow until it comes [302] down to his shoulders. Meanwhile, mother and aunts weave threads [462] (cords) to adorn him, while father and uncles collect feathers with [283] which they make elaborate ornaments. All Tapirapé youths become [237] adults through this rite; the sons of important men, however, and [554] those who were "favorite sons" (the Tapirapé elect certain children to preferential treatment) are much more richly attired than the others. The ceremony is costly to the family, and much time is needed before [237] hand to gather the necessary materials--macaw tail feathers, short feathers of the blue macaw and parrot, breast fluff of wild ducks, [556] cotton threads for the ornaments, and beads. All these items are [435] valuable to the Tapirapé, who gauge their own wealth in these terms.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



He was always pleased when
115 we came to listen, particularly if we made the motions of joining in.
123 He was an excellent wrestler in Tapirapé style, in which each op-
[526] ponent takes a firm grip on the pigtail of the other and attempts to throw him to the ground by tripping. Our wrestling match was brief although I was much taller than he; and his match with Valentim Gomes, who outweighed him by more than forty pounds, was
[186] a draw. Unlike so many who get a glimpse at a seemingly "superior" cultural world, Champukwi never became dissatisfied with his own way of life.

122 In June of 1940, my period of residence among the Tapirapé
123 Indians ended. The waters on the savanna which had to be crossed
[101] afoot to get to the Tapirapé River where our canoe was moored had not completely receded. Many Tapirapé friends, among them Champukwi, offered to carry our baggage, made lighter after a final dis-
122 tribution of gifts, down to the river. The night before our departure
123 a festival with the usual songfest was held to celebrate the final phase
881 of a ceremony during which a youth, this time the nephew of Kamiraho, became a man. Some Brazilian tribes make this occasion
[171] an ordeal by such means as applying a frame of stinging wasps to
[301] the body of the novice, but it is characteristic of the Tapirapé that
[302] the "ordeal" consists only of decorating the youth with a headdress of magnificent red macaw feathers, painting his body elaborately, and making him the center of dancing and singing—although the youth must himself dance continuously for a day and a night. Cham-
122 pukwi led the singing most of the night, but at dawn he came to
123 our house to supervise the packing of our belongings into the basket-like cases made of palm which are used for carrying loads of any kind. He divided the baggage among the younger men. Even some of the older household leaders decided to accompany us but they, of course, did not carry anything. Our trip was slow because everyone was tired after the all-night festival and because of the water through
[501] which we had to wade. At one point, rafts had to be made to trans-
[481] port our baggage across a still-swollen stream. Since the Tapirapé do not swim—or, like Champukwi, they swim but poorly—it was the job of the *tori* to swim and push the rafts. I had the honor of swimming across the stream, pushing the respected chieftain, Kamiraho. (How he got back, I shall never know.) After a day and a half, we reached the landing on the Tapirapé River, and the next

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



morning we embarked downriver. My last memory of Champukwi was of him standing on the bank waving in *tori* style until our boat made the curve of the river.

I did not return to visit the Tapirapé until 1953, but news of them came to me at intervals. Valentim Gomes returned to the region in 1941 as an officer of the Brazilian Indian Service, and his post was charged with the protection of the Tapirapé Indians. In his first year in this capacity, he wrote me: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the 26th of July [1941]. They were in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, and the like. There were plenty of bananas. But I am sorry to say that after we left them, twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Champukwi, the best informant in the village, and our best friend." Several slow exchanges of letters brought further details from Valentim. In some manner, perhaps through a visit from a Brazilian frontiersman, several Tapirapé had contracted common colds. Its fatalness to them is indicated by the name they give it—*ó-ó* (*ó* is the augmentative which might be translated as "big, big"). Since they have no knowledge of the process of contagion and have not acquired immunity to the common cold, the disease spread rapidly throughout the village. The Tapirapé realized, I knew, that colds and other diseases such as measles which they had suffered before, were derived from visitors. Yet they also believed that death resulted from evil magic or sorcery. Why do some people who are very sick from colds get well, they asked, while others who are no more ill, soon die? It is only because those who die are the victims of sorcery, they had explained to me. So, following many deaths, including that of a young man like Champukwi, who enjoyed prestige and had many kinsmen, I was not surprised to learn from Valentim Gomes that the powerful shaman, Urukumu, had been assassinated. As Champukwi had told me, suspicion of Urukumu had already been growing even during my residence in the village. After the death of Champukwi, one of his many "brothers" (actually a cousin but called by the same term as brother in Tapirapé) had entered Urukumu's house late at night and clubbed him to death. To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related

**Charles Wagley**

To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *iwúterahú*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of

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/341 cont./

2. (cont.)
Araguay and Tocantins, were in the habit of swimming across the Furo during the dry season and plundering the plantings of the Karajá. They needed only to blow the trumpets, and already the Karajá fled. As a result, the latter did not dare visit their plantings and hence suffered from lack of food. Fonseca, when the Chavánte had again broken into the plantings, undertook an expedition against them and surprised them; they fled, leaving behind their weapons and their plunder. The Karajá had held back in cowardly fashion, but now boasted about being the victors. This was the first time that the Chavánte had fled before them; until then, the opposite had always occurred. -- And it seems to be so still today.

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About the Cherénte (ĭnŏlōtŭ) I was able to obtain only the not very credible information that they eat the excrement of human beings, even their own, putting it into their mouths with a brush-like stick that has been beaten flat. Perhaps this is merely a story that has arisen from the hostility and conceit of the Karajá.

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/342/ The Canoeiros (tĭăbĕzĕ) (1) live on the east shore,

1. According to Cunha Mattos, the Canoeiros are the descendants of the Carijos, who were brought along from São Paulo as auxiliary troops and workmen by the discoverer of Goyaz, Bartholomão Bueno; they deserted in 1725, displaced the Chavánte, and settled in the high mountains between Maranhão, Santa Thereza, and Amaro Leite on the left bank of the Tocantins above Porto Real. They were supposed to be only 300 warriors strong, but were feared because of their brutality (Rev.

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[113]

C 829 K48 T 105 [113] T [114]

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1. (cont.)

trim., Vol. 37, pp. 370-379; Vol. 38, pp. 19 and 83). Castelnau mentions them often and localizes their territory more exactly (Vol. 2, p. 116). Dr. Couto de Magalhães (Viagem ao Araguaya) repeats the statements of Cunha Mattos and also gives a brief description and a vocabulary of their language.

T [101]

but also roam on Bananal Island from the mouth of the Rio das Mortes to the southern tip. All the columns of smoke sighted in this region on Bananal are attributed to them. According to an isolated statement, they are also supposed to occupy a village inland from Furo das Pedras, which is at constant war with the neighboring Savajé. They are supposed to have a darker skin-color than the Karajá. Their hair is worn in the bowl-cut. The men wear beards and large wooden disks; according to another statement, wide lip-plugs of shell in the lower lip; the ears are pierced and hang far down. They are a true campo people who have no boats. Nor do they know how to fish. In the autumn they come to the Araguaya to hunt for turtle eggs on the sand-banks. In connection with this they probably meet Karajá, by whom they are greatly feared on account of their dangerous arrows. They are regarded as the strongest (most warlike) people on the Araguaya and now play the same role there that the Chavánte did at the end of the eighteenth century.

C 829 K48

The peoples of the Xingu region were completely unknown to the Karajá. When I showed them Steinen's pictures, they debated for a long time about the strange style of dress (unclothed men with the penis hanging far down, uluri of the women), as well as about all kinds of implements. Obviously they were seeing such things for the first time. Language samples, too, which I read to them, were foreign to them; only in the case of the Suyá words did they listen attentively and seem to find related sounds. Only one chief, Chico Cadete in Village 18, directly below the Tapirapé mouth, pretended to know the Suyá with their large

T /403 cont./
175 are Karajá who are so named because they live on the lower course
114 of the Tapirapé. On page 174 he mentions a village of the /404/
Tapirapé on the Fecho de Tapirapé and a village of the Karajá
five days upward in the Tapirapé River; the one village consists
of one house with ten occupants, the other, one house with 20 (p.
186). Here, therefore, the Tapirapé are regarded as a horde of
the Karajá who live at the mouth of the river itself, and in the
river, five days above the mouth, there is another village of
Karajá! Coudreau was here the end of April; he encountered
only a few places of the Karajá. His other reports are likewise
very confused and uncertain, so that one may trace these, too,
C back to misunderstood information given by the Karajá.
115 2. Information obtained /Erkundetes/. The information that
T I obtained from the Karajá was the following:
13 The Tapirapé (in Karajá: ũõhũ) live six to nine days' journey
[101] in a boat above the emptying of the river into the Araguaya. From
the landing place one is obliged to walk another half day, accord-
T ing to others two days, over the campo in order to reach their vil-
105 lages. They occupy three villages, and, to be sure, one large one
and two smaller ones (according to one isolated statement, four
villages). The men wear penis cuffs plaited out of palm leaves.
Both sexes wear the hair hanging down to the small of the back.
The men wear long lip-plugs of (reddish?) stone. Ear plugs are also
customary. Their ornaments are similar to those of the Karajá.
Tattooing occurs among the married women: they cut vertical
lines into their chins and one line on either side of the corners of
their mouths, obliquely downward; these lines are colored black.
They obtain their food primarily by cultivating manioc; since they
C are very industrious, they cultivate large quantities. They are
[829] therefore considered rich by the Karajá. Of animals they keep dogs
and, above all, araras, which the Karajá buy from them. Their
weapons are bows and arrows, clubs, spears, and spear throwers.
C They know how to work with cotton. They wind the spun threads
T into big balls, like those of the Karajá. The Karajá like to buy
[439] their large, firmly plaited, cotton net coverings with a wide, black
center stripe.

5: Krause

SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

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Sec. 1
/p. 366/

Sec. 2
/p. 367/

Sec. 3
/p. 368/

Chart of Positions of End Map A.
[Facing p. 365]

5:Krause--366 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

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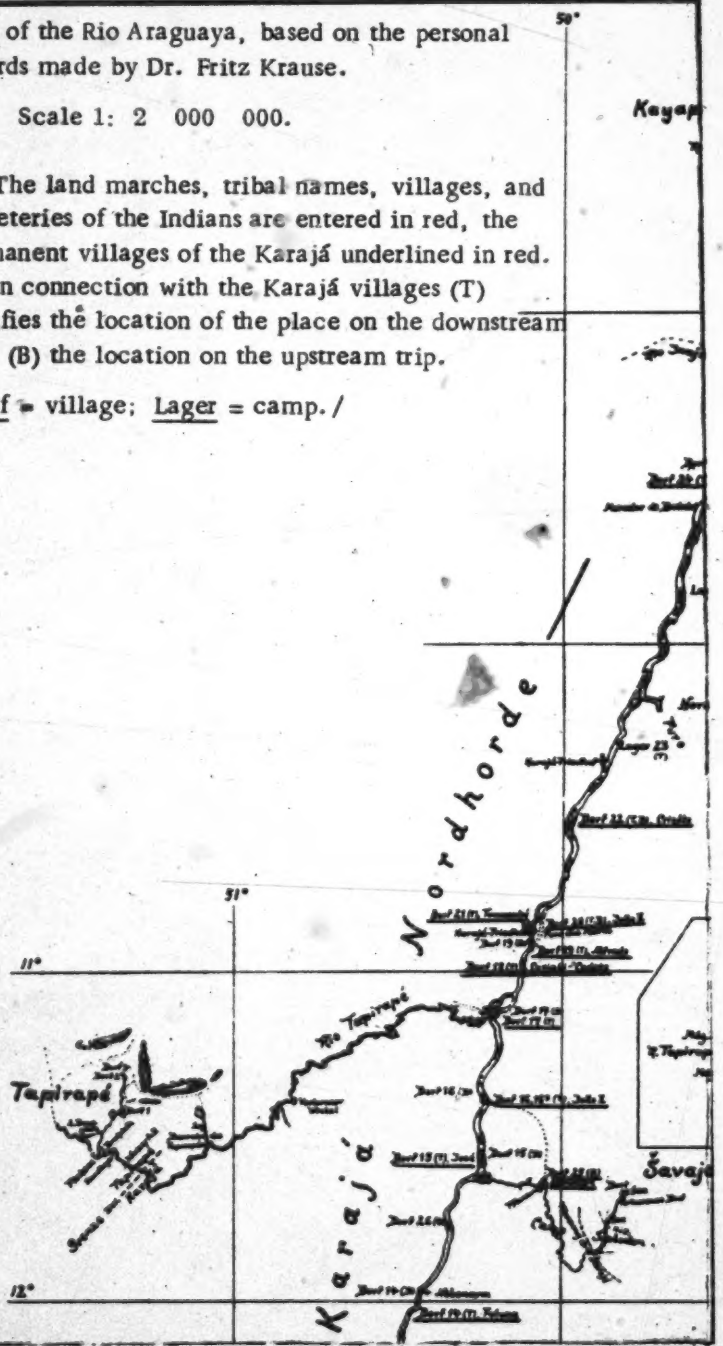
Map of the Rio Araguaya, based on the personal records made by Dr. Fritz Krause.

Scale 1: 2 000 000.

The land marches, tribal names, villages, and cemeteries of the Indians are entered in red, the permanent villages of the Karajá underlined in red.

In connection with the Karajá villages (T) signifies the location of the place on the downstream trip, (B) the location on the upstream trip.

/Dorf = village; Lager = camp./




[End Map A-1]

5: Krause--367 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Tapirape SP22

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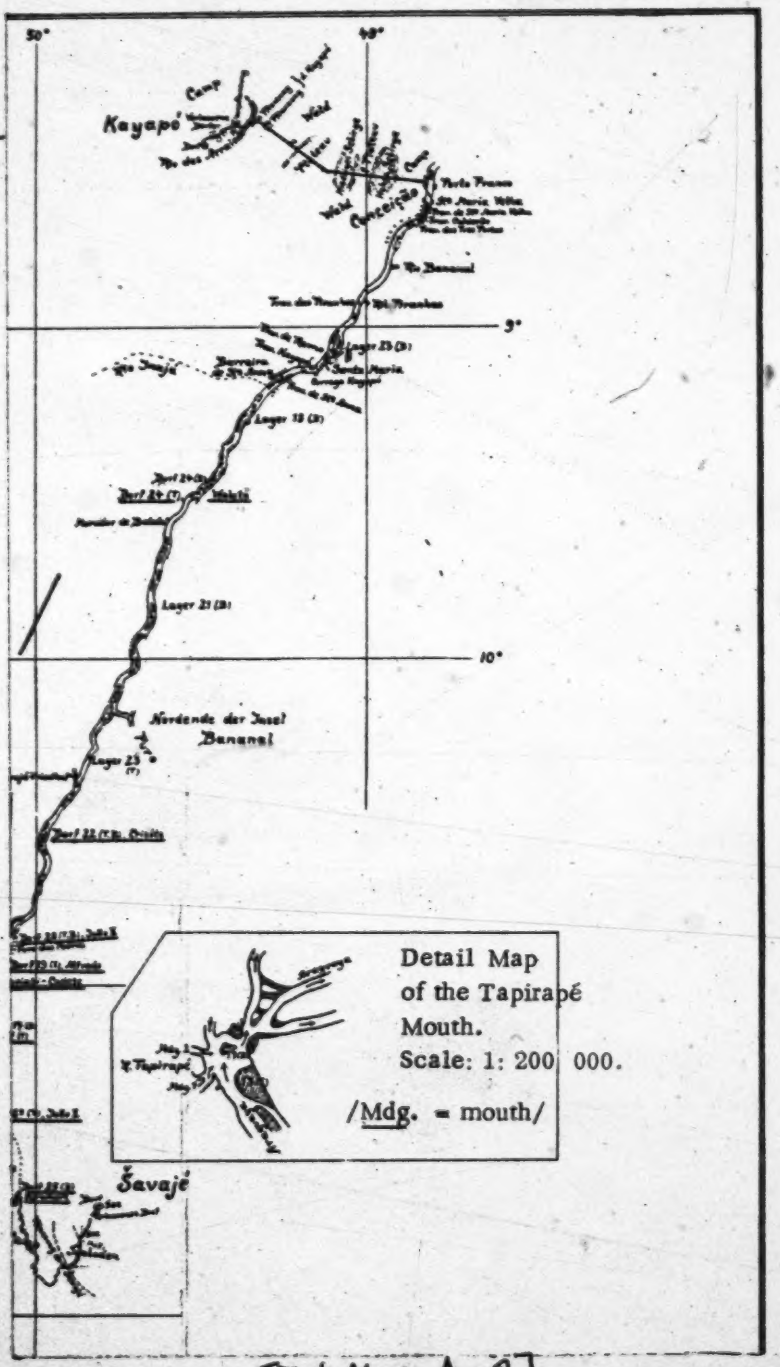


[End Map A-2]

5: Krause--368 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 Tapirape SP82

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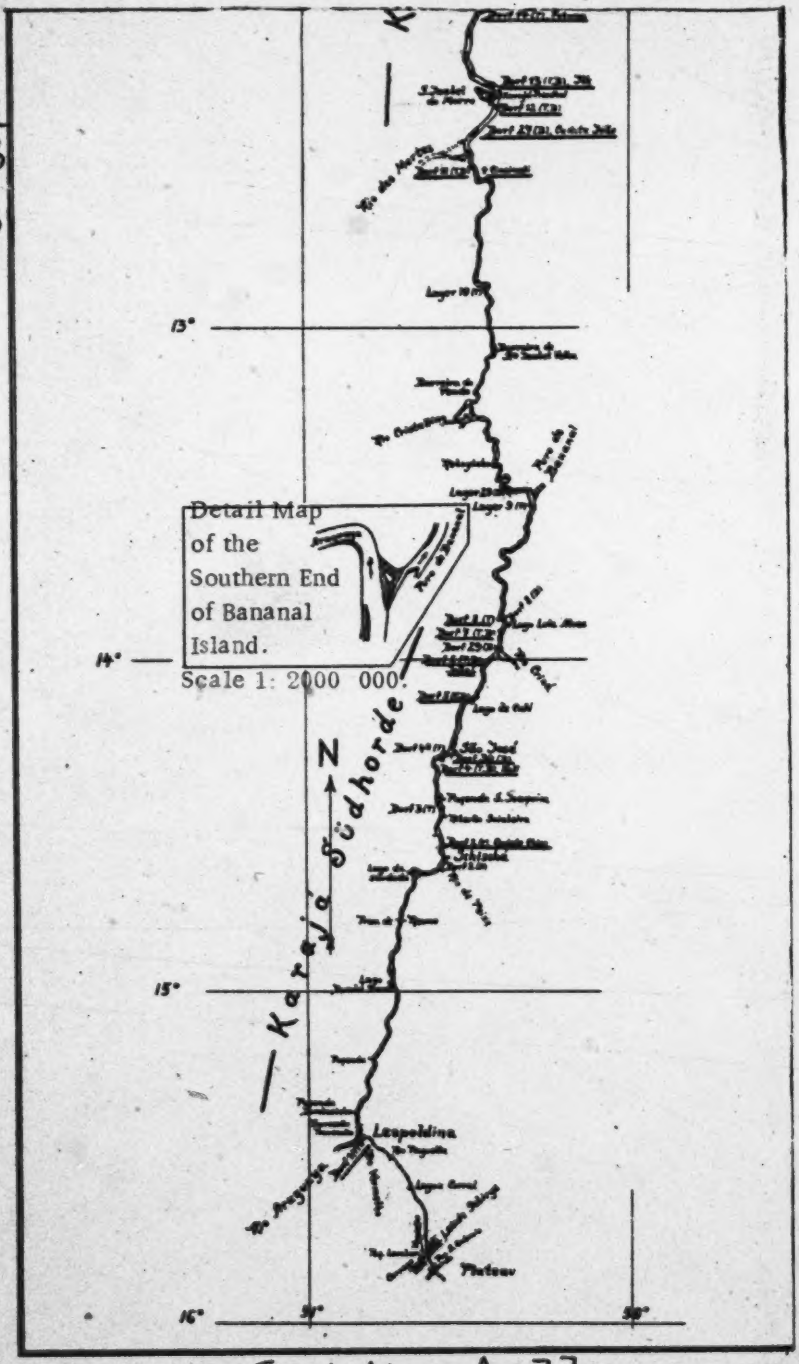


[End Map A-3]

5: Krause

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SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sec. 1 /p. 369/ | Sec. 2 /p. 370/ | Sec. 3 /p. 371/ |
| Sec. 4 /p. 372/ | Sec. 5 /p. 373/ | Sec. 6 /p. 374/ |

Chart of Positions of End Map B.
/Facing p. 368/

5: Krause--369 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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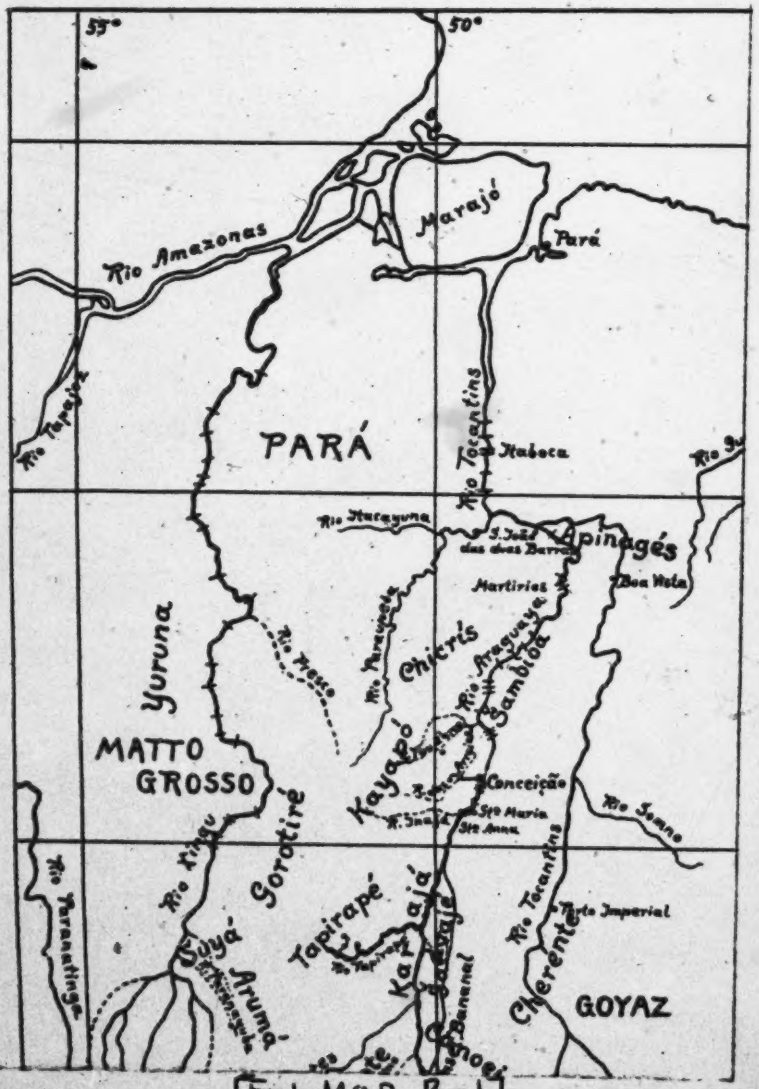
Survey Map

Scale 1: 20'000 000.




[End Map B-1]

5. Krause--370 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP 22

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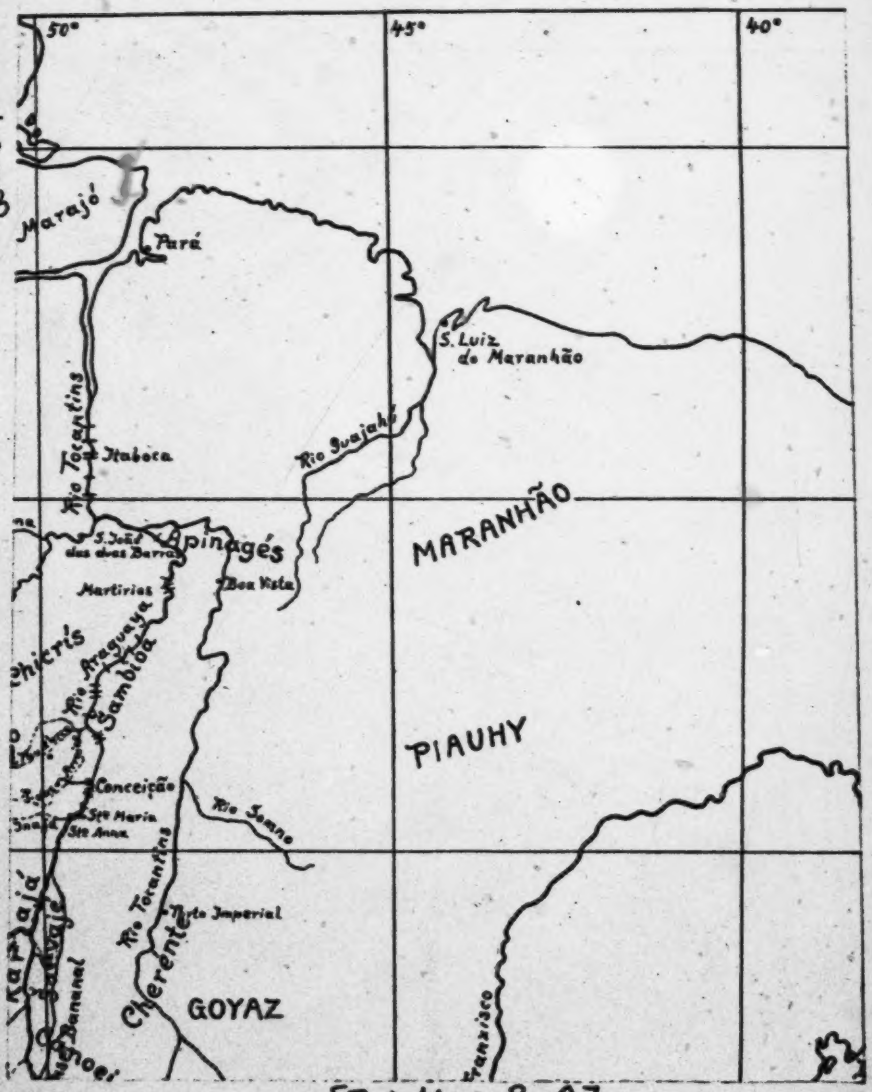


[End Map B-2]

5: Krause--371 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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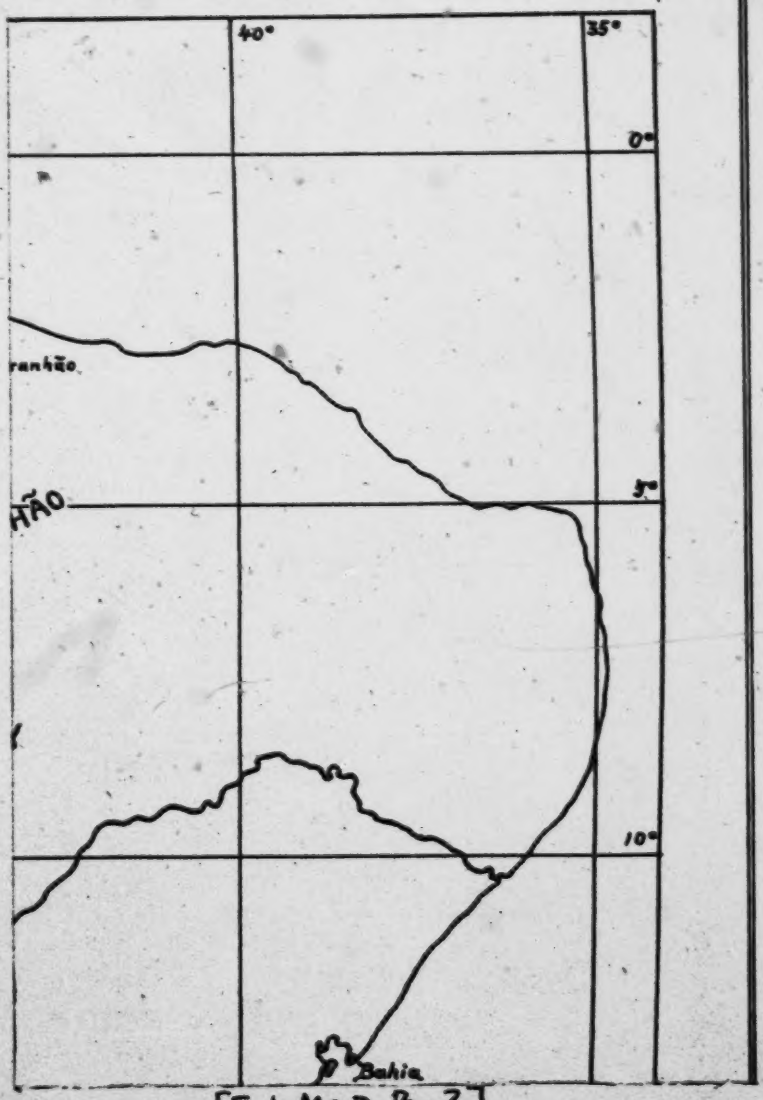


[End Map B-3]

5: Krause--372 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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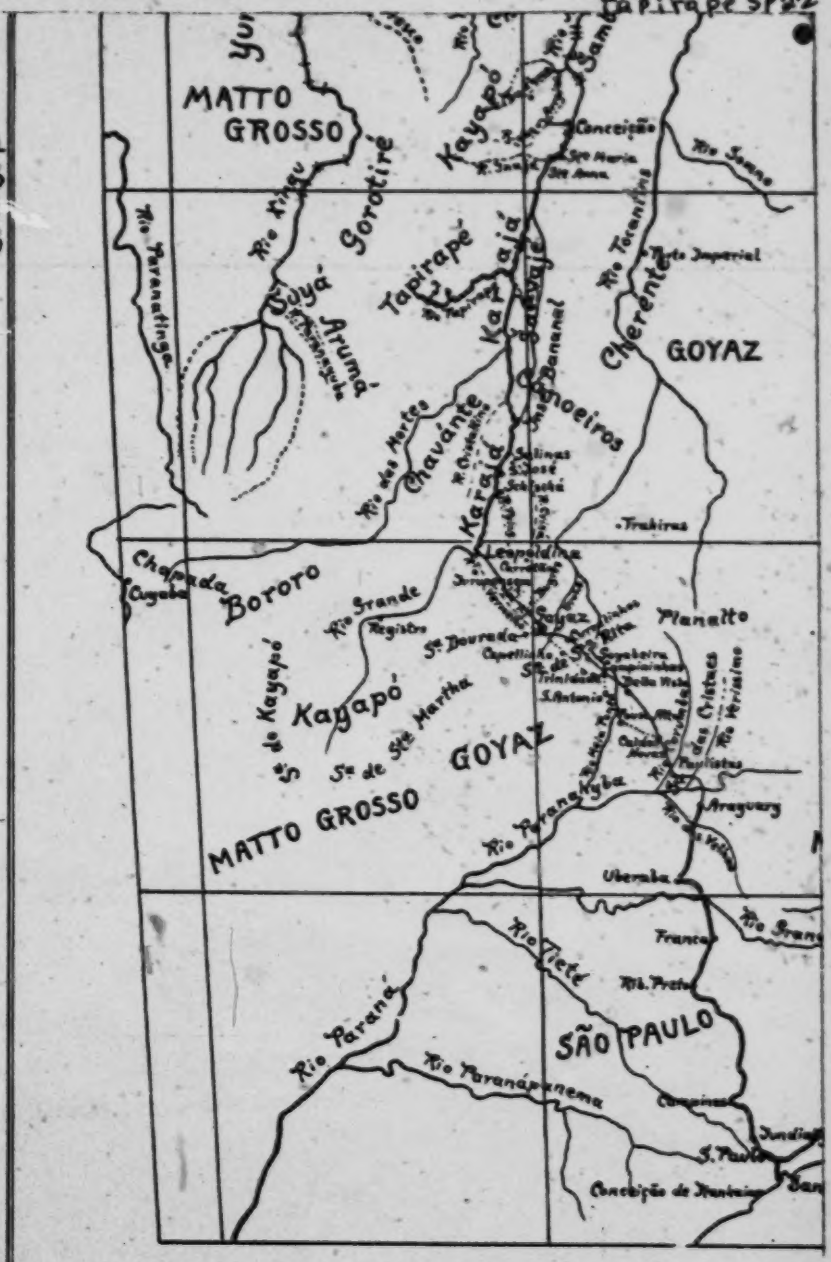


The travel route and the tribal names are entered in red.

[End Map B-4]

5: Krause--373 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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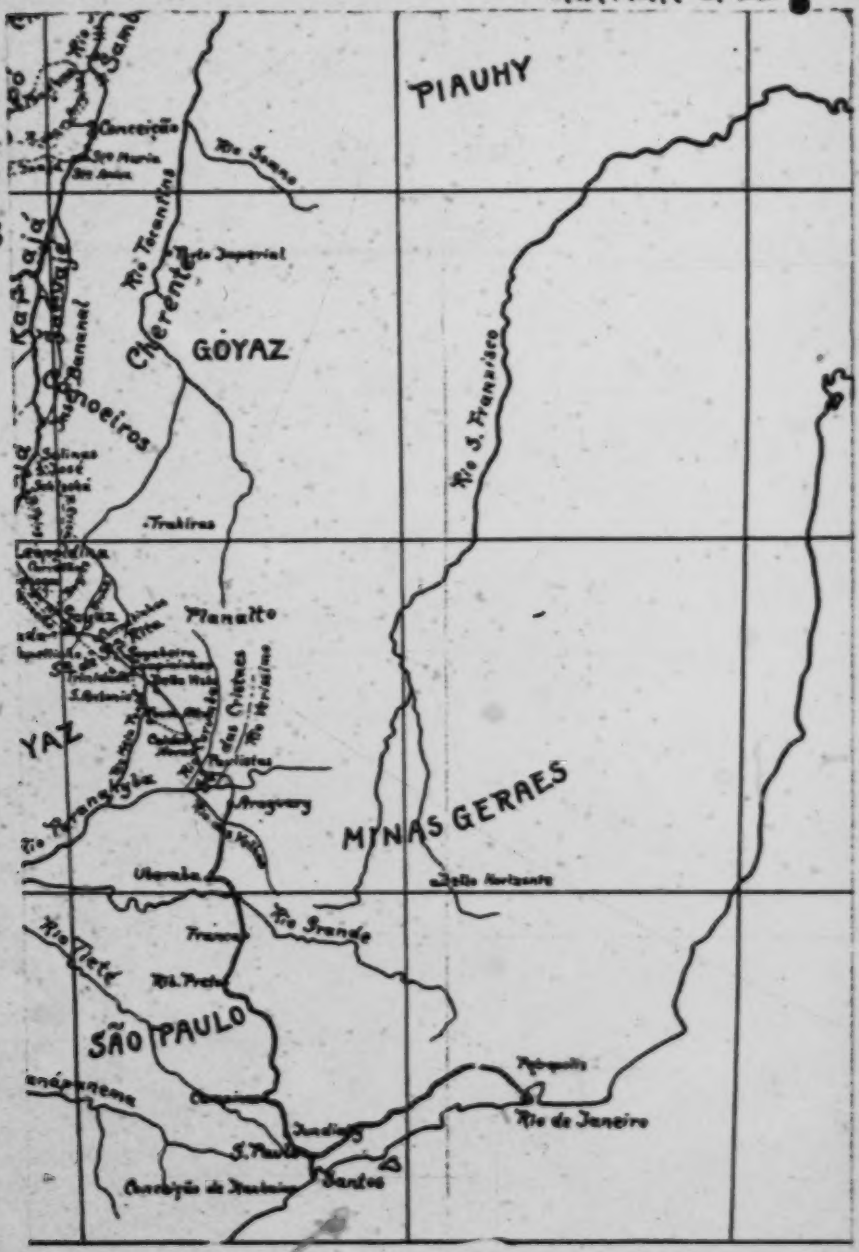
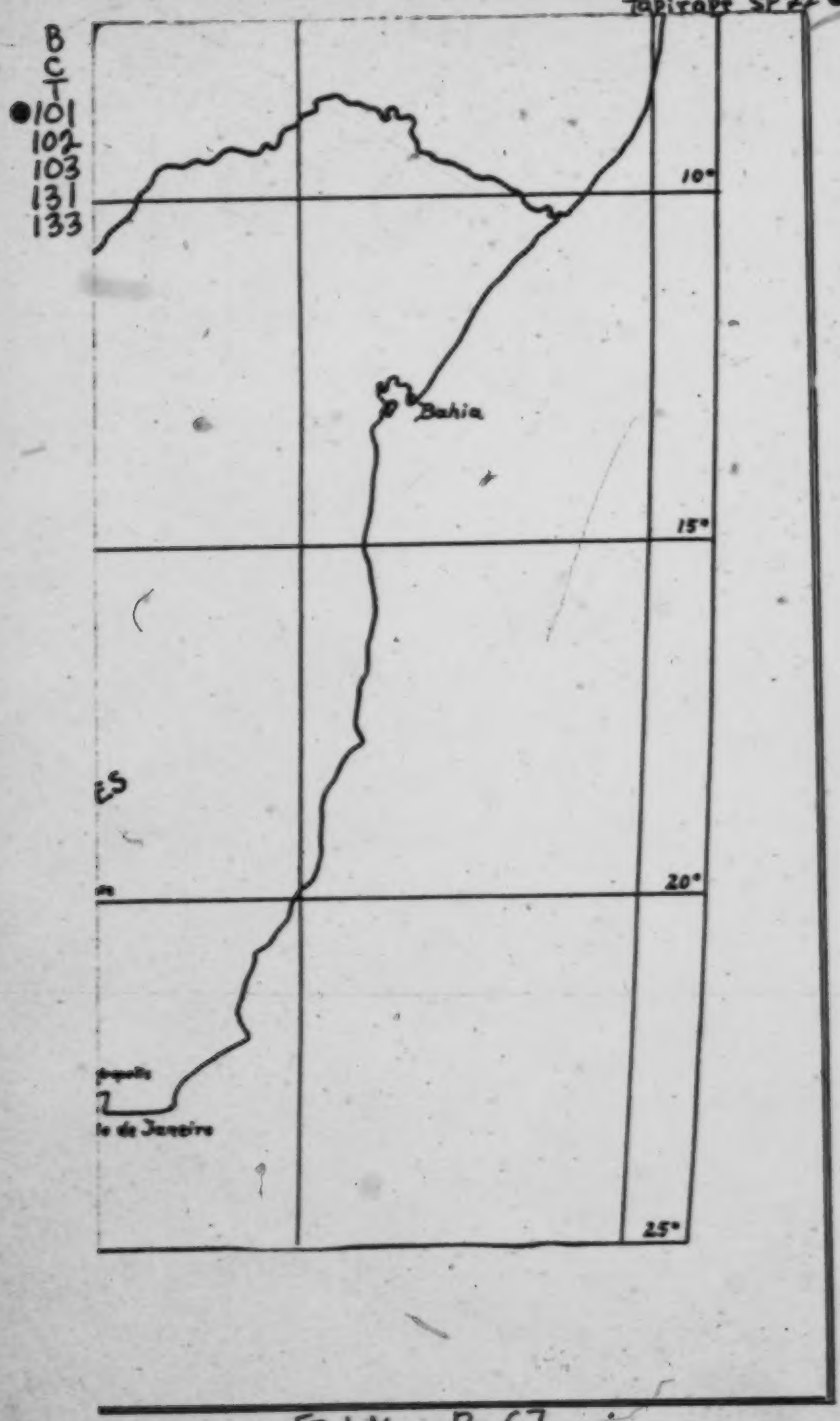



[End Map B-5]

5: Krause--374 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirapé SP 22




[End Map B-6]

1:Baldus--3 E-5 (1935, 1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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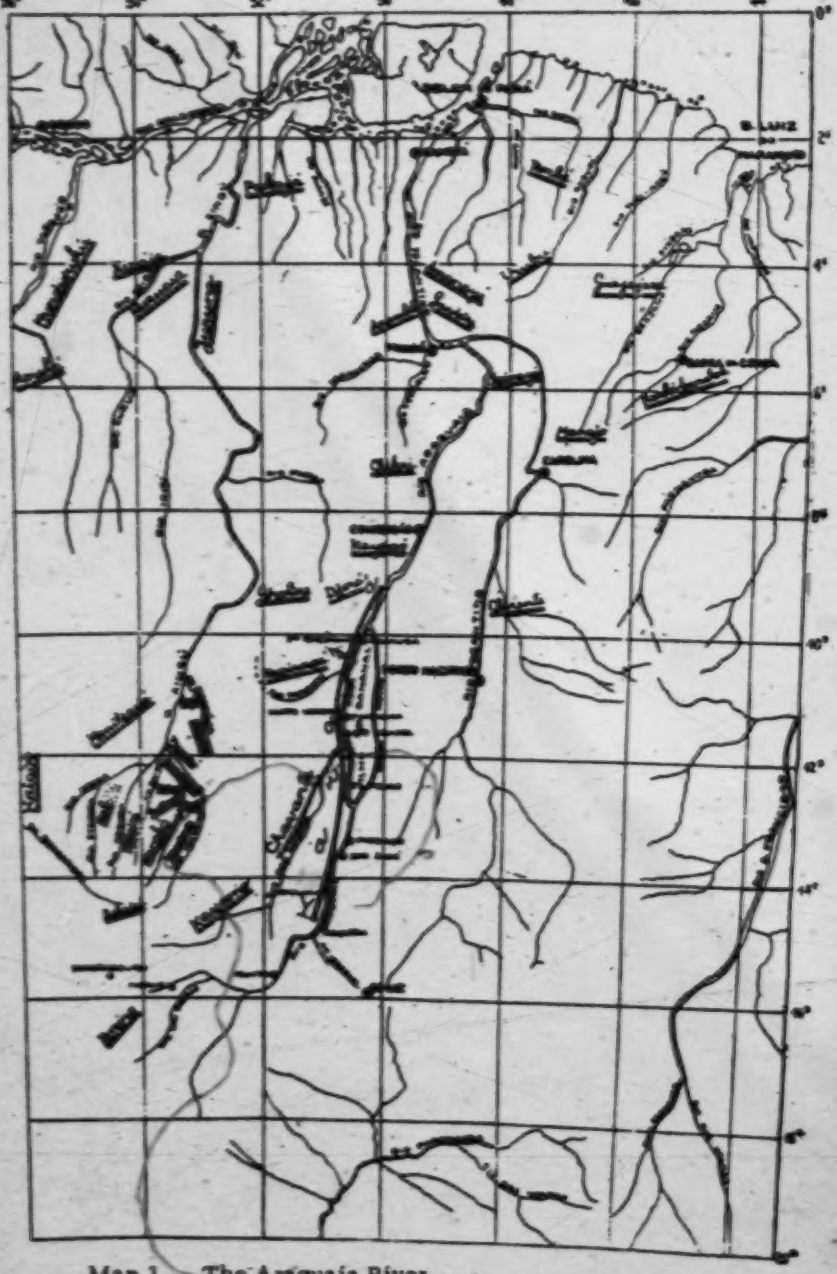

Map 1. The Araguaia River

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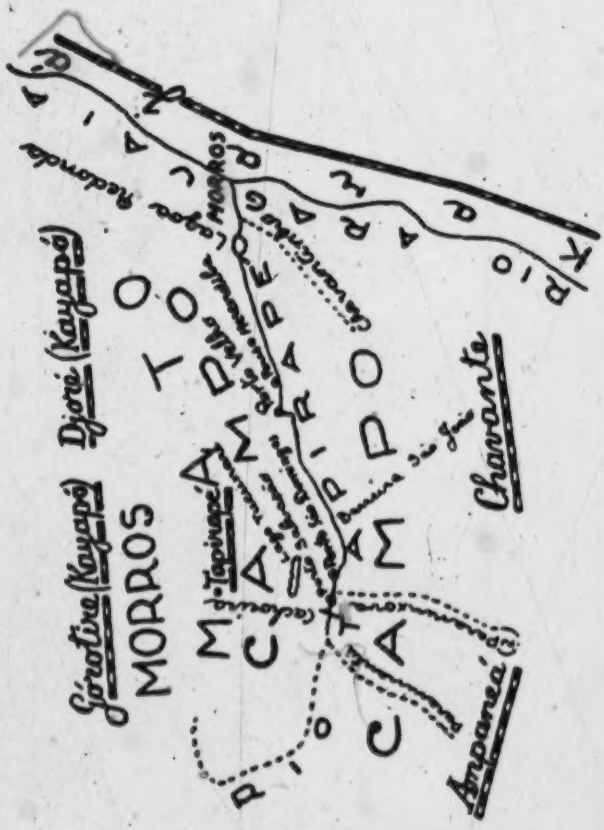
Rio Araguaia
Rio Tapirapé
Ipavu
Ipadu
Ipadeo
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Ipadeo
Ipadi
Ipadu
Ipadeo
Ipadi

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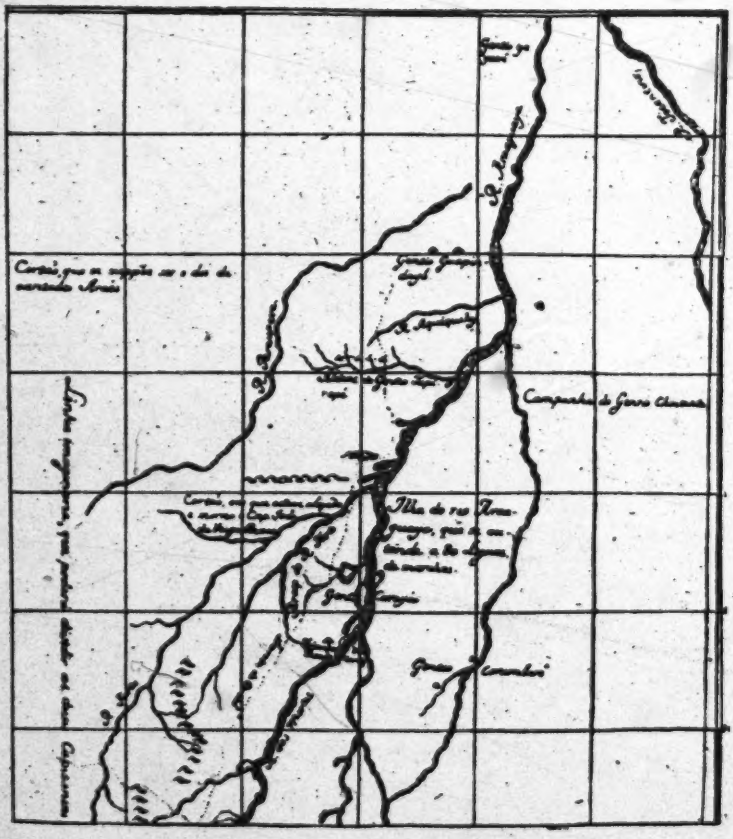

Map 3. The Middle Course of the Araguaia (18th Century).

5: Krause--25a E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja
Tapirape SP22

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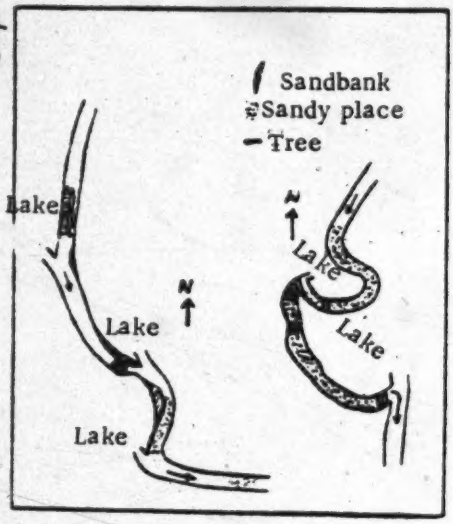


Ill. 4.
Dry stretches of river beside and below the lakes. Tapirapé River.
/Ill. 4 appears on p. 117./

Ill. 5.
Sketch map of the lost corner. Tapirapé River.
/Ill. 5 appears on p. 118./

5: Krause--26 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

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Ill. 6. Tortoise cages of the Karajá. Tapirapé River.
(Drawn from a photograph.)
/Ill. 6 appears on p. 119./

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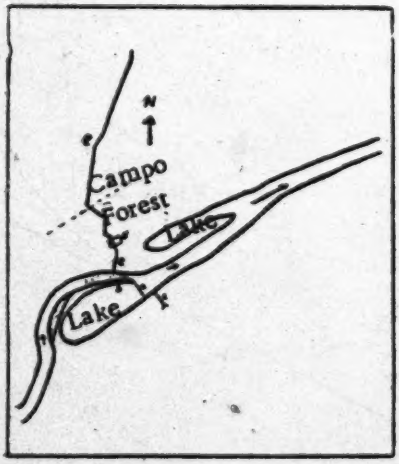


a: Fish fence
b: Sandbank
c: Path to the place where trees are felled.
d: Roasting place.
e: Path to the roasting place and to the villages.

Ill. 7.
Sketch map of the fish-lakes in the Tapirapé River.
/Ill. 7 appears on p. 122./

5: Krause

SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22 ●

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| Sec. 1<br>/p. 366/ |
| Sec. 2<br>/p. 367/ |
| Sec. 3<br>/p. 368/ |

Chart of Positions of End Map A.
[Facing p. 365]

5:Krause--366 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Tapirape SP22

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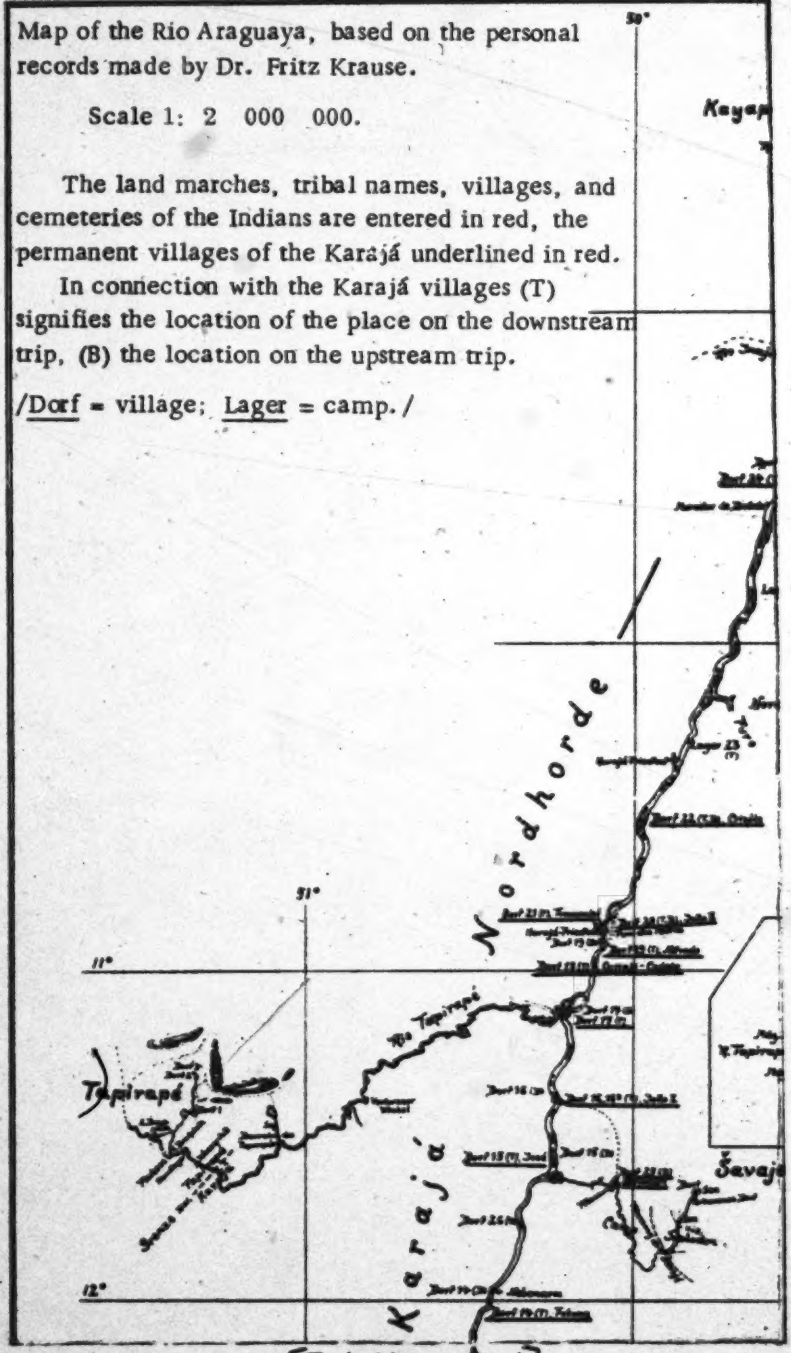
Map of the Rio Araguaya, based on the personal records made by Dr. Fritz Krause.

Scale 1: 2 000 000.

The land marches, tribal names, villages, and cemeteries of the Indians are entered in red, the permanent villages of the Karajá underlined in red.

In connection with the Karajá villages (T) signifies the location of the place on the downstream trip, (B) the location on the upstream trip.

/Dorf = village; Lager = camp./




[End Map A-1]

5: Krause--367 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Tapirape SP22 ●

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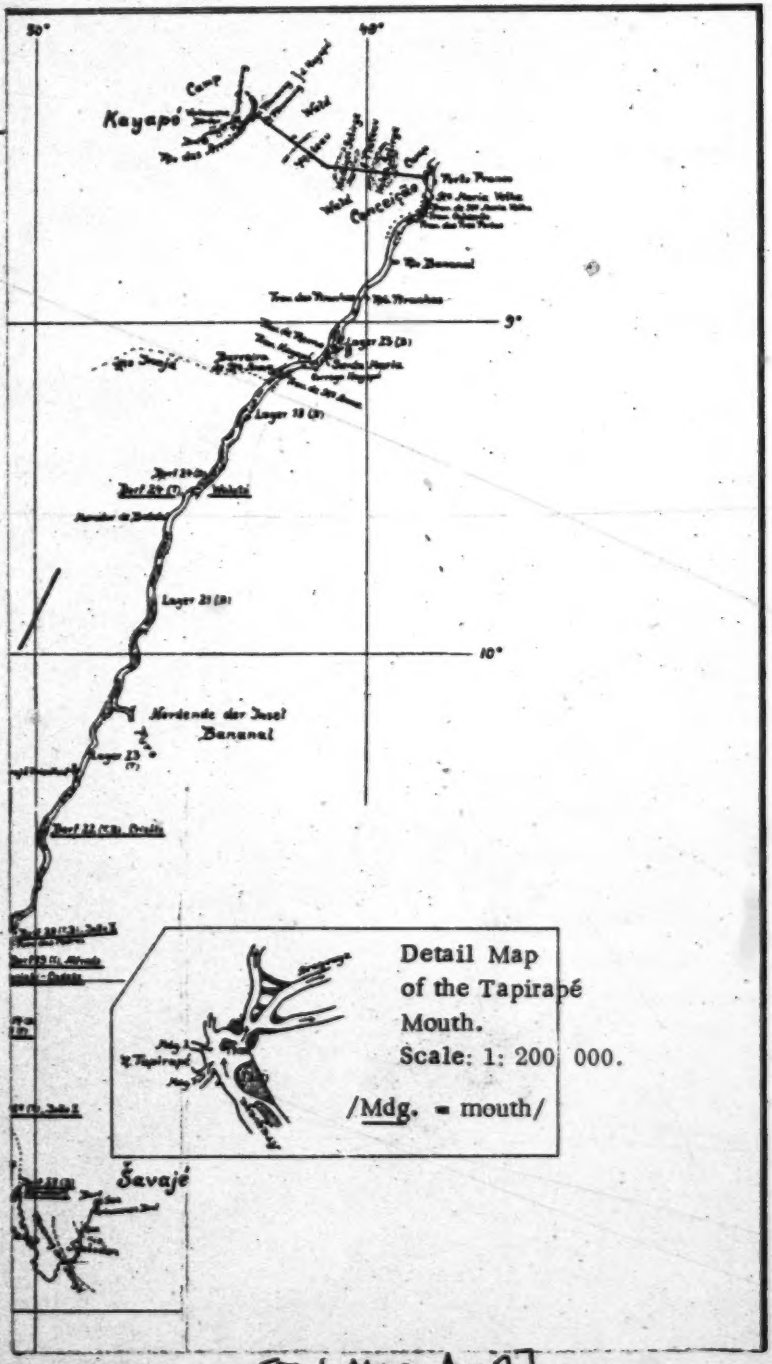


[End Map A-2]

5: Krause--368 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 Tapirape SP92

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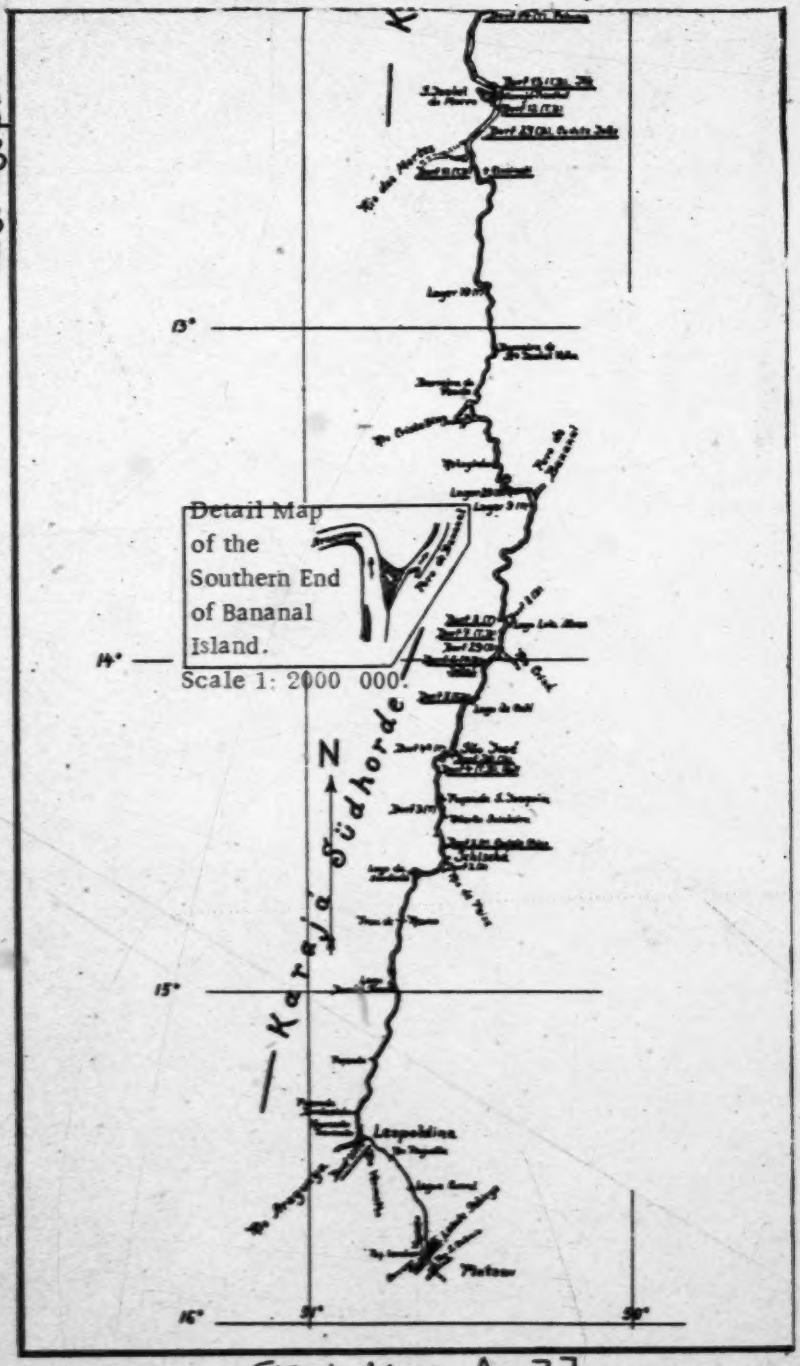


[End Map A-3]

5: Krause

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SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22 ●

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|---|---|---|
| Sec. 1 /p. 369/ | Sec. 2 /p. 370/ | Sec. 3 /p. 371/ |
| Sec. 4 /p. 372/ | Sec. 5 /p. 373/ | Sec. 6 /p. 374/ |

Chart of Positions of End Map B.
/Facing p. 368/

5: Krause--369 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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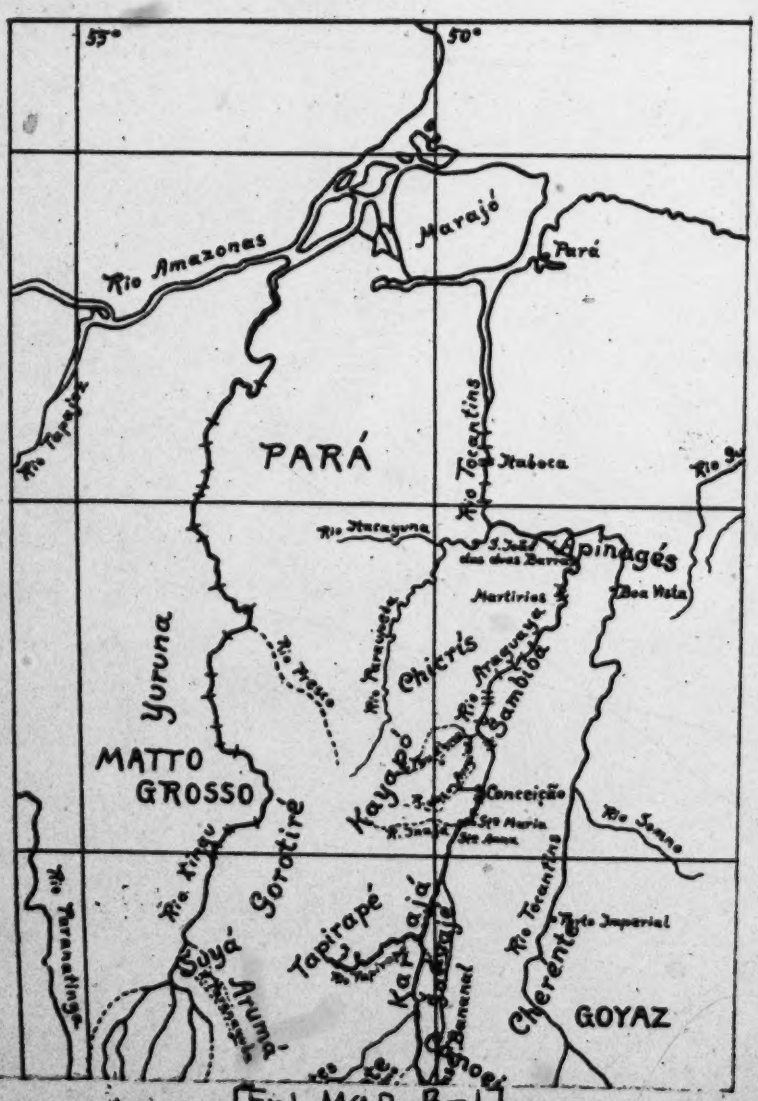
Survey Map

Scale 1: 20'000 000.


55°
50°
Marajó
Pará
Rio Amazonas
Rio Tapajoz
PARÁ
Rio Tocantins
Rio Araguaya
Rio Xingu
Rio Tocantins
Rio Jamanxim
Rio Tapirapé
Rio Kayapó
Rio Kayapó
Rio Kayapó

5: Krause--370 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP 22

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[End Map B-2]

5: Krause--371 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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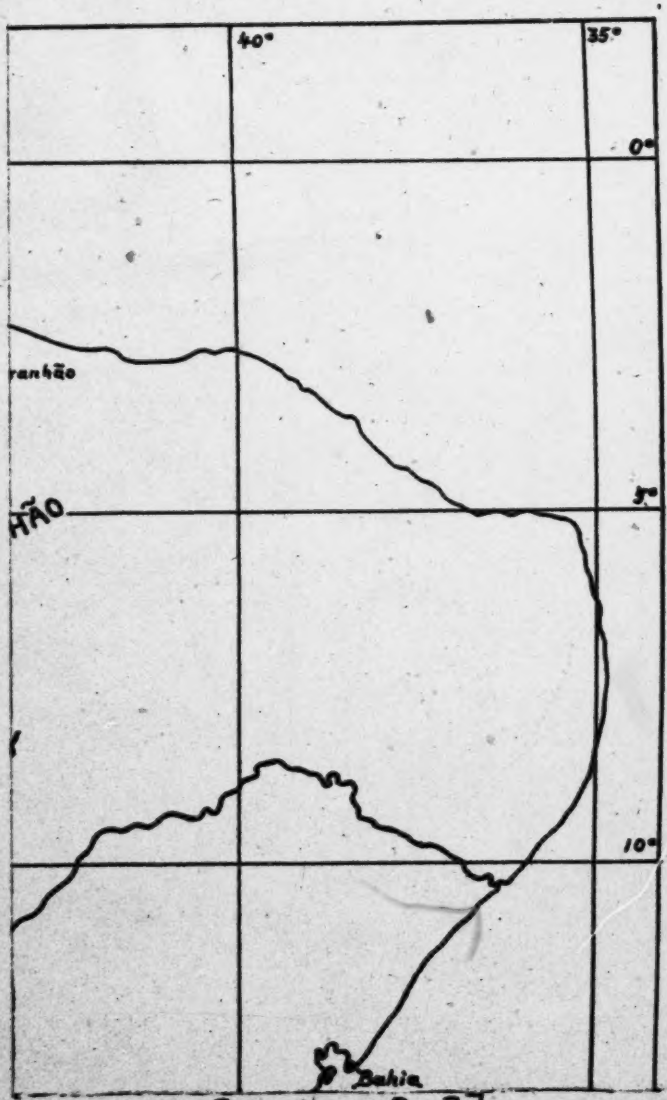


[End Map B-3]

5: Krause--372 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Bororo SP8

Tapirapé SP22

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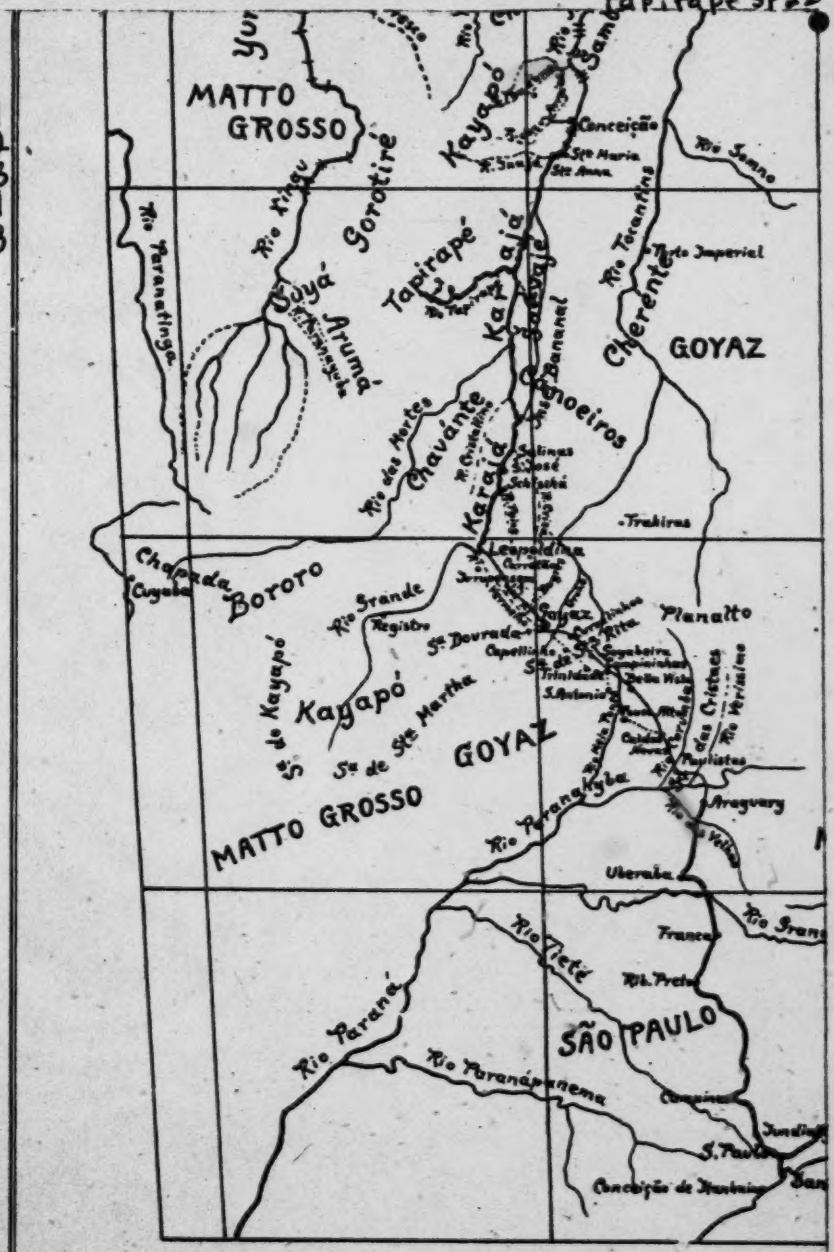


The travel route and the tribal names are entered in red.

[End Map B-4]

5: Krause--373 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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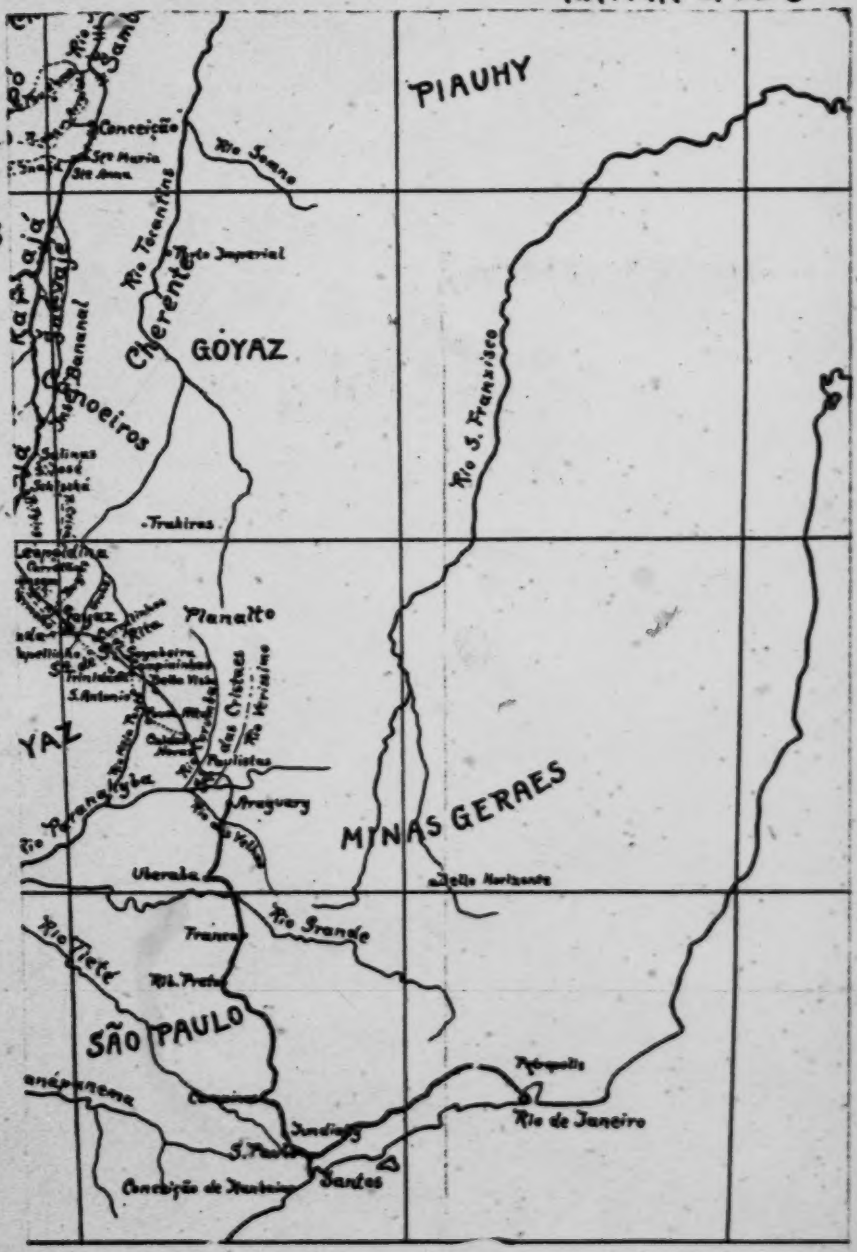


[End Map B-5]

5: Krause--374 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bototo SP8
Tapirape SP 22

[End Map B-6]

1:Baldus--3 E-5 (1935, 1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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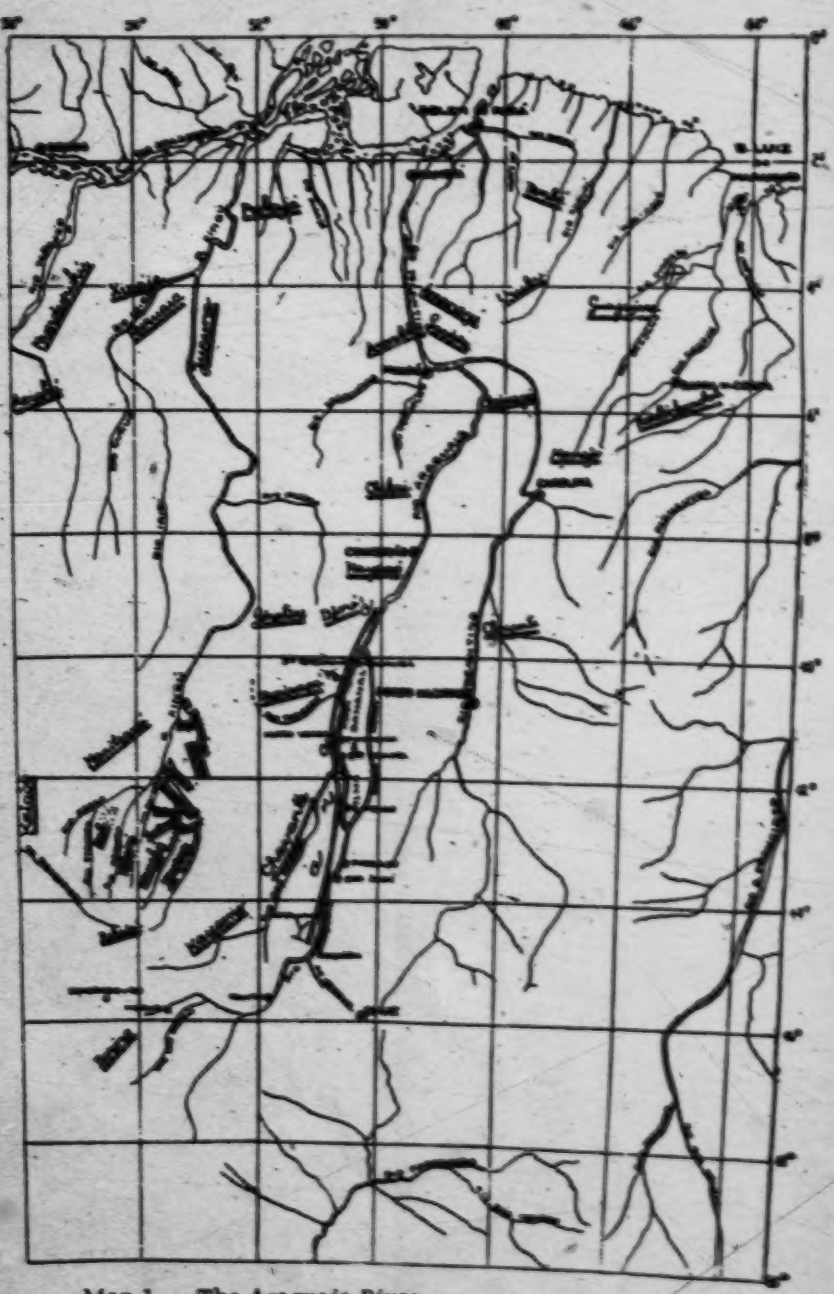

Map 1. The Araguaia River

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Map 2. The Tapirapé River.

[MAP 2]

137 The savanna of the hinterland beyond the left bank of the river
241 is bounded on the north by this huge forest, in which many generations of Tapirapé Indians have found enough virgin growth to prepare annually new plots that provide them with an abundance of bananas, maize, peanuts, gourds, beans, manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, peppers, tobacco, and cotton. This forest, aside from being flooded
133 extensively even in the dry season, contains small streams flowing
312 on wide beds of clear sand, which offer the Indians cool, limpid
226 water for drinking and bathing, and abundant fish, large and small, that play an important part in their diet.

The only man-made trails that we know of so far in the vicinity
487 of the Tapirapé River are the more or less deeply marked footpaths of the Tapirapé Indians. On the savanna, they are about 20 centimeters wide and follow the sinuous line involuntarily produced by human beings when they walk on flat ground. [97:51] We can verify this sinuosity, for example, on a long beach, when we attempt to reach a certain point directly and later look at the trail left by our feet. We notice that it meanders and thus differs from all animal tracks, those of the jaguar or water cavy as well as those of birds, which always run in a straight line unless they curve out deliberately.

To give an idea of a specific part of the river environs at a
114 specific time of year, I shall now describe my land journey toward the
133 north, from Porto Salvação to Tampũtána. I left on June 19, 1935, at 3:30 in the afternoon, carrying on my back the requisite sleeping and eating equipment. I walked at the rapid pace used by the local frontiersmen on long hikes, making about five kilometers an hour on flat, unobstructed ground. I went through dry grassland with a scatter-
[137] ing of medium-sized trees which sometimes stood dozens of meters apart. After a walk of nearly three hours, I reached Lake Tucunaré,
[103] so called because of its abundant fish of the same name which attract
[136] the Tapirapé Indians to the place every year. At the time of my passage, Lake Tucunaré was a slow and deep brook which I had to cross up to my waist in water. They say that it connects with the Tapirapé River during the rainy season. It is surrounded by trees, and the water is full of them. After wading through it, I reached a place on the shore where those Indians often set up their sleeping hammocks and
[136] where I spent the night. There were quite a few mosquitoes. The
[132] chief plague of the day, however, in spite of my deliberately late start, was the heat.

133 and our camarada [Tr., guide or hired hand], as well as several
487 Indians, and we set out again after a brief rest.

Two hours later we crossed another body of water surrounded by trees. Since Reverend Kegel was taken with leg cramps and also had to vomit several times because he had drunk water too quickly, we stayed there for about two hours.

Then we set out again in a long file, one behind the other. The sun burned down, but fortunately there was a breeze from time to
[484] time. To make their return journey easier, the Indians set fire to all the grass they found. Suddenly, in an unburned patch of grassland, we saw a pair of spotted jaguars engaged in amorous play. My camarada Daniel shot at them with his gun. Both animals ran away, one of them bleeding. Daniel with the gun and two Indians with bow
[231] and club vainly ran after them. The two Tapirapé dogs who were with us behaved in rather sorry fashion. One of them jumped about a little and barked, while the other did not even find courage for that.

Two hours later we reached Lake Tucunaré, where we found
[136] numerous mosquitoes. It took us three or four hours to go from there to Porto Salvação, along an old Indian trail on very hard and hot ground.

[97:53] It took us, therefore, 13 or 14 hours to return from the village to the river, and this was more or less the time we spent walking on the way out.

## Names of the River and its Tributaries

[Ed., one paragraph omitted.]

•103 The Tapirapé Indians call the Tapirapé River aviohy (or aviuhy),
which means "fluff water," hy being "water." They are very fond of
[301] the fluff of the jabiru, duck, and vulture for body ornamentation, and
[237] they find it chiefly on this river. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 97, pp. 53-54, is omitted.]

## Chapter 2

### [98:105] Name and Origins of the Tribe

101 The Tapirapé River is the watercourse of the Tapirapé Indians. They are known as the inhabitants of this river basin.

103 I have already stated that the word tapirapé means "tapir path" in Tupí, tapira meaning "tapir," and pé, "path." I have also mentioned that the river known by this name differs from the Araguaia in the profusion of the paths cut along its banks by these large mammals. In view of this, it may be that White travelers gave it the name "Tapirapé" to point out this characteristic, and that the name was later extended to the tribe known to inhabit the region. However, on a map of the area (No. 220 in the collection at Itamaratí, the Brazilian Ministry of External Affairs), which, according to Dr. Afonso de E. Taunay, one of the greatest authorities on the subject, must date from the end of the eighteenth century, we find the word "Tapirapé" applied only to these Indians and not to a river, and the watercourse that flows close to the villages of this Tupí tribe, along the ninth degree of south latitude (cf. Map 3), remains anonymous. In view of this, it also may be that the name "Tapirapé" was extended from the tribe to the river. Finally, there is the possibility [98:106] that the tribe and the river were given the same name independently, since we do not know whether or not the river bore this name prior to the time when the tribe settled in its vicinity, or whether the people were already called this before they came to the area.

133 It is worth noting that on the map reproduced by Kissenberth (137 and 237), between the sixth and seventh degrees of south latitude and about the fifty-first degree of west longitude, therefore almost exactly to the north of Tamputáua and separated from this village by some three or four degrees of latitude, there appears a second Tapirapé river marked as one of the southern tributaries [Map 3 appears here] [98:107] of the Itacaiunas River, which empties near Marabá into the body of water formed by the juncture of the Tocantins and Araguaia. It may be that the Tapirapé Indians lived there in former times and got their name from that river, or that the river got its name from them. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[Text continues on p. 11]

166 [756] [621] underline more clearly the importance of these men.

The village abandoned in 1932 was called Moytáua, a word 103 made up of moyva, "cane," and táua, "village." The other three 166 extinct villages were called (1) Kuruantáua, from kuruá or koruá "squash" (Brazilian Cucurbitacea), which remained in the Brazilian vernacular as cruá [Tr., Sicana odorifera]; (2) Mankotáua, from Manko, the name of a Karajá who was the village chief; and (3) Chechotáua, chechó probably being jejú (Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus), a fish akin to the traíra [Tr., Amazon lungfish], or else a contraction of chechoó, "big chechó," that is to say, the piracurú (Arapaima gigas). It may be that Chechotáua was the "Chichutáua" Wagley heard about, and that the Tampiitáua emigrants [103:189] moved to the site of the former village of this name on account of the food plants which undoubtedly still grew in the surrounding plots.

Tampiitáua, the "village of the tapir," no longer stands 166 where it was at the time of my visit. It was moved farther from 361 the river. This represents a move away from the Whites and, to some extent, "toward the Kayapó." Such a move appears to me as a "healthy policy." There were, and continue to be, attempts to 648 relocate the Tapirapé at a "Protective Post" located near the Araguaia. The immediate and continuous contact of these Indians with the most varied representatives of our civilization, which would be inevitable if the above-mentioned project were to be carried out, would bring about the certain annihilation of this peaceful [161] Tupí tribe, whose numbers, as I write this (1944), probably do not reach 150. [Ed., end of Vol. 103; the section in Vol. 104, pp. 93-100, is omitted.]

[105:77] Chapter 6

## Physical Appearance and Ornamentation

142 Coming from the Karajá to the Tapirapé, one immediately notices that the latter, on the average, are much shorter and less sturdy, especially shorter than the Karajá I saw in Santa Isabel, and less sturdy than the inhabitants of Beroromandú and other villages located north of the mouth of the Tapirapé River. Fritz

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



225 481 756 825 and they will fish only in shallow clear rapids. When they must swim to catch turtles, a shaman guarantees their safety. A powerful shaman dreams. He travels to the river, ties he jaws of the alligators with wires, strikes the *piranha* across their teeth so they cannot bite, and ties up the large snakes into knots with their own tails.

756 825 The abundance of the food supply may also become the responsibility of the shaman. Some powerful shamans have the ability to control the movements and the increase of the bands of pigs. These [787] shamans visit in their dreams the "home of wild pigs" near the Tapi- [103] rapé River on a hill called by them *Towaiyawá* — Ringed tail of the *coati* (*Nasua* sp.). There the shaman has sexual intercourse with female pigs, causing large increase in the bands. Those pigs that run fastest and are hardest to kill are these "children of the *pancé*". The [776] shaman's control over the movement of bands of pigs comes through his control over the *ancúnga* called *ampukáya* — "crying spirits". Wild pigs are said to be "pets" of these spirits and follow them about. [324] Shamans who are powerful enough capture these spirits and take them, followed by their pets, to an appointed place where Tapirapé men wait to kill the pigs. None of the living shamans was believed to be capable of these controls over the wild pigs and several of the Indians blamed the recent lack of sucess of hunting expeditions and the apparent scarcity of pigs on the declining power of the shamans.

756 787 The dream journeys of the shamans also give them the power of prophecy, as was indicated by Panteri's vision of the fever in the village of the *peropi áwa*. Such dream experiences are not limited to the demonic world but sometimes occur in other earthly regions. The shaman may visit Carajá villages or Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya, where he sometimes learns facts of great interest or importance to his fellow-tribesmen. When Panteri visited the Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya River for the first time, he said that he recognized faces that he saw for he had been to these places many times in his dream. When I returned to the Tapirapé village after three months' absence, one shaman claimed to have prophecied my arrival to the day. He had traveled in his dream, he said, to the Araguaya River and had seen my canoe moving up the Tapirapé River. Another in the same way foresaw the arrival of a young Tapirapé who was returning from se-

5: Krause

SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22 ●

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Sec. 1
/p. 366/

Sec. 2
/p. 367/

Sec. 3
/p. 368/

Chart of Positions of End Map A.
[Facing p. 365]

5:Krause--366 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

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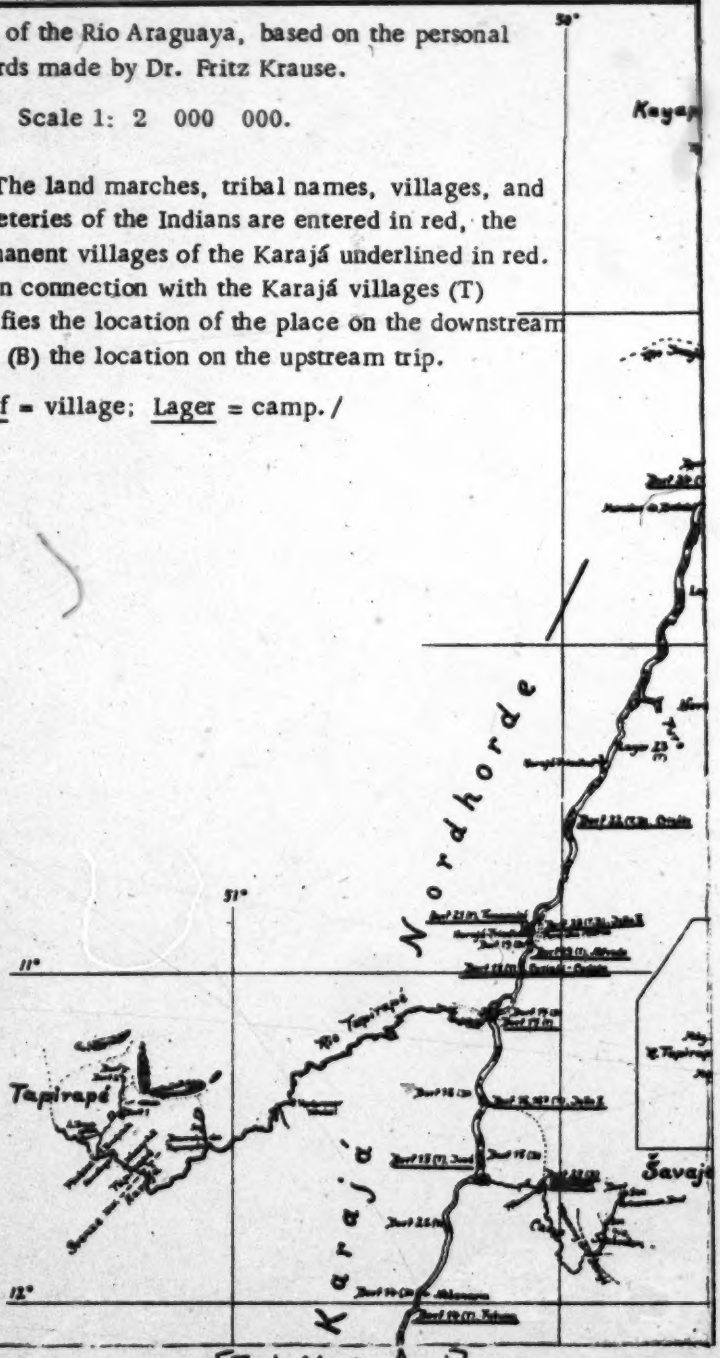
Map of the Rio Araguaya, based on the personal records made by Dr. Fritz Krause.

Scale 1: 2 000 000.

The land marches, tribal names, villages, and cemeteries of the Indians are entered in red, the permanent villages of the Karajá underlined in red.

In connection with the Karajá villages (T) signifies the location of the place on the downstream trip, (B) the location on the upstream trip.

/Dorf = village; Lager = camp./




[End Map A-1]

5: Krause--367 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Tapirape SP22

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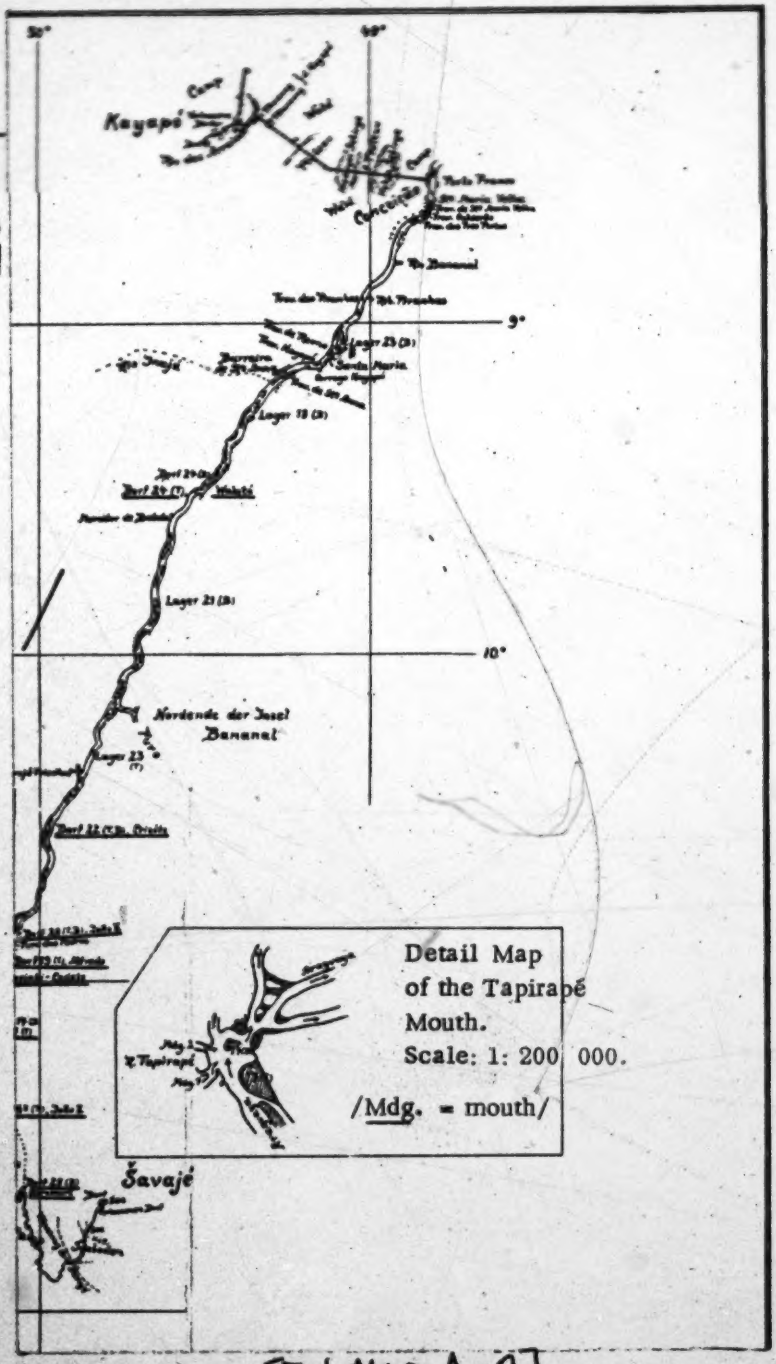


[End Map A-2]

5: Krause--368 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 Tapirape SP82

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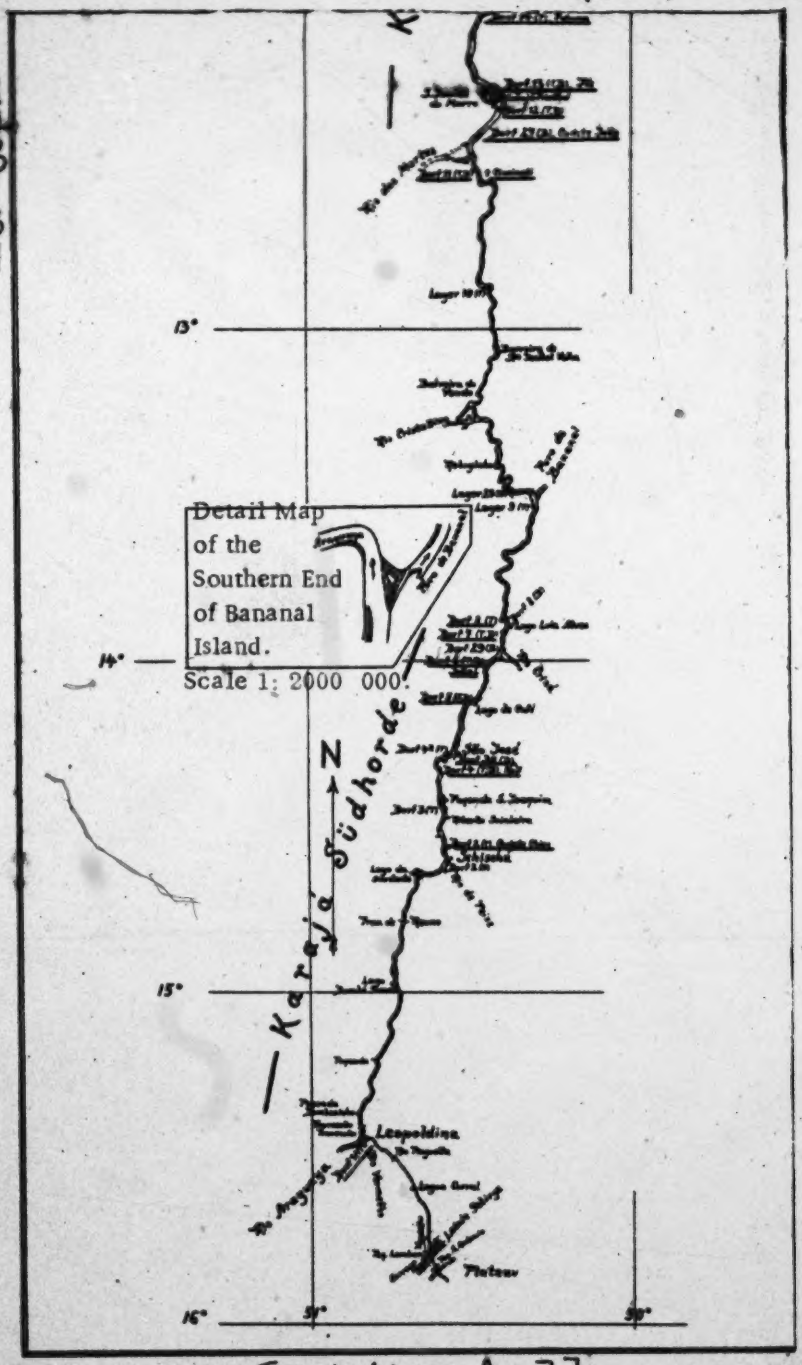


[End Map A-3]

5: Krause

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● 103
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SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22 ●

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sec. 1 /p. 369/ | Sec. 2 /p. 370/ | Sec. 3 /p. 371/ |
| Sec. 4 /p. 372/ | Sec. 5 /p. 373/ | Sec. 6 /p. 374/ |

Chart of Positions of End Map B.
/Facing p. 368/

5: Krause--369 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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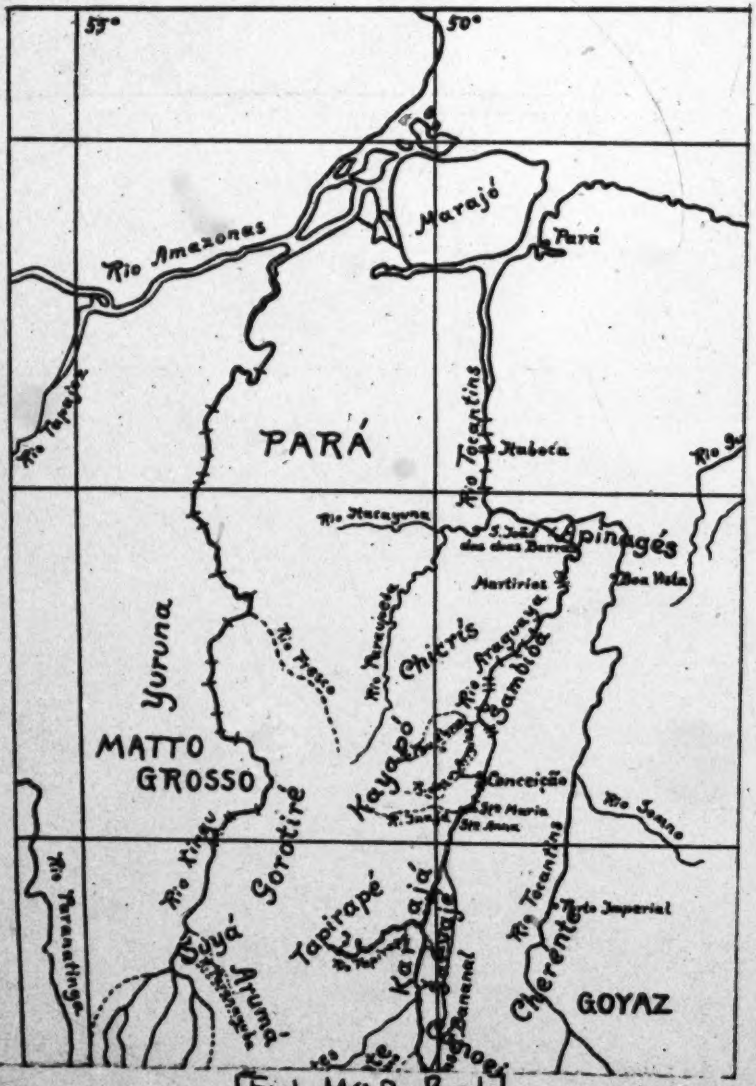
Survey Map

Scale 1: 20'000 000.


53°
50°
Marajó
Pará
Rio Amazonas
Rio Tapajós
PARÁ
Rio Tocantins
Rio Araguaia
Rio Xingu
Rio Tocantins
Rio Jamanxim
Rio Tocantins
Rio Tocantins
Rio Tocantins

5: Krause--370 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP 22

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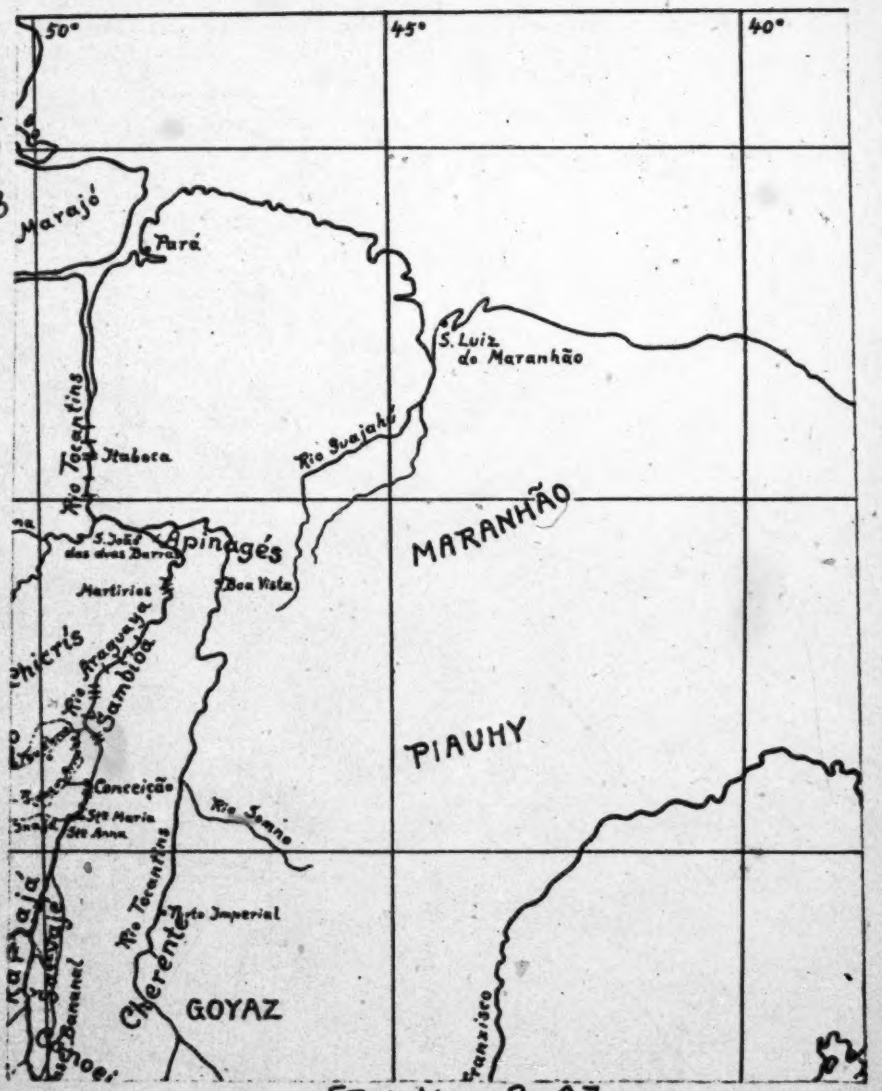


[End Map B-2]

5: Krause--371 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tupirape SP32

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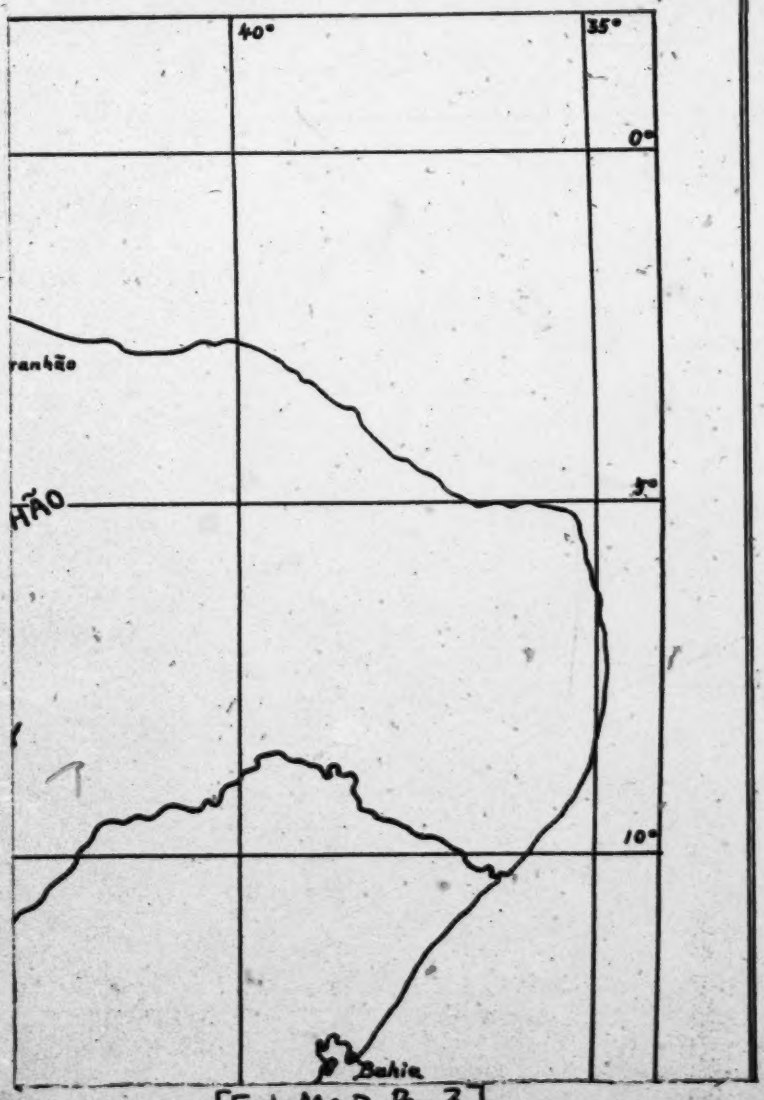


[End Map B-3]

5: Krause--372 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Bororo SP8
Tapirapé SP22

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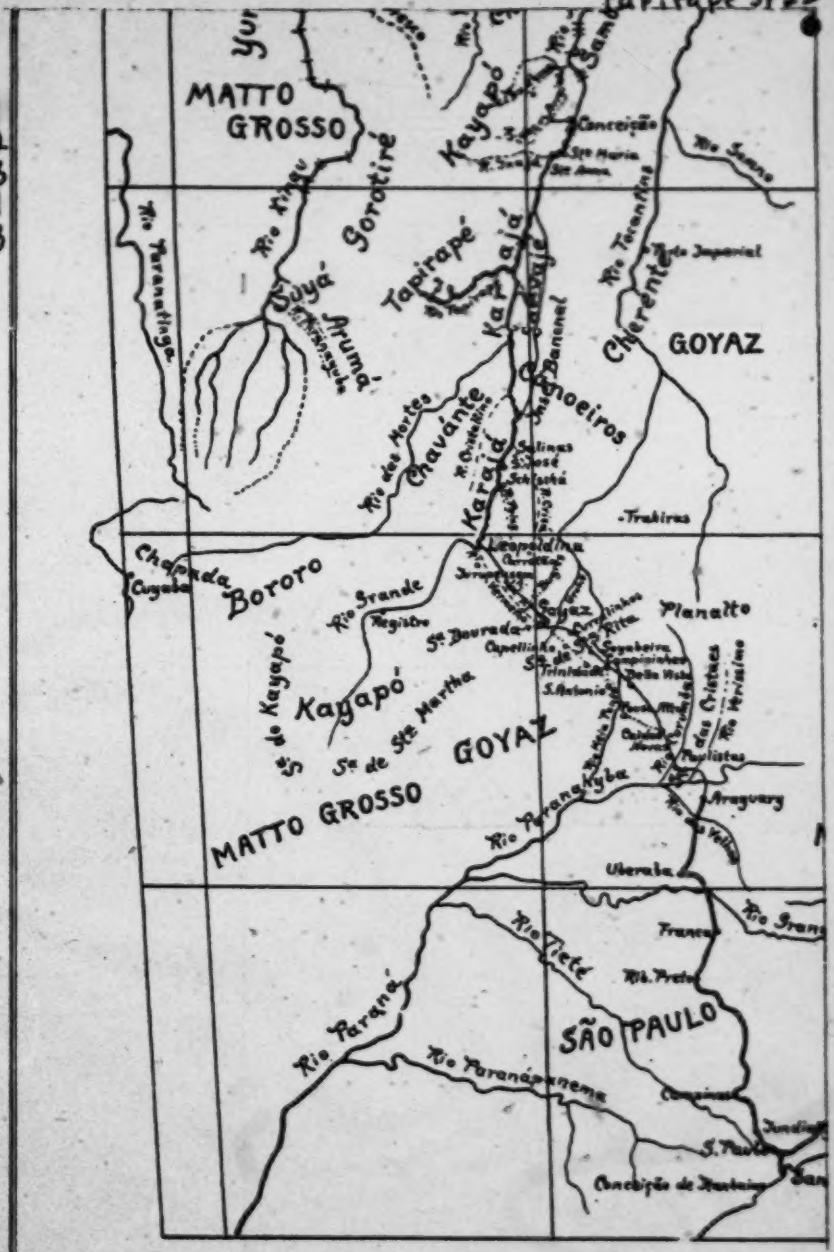


The travel route and the tribal names are entered in red.

[End Map B-4]

5: Krause--373 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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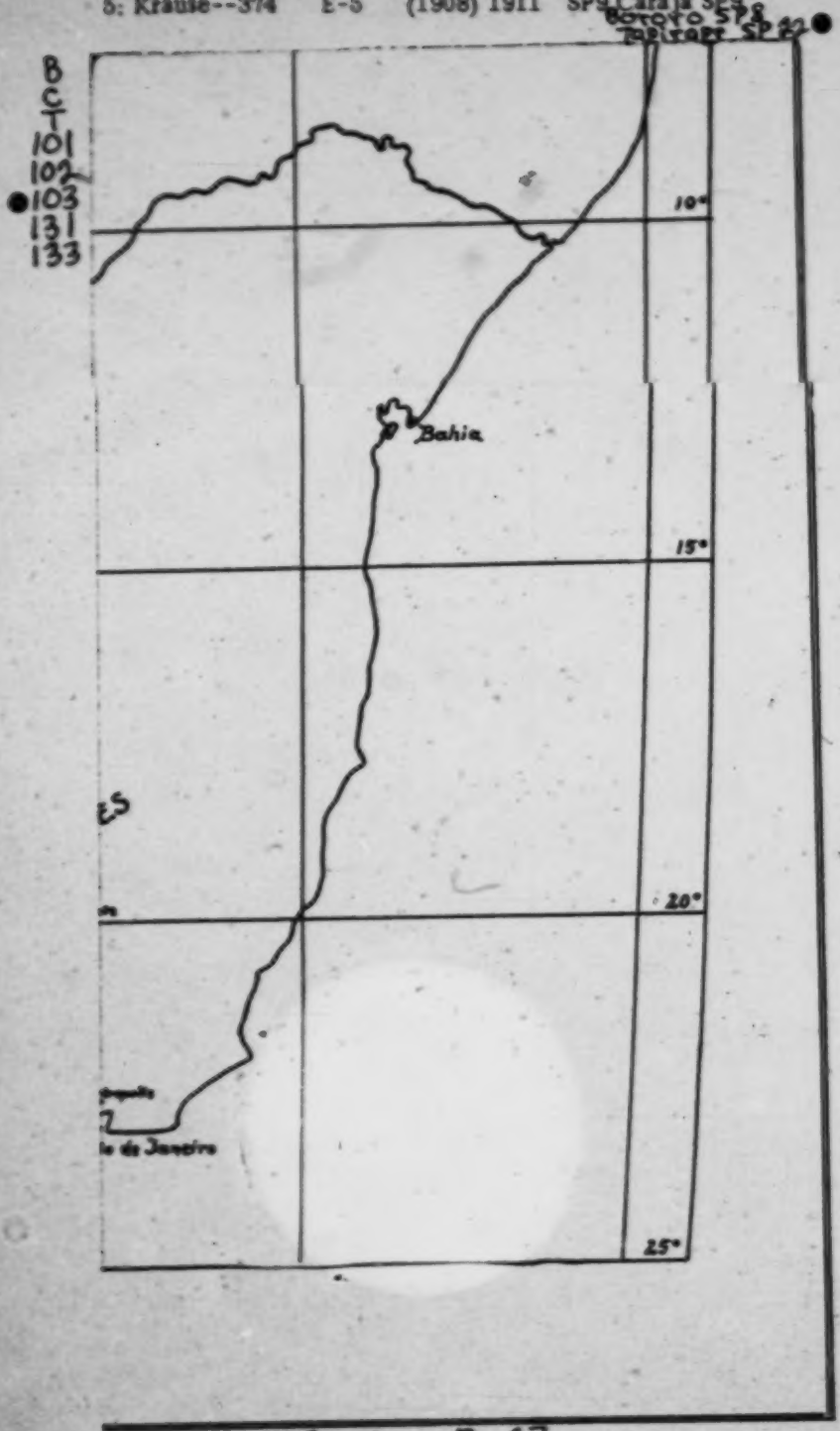
[End Map B-5]

5: Krause--374 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9




[End Map B-6]

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

115 Champuki was not the first person who came to mind when a contribution to this volume was considered. I thought of Gregorio Martin, a dignified and wise old Mayan Indian of Santiago Chimaltenango in Guatemala, who in 1937 had taught me the way of life of his people. I thought of Camirang, the dynamic young chieftain whom I had known in 1941 in a village of Tenetehara Indians along the Pindaré River in northeastern Brazil. I thought also of Nhunduca, a gifted and witty storyteller from a small Amazon community, who in 1948 introduced me to the rich folklore of the Amazon *caboclo* or peasant. But then, among all the people I had known in the various primitive and peasant cultures in which I [554] have done ethnological research, I chose Champukwi, a man of no outstanding talent, yet talented all the same—a man of not the [123] highest prestige in his society, yet admired by all. For the brief span of about a year he was my most intimate friend.

115 I knew Champukwi some 20 years ago when I lived in his small 123 village of about 175 Tapirapé Indians in central Brazil. I must have [162] seen him at once, for presents were distributed to the whole popu- [620] lation on the day of my arrival in late April of 1939. But I did not [131] distinguish Champukwi as an individual, nor did he, at first, stand out in any way from the other men of his village. His name does not appear in the notes taken during my first month among the Tapirapé.

114 For me, and even more for Valentim Gomes, the Brazilian fron- [103] tiersman who was my companion and employee, the first weeks in the Village of the Tapirs, as the small settlement was known, were a period of grappling with a strange and often confusing world.

177 The Tapirapé Indians lived between the Araguaia and Xingú Rivers, [131] an area at that time almost entirely isolated from modern Brazil. They had been visited by only a few people from the "outside"—by one or two missionaries; by Herbert Baldus, a German-Brazilian anthropologist; and by a few frontiersmen from the Araguaia River. The nearest Brazilian settlement to the Village of the Tapirs was Furo de Pedra, a town of 400–500 persons that lay some 300 miles

114 its opening facing downward. As a result, it served us nicely to
501 wash our clothes on. It had apparently been made just to pass the time and did not seem to have any further purpose. The
171 Tapirapé do not usually travel in boats, differing in this respect
501 from the Tupinambá and from most of the present-day Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 207-211), from the Xingu Indians (Von den Steinen 2, 234), and from the Karajá (Krause 2, 276), but not from the Kayapó (ibid., 393). The Chavante, who do not have canoes either, cross the Rio das Mortes on the crude rafts described by Szaffka. It is worth noting, however, that the Tapirapé retain
[192] the old Tupi word for "canoe," that is, yana, written yara by Stradelli and considered by him (715) "a contraction of y, 'water,' and iara, 'mistress,' 'mistress of the water.'" In any case, it is not impossible that the Tapirapé formerly possessed canoes for navigation.

As far as fishing is concerned, let us also mention Manggambí's
787 "dream." The people of Tampiitaua often say that they dreamed
776 of something which they actually suspect or know about. Manggambí
226 was the fattest Tapirapé at the time of my visit. He dreamed of an abundance of fish at a specific spot in a certain stream, [112:62] which held so many fish that the anchinga would be able to eat them
[535] in large quantities. The name anchinga is applied not only to certain spirits, but also to the masked dancers who represent them. All the anchinga who inhabit the hills and waters feed on fish. This
[162] Tapirapé belief, incidentally, is a token of the importance of fishing. Manggambí said that "all" the men should go and fetch the fish he had dreamed of. What Tampiitaua regards as "all" the men did go. They were Manggambí himself and eight companions. When they returned, Manggambí held a large basket full of tiny fish, which were cooked and eaten shortly before dawn in the ceremonial house by the men and adolescents who had impersonated [in the dance] anchinga, chankuí [a bird], and irangchá [a fish]. [Ed., end of Vol. 112.]

105 [113:191] Although fishing is one of their chief means of subsistence, the Tapirapé cannot be regarded essentially as a fishing tribe, as their neighbors the Karajá might fittingly be described. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua do not lead the amphibian life of those big-river navigators. They are forest Indians and cultivators par excellence. In this respect, they remain typical Tupi Indians.

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



## SECTION OF ANTHROPOLOGY

OCTOBER 28, 1940

DOCTOR CHARLES WAGLEY, Columbia University: *The Effects of Depopulation upon Social Organisation as Illustrated by the Tapirape Indians.*

121 In recent years, there has been an increasing interest in the general processes of culture change resulting from contacts between European and native peoples. Such studies are part of the study of "acculturation," a term recently defined by Professors Linton, Redfield, and Herskovits: "The crux of the definition lies in the phrase, 'Those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact.'"[1] This period of continuous first-hand contact historically follows upon a period of sporadic contact between the native peoples and some few Europeans (fur traders, explorers, missionaries, and even occasional single settlers), which in a sense has prepared the ground for a more intense influence of European culture when relations between the two peoples have become continuous. Few ethnologists have witnessed this period of sporadic contact and histories have little to tell us of it. But during this period, borrowing of European material culture generally occurs. Often the value system of the native culture is shifted, as objects having minor value take on major value for purposes of trade. Of great importance is the introduction of foreign disease, which frequently wipes out large numbers, or even the major part of the native population.

105 The Tapirape Indians, among whom the author lived for more than a year,[2] are a Tupi speaking people living between the Araguaya and Xingu Rivers of Central Brazil near an affluent of the Araguaya which bears their name. They are a forest people and their village lies some fifty miles back from the

[1] Linton, Ralph: *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, p. 464.

[2] This research extended from January 1939 to June 1940, and was made possible by a grant from the Social Science Research Council, Columbia University.

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



Tapirape River. They have had only sporadic contact with Europeans. About 1909, the first Brazilians visited them in their village, and, each July or August since 1914, the Dominican priests meet them at a port on the Tapirape River and bring them presents—axes, hoes, salt, etc. Between 1930 and 1935, a Scotch Protestant missionary made three trips to the village, staying there two to three months at a stretch. During the dry season, the Tapirape regularly go down to the river for fishing and collecting turtle eggs and to wait in hope that the Dominican priests will come with a new supply of presents. There they sometimes meet trappers and hunters, and occasionally a Brazilian hunter will make the long trip to their village as an adventure, or—rarely— a Tapirape will go back with a missionary or hunter to the Araguaya—some 200 miles away—and return to the village loaded with presents and tall stories. These few contacts, the only ones which these people have had with Europeans, have nevertheless affected the Tapirape culture profoundly and in many ways. For lack of time, however, I shall describe only the effects resulting from the introduction of foreign diseases, which even antedated European contact, and the consequent wiping out of the great part of the Tapirape population.

In the memory of one Tapirape informant, there were five villages (about 1890), each of which must have contained well over two hundred people. The introduction of smallpox about 1895[2] caused one village to disband, since most of the inhabitants had died. About 1900, another European disease, probably influenza, caused a second village to break up through loss of people. Yellow fever must have taken its toll among the Tapirape at various times, as it did among the neighboring Caraja Indians, and, in 1920, the world-wide influenza epidemic came belatedly to the Araguaya and on to the Tapirape. In 1932, the survivors of a third village, depopulated by disease, joined the most southern village, Tampitawa, and, during my residence there in 1939, the survivors of a fourth village joined us. As a result of this wholesale depopulation from disease, there remained only one village

[2] Probably through the Caraja.

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/341 cont./

2. (cont.)
Araguay and Tocantins, were in the habit of swimming across the Furo during the dry season and plundering the plantings of the Karajá. They needed only to blow the trumpets, and already the Karajá fled. As a result, the latter did not dare visit their plantings and hence suffered from lack of food. Fonseca, when the Chavánte had again broken into the plantings, undertook an expedition against them and surprised them; they fled, leaving behind their weapons and their plunder. The Karajá had held back in cowardly fashion, but now boasted about being the victors. This was the first time that the Chavánte had fled before them; until then, the opposite had always occurred. -- And it seems to be so still today.

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About the Cherénte (ĭnŏlōtŭ) I was able to obtain only the not very credible information that they eat the excrement of human beings, even their own, putting it into their mouths with a brush-like stick that has been beaten flat. Perhaps this is merely a story that has arisen from the hostility and conceit of the Karajá.

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/342/ The Canoeiros (tĭăbĕzā) (1) live on the east shore,

1. According to Cunha Mattos, the Canoeiros are the descendants of the Carijos, who were brought along from São Paulo as auxiliary troops and workmen by the discoverer of Goyaz, Bartholomão Bueno; they deserted in 1725, displaced the Chavánte, and settled in the high mountains between Maranhão, Santa Thereza, and Amaro Leite on the left bank of the Tocantins above Porto Real. They were supposed to be only 300 warriors strong, but were feared because of their brutality (Rev.

T
[113]

C /342 cont./
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[113]
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[114]

1. (cont.)
trim., Vol. 37, pp. 370-379; Vol. 38, pp. 19 and 83). Castelnau mentions them often and localizes their territory more exactly (Vol. 2, p. 116). Dr. Couto de Magalhães (Viagem ao Araguaya) repeats the statements of Cunha Mattos and also gives a brief description and a vocabulary of their language.

T
[101] but also roam on Bananal Island from the mouth of the Rio das Mortes to the southern tip. All the columns of smoke sighted in this region on Bananal are attributed to them. According to an isolated statement, they are also supposed to occupy a village inland from Furo das Pedras, which is at constant war with the neighboring Šavajé. They are supposed to have a darker skin-color than the Karajá. Their hair is worn in the bowl-cut. The men wear beards and large wooden disks; according to another statement, wide lip-plugs of shell in the lower lip; the ears are pierced and hang far down. They are a true campo people who have no boats. Nor do they know how to fish. In the autumn they come to the Araguaya to hunt for turtle eggs on the sand-banks. In connection with this they probably meet Karajá, by whom they are greatly feared on account of their dangerous arrows. They are regarded as the strongest (most warlike) people on the Araguaya and now play the same role there that the Chavánte did at the end of the eighteenth century.

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The peoples of the Xingu region were completely unknown to the Karajá. When I showed them Steinen's pictures, they debated for a long time about the strange style of dress (unclothed men with the penis hanging far down, uluri of the women), as well as about all kinds of implements. Obviously they were seeing such things for the first time. Language samples, too, which I read to them, were foreign to them; only in the case of the Suyá words did they listen attentively and seem to find related sounds. Only one chief, Chico Cadete in Village 18, directly below the Tapirapé mouth, pretended to know the Suyá with their large

T /403 cont./
175 are Karajá who are so named because they live on the lower course
114 of the Tapirapé. On page 174 he mentions a village of the /404/
Tapirapé on the Fecho de Tapirapé and a village of the Karajá
five days upward in the Tapirapé River; the one village consists
of one house with ten occupants, the other, one house with 20 (p.
186). Here, therefore, the Tapirapé are regarded as a horde of
the Karajá who live at the mouth of the river itself, and in the
river, five days above the mouth, there is another village of
Karajá! Coudreau was here the end of April; he encountered
only a few places of the Karajá. His other reports are likewise
very confused and uncertain, so that one may trace these, too,
C back to misunderstood information given by the Karajá.
115 2. Information obtained /Erkundetes/. The information that
T I obtained from the Karajá was the following:
131 The Tapirapé (in Karajá: ũõhũ) live six to nine days' journey
[101] in a boat above the emptying of the river into the Araguaya. From
the landing place one is obliged to walk another half day, accord-
T ing to others two days, over the campo in order to reach their vil-
105 lages. They occupy three villages, and, to be sure, one large one
and two smaller ones (according to one isolated statement, four
villages). The men wear penis cuffs plaited out of palm leaves.
Both sexes wear the hair hanging down to the small of the back.
The men wear long lip-plugs of (reddish?) stone. Ear plugs are also
customary. Their ornaments are similar to those of the Karajá.
Tattooing occurs among the married women: they cut vertical
lines into their chins and one line on either side of the corners of
their mouths, obliquely downward; these lines are colored black.
They obtain their food primarily by cultivating manioc; since they
C are very industrious, they cultivate large quantities. They are
[879] therefore considered rich by the Karajá. Of animals they keep dogs
and, above all, araras, which the Karajá buy from them. Their
weapons are bows and arrows, clubs, spears, and spear throwers.
C T They know how to work with cotton. They wind the spun threads
[439] into big balls, like those of the Karajá. The Karajá like to buy
their large, firmly plaited, cotton net coverings with a wide, black
center stripe.

T /404 cont./
●105 center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language
C differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand
[1.97] each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé
C seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the
648 Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs,
[439] food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé,
opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the
C Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The
[721] Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret
the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has
been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally
a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago;
C since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far
[727] upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave
women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are
taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and
263 appear here./

C 3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the
162 Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys
T from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than
[142] /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black
T incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b
304 /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).
302

C In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the
439 Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near
126 the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (kŭwaǎ; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method
T of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very
303 regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The
T spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ
283 in any way from those of the Karajá.

T The club (ĩwŭrǎ, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round
411 clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved
and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of
cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the
handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and
depressions.

[Text Continues on p. 339]

/411 cont./

411 painted with red lacquer from the top to the center. The end winding consists of a fine white thread; it carries a crossed
[284] thread and extends to the notch. The attachment winding between shaft and point is made of embira and consists of two
[171] parts which are connected by spiral winding. Thus, this arrow shows nothing that would be foreign to the Karajá. The other arrow is entirely different (Ill. 270b). The long-tapered cane point, 30 centimeters long, is set onto a round wooden stem 49 centimeters long and is simply wound with embira at the point of attachment. The wooden stem, in turn, is set into the cane shaft, which is 75 centimeters long. Its attachment winding of black embira extends almost to the upper feather-winding. The feathering is done in the same way as in the case of the
[284] other arrow. The upper winding consists of black cotton thread, to which is joined a black embira winding that extends up to half the intermediate space of the very long feathering. In it are wrapped little red feathers. The notch winding consists of white thread and carries three parallel, widely crossed threads.

● 105 When we sum up everything, we find that the Tapirapé
171 are a people who, like the Karajá and Šavajé, live beside lakes on the campo during the rainy season, come to the river during the dry season in order to fish there, but, in contrast to the former, seek out different places one after the other, in other words, migrate within a definite area. They plant manioc and maize, work cotton into hammocks and ornaments, are familiar with pottery, the working of stones into axes and lip plugs, carry bows, arrows, and clubs, and like to decorate their objects with carvings. In many things their culture seems to be very close to that of the Karajá, along with them they probably belong to the same ethnographic province, which is distinctly separate from that of the Xingu region; they differ essentially from them, however, in their small stature, their foreign language, and an ignorance of navigation. /Page 412 is blank. The "Appendix," pp. 413-482, has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



of numbers. Ceremonials in 1940 had not been abandoned but they were performed in an attenuated and disheartened manner. There was little motivation to accumulate the meat, the forest fruits, and the garden products which important ceremonials require among the Tapirapé.

Ceremonials and cooperative economic activities in Tenetehara society are organized by extended family and kin groups. Lack of numbers, of course, creates difficulties in carrying out ceremonials and in organizing economic activities but it does not have the effect of disorganizing the society. Cooperation of large extended families in gardening and in collecting babassu nuts and copaiba oil is still the general pattern among the Tenetehara. Tenetehara social structure was maleable to change. Adjustment to new circumstances after Luso-Brazilian contact must have been easier for the Tenetehara than for the Tapirapé.

This brief comparison of the cultural values and of those aspects of social structure of the Tenetehara and of the Tapirapé in terms of their effect upon population size and on population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact suggest several general hypotheses. First, the available information concerning the population size of these two tribes in aboriginal times indicates that the Tenetehara were much more numerous than the Tapirapé. Yet both tribes were tropical forest peoples with roughly similar technological equipment. It seems to the writer that this difference in population size between the two tribes was functionally related to ideological values and to social structure and not to differences in technology and environment. In other words, such differences in population can hardly be interpreted strictly in Malthusian terms. While population potentials are certainly limited by food supply, the level of technology, the application of medical knowledge, and other material factors, social institutions and culturally derived values are influential in determining trends in population size within the limits set by such "natural" factors.

Second, the social structure and the cultural values of any society are functionally related to a given population level. With change in population size, both the cultural values regarding population size and social structure must be adjusted. The Tapirapé concept of family size remained unchanged in face of modified conditions (i.e. higher death-rate caused by foreign diseases) with the result that the adult population was no longer replaced by births. A rapidly declining population disrupted Tapirapé socio-ceremonial organization and affected the internal system of production and distribution. The Tenetehara with a more maleable social structure than that of the Tapirapé were able to survive the initial impact of Luso-Brazilian contact until the protection of the Jesuits allowed them to make necessary adjustments to the new circumstances.

Finally, this comparison between the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara calls to mind other primitive societies whose social structure must have been functionally related to population level and to demographic trends in face of European civilization. In Brazil, the Ramkokamekra (Eastern Timbira) with their complex moiety system and the Apinayé with their kive marriage

2:Wagley, Charles. The Effects of Depopulation upon Social Organization as Illustrated by the Tapirapé Indians. Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, Second Series, Vol. 3, pp. 12-16. New York, 1940.

HRAF Copy

/This is a brief analysis of the effects of a depopulation upon the culture of the Tapirapé. From a group of about a thousand with five villages in 1891 they decreased to a population of 147 and one village in 1939. While the depopulation had little effect on the economic life, it did affect markedly moiety and feast group organization, chieftainship and marriage arrangements. Wagley is now Professor of Anthropology at Columbia University. --Analyst/

Field date: 1939-1940
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1960

3: Wagley, Charles. Tapirapé Social and Culture Change, 1940-1953. Anais do XXXI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, pp. 99-106. Sao Paulo, 1955.

HRAF copy

/Wagley first studied this group during 1939-1940 and he revisited them for a short time in 1953. He found that the depopulation of the tribe had continued and that in 1953 there were only 51 individuals left--the rest having died or moved far away. There was a new settlement in Caraja territory and the Tapirapé were rapidly being acculturated, especially since the shamans, traditionally the conservative element in the culture, had all died and none had taken their place. Wagley concludes that their culture remained remarkably stable in the face of the violent disruption of the society, but has been modified by borrowing and by the loss of trait and pattern due to the reduction of the population and disorganization of the society. --Analyst/

Field date: 1939-1953
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1960

1: Baldus, Herbert. Os Tapirapé, Tribu Tupi no Brasil Central. /The Tapirapé, a Tupi Tribe of Central Brazil. / Revisto do Arquivo Municipal, Vols. 96-105, 107-124, 127. Sao Paulo, 1944-1949.

183 pp.; 3 maps; 13 text figures; 2 charts; 31 plates.

Yale: Cwbr SSa63 Sa63 1

Translated from the Portuguese for the Human Relations Area Files by Ariane Brunel.

/This source is compiled from a number of issues of the Revisto do Arquivo Municipal. The author, an ethnologist, deals with various aspects of Tapirapé culture including diet, dress, ornamentation and body designs, village size and settlement pattern, economic activities, ethnozoology, contacts with other tribes and with Europeans, culture history and change, and child rearing. The distributions of certain traits are traced and the author makes frequent reference to the literature on Tapirapé and neighboring groups. No information is included on

1: Baldus, Herbert.

social relationships, kinship, political organization and religious beliefs. The data on economic activities is extremely limited. The account is based on field work undertaken in 1935 and 1947. The foreign text has been repaginated consecutively. -- Analyst/

Field date: 1935, 1947
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1960

4: Wagley, Charles. Tapirapé Shamanism. Boletim do Museu Nacional, Nova Série, Antropologia, No. 3, pp. 41-94. Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Saúde, 1943.

13 plates

Yale: Brazil Nk10 R47e v. 3

/This study is based on fieldwork done in a Tapirapé village during 1939-1940. It includes a brief description of Tapirapé culture, as well as sections on the source of shamanistic power, sorcery, duties of the shaman, social position of the shaman, becoming a shaman, and the Thunder Ceremony which is an annual ceremony by the shamans to protect the village from the wrath of the Thunder God during the year. Wagley is now Professor of Anthropology at Columbia University. --Analyst/

Field date: 1939-40
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1960

5: Baldus, Herbert. Os Grupos de Comer e os Grupos de Trabalho dos Tapirapé /The Eating Groups and Work Groups Among the Tapirapè /. Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira, Series 5: Brasiliana, Vol. 101, pp. 86-111. Sao Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional Biblioteca Pedagogica Brasileira, 1937.

Yale: Brazil Cwbr c933b v. 101

/Plates 1-28 omitted since they do not pertain to Tapirapé/

Translated from the Portuguese for the Human Relations Area Files by Ariane Brunel.

/In this article the author discusses the organization of eating groups, their role in the distribution of food, the part they play in community feasts, and in social life in general. In addition the communal labor groups among the Tapirapé are also discussed and a description is given of a work party. Tapirapé attitudes toward labor, work tempos and rhythms and the manner in which labor is organized is also described. The data were gathered by the author, an ethnologist, in 1935 when he lived with the Tapirapé. --Analyst/

Field date: 1935
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1960

6: Baldus, Herbert. Tribos da Bacia do Araguaia e o Serviço de Proteçao aos Indios. /The Tribes of the Araguaia Basin and the Indian Service./ Revista do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. 2, pp. 137-144. Sao Paulo, 1948.

11 plates.

Yale: S10h 692 II.1-2

/Only pp. 137-144, dealing with the Tapirapé have been processed/

Translated from the Portuguese for the Human Relations Area Files by Ariane Brunel.

/This article includes a discussion of settlers who have moved into Tapirapé territory, their attitudes towards the Indians, materials on population decimation of the Tapirapé and some information on relations with other Indian groups who raid them. There is little discussion of the Tapirapé themselves apart from some recommendations to the government for resettlement and protection. The author is an ethnologist who previously had worked among the Tapirapé and revisited them to gather information for this report for the Indian Service of Brazil. -- Analyst/

Field date: 1935, 1947
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1960

7: Baldus, Herbert. O Conceito do Tempo Entre os Indios do Brasil /The Concept of Time Among the Brazilian Indians/. Revisto do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 71, pp. 87-93. Sao Paulo, 1940.

Yale: Cwbr ssa63 6(70-72)

Translated from the Portuguese for the Human Relations Area Files by Ariane Brunel.

/In this brief article Baldus discusses the manner in which Tapirapé reckon time, the terms for various subdivisions of the year and day, and the indirect manner by which they designate past and future events. --Analyst/

Field date: 1935
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1960

8: Baldus, Herbert. The Fear in Tapirapé Culture. Men and Cultures, Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, September 1-9, 1956, pp. 396-400. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960.

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/This source is a brief analysis of the element of fear in Tapirapé culture and personality. The group as a whole is very prone to expressions of fear and Baldus relates several incidents to show how fear governs the daily life of the Tapirape. Baldus notes, however, that these fear-ridden people are the gayest group in his experience. --Analyst/

Field date: 1935, 1947
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1960

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Yale: Nkgl0 J82 v. 53

/This article describes some of the religious and cosmological beliefs of the Tapirapé. Mythology, beliefs about meteorological phenomena and heavenly bodies, spirits, gods and souls, and beliefs about animals and various aspects of nature are described. The role of shamans is likewise discussed. Some information is also given on the manner in which Tapirapé account for new phenomena and the processes by which they incorporate new knowledge into their concepts of the universe. The data were gathered by the author, an ethnologist, in the course of field work. --Analyst/

Field date: 1935
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1960

11 I SP22 Tapirapé

10: Wagley, Charles. Cultural Influences on Population: A Comparison of Two Tupí Tribes. Revisto do Museu Paulista, New Series, Vol. 5, pp. 95-104. Sao Paulo, 1951.

Yale: S10h 692 II.5

/The author compares the different reactions of Tapirapé and Tenetehara to European contact. While both groups experienced high mortality rates due to new diseases the failure of the Tapirapé to adjust and the continuing depopulation and cultural disorganization experienced by this tribe is attributed to cultural factors. Among these Wagley cites the value placed on small families, high infanticide rates which inhibit population growth, and the complex social structure in which different groups perform the important religious and economic functions. According to the author the effects of decreased population on the age-graded moieties, feast groups etc., resulted in the failure to perform necessary tasks and in cultural disorganization. --Analyst/

Field date: 1939-1940
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1960

11: Wagley, Charles. Um Tapirapé atinge a Maioridade /A Tapirapé Comes of Age/. Revista do Museu Nacional, Vol. 1, p. 16. Rio de Janeiro, 1945.

1 drawing.

Yale.

Translated from the Portuguese for the Human Relations Area Files by Ariane Brunel.

/This article offers a brief description of puberty rites among the Tapirapé. Although the details of the ceremony itself are not discussed, considerable information is given on the costumes worn by the youths, the preparation for the ceremony, and the feelings about this rite. The author, an ethnologist, did field work among the Tapirapé. --Analyst/

Field date: 1939-1940
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1960

111 SP22 Tapirapé

12: Wagley, Charles and Eduardo Galvao. The Tapirapé. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143, Vol. 3, pp. 167-178. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1948.

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HRAF copy.

/This article, based on field work by Wagley among the Tapirapé, offers a brief description and summary of their culture. Subsistence activities, housing, material culture and dress, social organization, art, shamanism, and mythology are described. --Analyst/

Field date: 1939-1940
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1961

13: Wagley, Charles. Champukwi of the Village of the Tapirs. In Joseph B. Casagrande, editor, In the Company of Man. Pp. 397-415. New York: Harper and Row (Harper Torchbooks TB3047), 1964.

HRAF Copy.

[ This article by Charles Wagley, recalling his close experiences and involvements with his major Tapirape Indian informant and interpreter, was written for In the Company of Man--a volume on the nature of the use of anthropological informants as a form of ethnographic methodology. These series of articles on a range of societies allow the reader to visualize not only some of the form and content of each culture but also the style and intuitive approach by which the anthropologist was able to elicit crucial data from his informant according to the set of interpersonal relations he was able to build up within the primitive community. Wagley's somewhat biographical portrayal of his Tapirape informant (the Tapirape are central Brazilian hunters and horticulturalists) is sensitive and poignant--recounting how the informant could both lose and recover the confidence and trust of the ethnologist and his own co-villagers depending on how well he was able to manipulate his sources and quality of information. Implicit in the article are valuable observations on how to conduct participant-observation. ]

Field dates 1939-40, 1953 Evaluation: Social Anthropologist--5
Analyst: Gilbert Winer Processed in 1967

175 colonists on the Tapirapé River in the eighteenth century. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Numerous nineteenth century authors refer to the Tapirapé. 113 I have already mentioned what Silva e Sousa said in 1812, 175 Pizarro e Araujo in 1822, Cunha Mattos in 1824, Eschwege in 1830, Ayres de Cazal in 1833, Milliet de Saint-Adolphe in 1845, Monteiro Baena in 1847, Saint-Hilaire in 1848, and Alêncastre in 1864. There is also the following reference, the Roteiro da viagem que fez o capitão Francisco de Paula Ribeiro às fronteiras da capitania do Maranhão e da de Goyaz no anno de 1815 [Itinerary of the journey made by Captain Francisco de Paula Ribeiro to the boundaries of the province of Maranhão and of Goiás in the year 1815], in which the Tapirapé are mentioned (37) as one of the "barbarous and intractable nations" who inhabit the "basin of the Tocantins."

Concerning two maps of the period, Kissenberth writes (2, 175 41): "The map of Brazil by C.F.Klöden, which appeared in 1817, mentions the Indians Tapirapeques north of a tributary of the Araguaia, which corresponds to the present-day Tapirapé River. A. Brué's 1826 map also mentions Tapirapeques north of the tributary of the Araguaia which is now called the Farto River. This map shows a Tapirapé River north of Bananal Island, approximately below the ninth degree. Tapirapé Indian dwellings are to be found south of this left tributary of the Araguaia."

On Table 28 of Balbi's Atlas ethnographique [Ethnographic 114 Atlas] (Paris, 1826), in which Ferdinand Denis deals with "Langues 174 de la région Guarani-Brésileinne [Languages of the Guarani region of Brazil]" and which reveals the state of progress of Brazilian ethnography in the first half of the last century, Tapirapé is not listed in the "Guarani Family" which includes the "East-Guarani [99:67] or Brazilian, also called Tupi and Lingoa-Geral." We read only that there is a "Tappiraques [spoken] by the Tappiraques or Tappirapes. In the province of Mato Grosso they occupy a large part of the Tappiraquia district, to which they have lent their name and where they are found in greater numbers than any other savage group" [translated from French]. The Tapirapé language is missing from the vocabularies of Table 41 ("Tableau polyglotte des langues américaines [Polyglot Table of American Languages]") in the same atlas. Actually, the fact that Tapirapé was not included

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towards him. But even such an assumption is more than doubtful. I lend no importance whatever to that rumor."

This explanation once accepted, Fritz Krause himself becomes, to our knowledge, the first White who made a systematic attempt to contact the Tupí tribe in the twentieth century. In August and September, 1908, he ascended the Tapirapé River with great difficulty to its last navigable stretch, and then traveled over the area lying to the north of its upper course. He found footprints on the sand, dams in the water, barbecues in the forest, and the remnants of summer dwellings on the savanna.

In April of the following year, Wilhelm Kissenberth, another German ethnographer, was even less successful. He gave up on the second day of his journey up the Tapirapé River, having reached the conclusion that "the only practical access to the Tapirapé villages is by land, since the inherent difficulties of an ascent of the Tapirapé River must be the same in the dry season as they are at flood time" (Kissenberth 1, 4).

Finally, in the course of an expedition in search of rubber trees that was carried out in 1911, a few men from Ceará, led by their countrymen Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira, after having gone up the Tapirapé River and crossed the savanna, met the Tapirapé Indians and lived with them for a while in their villages. The first information about this was given to me by Colonel João Crisóstimo de Oliveira, a brother of Mr. Alfredo. Later, when I was in Tampitáua, the Indian Kamairabó [99:73] frequently recalled with praise Mr. Alfredo and his companions. Actually, this journey of the Ceará men was described by Angione Costa (221-224), who published an article about it in July 29, 1912, in the [113] Folha do Norte [a newspaper] of Belém, Pará. In addition, the following passage appears in the report on the Dominican expedition of 1914 called "Entre os Tapirapés [Among the Tapirapé]" and published in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosario (316-317): "In 1911, a group of rubber gatherers thought that the banks of the waterway (H.B. [author]: the Tapirapé River) would be rich in rubber. The leader of the expedition was one Mr. Alfredo. The starting point was Conceição. The explorations lasted for several months, from May to November. Instead of rubber, they discovered Indian villages, the three villages of the Tapirapé. It

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175 was the first time that these savages had seen civilized people, or, to use the popular term, Christians. It was God's will that savages and Christians should fraternize. Alfredo became a friend of the Tapirapé and brought to Conceição a group consisting of an elderly woman, her granddaughter of 11 or 12, and a few men. During the trip the men ran away. The girl was provided with clothes when she reached the mission."

On October 9, 1912, the Rio newspaper O Paiz transcribed
[13] from the fortnightly Goiás paper O Estado de Goyaz of September 15 of the same year an article entitled "Proteção aos Indios [Indian Protection Service]," according to which Dr. Francisco Mandacarú had visited a Tapirapé village located six and three-quarters leagues from the river of the same name and had returned "a Tapirapé woman and her son of 12" whom he had "rescued" in Conceição, where they were "enslaved" (Kissenberth 2, 36, 43). They were probably the grandmother and granddaughter brought by Mr. Alfredo and mentioned in the report of the Dominicans quoted above.

Speaking of the tribes of the Araguaia, Glass (139) says that in 1913, "the Government Inspector of the Indians of this region
[161] ascended the Tapirapé River and discovered about 1000 or 1500
[648] of this tribe still existing, but living forty miles away from the river for fear of the Carajás. He estimates that the Carajás, Tapirapés, Javahés, Cherentes [Sherente], Chavantes, and one or two other tribes around that district, number over 20,000 Indians" [cited in English].

In June, 1914, the French Dominicans, Domingos Carrerot, Sebastião Thomas, and Francisco Bigorre, visited the Tapirapé village located 50 kilometers from the river. They were led by the Indian Valadar, the son of a Karajá father and a Tapirapé mother. This guide had participated in Mr. Alfredo's expedition.

Ten years later, according to the Mensageiro do Santo
[113] Rosario of April, 1934, page 207, the "regular catechization" of
797 the [99:74] Tapirapé by the Dominicans had a "definitive start."
175 That means that the Fathers of Conceição do Araguaia have ascended the Tapirapé River to the port of São Domingos every two years or so since 1924, awaiting there the arrival of the Indians, alerted to their presence by the smoke rising from burned grassland. Sometimes they proceed on foot to the summer dwellings

164 apparently was aggravated by pneumonia. During the rainy season
731 that followed, this epidemic caused great mortality throughout
[165] the tribe, also killing Ikaranchó and his wife. Then the separa-
[166] tists returned to Tampiitsúa.

The eighteenth century map reproduced in this work points
361 out with three triangles the "Aldeas do Gentio Tapirapé [ villages of the Tapirapé people]." In his account of Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira's 1911 expedition, Angyone Costa (222-223) writes as follows about the Tapirapé of the time: "These Indians occupy three villages, the first one located two days' journey from the riverbank, the second one three days' away. The explorer did not visit the third one."

The following appears in the account of the Dominican ex-
[113] pedition of 1914 printed in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosário (317): "The Tapirapé form three groups, or rather three malocas [ villages], five days' journey apart. The Indians can walk 50 kilo-
[481] meters a day. This shows how huge is the region inhabited by such a relatively sparse tribe. The village we visited had 16 huts,
[592] each one sheltering several families. It is true that when the
[609] Fathers drew near, some of the huts were emptied, and families, urged on by a suspicious chief, ran to hide in the forest. The peo-
[161] ple we found did not exceed 160 souls, and from this it may easily be inferred that the tribe does not include more than about a thousand members."

[103:186] The note published in 1912 about Dr. Francisco
621 Mandacaró's journey states that the Tapirapé village visited by
[161] this explorer contained 268 inhabitants and that "almost invariably, a village merely consists of a single and numerous family." The number of villages, however, is not mentioned (cf. Kissenberth 2, 43-44).

The same applies to the account of the trip by the inspector
[161] of the Indians, mentioned earlier, which only states that "some 1,000 or 1,500" Tapirapé were found (Glass, 139).

Reverend Kegel told me that in August of 1932 he found in
[161] Tampiitsúa some 14 houses with slightly more than 220 occupants. These people, as we have already mentioned, split up in September, but were together again when we visited them the following
[165] year. From 50 to 60 of them died during the 1932-1933 rainy season, and only three or four children born at that time were seen by this missionary.

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Araguay and Tocantins, were in the habit of swimming across the Furo during the dry season and plundering the plantings of the Karajá. They needed only to blow the trumpets, and already the Karajá fled. As a result, the latter did not dare visit their plantings and hence suffered from lack of food. Fonseca, when the Chavánte had again broken into the plantings, undertook an expedition against them and surprised them; they fled, leaving behind their weapons and their plunder. The Karajá had held back in cowardly fashion, but now boasted about being the victors. This was the first time that the Chavánte had fled before them; until then, the opposite had always occurred. -- And it seems to be so still today.

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About the Cherénte (ĭnŏlŏ̄tŭ) I was able to obtain only the not very credible information that they eat the excrement of human beings, even their own, putting it into their mouths with a brush-like stick that has been beaten flat. Perhaps this is merely a story that has arisen from the hostility and conceit of the Karajá.

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/342/ The Canoeiros (tĭŭbĕzĭ) (1) live on the east shore,

1. According to Cunha Mattos, the Canoeiros are the descendants of the Carijos, who were brought along from São Paulo as auxiliary troops and workmen by the discoverer of Goyaz, Bartholomão Bueno; they deserted in 1725, displaced the Chavánte, and settled in the high mountains between Maranhão, Santa Thereza, and Amaro Leite on the left bank of the Tocantins above Porto Real. They were supposed to be only 300 warriors strong, but were feared because of their brutality (Rev.

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1. (cont.)
trim., Vol. 37, pp. 370-379; Vol. 38, pp. 19 and 83). Castelnau mentions them often and localizes their territory more exactly (Vol. 2, p. 116). Dr. Couto de Magalhães (Viagem ao Araguaya) repeats the statements of Cunha Mattos and also gives a brief description and a vocabulary of their language.

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but also roam on Bananal Island from the mouth of the Rio das Mortes to the southern tip. All the columns of smoke sighted in this region on Bananal are attributed to them. According to an isolated statement, they are also supposed to occupy a village inland from Furo das Pedras, which is at constant war with the neighboring Šavajé. They are supposed to have a darker skin-color than the Karajá. Their hair is worn in the bowl-cut. The men wear beards and large wooden disks; according to another statement, wide lip-plugs of shell in the lower lip; the ears are pierced and hang far down. They are a true campo people who have no boats. Nor do they know how to fish. In the autumn they come to the Araguaya to hunt for turtle eggs on the sand-banks. In connection with this they probably meet Karajá, by whom they are greatly feared on account of their dangerous arrows. They are regarded as the strongest (most warlike) people on the Araguaya and now play the same role there that the Chavante did at the end of the eighteenth century.

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The peoples of the Xingu region were completely unknown to the Karajá. When I showed them Steinen's pictures, they debated for a long time about the strange style of dress (unclothed men with the penis hanging far down, uluri of the women), as well as about all kinds of implements. Obviously they were seeing such things for the first time. Language samples, too, which I read to them, were foreign to them; only in the case of the Suyá words did they listen attentively and seem to find related sounds. Only one chief, Chico Cadete in Village 18, directly below the Tapirapé mouth, pretended to know the Suyá with their large

648 offer them a refuge in case of northern Kaiapó advances or attacks. It might also preclude the entry of adventurers into the lands to the south and west, which are assumed to be inhabited by the Akuê-Chavante and by the Tupi tribe of the Ampanes (in this respect, cf. my works, "Uma ponte etnográfica entre o Xingu e o Araguaia, [An ethnographic bridge between the Xingu and the Araguaia]," [113] Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 43, São Paulo, 1938, and "Os Tapirapé, tribo tupi no Brasil Central [The Tapirapé, a Tupi tribe of Central Brazil]," ibid., Vol. 100, São Paulo, 1945).

[911] [144] Since the Tapirapé are traditionally forest Indians, we must consider the possibility of establishing the new post in the vicinity of the recently burned village, that is, at the edge of the great forest. I regard this possibility as extremely slight owing to the difficulties of communication during the yearly floods that cover the savanna and the forest ground.

Another possible way of protecting the Tapirapé would be to gather them into a post to be established on Bananal Island. The advantage here would be their localization in a Federal territory intended exclusively as a reservation for the local Indians and more easily accessible than the upper Tapirapé River. On the other hand, this very accessibility might make it difficult to preserve the tribe as an ethnic entity. In addition, the following factors must be con-
131 sidered: although some Tapirapé groups, according to certain sources,
182 lived for a while on Bananal Island more than 100 years ago, everything indicates that the bulk of the tribe has lived in its present habitat since the eighteenth century (cf. my study of this question in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 98, São Paulo, 1944), and the Tapirapé, therefore, are physically and culturally adapted to this environment and capable of preserving their culture within it. It should
619 be added that in this case, also, the contact between the inhabitants of
166 Tampiitsua and Txitxutsua would be retained, and with it the possibility of marrying outside the village or moving from one village to the other as a result of disappointments, political factors, etc. (1).

648 166 1. In a report on his visit to the Tapirapé that took place in September, 1948, Mr. Harald Schultz tells me that "none of the Tapirapé like the idea of being transferred to a spot near

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7: Baldus--5 E-5 (1935) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

113 Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica; manuscrito português-Tupí do século XVII [Words in the Aboriginal Brazilian Language; a Portuguese-Tupi manuscript of the 17th century], edited by Plínio Ayrosa. Volume 20 in the collection of the Departamento de Cultura, São Paulo, 1938.

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



152 in the open against a rampart of fire or lances, recede terrified in view of the
775 suspicion of a tenuous and invisible enemy." In fact, the Tapirapé who opposes
[761] the jaguar with only bow and club as I had occasion to observe, and who is not afraid of dying, as they frequently assured me, is terrified by the presence of the souls of the dead and of other bad beings. It is not only the soul of a dead shaman which causes fear. I knew a kind father who became afraid of the soul of his beloved little child when this was deceased. And whoever is not a shaman feels a dread of dreaming while asleep, because during the dream he has to travel through the dangerous supernatural world. And not infrequently boys who wanted to drink water at night in the nearby brook asked me to go with them, because a ghost had been seen taking a bath. Unfortunately, whenever I arrived, the well-scrubbed ghost had already gone away. Frequently the boys sang loudly when going to the brook at night in order to calm their fear as I have observed in Europe when children went for something in a dark cellar.

123 Although the Tapirapé didn't react in any way against the fear produced by
152 the eclipse, they were not always so passive as regards the fear caused by the
648 white men, the Kayapó, and the spirits. When my English companion fell ill, they didn't hesitate in demanding his departure, and when a little girl of the house where I was living fell sick, all the people around me wore a threatening air as if I had been the magic author of the disease. The fear inspired by the Kayapó was combated not only by the Tapirapé holding clubs during the nocturnal collective dances, but also by their parodying their neighbours by a pantomime which represented a supposed attack against peaceful tribesmen. The fear of the spirits gives not only great prestige to the shaman, official
[C514] protector against them, but also puts in the hand of every Tapirapé a torch which he agitates without interruption if by night he has to go out of the house in order to relieve himself.

152 So far the frightened Tapirapé also, life is struggle, action and reaction, fear
157 and wrath. And this fearful people is the gayest I ever found in my life, and Kamairabi, the pessimist who more than anyone declared himself to be afraid, had a glad smile on his face everytime when I saw him awake in the morning.

*São Paulo, Brazil.*

## Notes

113 1. Cf. Herbert Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*. S. Paulo, 1937, pp. 156–158.
2. Ashley Montagu: *The Natural Superiority of Women*, London, 1954, p. 92.
3. Emilio Mira y López: *Quatro gigantes da alma*. 3a. edição, Rio de Janeiro, 1955, pp. 39–40.
4. Cf. Herbert Baldus: Os Tapirapé. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, 110: 192, 1946. S. Paulo.
5. Cf. Amilcar A. Botelho de Magalhães: *Pelos sertões do Brasil*, 2a. edição, S. Paulo, 1941, pp. 497–498; Martin Gusinde: *Die Feuerlandindianer, I: Die Selk'nam*, Mödling bei Wien, 1931, pp. 456–458.
6. Cf. Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, p. 86.
7. Xamanismo tapirapé (Tapirapé Shamanism), *Boletim do Museu Nacional*, n.s., Antropologia, 3: 79, 1943. Rio de Janeiro.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Op. cit., p. 39.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
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classes, to mention only two examples, had social systems comparable to that of the Tapirapé. Such social structures depended upon a balanced representation of population in each of the numerous social units. A sudden decline of population might easily throw such highly segmented societies out of balance, so to speak. Without sufficient representation in one or more of these social units reciprocal socio-ceremonial affairs become impossible or may be carried out in a highly attenuated manner. Again, the social structure of the Karajá of the Araguaya River is based essentially upon extended family and kinship ties and lacks the highly segmented social units which cross cut villages and even family groups. Like that of the Tenetehara, Karajá social structure would seem to be less vulnerable to change in population size and more conducive to population growth. In addition to technological equipment and subsistence methods, social structure and cultural values also influence strongly the final adjustment of each society to its environment. Differences in social structure and of value systems between societies must be taken into account in studies of population size and of population trends in any natural area, such as the Tropical forest of South America.

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## RESUMO

O autor compara a reação dos Tenetehara e Tapirapé ao contacto com os brancos no que diz respeito ao decrescimento da população e à organização social. Enquanto a primeira dessas tribos ianomâmeas das selvas tropicais do Brasil, depois de mais de trezentos anos de tal contacto, conta um número de componentes provavelmente pouco inferior ao de antes, conservando em função sua organização social, os Tapirapé se encontram em via de extinção física e desintegração social. O autor acha que, por um lado, a tecnologia dessas tribos e seus métodos de aquisição de sustento devem ter limitado o número de habitantes de cada aldeia, não tendo havido, por outro lado, falta de espaço territorial para limitar o número das aldeias. Parece-lhe que, antigamente, a população tapirapé era relativamente pequena e estável, ao passo que a dos Tenetehara era, pelo menos, a deles equivalente e, provavelmente, expansiva. Estes últimos, em geral, não procuram restringir o tamanho da família o modo dos Tapirapé entre os quais a mulher não deve ter mais de três filhos. Embora os Tapirapé justifiquem esta limitação com falta de alimento, mais decisivos o respeito parecem ser certos fatores culturais. O autor procura mostrar a influência das instituições e valores culturais sôbre o tamanho das populações dentro dos limites postos pelas fontes alimentares, pelo conhecimento médico, pelo equipamento civilizador e por outros fatores materiais. Frisa que a estrutura social e os valores culturais de cada sociedade são funcionalmente relacionados com determinado tamanho de população, precisando ser reajustados, por isso, em caso de mudança da situação demográfica.

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SP22 Tapirape SP22



755 [276] rubbing toward the extremities of his body. If he fails to extract the malignant object in this fashion, he sucks it out, swallows it, then vomits it up.

At one time, during an epidemic of fever, a shaman used a different method. He prepared a mixture of honey and water, and, after much smoking, spewed it out over the patients and on the houses where there were sick people.

756 [751] [189] Besides healing, the shamans must protect the people against dangerous spirits (anĉunga); they call forth "children's spirits" without which there can be no conception; they prevent wild animals from harming the *Tapirapé* during great hunting or fishing expeditions; and they increase the [187] number of peccaries in the woods. It is also believed that they divine the future in their dreams.

The prestige of shamans is such among the *Tapirapé* that almost all leaders of communities as well as of ceremonial moiety groups and household heads are shamans. As shamans receive payment for successful cures, they accumulate many possessions which they redistribute at a yearly ceremonial. Liberality is essential to prestige in this society where avarice is particularly despised.

## MYTHOLOGY

773 *Tapirapé* myths fall into two categories: legends telling of the deeds of ancestral heroes, and tales of animals. In the latter, the tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) is noted for his shrewdness in his dealings with the [171] other animals of the jungle. These stories follow the general *Tupí* pattern.

Among the various *Tapirapé* heroes are Apãwenonu and Petura. The former descended from heaven and lived with the *Tapirapé*. He taught them to plant and harvest cotton, manioc, and maize. When he was old, Apãwenonu returned to heaven and changed himself into a star.

Petura stole fire from the buzzards and brought light to the *Tapirapé*, who until then had not seen day. It is also told of Petura that he stole hatchets and knives from the emu and gave them to the *Tapirapé*.

Txawanamã is famous for a series of songs which tell of his adventures among the mythical ampiawa, enemies of the *Tapirapé*, who made him die a lingering death. Wanĉina, a great shaman, had his whole house, including his family and belongings, transported to heaven by Kanawana, the Thunder. Waré was another shaman who killed many dangerous forest spirits.

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113

137 The savanna of the hinterland beyond the left bank of the river
241 is bounded on the north by this huge forest, in which many generations of Tapirapé Indians have found enough virgin growth to prepare annually new plots that provide them with an abundance of bananas, maize, peanuts, gourds, beans, manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, peppers, tobacco, and cotton. This forest, aside from being flooded
133 extensively even in the dry season, contains small streams flowing
312 on wide beds of clear sand, which offer the Indians cool, limpid
226 water for drinking and bathing, and abundant fish, large and small, that play an important part in their diet.

The only man-made trails that we know of so far in the vicinity
487 of the Tapirapé River are the more or less deeply marked footpaths of the Tapirapé Indians. On the savanna, they are about 20 centimeters wide and follow the sinuous line involuntarily produced by human beings when they walk on flat ground. [97:51] We can verify this sinuosity, for example, on a long beach, when we attempt to reach a certain point directly and later look at the trail left by our feet. We notice that it meanders and thus differs from all animal tracks, those of the jaguar or water cavy as well as those of birds, which always run in a straight line unless they curve out deliberately.

To give an idea of a specific part of the river environs at a
114 specific time of year, I shall now describe my land journey toward the
133 north, from Porto Salvação to Tampitána. I left on June 19, 1935, at 3:30 in the afternoon, carrying on my back the requisite sleeping and eating equipment. I walked at the rapid pace used by the local frontiersmen on long hikes, making about five kilometers an hour on flat, unobstructed ground. I went through dry grassland with a scatter-
[137] ing of medium-sized trees which sometimes stood dozens of meters apart. After a walk of nearly three hours, I reached Lake Tucunaré,
[103] so called because of its abundant fish of the same name which attract
[136] the Tapirapé Indians to the place every year. At the time of my passage, Lake Tucunaré was a slow and deep brook which I had to cross up to my waist in water. They say that it connects with the Tapirapé River during the rainy season. It is surrounded by trees, and the water is full of them. After wading through it, I reached a place on the shore where those Indians often set up their sleeping hammocks and where I spent the night. There were quite a few mosquitoes. The
[136] chief plague of the day, however, in spite of my deliberately late
[132] start, was the heat.

114 I left at 6:30 the following morning. Everything was wet with
133 dew. I skated over a stretch of black earth, damp and slippery
[132] ("soap"). I saw jaguar tracks. At eight o'clock, I reached a flooded
[134] forest strip which I had to ford. The same thing happened after walking another ten minutes. At ten o'clock I reached a traditional Tapirapé resting place located in a small patch of forest which contains fresh water. I rested there until four in the afternoon, and then set out again and waded through a swampy area. At 5:30 I reached
[136] dry scrub land where I was able to set up camp for the night. Before going to sleep, I heard frequent jaguar calls.

When I awoke on the twenty-first my clothes were soaked through with dew. I set out at six o'clock. Half an hour later, I was lost in a large and swampy muriti grove. At seven o'clock I reached dry scrub land, and at 9:15 the great forest. During the first 15 minutes of walking, the ground of the forest was more or less dry, but after that it became completely flooded. I walked for an hour and a half in water, which flowed in several places. At 11:30 [97:52] I
[241] found manioc in a brook. I then crossed four gardens separated from each other by strips of forest. At a quarter before one, I met four
[361] youths of the Tapirapé tribe, and half an hour later, still walking through the immense forest, I spotted in its midst the village of those Indians.

When I returned from the village to Porto Salvação on August 5
481 of the same year, I made the whole trip in a single day. I left at dawn with a Tapirapé youth. Although these Indians, as a rule, walk a little more slowly than the local Brazilian frontiersmen, their pace is still quite rapid and very even so that they proceed at the same speed through forest and grassland, and since they hardly stop to rest in the daytime, they may walk 40 or 50 kilometers a day.

On the way back, we took a different course through the forest.
133 The area we had gone through on the way out was still flooded. We
487 walked on ground that was quite dry, making a wide curve to the west. We reached the grassland within two hours. In many areas the Indians
[241] had already burned the grass, and our feet and legs were free of that hindering growth which adds so much to the traveler's weariness. Once in a while, a fresh breeze blew upon us. We walked four hours through
[137] open grassland and scrub forest, with frequent glimpses of pairs of deer,
[136] until we reached the traditional Tapirapé resting place in the small
[489] patch of forest containing fresh water. There we found Reverend Kegel

114 175 The Tupí tribe found by a bandeira [Tr., pioneering expedition] that left São Paulo in 1613 lived not far from the mouth of the Itacaiunas, namely, on the right bank of the Araguaia, two leagues above its confluence with the Tocantins. The account of this meeting, published only recently by Serafim Leite (1, 103-110), is as far as I know the first reference to a Tupí tribe on the Araguaia. According to Taunay (181-192), several bandeiras left São Paulo between the beginning of the seventeenth century and the departure of the above-mentioned expedition. The data relating to these expeditions are so defective, however, that it is possible to identify the place names on the itinerary only in a few cases. Among the few expeditions which may thus be identified, there is not one to the Araguaia. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The above-mentioned document dealing with the 1613 expedition, recently published by Father Leite, was written by the Jesuit Antonio de Araujo and covers the information provided by Pero Domingues, one of the 30 inhabitants of the São Paulo settlement who made up the expedition. Referring to "seven very large villages" found by the 175 travelers "about two leagues from the bar of the Iabeberi," that is, the Tocantins (cf. Leite 1, 101), the report goes on to say (ibid., 105-106): "The Indians in these villages were called Caatingas. Their language was the tongue common to these shores. Our men found [439] among them many iron tools, scythes, wedges, axes, many glass beads, and large quantities of Rouen shirts, along with numerous hats, all of which they said they had obtained in trade from the French for feathers and arrows, of which they had many canoefuls in their houses, and also for cotton. They asserted that the French were at a distance of only 11 days' journey down-river and lived in a fortress they had built many years previously, and added that they had a sugar mill and made sugar from the cane plantations they owned. They [648] confessed that they had put to death seven Frenchmen who must have fled the fortress of their countrymen, at whose request the Indians killed them. And, without being asked, they said that so many days' journey away, on another arm of the same Parí River, lived those whom we call Almazonas and whom they call [98:108] Camaíma, that is to say, 'breastless women.' They also stated that there were large numbers of villages down-river on both sides of the stream, and 175 that they were not scarce up-river but toward the interior. The in- 648 habitants of the seven villages sent messengers forthwith to the other

101 relatively close to this confluence, that is to say, to the north of
174 it, there lived such Tupí tribes as the Anambé of the lower Tocantins mentioned by Couto de Magalhães (2, 267) and Ehrenreich (1 and 3, IV), the Manajé of the Araranduá River studied by Nimuendajú (2), and the Urubú cited by Rice and Raimundo Lopes (2).

[98:109] The fact that the "Caatingas" owned many canoes
101 does not rule in any way against their identification with the
50/ Tapirapé. The latter, although at present they are not navigators
174 like their neighbors the Karajá [Caraja] or the old-time Tupinambá, still retain the Tupí word for canoe, yana in Tapirapé pronunciation. Furthermore, in 1935, I saw on the Tampiitáua village stream a tree trunk hollowed out in the shape of a dugout. It is true that apparently it had been made just for fun, since it lay with the opening facing downward and was not used as a boat even in play. This, however, does not make it unlikely that the Tapirapé should have owned many traveling canoes in former times.

101 Caatinga, a Tupí word consisting of caá, "bush," and tinga,
174 "white, whitened," may refer to the region inhabited at the time
[197] by the Indians of that name, for it is known that the forests of gnarled, stunted trees that shed nearly all of their leaves during the dry season, forests called catingas or matos secos [dry bush], extend to the north of the state of Goiás (cf. Bernardino José de Souza 120-121). In any case, this designation does not rule against the identification of the "Caatingas" Indians with the Tapirapé or any other tribe with a different name. [Ed., the remainder of this page and part of the first paragraph on p. 110 are omitted.]

[98:110] The Tapirapé appear in the eighteenth century as
101 "Tapuyrapé" and "Tapirasse," in the nineteenth century as "Tappiraques" and "Tapirapeques" and in the twentieth century as "Itapirapés," there being even a street by this name in the city of São Paulo (see Alrosa 2, 152). This leads us to assume that the name of the tribe changed over these four centuries in accordance with variations in pronunciation. In any case, I agree with the
101 opinion of Nimuendajú (ibid. [letter of October 12, 1938]) accord-
114 ing to whom it is more probable that the "Pirapêr" of Bento Maciel
174 Parente [cited apud Mendes de Almeida II, 35-37] should be

101 identified with the Tapirapé, than that there should have existed
174 in the Tocantins basin two different tribes with such similar
[114] names. [Ed., the last half of p. 110 and the first half of p. 111 are omitted.]

[98:111] Assuming, now, that the "Caatingas" and "Pirapés" were the seventeenth century ancestors of the Tapirapé, which is not impossible in the case of the former and probable in the case of the latter, it must be admitted that the Tapirapé reached their present habitat from the north.

The hypothesis in favor of such an origin is strengthened
173 further by the statements made to me by the Tapirapé themselves. They say that they lived formerly to the north of Conceição and closer to the Araguaia than today, but that they gradually moved farther south out of fear of the Kayapó [Cayapo] and farther west out of fear of the Karajá. They add, however, that they never lived south of the Tapirapé River, which is the southern boundary of their present territory.
619 It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the inhabitants
648 of Tampiitsúa maintained continuous relations with another Tapirapé village located "ten days' march to the north," and therefore, in any case, at a considerable distance, while they had no contact whatever with their supposed neighbors to the southwest, the so-called Ampanés, who apparently are also Tupí and who are much less distant from Tampiitsúa than that northern Tapirapé village. It is possible that the Ampanés
[174] and Tapirapé reached their present habitats from different directions, or that the former got there long before the Tapirapé became their neighbors.

[98:112] Kissenberth (2, 40-41, 75-78) believes it possi-
114 ble that the potsherds he found on the Morro dos Cayapós [Hill
172 of the Cayapo], located in the hinterland west of Conceição
174 do Araguaia and almost at the same latitude as this locality, are products of the Tapirapé ceramic industry (see ibid., 37, map). Stating that he is not familiar with Tapirapé pottery, the same author goes on to say (ibid., 77): "Even a cursory comparison of these fragments with the ceramics and potsherds of South American peoples forcibly suggests the Tupí-Guaraní."
[923] Regarding this, I must say that I did not encounter among present-day Tapirapé pottery the ornamentation found on these potsherds.

114 174 Kissenberth (ibid., 41) states in further support of the assumption that the Tapirapé came to their present habitat from the north: "The first right-hand tributaries of some importance on the Itacaiunas River bear the legitimate Tupí names of Kateté and Tapirapé. As the Mẽkubenokré-Kayapó relate, there lives at the present time, right in that virgin forest area at the headwaters of the Itacaiunas, an anthropophagous people, the Kubẽnépre (meaning 'Bat Indians'), who according to their description must belong to the Tupí group." These arguments, though interesting, are rather weak at the present stage. [Ed., the remainder of p. 112, pp. 113-122, and the first half of p. 123 are omitted.]

[98:123] According to repeated statements made to me by [175] the Tapirapé, their tribe, although in the past it lived closer to the Araguaia than today, never crossed this river and never lived to the east of it. This, however, does not make me doubt the veracity of Cunha Mattos when he writes of Bananal Island (2, 392-393): "The island is inhabited by Javahés and Carajás Indians, and occasionally by Carajahys, Xambioás [Shamboia], Tapirapés, Gradaús, and other barbarians..." Since this author's Chorographia [Chorography] bears the date of 1824, it is quite possible that after several generations had elapsed the Tapirapé lost recall of those "occasional settlements."

In addition, Dr. William Lipkind, the North American ethnologist who worked on Bananal Island in 1938 and 1939, told me that he obtained the following information from the Karajá of Santa Isabel, Fontoura, and other locations: in the past there were Tapirapé living with the Javahé, that is, in the interior of Bananal Island. In setting fire once to a stretch [648] of grassland, they [the Tapirapé] burned the village of those Indians. Then the Javahé chased them away. The Tapirapé crossed the Araguaia a little to the north of Mato Verde, and thus not too far from the mouth of the Tapirapé River. This happened some 70 or 100 years ago.

After having visited the Tapirapé in Wagley's company, 114 Dr. Lipkind wrote to me (letter of September 10, 1939): 175 "The Tapirape themselves say that they learnt the masked 174 dances [98:124] -- the most marked cultural similarity with

114 the Caraja -- from the 'irewẽhẽ,' who, I take it, are the
173 Javahe, 'ijewehe' in Caraja. Near the Javahe village of
174 Imõnci I was shown a Tapirape cemetery. The Javahe tradition there is that they lived in the same village with the Tapirape, and I was shown the site" [cited in English].

Considering that the inhabitants of Tampiitáua bury the
174 dead inside the house in which they lived before death, it is
764 proper to inquire whether the Tapirapé also used this burial method when they were living with the Javahé, in which case the "cemetery" seen by Lipkind must have been the remnants of a village, or whether these representatives of the Tupí tribe proceeded in completely different fashion, performing, like the Karajá, the so-called "secondary burial," that is to say, burying the corpse in a cemetery, then exhuming the bones after the flesh had putrefied and laying them in large urns which were again buried at a common place.

Lipkind adds in the same letter: "You may be interested
114 to know that in the innermost Javahe villages there are some
144 distinctly Tapirape types, short stature, lighter coloring, face-
174 cast. My camarada Antonio Pereira, who was not aware of my preoccupation with Tapirape relations, noticed it and pointed out the resemblance" [cited in English]. [Ed., the last half of p. 124 and most of p. 125 are omitted.]

[98:125] To conclude, it may be said with Cunha Mattos
174 that the Tapirapé were on Bananal Island "occasionally," that is to say, that certain groups of their tribe were there transitorily and probably over 100 years ago. The presence of "Tapirapé types" among the Javahé may also be explained by the numerous Tapirapé women "imported" by the Karajá.

In any case, the inhabitants of Tampiitáua knew nothing
173 of ancestral migrations toward the east, such as those, for
823 example, of the Guaraní who kept searching for the [98:126] "land without evil" (cf. Nimuendajú 1 and Métraux 1 and 3). As far as I was able to ascertain, the Tapirapé were ignorant of the existence of the sea. They did not even recall being told about it by the Whites or by the Karajá. Apparently, there was no reference to the ocean in the tribal traditions either.

The Tapirapé knew of a great river to the west, however, which they called pananá-chingehó or chinghó. It is possible

175 colonists on the Tapirapé River in the eighteenth century. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Numerous nineteenth century authors refer to the Tapirapé.
113 I have already mentioned what Silva e Sousa said in 1812,
175 Pizarro e Araujo in 1822, Cunha Mattos in 1824, Eschwege in 1830, Ayres de Cazal in 1833, Milliet de Saint-Adolphe in 1845, Monteiro Baena in 1847, Saint-Hilaire in 1848, and Alencastre in 1864. There is also the following reference, the Roteiro da viagem que fez o capitão Francisco de Paula Ribeiro às fronteiras da capitania do Maranhão e da de Goyaz no anno de 1815 [Itinerary of the journey made by Captain Francisco de Paula Ribeiro to the boundaries of the province of Maranhão and of Goiás in the year 1815], in which the Tapirapé are mentioned (37) as one of the "barbarous and intractable nations" who inhabit the "basin of the Tocantins."

Concerning two maps of the period, Kissenberth writes (2,
175 41): "The map of Brazil by C.F. Klöden, which appeared in 1817, mentions the Indians Tapirapeques north of a tributary of the Araguaia, which corresponds to the present-day Tapirapé River. A. Brué's 1826 map also mentions Tapirapeques north of the tributary of the Araguaia which is now called the Farto River. This map shows a Tapirapé River north of Bananal Island, approximately below the ninth degree. Tapirapé Indian dwellings are to be found south of this left tributary of the Araguaia."

On Table 28 of Balbi's Atlas ethnographique [Ethnographic
114 Atlas] (Paris, 1826), in which Ferdinand Denis deals with "Langues
174 de la région Guarani-Brésileinne [Languages of the Guarani region of Brazil]" and which reveals the state of progress of Brazilian ethnography in the first half of the last century, Tapirapé is not listed in the "Guarani Family" which includes the "East-Guarani [99:67] or Brazilian, also called Tupi and Lingoa-Geral." We read only that there is a "Tappiraques [spoken] by the Tappiraques or Tappirapes. In the province of Mato Grosso they occupy a large part of the Tappiraquia district, to which they have lent their name and where they are found in greater numbers than any other savage group" [translated from French]. The Tapirapé language is missing from the vocabularies of Table 41 ("Tableau polyglotte des langues américaines [Polyglot Table of American Languages]") in the same atlas. Actually, the fact that Tapirapé was not included

1: Baldus--19 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

114 in the Guaraní-Tupí family makes it probable that it was unknown
174 at the time, not only to scholars, but possibly even to the Brazilian frontiersmen. It is to be supposed that the latter would have recognized it as akin to the Lingua-Geral, which was much more widely known by "civilized" or "Christian" people over 100 years ago than it is now. The lack of contact which may be inferred from the above-mentioned unfamiliarity is made understandable by the observation of the contemporaneous Cazal [I, 259] that the "Tappiraquia" region is unexplored "except for its eastern boundary along the Araguaia."

The first volume of Pohl's work (I, 341), which appeared in
175 1832, contains the information, also included in the Memoria
[648] [Memoir] written by Silva e Sousa in 1812, that the capitão-mor [Tr., military officer in charge of local militia] João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira had imprisoned 100 "Tapirapéz" who all died in Vila-Boa.

Castelnau (II, 114) says that in 1844, when he went down the Araguaia, he was told about the existence of a village "of Tapirapé, which is located in the province of Mato Grosso, at the approximate latitude of the northern tip of Bananal Island, on a large stream which flows into the Furo River from the left" [translated from French].

In his classical outline of Brazilian tribes published in 1867, Martius (2, I, 205) includes the Tapirapé with the "Central Tupí," although he does not provide a Tapirapé vocabulary in his "Glossarios de diversas lingoas e dialectos, que fallão os Indios no imperio do Brazil [Glossary of the various languages and dialects spoken by the Indians of the Empire of Brazil]" (2, II). Furthermore, giving as his source the Diccionario [Dictionary] of Milliet de Saint-Adolphe, he lists (2, I, 205) the Tapirapé, "who are said, according to one tradition, to have come from Rio de Janeiro," as inhabitants of the "Tapirapés River (a western tribu-
[114] tary of the Araguaia)." Since Martius gives no reason for classifying the Tapirapé as Tupí, it is to be assumed that he was familiar with the data of Souza Villa Real concerning the names of eight "prominent" Tapirapé, while apparently these data were not taken into account by the linguistic study of Ferdinand Denis since they were published 22 years later, in 1848.

175 726 men. Concerning this, there is the following reference by Glass (139) who was in the village of the attackers in 1909: "... the women and children were carried away captive to the Bananal Island, and they either became part of the Carajá tribe we had seen or else were sold to any bidder sometimes to white men in exchange for an ox or other thing, their equivalent for money" [cited in English].

175 648 Krause, who explored the Araguaia in 1908, writes (2, 405): "In the villages of the Karajá I saw, in all, two women, three young girls, and two boys of the Tapirapé tribe." Kissenberth, who was in the same area in that year and the following one, observed (2, 47): "I saw, in all, only seven individuals belonging to the Tapirapé: the near-sexagenarian Ngroatí (Figs. 4 and 5), whom I found in a village of Mẽkubengokrẽ-Kayapó called Ororogdjakamkikrẽ, located on the large stream Salobro, a tributary of the Pau-d'arco; two boys, one of whom was in the power of a rubber trader coming down the Araguaia, while the other was a slave of Tamanako, chief of the Karajá village Woudó; in addition, there were three women and one girl, slaves of Chief Crisóstomo of Weheriadó village, Chief Tamanako, and Chief Iwaná of Dozahíkã village."

Dona Delfina de Arruda Correia told me when I passed through the city [sic] of Goiás on September 5, 1935, [99:72] that when she was a teacher at the Leopoldina school she had among her pupils three or four Tapirapé boys brought by the Karajá. "The latter had abducted them and sold them," said the lady, without specifying, however, when those events took place.

● 114 175 648 A reference by Krause (2, 29) deserves special mention. According to him, an Italian with his camaradas had abducted a Tapirapé girl whom he later sold to the Karajá, shortly before Krause reached the Araguaia. If this really happened, the Italian would be, to the best of our knowledge, the first White to make contact with the Tapirapé on tribal territory in this century. When I wrote this to Professor Krause, he answered me (letter of July 9, 1937): "I do not believe that the Italian really visited the Tapirapé. He may have abducted, or attempted to abduct, a Tapirapé girl who lived with the Karajá. This at least may be inferred from the hostility that the Karajá are said to have shown

115
[114] [649] towards him. But even such an assumption is more than doubtful. I lend no importance whatever to that rumor."

This explanation once accepted, Fritz Krause himself becomes, to our knowledge, the first White who made a systematic attempt to contact the Tupí tribe in the twentieth century. In August and September, 1908, he ascended the Tapirapé River with great difficulty to its last navigable stretch, and then traveled over the area lying to the north of its upper course. He found footprints on the sand, dams in the water, barbecues in the forest, and the remnants of summer dwellings on the savanna.

In April of the following year, Wilhelm Kissenberth, another German ethnographer, was even less successful. He gave up on the second day of his journey up the Tapirapé River, having reached the conclusion that "the only practical access to the Tapirapé villages is by land, since the inherent difficulties of an ascent of the Tapirapé River must be the same in the dry season as they are at flood time" (Kissenberth 1, 4).

Finally, in the course of an expedition in search of rubber trees that was carried out in 1911, a few men from Ceará led by their countryman Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira, after having gone up the Tapirapé River and crossed the savanna, met the Tapirapé Indians and lived with them for a while in their villages. The first information about this was given to me by Colonel João Crisóstimo de Oliveira, a brother of Mr. Alfredo. Later, when I was in Tampiitáua, the Indian Kamairahó [99:73] frequently recalled with praise Mr. Alfredo and his companions. Actually, this journey of the Ceará men was described by Angione Costa (221-224), who published an article about it in July 29, 1912, in the
[113] Folha do Norte [a newspaper] of Belém, Pará. In addition, the following passage appears in the report on the Dominican expedition of 1914 called "Entre os Tapirapés [Among the Tapirapé]" and published in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosario (316-317): "In 1911, a group of rubber gatherers thought that the banks of the waterway (H.B. [author]: the Tapirapé River) would be rich in rubber. The leader of the expedition was one Mr. Alfredo. The starting point was Conceição. The explorations lasted for several months, from May to November. Instead of rubber, they discovered Indian villages, the three villages of the Tapirapé. It

●114
175 was the first time that these savages had seen civilized people, or, to use the popular term, Christians. It was God's will that savages and Christians should fraternize. Alfredo became a friend of the Tapirapé and brought to Conceição a group consisting of an elderly woman, her granddaughter of 11 or 12, and a few men. During the trip the men ran away. The girl was provided with clothes when she reached the mission."

[13] On October 9, 1918, the Rio newspaper O Paiz transcribed from the fortnightly Goiás paper O Estado de Goyaz of September 15 of the same year an article entitled "Proteção aos Indios [Indian Protection Service]," according to which Dr. Francisco Mandacarú had visited a Tapirapé village located six and three-quarters leagues from the river of the same name and had returned "a Tapirapé woman and her son of 12" whom he had "rescued" in Conceição, where they were "enslaved" (Kissenberth 2, 36, 43). They were probably the grandmother and granddaughter brought by Mr. Alfredo and mentioned in the report of the Dominicans quoted above.

Speaking of the tribes of the Araguaia, Glass (139) says that in 1913, "the Government Inspector of the Indians of this region [161] ascended the Tapirapé River and discovered about 1000 or 1500 [648] of this tribe still existing, but living forty miles away from the river for fear of the Carajás. He estimates that the Carajás, Tapirapés, Javahés, Cherentes [Sherente], Chavantes, and one or two other tribes around that district, number over 20,000 Indians" [cited in English].

In June, 1914, the French Dominicans, Domingos Carrerot, Sebastião Thomas, and Francisco Bigorre, visited the Tapirapé village located 50 kilometers from the river. They were led by the Indian Valadar, the son of a Karajá father and a Tapirapé mother. This guide had participated in Mr. Alfredo's expedition.

Ten years later, according to the Mensageiro do Santo [113] Rosario of April, 1934, page 207, the "regular catechization" of 797 the [99:74] Tapirapé by the Dominicans had a "definitive start." 175 That means that the Fathers of Conceição do Araguaia have ascended the Tapirapé River to the port of São Domingos every two years or so since 1924, awaiting there the arrival of the Indians, alerted to their presence by the smoke rising from burned grassland. Sometimes they proceed on foot to the summer dwellings

175 of the tribe at Lake Tucunaré or some other location not too far
797 from the river. They remain with the Tapirapé for one or several days, distributing axes, bush knives, knives, scissors, tobacco, and other gifts, and fulfilling their religious duties.

Aside from them, missionaries of other creeds have attempted
114 and are still attempting to save the souls of the Tampiitsua in-
175 habitants. In 1923, the Baptist minister Benedito Propheta had
797 some slight contact with these Indians, but did not reach their village. What little he has to say about them in his book, with great verbosity, is too confused and erroneous to be of scientific value.

In August, 1930, the British missionary, Josiah Wilding, of the Evangelical Union of South America, accompanied by the North American traveler Miss Elizabeth Steen, paid a brief visit to Tampiitsua. In the following year, North American Adventists spent one night in the village. In 1932, the British expedition in search of the vanished Colonel Fawcett, which is described so enjoyably in Peter Fleming's book, met the Tapirapé at the port of São Domingos. This was a slight contact of the kind these Indians also had with a group of prospectors, hunters, and an official of the Indian Service. The movie-making group from São Paulo referred to in Pompílio's notes (301-304) spent one night with them in August, 1934, at Lake Tucunaré and did not push on to Tampiitsua. At the end of August, 1935, Madame Rayliane de la Falaise and her husband spent two days in that village. The statements made about the Tapirapé by this charming and elegant writer are, for the most part, sheer fantasy.

The first White since the expedition of Mr. Alfredo, that
797 is, since 1911, to live with the Tapirapé, not just for one or sev-
175 eral days but for weeks and months on end, was the British missionary F.C. Kegel of the Evangelical Union of South America, which is established at Macauba on Bananal Island. He stayed with them in August, September, and October of 1932, from July to November of 1933, from August to November of 1934, and from June to August of 1935. We spent this last period there together, he and I.

114 [99:75] The North American ethnographer, Dr. Charles
175 Wagley, stayed with these Indians from April to October, 1939,

114 and from December of the same year until May, 1940.
115 A few Tapirapé accompanied the Dominicans and Mr. Kegel to the Araguaia and stayed briefly in the settlements of the Fathers and of the Evangelical missionary.

Considering all the various contacts that the Tapirapé have
177 had with the Whites, it is clearly impossible to determine the in-
197 fluence of each one of them. True, I was able to identify certain melodies as having been imported by Reverend Kegel and to determine the origin of some beads, clothes, and iron tools. The source of the vague allusions to Jesus Christ, however, had already become undecipherable owing to the number and variety of catechists and other visitors who might have mentioned the subject. Iron tools had already been introduced by the Karajá long before the arrival of the rubber gatherers from Ceará. And non-autochthonous plants, such as certain varieties of the banana, have been cultivated by the Tapirapé from time immemorial.
[164] Also, the diseases of European origin had already reached the Tupí tribe, probably through indirect contact with the Whites, that is to say, through other Indians.

If we look at the total influence of the Whites, both direct
177 and indirect, we may say that it has impoverished Tapirapé culture. The iron tools make it easier to farm and to manufacture various implements, but the need to replace them constantly makes the Indians who become used to them dependent on our civilization. No such consequence derived from the introduction of sugar cane and other plants, but these remain unessential in view of the successful cultivation of numerous autochthonous plants. It is worth noting, incidentally, that while iron tools have replaced previous implements made of other materials, they have not changed the traditional division of labor between the sexes. Nor do traits of European origin appear as fertilizing elements in other areas of the culture, such as ornamentation, house building, diet, industry, or the concept of the supernatural. Metal spoons are found along with shells and gourds, beads along with strung seeds; a piece of our clothing is worn with body painting; a pipe with an upright bowl, in the fashion of the Whites, is used alongside the simple smoking tube; Jesus Christ is identified with a figure who appears in their mythology as the owner of large pigs and iron implements, as "captain [chief]," husband, and father.

177 All those imports from us, living alongside the traditional traits, are no more than curiosities [99:76] in the minds of the Tapirapé, curiosities hardly more important to the functioning of their culture than one of their arrows or legends would be to the average European.

From what I was able to observe, Reverend Kegel usually
177 restricted himself to the teaching of songs and the administration
797 of medicines. Owing to their sporadic quality and short duration, and especially to the difficulty of communicating through words, the encounters with the Dominicans and other visitors have enriched Tapirapé culture even less. Unfruitful, too, were the attempts to wield an influence through individuals who had been taken to the Araguaia by the missionaries and who knew more about the White way of life than those who had never left tribal territory. It is well known how easily many of the Brazilian Indians educated in our civilized centers have re-adjusted to and been re-absorbed by their native environment (cf. Baldus 7, 165, and Araujo Lima 134-135). Actually, I did not see any Tapirapé who had lived with the Whites long enough to experience the conflicts of the "marginal man" of Park, Stonequist, and other American sociologists.

The impoverishment of Tapirapé culture was induced large-
164 ly by the diseases of the Whites, but these were introduced only partly as a result of direct contact. It is probable that the neighboring Karajá, continually exposed to contagion as inhabitants of the Araguaia, frequently acted as transmitters. This at least may be assumed as regards the strange diseases which were introduced prior to direct contact with the Whites. As Wagley (2) masterfully
[114] pointed out, the catastrophic depopulation caused by the epidemics
[165] that raged around 1895 and 1900, and later ones as well, affected
[731] the social organization to such an extent that important traits of
[178] Tapirapé culture were modified or lost.

The Tapirapé often told me that in the old days their people
177 knew everything about such celestial phenomena as eclipses and
[821] about many other mythological subjects, and now know almost nothing. This may not be solely the result of the mortality caused
[731] by epidemics and by the bellicose attacks of neighboring Karajá
[726] and Kayapó. Some old people did survive. I can imagine the pressure exercised by the presence of our culture upon the minds

177 of the Tampiitsua inhabitants. This presence is made perceptible through the complex made up of diseases, of the fantastic stories of tribal members who went to the Araguaia, of the domineering behavior of White visitors, and of the latter's display of "riches." The effects of this type of [99:77] inter-ethnic pressure vary from culture to culture. Among peoples of vitality, they may arouse responsive forces which are manifested, for example, in the creation of new magical devices among aborigines, or in improvements in airplanes, tanks, or propaganda techniques among those who regard themselves as more "civilized." Among other peoples, however, they may cause resignation instead of resistance, and bring about what might be called a "cultural shrinkage," that is to say, a disregard for their own things without a concomitant desire to replace them with new ones, whether new creations of their own or imports. Thus, it seems possible to me that this pressure may have caused the Tapirapé to lose interest in certain traditions that did not seem to them to possess any immediate value in the struggle for existence. [Ed., end of Vol. 99.]

## Chapter 4

### [100:191] Contact with Other Indians

While it is possible to discern, up to a point, the effects of the direct and indirect contacts with the Whites, it is more difficult to perceive the influences derived from other Indian tribes. [726] I have already alluded to the murderous acts the Kayapó and Karajá and to their role as transmitters of epidemics and importers of iron tools. It must be added that the Karajá, aside from acting as intermediaries, also furnished products of their own culture, such as songs. I dare not, however, formulate hypotheses about the [71] 535 origin of the masked-dance complex as a whole, to which these songs belong and which is one of the most characteristic aspects of both Tapirapé and the Karajá culture. The Tapirapé attach special importance to the masked dances of the chankuf, that is, jacuf [Tr., little jacu or guan] and of the iranchá, a fish. They perform them daily for weeks on end. Karl von den Steinen (2, [114] 313), when dealing with the masked dances of the Indians of the

171 Xingu headwaters, writes that the dance of the jacuí ("yakuí") is
535 "original to" the Auetõ and Kamayurá [Camayura], that is, the
[114] Tupí tribes of the Culuene basin and thus the eastern part of that region which is separated from Tapirapé territory by the waters of the Xingu and the Araguaia. Furthermore, [100:192] both the Auetõ and the Kamayurá had two kinds of masked dances, the dance of the jacuí and that of a fish called koahálu among the former and hõvát among the latter (ibid., 310-317). True, the masks used by those tribes (ibid., Figs. 107-114) differ completely from the masks made by the Tapirapé. In addition, what little may be inferred from the brief references to the dancing and songs of those Xingu Indians (ibid., 313-315) discloses no similarity to the chankuí and iranchá performances. On the other hand, the Tapirapé also differ from the Karajá in the design of their masks, their songs, and their dance motions.

Thus, the complex of masked dances that extends between the Xingu and the Araguaia assumes special forms in each of the above-mentioned tribes, and these forms, although they hint at a mutual relationship, do not reveal which of the tribes was the first to use masks or where it got the idea to do so. It can only be said
[648] that there are no historical data to substantiate contact between the Tapirapé and the tribes of the Culuene basin, while age-old relations between the Tapirapé and the Karajá are thoroughly documented. [Ed., the remainder of this section in Vol. 100, pp. 192-198, and the section in Vol. 101, pp. 67-75, are omitted.]

[102:123] While in Tampiitáua no one bothered with the
648 neighboring Kyrydjá [Tr., Ge-speaking, in this case Chavante] to the south, the Kayapó neighboring on the north, called Kananchahó, were mentioned frequently and with feeling. When dealing with the "Karajá of the Xingu," I referred to them and to the fear they inspire. I was informed that in 1932 they had de-
[726] stroyed a large Tapirapé village located "ten days' march" north of Tampiitáua and killed most of its inhabitants. According to
[731] other reports, an epidemic depopulated that village and compelled the survivors to abandon it. No matter what the cause of this
648 mortality may have been, fear of the Kananchahó undoubtedly con-
166 tributed to the desire of the survivors to put as much distance as possible between themselves and these neighbors and to take refuge in the southernmost village of their tribe, that is Tampiitáua. The

114 The Kayapó who have intimidated the Tapirapé over the
past few years, however, do not belong to the bands visited by
175 Krause in 1908 and by Kissenberth in the same year and the
726 following one, that is to say, the Indians called Kayapó-Mẽkubengokré by this author. Kissenberth (2, 40) heard Mẽkubengokré elders relate that the last hostile encounters between their people and the Tapirapé had occurred approximately in the middle of the last century. This traveler does not [102:126] explain, however, how the near-sexagenarian Tapirapé he saw in a Mẽkubengokré village (ibid., 47 and Figs. 4 and 5; 1, Figs. 18 and 19) got there and was annexed to the tribe.

I shall show later that the Tapirapé have a few cultural
171 traits that are similar to traits of these Kayapó, but not as many as the ones that reveal their kinship with the Karajá. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 102, pp. 126-130, is omitted.]

[103:183] Chapter 5

## The Number of Villages and of Tribal Members

Sixteenth-century authors, such as Pero de Magalhães de
621 Gandavo (45) and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (362), already pointed
171 out the propensity of the Tupí Indians to divide into bands as a result of certain dissensions. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

In the case of the Tapirapé, the disruptive forces were not
621 only co[illegible]ered by the authority of Kamairahó in Tampiitáua, but were also kept at bay by more powerful destructive forces, that is
[731] to say, terrible epidemics. Kamairahó's authority became ap-
[554] parent when I attempted to ascertain in which of the various villages, now extinct, the individuals who make up the present population of Tampiitáua had originated. Those who had revealed their birthplace to me [103:184] did not dare repeat the information in the presence of this most influential leader. The unifying
[578] activity of Kamairahó was justified by the fact that old antagonisms between the villages were not yet entirely forgotten, although they were seldom recalled.

142 outnumber their Indian ones. My meaning will be understood by looking, for example, at Iravuy (Photo. 62). There are Tapirapé with thin lips, there are others who show hardly any Mongoloid features, and there are some with light skins. We gave the girl Eirovytyngaho (Photo. 67) the name "Tsrf" owing to her lack of pigmentation, for this is the name given to us, the Whites, by the Karajá. [Ed., the remainder of p. 80 and the first half of p. 81 are omitted.]

[105:81] The difference between the Tapirapé and the Karajá, so clearly evident in terms of stature, is not apparent in the hair, which in both tribes, in contrast to the usually straight Indian hair, is sometimes slightly curly and often somewhat wavy (see Kamairá, Photo. 57, and the group, Photo. 28). This is most apparent when the hair is tousled, or when it is long and loose (cf. Photo. 2). [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

I did not see any white hair among the Tapirapé. It is, as a rule, unusual among Indians and appears only at a very advanced age. I did not find any bald heads either among the Tapirapé or among any of the other South American tribes I visited. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] Even bald spots seem to be unknown among the Tapirapé, if we may deduce this from the admiration they showed for the incipient baldness on my head, which they tactfully referred to as "small hair."

114 147 F. Krause (2, 185) says of the Karajá: "The Indians have a characteristic body odor. It is rather strong and unpleasant to us. It is hard to say, however, to what extent it is due to the oil [105:82] turning rancid on their skin and hair." Concerning this, I must say that in spite of my excellent sense of smell, I was never able to discern among the numerous Indian tribes I visited any characteristic racial odor such as the one I noticed, for example, in many African Negroes (but not all), that stench which Brazilians call catinga and which is reminiscent of rancid soap. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[142] 826 Some Tapirapé, indeed, have a rather light skin. In this respect, however, most of them do not attain their own ideal of beauty, which is white, as white as the habitually covered skin of northern Europeans. The women never tired of feeling my arms when I pushed up my sleeves. They expressed in this fashion their

291 (cf. Photos. 5, 25, 69). This may corroborate the conjecture of
[114] the evolutionist Von den Steinen (2, 192) that the waist cord for-
[174] merly had the function of the penis sheath. Among present-day
Tapirapé this cord may be regarded, along with the tembetá, as
[482] a prerogative of the males. It is rarely used to carry [105:88]
[412] things. Occasionally they will hang a comb from it, or in recent
times a pair of scissors as well.

Dr. Charles Wagley told me that in 1939 he found straps for
114 carrying children that were worn by the Tapirapé women over the
854 shoulder and across the chest. In 1937, Dominican missionaries
177 had gone up the Tapirapé River with large quantities of fabrics.
The straps were made of those fabrics. It is interesting to note
that in 1935 there were no such objects in existence. It is inter-
esting because it would have been possible to carry the children
in small hammocks. Furthermore, I had given away many pieces
of cloth which could have been used as straps for carrying children.
[171] Such straps not only are used by the neighboring Kayapó (Krause,
2, 394) but are also a typical cultural trait of the Tupí Indians.
[Ed., two sentences are omitted.] It is worth noting, however,
that straps for carrying children are not used by the eastern neigh-
bors of the Tapirapé, that is to say, the Karajá (Krause 2, 276
and Plates 12, 37, and 42).

In the case of the Tapirapé, it was apparently the numerous
pieces of fabric brought by the Dominicans in 1937 that played a
decisive role in the introduction of straps for carrying children. In
291 1935, all the fabrics and cloth articles coming from our factories
177 had a merely decorative function among those Indians. The men
[562] alone used them, since most adornments are prerogatives of their
[301] sex and such impressive ornaments as those made of feathers and
claws are worn only by them. Kamairahó, the most important
chief, liked best of all to wear a red dress which his wife had re-
ceived as a gift. Thus, the aim the giver had in mind, probably
inspired by catechizing hopes, was missed entirely for the lady
remained altogether naked while her husband was covered down to
177 the knees and below. It is worth noting, however, that in the even-
29 ing, when Kamairahó retired, he would undress and carefully fold
513 the garment. Thus, at an hour when every protection against the
mosquitoes and the cold would have seemed to me exceedingly

261 826 swallow the hair plucked from their own body. Indeed, like most
302 South American Indians, the Tapirapé have the custom of carefully plucking all the hair from their faces and bodies. They refer to this procedure as ekopaí. They remove body hair by covering it first with hot ashes and then plucking it out with their fingers. They likewise pluck out their whiskers exclusively with the fingers.
[443] To remove eyebrows and eyelashes, however, they use a special instrument consisting simply of the caryopsis of a certain grass plant [Tr., identified in a later, omitted passage as the fruit of Streptogyne crinita Beauv., according to F.C. Hoehne (3)] which is equipped with teeth forming hooks at acute angles. The Indian holds this pod between the right thumb and index finger, while holding the eyebrow or eyelashes of the person he is about to beautify with the corresponding fingers of the left hand. Then he places the little hooks against the stretched hair, pushing down. A few hairs are invariably caught in this natural implement and removed along with it. [Ed., the last half of p. 109, which includes a detailed description of the use of Streptogyne crinita Beauv. as an instrument for depilation, pp. 110-113, and the first two lines of p. 114 are omitted.]

304 [107:114] The Tapirapé apply scarification to men only.
[881] They first do this at the time when the boy who is to be initiated is given a haircut, that is to say, one year before the initiation ceremony. The procedure is repeated several times until marriage, and not infrequently it is carried out even after that. The Indians make vertical scratches on the skin of the arm between the shoulder and the elbow, and on the front part of the leg both on the thigh and between the knee and foot. The procedure is carried out by a mature man. Immediately afterward, the patient steps into the water to wash. It is extremely rare for inflammation
[827] to result. The aim of the procedure is to "give strength." According to Wagley (4, 17), the killer of a sorcerer--medicine man, in
751 order to protect himself and the rest of his tribe against any possible
●114 danger, must, among other precautionary measures, "scratch his
304 chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dogfish, just as he did in the course of the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult" [Tr., given in English in 4, 72]. I obtained no such information while I was in Tampiitáua.

304 The scarifying tool has the same name as the scratches it
413 makes, namely, chainiáua. It is a triangular gourd fragment
[192]

302 genipap. They have given up for keeps the tamanhurá or cotton
881 ornaments they wore in childhood. Some of them change names,
[553] if they did not already do so at the time of their first menstruation. They eat nothing but green-maize cauí [a soup]. Both men and women sing the kaó, a kind of national anthem. When the whole ceremony is over, the girl is painted with the genipap stripes characteristic of women.

304 The tattooing is done by certain mature men. They need not
412 be sorcerer--medicine men, but some of them are, like Urukumy for example (Photo. 53). The aim of the tattooing is to differentiate the women from the girls. The small knife used to make the incisions (Photo. 22) is called voamé. It consists of a fragment of
[297] rodent incisor embedded in a small piece of thin cane wrapped in a narrow strip of philodendron inner bark. This strip strengthens
[304] the small rod, which was previously covered with resin to provide a better hold. The tooth fragment in the knife reproduced here (Photo. 22) consists of that part of a paca (kanoanó) incisor nearest to
[237] the gum, and thus not of its cutting section. The edge was created by scraping the fragment with a knife. Sometimes the fragment is also taken from the tooth of an agouti (akutí, ankuchí), another rodent that, like the paca, belongs to the Caviidae family.

304 Krause (2, 404) writes of Tapirapé tattooing: "Tattooing exists
●114 among married women; they cut vertical lines in their chins, and a line that goes down obliquely from either side of the mouth." As we can see, this does not quite agree with the tattooing I observed. And the drawings published by Krause (ibid., Fig. 262), although they disagree with the description above by the same author in showing several oblique lines originating at the corners of the lips, rather than just one, still do not resemble the crossed horizontal and vertical lines that I saw on the faces of Tapirapé women. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 115, pp. 116-119 which include several pages of comparative data on scarification, and all but the last paragraph on p. 120 are omitted.]

304 107:120] To summarize, we may say that the special character
171 of female tattooing differentiates the Tapirapé from all neighboring tribes about which anything is known in this connection. The data
[114] of Herrmann Meyer about the Aravine and their tattooing, which are given in Chapter 4 of this work, are not sufficient to be taken into account in studying this topic. It should be pointed out further

302 are a characteristic decoration of the men (Photo. 68). I never saw a Tapirapé woman painted with urucú. [Fig. 6 appears here.] Only a few girls sometimes wore urucú designs on their bodies, for example, Kamana, a pampered eight-year-old girl (Photo. 9). [531] [881] The girls' cotton ornaments are also dyed with this staining material, which also serves, incidentally, to plaster a girl's hair on the day when her first menstruation ends.

[462] As a rule, the women paint not only other members of the female sex, but also their sons, lovers, and husbands. I once saw a man painting a little girl, however.

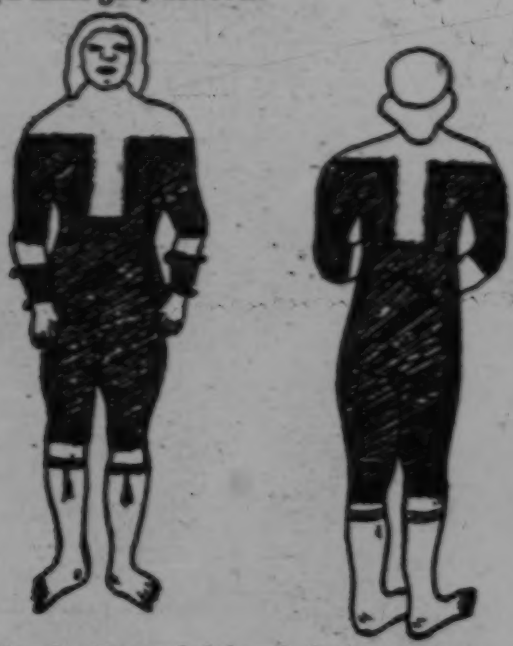

Fig. 5. Kananchahó male body painting.

Genipap paintings, as well as those done with urucú, are applied simply with the hands, that is to say, without any implement (Photo. 7 and 8).

114 302 751 There are authors who regard the application of urucú on the skin as a protection against the rays of the sun and against insect bites. Experiments proved that one of the properties of urucú is its failure to absorb solar heat in any but very modest amounts. The feet and lower part of the legs, that is to say, the places where

114 urucú "markings" are often applied, are one of the body parts
302 most frequently exposed to the attack of various troublesome in-
751 sects. The following objections, however, are in order: (1) as
body paint, although widespread in South America, urucú is used
[171] to cover the entire body only in a very few tribes and is usually
applied only to certain skin areas; (2) among the tribes with which
we are familiar, this staining material is not used every day, but
only on certain occasions; (3) on such occasions, the Indians do
not paint all members of the tribe with urucú, but only certain
persons; (4) there are [108:127] tribes who prefer to blacken the

Fig. 6. Design on a man's thigh.

skin with genipap juice rather than anoint it with the oily urucú, although they possess both staining materials in abundance. Such a preference would not be explained by the following sentence in Gabriel Soares de Souza (215) about genipap: "This dye has the property of drying the yaws pustules of the Indians, and of anyone who uses it as a salve."

The supposition that body painting originally had a magical
302 purpose, which was forgotten by many tribes in the course of time,
789 would seem to me more adequate than any rationalistic explanation
[114] set forth by ethnocentric Europeans.

787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a topī). It wore a small
headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I
reached to pull out the lip plug (thus Panterí vanquished the topī),
but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panterí had not de-
feated the topī, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow).
I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three
days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the
[821] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is
big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers
of the red parrot. I saw many topī and many souls of shamans near
[775] him. I did not talk but returned fast.' He added later that if he
[756] had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the
other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and
292 again a rare layman, wore the ankungitsína, and people marveled
781 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the
courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also
to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days.
At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the
powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panterí grabbed
the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the
air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immedi-
ately, stricken by a panché-iúnwera. Urukumú picked up the
ankungitsína. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants
with him."

825 I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized
[292] most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of
[238] the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (ibid., Note 30) says in
this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the
Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red
[821] feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told
[753] me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a
headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not
292 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated
285 by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. ibid., Fig. 1).
114 The figures in Wagley's work (ibid., Figs. 1-9) do not provide any
details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the
feathers. The frame (Photo. 15) that I acquired in Tampiitsúa

285 belonged to the headdress called angkynghetanobó, [108:134]
292 that is to say, the same term written ankungitána by Wagley with
[114] the addition of the augmentative suffix ho. Strips one to one and a half centimeters wide, taken from a leaf stem of the muriti palm, are folded across in such a way that one tip projects three or four centimeters beyond the other (cf. Fig. 19). The jutting ends
[283] of all the strips lie on the same side when the folded ends are strung on a cord that is twisted clockwise and made up of four threads of vegetable fiber twisted counter-clockwise. The semicircular position of this cord forces the strips into a radiating pattern. In the particular specimen being discussed (Photo. 15), the folded ends are so tightly packed side by side and even on top of each other that the periphery of the semicircle they form measures 27 centimeters. To keep them in this position, the cord is tied with knots at the tips of the semicircle to prevent it from slipping. At a distance of 13 or 15 centimeters from the folded ends, the
[283] strips are entwined with string twisted counter-clockwise and made up of two threads of cotton spun clockwise. These strings lie parallel to each other, close together, and they are dyed a dark brown color. The entwined band takes up from seven and a half to nine centimeters of the longer strip sections, which vary in length from 28 to 30 centimeters. On the side of the shorter section, the entwined band is coated with light-grey clay. The strips are held by this band in such a way that their tips lie a few millimeters apart. This, along with the already-mentioned crowding of the folded ends, produces the semicircular shape reminiscent of the
[774] form that the Tapirapé attribute to certain anchinga, that is to say, "shadows" or spirits, and by which they represent them. The periphery of the frame measures 135 centimeters, and its total width is 70 centimeters. The entwined band consists of 112 strings divided into units of four. These units are due to the fact that two pairs of strings are twined alternately around the strips, and that these pairs twine alternately around each other after their common entwining of each strip. This mutual and alternate penetration of both pairs of strings, with each pair always consisting of the same two strings, is due to the fact that the strings of one pair cross each other when they are entwined by the strings of the other pair. An irregularity arises when the strings of one pair cross twice between two regular crossing points of the strings of the other pair. Both

292 pairs are joined into a knot after having been twined once around
285 every strip. Their starting point at the other end of the band was also a knot, so that the band displays 28 knots at each end. The strings are cut three or four centimeters beyond the knot, except for the strings involved in the four outermost knots on each side. These strings extend about 30 [108:135] centimeters beyond the knots on one side, and slightly over 11 centimeters on the other side. These strings are twisted into a cord in groups of four, while the other strings are not joined in any way along the three or four centimeters that extend beyond the knots. The strips, when they retain their natural curvature, leave an empty space within their folded ends. The large tail feathers of the red macaw are inserted in this opening to complete the impressive ornament. They are kept in an internode of thick cane when not in use.

292 The frame specimen described and reproduced above was the only one I found in Tampiitsúa. It was in Maninohó's possession. I
[119] have not found any reference in the literature to such objects among
[171] the Karajá, the Kayapó, or any other Indians. Nor do I know whether anything like the Tapirapé head "edifice" reproduced by Wagley is to be found in any other tribe.

292 Reverend Kegel described to me the circular occipital head-
881 dress he saw at the initiation ceremony as a wooden disk about 15
237 centimeters in diameter and two centimeters thick, blackened with genipap, and bearing three concentric circles of feathers laid out in a radiating pattern. The inner circle consisted of scalloped, dark-green duck feathers, the middle one of white jabiru feathers, and the outer one of red macaw tail feathers. The hair of the boy who was being initiated was gathered into a pigtail and drawn through a hole in the center of the disk. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 135 and the first paragraph of p. 136 are omitted.]

[108:136] I saw a large semicircular wooden disk with small
532 holes in the center hanging from the wall of the men's house in Tampiitsúa. The Tapirapé showed me that those holes were meant for the eyes and that the disk, when covered with a mosaic of feathers and a crown of macaw feathers, was used as a dance mask (Photo. 70). Unfortunately, however, I did not have an opportunity
171. to find out the specific function of this mask, which is as distinct
532 from other Tapirapé masks as it is from those of the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 20) and which bears no resemblance to the masks

351 lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the vil-
lage square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstruc-
[372] tions. The trunks served as seats and, bit by bit, as firewood.
They lay in such numbers over the vast area stretching between
the houses and the edge of the forest, and were so entangled and
[114] [712] ensnarled by their branches, that the imaginative Madame de
la Falaise (196), who visited Tampiitaua on August 23, 1935, that
is to say, shortly after my departure, went so far as to write the
following: "We proceeded toward the village, where the tribe,
for fear of armed aggression, has fortified the surroundings. The
felled, tangled trees, the traps and ingenious obstacles, are dis-
couraging. The boldest aggressor would break his neck long be-
fore he got the better of them" [translated from French]..

361 712 114 [514] In this respect, however, I must confess that the only serious
obstacles I encountered daily on crossing the area in question were
the products of the tribal digestive processes, for the supposed
fortification held no role other than that of a huge toilet. [110:
192] I do not wish to determine whether such obstacles may be
termed "ingenious," but I wish to emphasize that they did not
discourage me. The truth is that the Tapirapé do not fortify their
[171] village in any way, and differ in this respect from the Tupinambá,
who surrounded their villages (Jean Parmentier apud J.F. de
Almeida Prado, 180; Hans Staden, p. 3; Gabriel Soares de Sousa,
366). The "traps and ingenious obstacles" mentioned above exist
only in the imagination of the author. Even the act of placing
[721] sentries, a precaution referred to in Chapter 5, is strikingly incon-
sistent with the natural bent of the Tapirapé.

361 [312] [515] [226] Toward the east a stream meandered, a few paces from the
village. Its clear, fresh waters ran free of the thick forest for only
a short stretch, which was used at the same time as bathroom and
drinking fountain, and as a spot for fishing and for washing the
[487] sleeping hammocks. A well-beaten path led from it to the vil-
lage plaza, skirting a plot of sugar cane to the left. According to
219 what Reverend Kegel told me, this plot resulted from collective
476 labor performed for Kamaiahó. The latter had ruled on the site
of the plot and concurrently on that of the village, which had been
built later beside the communally prepared garden. It was, so to
speak, a luxury plot, for it contained nothing but the sweet grass

171 houses, since in both cases the structures stand around the central
361 plaza. The chief difference lies in the fact that the large men's house stands in the center of the Tampiitaua plaza, while according to all references and pertinent woodcuts the Tupinambá village plaza had no building whatever in the center.

There seems to be a closer similarity between Tapirapé and Mundurukú [Mundurucu] villages. [Ed., the remainder of p. 106 and all but the last paragraph on p. 107 are omitted.]

[111:107] On the plan of Tampiitaua (Fig. 8), the arrange-
361 ment of houses around the takana clearly reveals two semicircles
621 standing [111:108] at some distance from each other, one on the
616 northern side and the other on the southern side. The largest house in each group stands in the middle of the others, so that these two larger houses, a and e, stand more or less opposite with the takana between them. The important kauihó dance, which
[535] will be described in a later chapter, was performed first in house a, and immediately afterward by the same persons in house e. In various masked dances, the pairs, when crossing the village plaza, moved alternately from one of these houses to the other. The
[622] heads of the two houses, Kamairahó and Vuatanamy, not only were the main leaders of Tampiitaua, but also performed as a pair in one of those dances. It is thus possible that they represented the "patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties" mentioned by Wagley (4, 7 [Tr., in English at 4, 63]).

591 According to that author (ibid.), Tapirapé residence is matri-
114 local. At the time of my stay in Tampiitaua, there were eight couples with living ancestors: (1) in house a, the couple designated by the numbers 3 and 10 on the village plan (Fig. 8) lived with No. 1, that is, the husband's father (the husband's mother and the wife's parents were dead); (2) couple 11 and 16, in the same house, did not live with No. 29, that is, the wife's father, in house b (the husband's parents and the wife's mother were dead); (3) couple 13 and 18 lived in the same house, a, as No. 8, that is, the husband's mother, and this was also the house of 17 and 24, that is, the wife's parents (the husband's father was dead); (4) couple 29 and 36, in house b, did not live with No. 22, that is, the wife's mother, in house a (the husband's parents and the wife's father were dead); (5) couple 33 and 42, in house b, lived

114 in this house with No. 48, that is, the husband's mother(the hus-
591 band's father and the wife's parents were dead); (6) couple 35 and 40, in the same house, did not live with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother, who lived in house d (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (7) couple 51 and 58, in house d, lived in this house with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (8) couple 85 and 92, in house f, did not live with No. 22, that is, the husband's mother, in house a (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead). As we can see, these data do not permit us to mention the existence of either a matrilocal or a patrilocal pattern among the Tapirapé in 1935, nor do they contribute any answer to the question as to whether these Indians were formerly patrilocal or matrilocal. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 108, p. 109, and the first paragraph of p. 110 are omited.]

• [111:110] Thus, while the villages of various tribes at the
171 headwaters of the Xingu resemble Tampiitaua in their inclusion
361 of a ceremonial house and in the arrangement of the dwellings around it, they differ from it in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of dwellings and ceremonial houses. In that
171 region of the Xingu basin, the houses do not have, like those of the
342 Tapirapé, a rectangular plan. They are elliptical or round, and similar in their beehive shape to the hemispherical houses of the Rio das Mortes Chavante rather than to the elongated done (cf. Max Schmidt 3, 460-461; Meyer, 1, 62; and the figure in Von den Steinen 1, 124). There, in addition, the ceremonial house
171 is not larger than the family dwellings around it, as is the takana
345 at Tampiitaua, but as a rule is actually smaller (Max Schmidt 3, 462). [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 110, p. 111, and all but the last two paragraphs on p. 112 are omitted.]

[101] [111:112] The use of a sleeping hammock also ponts out the
171 kinship of the Tapirapé with the Tupinambá and with the Tupi fam-
513 ily as a whole (cf. Métraux 2, 60-62). Like the Tapinpé, the Tupinambá also slept naked and without blankets, maintaining a fire beside the net through the night (cf. Staden p. 4; Dialogos
114 das grandezas do Brazil [Dialogues on the Grandeurs of Brazil] 270;
171 Salvador 35). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] While according to
513 Father Vicente de Salvador (35), the Tupinambá husband usually

114 slept with his wife in the same net, this also being the custom
171 among the Tapirapé with certain exceptions, couples in the region
513 of the Xingu headwaters, according to Herrmann Meyer's diary (1, 64), sleep separately in nets set up one above the other. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá, according to Léry (276), took their nets along when they went hunting and fishing, hanging them from trees when it was time to sleep.

171 The Tapirapé custom of swinging the hammock was also
516 found among Indians of the eastern Bolivian forest. Each of the following words by Richard N. Wegner (1, 70) about the Siriono may be applied to many inhabitants of Tampiitaua: [111:113] "Both naked Siriono lay in short hammocks. Only the buttocks and the head more or less fitted in. The right foot was balanced on the cord that held up the net, while the left leg, which hung out even in sleep, kept the net swinging throughout the night."

352 The menstruation net is a peculiarity of Tapirapé culture.
513 Certain hammocks have an opening at the spot where the woman's
841 buttocks lie. As a rule, these nets are also used at other times. In house d, however, the couple consisting of Techipy and Manchiró slept with Marekantú, their three-year-old daughter, in the same net, and also possessed a menstruation hammock. The latter, however, was used by Manchiró only at the time for which it was intended, and this is why I left it blank in Figure 8. I have never heard of the existence of menstruating nets in other cultures. It is possible, of course, that they may exist among other peoples and go unnoticed by explorers.

231 The net in house c, which I left blank on the same figure, was tiny because it belonged to a small dog. It was the bed of a "dog child," in the words of the Tapirapé.

171 In their use of the hammock, these Indians differ from their
513 eastern, northern, and probably also their southern neighbors.
352 The Karajá and Kayapó sleep on the ground (cf. Krause 2, 198 and 373), and the same must be assumed of the Rio das Mortes Chavante, among whom many mats have been found, but to my knowledge no sleeping hammocks.

114 The small bench was an article of which only one specimen
171 existed in Tampiitaua. We read in Métraux (2, 63): "No cultural
352

114 trait is as characteristic of northern and central South America
171 as the wooden stool. Its southern boundary, like that of the
352 hammock, is the southernmost region inhabited by the Tupi-Guarani tribes. We find it mentioned, indeed, among the Tupinamba, Caingua, Chiriguano, Guarayú, Yuruna, Chipaya, Curuaya, Auetõ, Kamayurá, and Oyampi. Ortiguera lists among
[531] the wonders owned by the Omagua their painted and varnished
[532] stools. Those of the Chiriguano, Caingua, Yuruna, and Kamayurá are made in the shape of animals" [translated from French].

It should be remembered, however, that as Father Wilhelm
114 Schmidt showed on a comparative table, there is a wide variety
171 of types, not only among the benches as a whole but also among
352 those representing animals. One of the latter is peculiar to the
532 Indians of the upper Xingu (Von den Steinen 2, 286-288), to the Karajá (Krause 2, 199), and to the Tapirapé. It consists of a single piece of wood for the seat, and two supporting boards set up as they would be in a sled. Among the Kamayurá, Mehinakú [Mehinacu], and Trumai, however, the representation of birds retains a certain naturalism (cf. Von den Steinen 2, Figs. 82-84), while it is altogether stylized among the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 19), where the ellipsoidal seat of the bench ends on either side in a sort of triangular head with mother-of-pearl eyes supplied with wax pupils, and tassels [111:114] of yellow-red parrot feathers at the ear openings. The bench I saw in Tampiitaua was similar in shape to the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause (ibid.) and was also painted black with genipap juice (cf. Krause 2, 199), but it possessed neither eyes nor ear openings and ornaments. Although its appearance indicated a closer relationship with the stool of the Araguaia Indians, its name related it to the Xingu bench. While the Karajá call the stool kolixú (Krause, ibid.),
114 the Tapirapé give it the name ampykaua, which in the Tupi of
171 the Auetõ and Kamayurá comes out as apykáp (apũkáp in Von den
352 Steinen's spelling, 2, 286). It is worth noting that a Karaib tribe
192 in the same region, the Bakairi, use the same Tupi term changed to apyka (apũka in Von den Steinen's monograph). The same word, but with the tonic accent on the last syllable, that is to say, apyká, means "bench" in the Tupi-Guarani dialect heard by Montoya (2, I, 105) in the upper Paraná basin, while the Amazon

114 Nheêngatu [Tr., the native name for Tupi, meaning "good lan-
171 guage"] language recorded by Stradelli (694) has uapikasaua or
352 uapikatyua for "bench," and uapikauá for the person sitting on it.
192 Claude d'Abbeville (308) mentions among the Tupinambá of Maranhão "very nice little stools which they call Apouycaue" [translated from French].

As far as the function of these benches is concerned, we
171 must take into account the observation relayed by Krause (loc.
352 cit.) that among the Karajá "they are only for the chiefs," and
554 the note by Von den Steinen (2, 287) that there are not many specimens in existence among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin, but that they are always found in the chiefs' houses where they are offered to guests. (This latter observation is confirmed by Meyer 1, 63.)

Kamairahó was the owner of the stool in Tampiitaua. This man was the most important leader among the Tapirapé, and wherever he went there went the wooden seat as though it were a badge of distinction. Kamairahó took it and sat on the Tampiitaua plaza or outside the village before the little house built and inhabited by my companion Kegel and our camarada Daniel. Only when he was in his own house would he place the stool against the wall close to his net and sit or lie in the latter.
[574] As among the Xingu tribes, this "ceremonial seat" was also offered to guests among the Tapirapé. I never sat on it alone, however. Since two people could sit on it at once if they pressed very close together, Kamairahó never granted me more than half his throne. In order to do this, he could not merely move over to the side. He had to stand up and establish with me a complete harmony of movement. For although the horizontal board of the seat was large enough for both of us, the central support, like that of the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause, was so small, dwindling further toward the ground, that we had to take over our respective halves with the most rigorous synchronization to avoid tipping the seat over and either hitting the floor or being hit in the buttocks by the bench.

516 Kamairahó and I frequently spent the early hours of the night
562 in such equipoise, while beside [111:115] and before us the other men and boys sat on a tree trunk and the women and girls sat

171 [112:56] In Meyer's classification (3, 9, 33), the feathering
411 of the Tapirapé arrow belongs to the "eastern Brazilian or Gê-Tupi" type, and it is clearly distinct from the "sewn feathering of the Xingu" in which two half feathers are sewn to the shaft (ibid., Plate 1, Fig. 9). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

114 Krause (2, 273-274 and Fig. 127) describes the spear thrower
171 (aubí, obirú) of the Karajá as a sporting weapon used in a game
411 called anarkánted-uohú, that is, "game of the Tapirapé," and says
524 he was told by those Araguaia Indians that both spear thrower and game also exist in this Tupi tribe. [Ed., two sentences are omitted.] Among the Tapirapé, I did not see or hear anything about this weapon or about the game referred to by Krause.

114 This author (2, Fig. 265) presents as a Tapirapé club a
171 weapon that he acquired in a Karajá village located near the mouth
411 of the Tapirapé River, which resembles the rounded club (gohordé) of the Karajá not only in shape but also in the grooves on its rear section and handle (cf. ibid., Fig. 123). Regarding the Karajá, Krause (ibid., 271) notes: "Nowhere did I see smooth clubs like those brought by Ehrenreich." The Javahé club is grooved on the rear section and handle (ibid., 361 and Fig. 196), like that of the Karajá, while most of the rounded Kayapó clubs are entirely covered with these grooves (ibid., 390 and Fig. 245). It is worth noting, however, that these northern neighbors of the Tapirapé also have flat clubs (ibid., Fig. 246).

171 All the Tapirapé clubs I saw (yvyrá, "stick," the generic term
411 for "wood") had the shape of the above-mentioned rounded clubs possessed by their neighbors, but they were not grooved in any way, and they were usually smaller than those of the Karajá. According to Ehrenreich (1, 19), Karajá clubs are from 95 to 137 centimeters long, and one of these weapons in my own private collection measures 111 centimeters, while its maximum circumference is 20 centimeters and the minimum one ten centimeters. In other words, it has average measurements. The Tapirapé club (Photo. 29), however, which is also average in size, is 90 centimeters long, 17 centimeters at its maximum circumference, and eight centimeters at the minimum one. As we can see in the photograph, it has the shape of a cudgel, being thicker at the hitting end. The ring between the handle and the body is three centimeters wide and 11 centimeters [112:57] in circumference on this Tapirapé club, and

171 25 centimeters wide and 12 centimeters in circumference on the
411 above-mentioned Karajá club which is in my possession. Both specimens are made of heavy wood. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

In hand-to-hand fighting, to kill at a short distance, the club
411 is usually preferable to the arrow. The Tapirapé will also grab
[726] their clubs when quarreling with a member of their own tribe, but
[578] in spite of this menacing gesture the quarrel is usually limited to a string of verbal insults. While in daytime dances the men of
411 Tampiitaua held in their hands an arrow or bow, and only excep-
535 tionally a club, in the kaó, or great nocturnal group dance, they held clubs and bush knives. These weapons were not used largely to mark time, as was the case with the bow and arrow in the daytime dances. They were displayed to make clear the character of kaó, which, as shown also by the intonation of the accompanying chant and by other elements, is basically a martial one. Fur-
[721] thermore, when equipped with clubs and bush knives, the warriors stood ready every night to repel any dreaded attack by their Kayapó neighbors. As far as hunting is concerned, it must be re-
224 called that the density of the forest vegetation and the height of
411 the grass in the savanna frequently ruled against the use of bow and
[137] arrow and impelled the Indian to attack from a short distance, that is to say, to use the club. In spite of this, during the march between the village and the river I observed that all the men carried
[683] bows and arrows, while they did not all carry clubs. Another specialized function of the Tapirapé club is to kill those people who are regarded as evil sorcerers.

114 The Tapirapé spear (yvyra-háia, "pointed stick," or mina,
411 "spear") may have been imported from the Karajá. There are no
[439] references to spears among the ancient Tupinambá or among the
[171] upper Xingu tribes. In Montoya's work (2, II), however, we find the terms ibirá-haquâbae, "pointed stick" (haquâ, "point") and my, "spear, prong." I did not see any spears while I was with the
[535] Tapirapé, but at Macauba on Bananal Island, Mr. Frederico Kegel showed me one that he had brought back from a previous visit to those Indians, and told me that they used it exclusively in their dances to mark the time, in the same manner as the above-men-
171 tioned weapons. This spear resembled the Karajá spear (donolí)
411 described by Krause (2, 272-273 and Fig. 126). It was likewise a

227 consists of cane internodes, slit lengthwise in such a way that a ring of the same material placed across the middle of each internode constitutes, so to speak, the common base of two cones formed by the splayed and distended strips, which remain joined only at the tips of the internode, that is to say, at the two nodes (Photo. 31). The Tapirapé name for this "rod-trap" is chekiá-
[192] nayngaua, and the name of the material used is angkamanchyva, the same kind of cane that is used in making arrows. I must
171 confess that I never saw the chekiá-nayngaua in use and have not
227 heard of its existence in other tribes. Among the eastern Bororo, however, there are hair ornaments consisting of cane internodes which are also distended with a ring of the same material and adorned with feathers. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

The strainer (yrupema) of cane strips is used by children and
227 adults of both sexes to catch small fish, as I frequently observed at the village stream. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[112:61] There are couples who go to the fishing waters at
226 night with burning sticks. The fish are drawn by the light, and they are killed easily with a club or bush knife or caught with the hand. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not see any fishing with nets among the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not witness any harpoon fishing among the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, I did not see any fishing with the im-
171 plement of small pointed sticks arranged in the shape of a truncated
227 cone, which is called kutu by the Bakairi (Von den Steinen 2, 73, 74, and 236). It is also used by the Tembé (Nordenskiöld 6, 102 and Map 11), but is not found among the Karajá and Kayapó.

To judge by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use fishhooks and
227 do not care much for them as gifts. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

On a lake whose waters had been poisoned by the Tapirapé,
• 114 the same author [Krause] (2, 409) saw a few light tree trunks
501 bound together, which he assumed had been used for navigation. As I already mentioned in Chapter 2, I found on the Tampiitaua stream a trunk hollowed out in the shape of a canoe, but lying with

114 its opening facing downward. As a result, it served us nicely to
501 wash our clothes on. It had apparently been made just to pass the time and did not seem to have any further purpose. The
171 Tapirapé do not usually travel in boats, differing in this respect
501 from the Tupinambá and from most of the present-day Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 207-211), from the Xingu Indians (Von den Steinen 2, 234), and from the Karajá (Krause 2, 276), but not from the Kayapó (ibid., 393). The Chavante, who do not have canoes either, cross the Rio das Mortes on the crude rafts described by Szaffka. It is worth noting, however, that the Tapirapé retain
[192] the old Tupi word for "canoe," that is, yana, written yara by Stradelli and considered by him (715) "a contraction of y, 'water,' and iara, 'mistress,' 'mistress of the water.'" In any case, it is not impossible that the Tapirapé formerly possessed canoes for navigation.

As far as fishing is concerned, let us also mention Manggambí's
787 "dream." The people of Tampiitaua often say that they dreamed
776 of something which they actually suspect or know about. Manggambí
226 was the fattest Tapirapé at the time of my visit. He dreamed of an abundance of fish at a specific spot in a certain stream, [112:62] which held so many fish that the anchinga would be able to eat them
[535] in large quantities. The name anchinga is applied not only to certain spirits, but also to the masked dancers who represent them. All the anchinga who inhabit the hills and waters feed on fish. This
[182] Tapirapé belief, incidentally, is a token of the importance of fishing. Manggambí said that "all" the men should go and fetch the fish he had dreamed of. What Tampiitaua regards as "all" the men did go. They were Manggambí himself and eight companions. When they returned, Manggambí held a large basket full of tiny fish, which were cooked and eaten shortly before dawn in the ceremonial house by the men and adolescents who had impersonated [in the dance] anchinga, chankuí [a bird], and irangchá [a fish]. [Ed., end of Vol. 112.]

105 [113:191] Although fishing is one of their chief means of subsistence, the Tapirapé cannot be regarded essentially as a fishing tribe, as their neighbors the Karajá might fittingly be described. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua do not lead the amphibian life of those big-river navigators. They are forest Indians and cultivators par excellence. In this respect, they remain typical Tupi Indians.

262 824 (5) Another banana with highly "scented" flesh is also yellow both inside and out as indicated by its name, tatanchova. It is 15 centimeters long and 12 in circumference.

(6) Tatakyra is the name given in Tampiitáua to a green, medium-sized banana that tastes like a very dry potato when roasted in the embers.

[114:191] (7) The inhabitants of this village also cultivate the banana ouro (regia variety of the sapientum subspec.) which in their gardens reaches up to ten centimeters in length and eight in circumference. [Ed., the subsequent paragraph is omitted down to the last sentence.]

[171] The scarcity of bananas noted by Krause [2, 241-242] among the Karajá reveals, in any case, a characteristic difference between these Indians and the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of p. 191, pp. 192-193, and the first paragraph on p. 194 are omitted.]

114 171 824 [114:194] Although the same author [Nordenskiöld] (5, 29 and 76) assumes that in view of the similarity of the terms mentioned earlier the Tapirapé became familiar with the banana through the Karajá, we may note that on the extensive list of names used by South American Indians to designate the banana, which was published by Nordenskiöld along with a distribution map (ibid., 78-85 and Map IV), there is no term resembling chatá or tatá.

It is worth noting that the paankuá of the Tapirapé also plays 262 824 a certain role in their diet. In Tampiitáua, this "wild banana" supplies not only leaves for the thatching of houses, but also seeds that the children eat roasted after removing the skin of the pip. The rather bland flavor is vaguely reminiscent of milk and wheat flour.

Among other wild plants used as food by the Tapirapé, the following should be mentioned.

The tree they call ampí, whose red fruits, shaped like cherries, ripen in October and taste like a sweet cherry.

The mangabeira (Hancornia speciosa Gomes, mangaua in Tapirapé), already described by Gabriel Soares de Sousa (210-211), whose yellow-green fruits, resembling small apples in shape and size, ripen in October. They are eaten raw, and without their skins they taste like a roasted apple. According to Hoehne (2, 227),

252 case, the addition is made before the juice begins to boil. The
262 fruit that supplies this juice reaches 35 centimeters in length, 30
824 in circumference, and has a thick, hard shell. Its Tapirapé name is koruanchoa, choa (or chova) referring to the color yellow. The neo-Brazilians in the area know this fruit by the name croá which, according to the Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa, 5th edition, is synonymous with cruá, crauá, and melão-caboclo (Sicana odorifera Naud.) [Tr., the cassabanana]. In Stradelli's Nheengatú vocabulary (435), curúua is "a kind of squash covered with protuberances." [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

Kamairahó's small sugar-cane plantation lay close to
249 Tampiitáua in 1935. No other member of the tribe owned a plan-
263 tation of Saccharum officinarum L., and in 1947 I did not see any.
●114 The sugar cane was used exclusively for sucking and was a recent
[177] import. Krause (2, 242) refutes Ehrenreich's statement that the
[171] Karajá planted sugar cane on sandbars, and says that what he saw was manioc and maize. He writes in reference to those Indians: "... I saw no sugar cane. If they had possessed it, they probably would not have been so eager for my sugar... " This conclusion is wrong. The fact that they sucked on sugar cane never kept the Tapirapé from asking for my rapadura [Tr., raw brown sugar in lumps].

These Indians make beiju (meijú or mãjú in their language),
252 sometimes with the tapioca extracted from manioc mash, as al-
262 ready mentioned, [114:199] and at other times with peanut or maize flour. According to Ayrosa (1, 54), the word "mbeiú or mbeyú of the Tupi-Guarani" is "equivalent to 'coil,' 'roll,' 'fold,' etc." The same author (ibid., 51-54) lists several varieties of this cake, which has been described by various authors. The Tapirapé beijú is similar in shape to the so-called beiju-açú, which is a large, thin disk roasted in a shallow earthen pan. It is not everyday food. During my stays in Tampiitáua, I saw it only once. This was on June 29, 1935, at the time of a festival of "masks." They placed a large pan full of these disks of manioc-mash tapioca, made by Anampí, the wife of Tanupanchoa, in the middle of the takana. This important man offered it to several of the people
171 present and apportioned it himself. I, too, got my share and liked
252 it. Hans Staden (q 2) mentions similar Tupinambá cakes made in the
262 same fashion with the same material and writes their name as byyw.
192

171 According to Karl von den Steinen (2, 539), the Kamayurá voice
192 a nasalized meiũ, that is to say, almost meniũ (meyu and menyu
252 in his spelling). The same author (ibid., Fig. 54) reproduces a
262 spade decorated with geometric designs that was used by these Indians to turn the cakes over. In Tampiitsua I did not see any special implement for this purpose, and in Wagley's collection at the [Brazilian] National Museum there is nothing like it either. [Ed., the last two sentences concluding the section in Vol. 114 are omitted.]

[115:255] To the Tapirapé, the most important vegetable
262 dish is unquestionably cauí. [Ed., five sentences are omitted.]
171 In sixteenth century references, the intoxicating drinks of the
192 Tupinambá appear as Kaa.wy and Kawi in the spelling of the German Hans Staden (e 2, f 3), Cahouin in Thevet (1, 121), and Caou-in in De Léry (125). The nasalized i indicated by the two
194 Frenchmen, and later pointed out in various Tupi languages by authors coming from different countries, does not exist either in Tapirapé or in Kamayurá, but in both these languages the u in kauí is nasalized, and the i is the tonic syllable (cf. Von den Steinen 2, 213). Furthermore, neither the [115:256] Tapirapé
[273] nor the Kamayurá make intoxicating beverages. The Tapirapé
272 designate with the word kauí their peanut, maize, manioc, cotton-
192 seed, squash, and banana soups, and even straight drinking water
171 (ỹ-kauí), while the Kamayurá use this term for the simple refreshing drink made of water and crumbled beiju (ibid.). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The kauí of the Tapirapé is not always made exclusively from
272 one of the plants mentioned above. There are mixtures, such as crushed maize with chewed peanuts or with chewed cottonseed. No other plant aside from those listed are used, however, and no such soups are made, for example, with carã or yams. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 256 and the first paragraph on p. 257 are omitted.]

[114] [115:257] None of the [early] authors mentions expressly the three kinds of cauí that are made by the Tapirapé with cotton seeds,
[252] peanuts, and squash. As I have already mentioned, the cotton seeds are chewed with crushed maize. The resulting drink has a yellowish-green appearance and little flavor. It is true that the
171 Tupinambá of Bahia also found those seeds nutritious, but they pre-
252 pared them in a different fashion. Gabriel Soares de Sousa (235)

171 252 writes: "The natives eat these cotton seeds crushed and then boiled into a mush which they call mingau."

At the time of my stays among the Tapirapé, the monoví-
272 kauí was the kind most frequently used and the one I myself took most often. I confess that I liked this drink so much and developed such nostalgia for it that in 1947, when I again met the people whose hammocks had hung beside mine 12 years earlier, the first wish I expressed was this, "Monoví-kauí." It is worth noting
114 that Gabriel Soares de Sousa (203), in describing the use of the
191 peanut among the Tupinambá, does not mention it in connection
272 with the preparation of a liquid. The same applies to squash, incidentally, of which, according to the sixteenth century Portuguese author (ibid., 201), "there are ten or 12 varieties" called gerumús by the Tupinambá of Bahia. The Tapirapé drink made
272 with crumbled squash is called kuruí-kauí. Kuruí may not be
[137] one of the "varieties" of "gerumús" known in Bahia, but like them, in any case, it belongs to the edible Cucurbitaceae.

The vegetable substances used in preparing the various kinds
[462] of Tapirapé kauí are crumbled or mashed by the women in three different ways, namely, between the hands, in the mortar, and between the teeth. Squash and bananas go between the hands; maize and manioc, the latter previously soaked in water and then sun-dried, go into the mortar; while maize, manioc, peanuts, and cotton seeds are chewed. In the Tapirapé language, amatykú
[192] means "I chew," and andjahík, "I pound." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 257, p. 258, and the first paragraph on p. 259 are omitted.]

[115:259] The custom of turning a food into mush by chewing
252 it is used by the Tapirapé not only to make cauí, but for the two
[757] following purposes: they chew peanuts to make a paste with which they anoint their bodies when they have been made ill by spoiled
[893] manioc, and they chew certain foods and give the mush to nursing children. These children are also given true cauí. It is to be supposed that observing the already considerable saccharification that takes place in chewing led the Indians to apply this procedure to the preparation of their favorite food. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 259 and p. 260, which concludes the section in Vol. 115, are omitted.]

272 [116:55] Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have three stages in the preparation of their masticated-fermented drink: (1) they

171 According to Francisco S.G.Schaden (30), the fathers in this
846 locality, accompanied by their wives, visit the new mother on the Sunday following the birth and must not refuse a draught of spirits at the time of this so-called Kindchenkaffee, for otherwise it is said that the newborn child would be unable to urinate. We see, therefore, that in this case the child's well-being hinges on the behavior of its parents' friends.

Among certain South American tribes, the father is not per-
[224] mitted to go hunting during the first few days following the birth (cf. Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 136). I was told that the Tapirapé goes hunting at this time and is even accompanied by his wife as soon as she is able to come.

853 Wagley and Galvão (3, 172) assert that Tapirapé parents must
933 abstain from sexual relations until the child is "weaned." They
[114] may intend this word to refer to the time when the child begins to take other foods aside from its mother's milk, for the latter is taken, whenever possible, for two or three years or even longer. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The Tapirapé seem to believe in magic conception, although
842 they know that pregnancy results from sexual relations. On March 31, 1942, Dr. Wagley told me the following story: once, at the beginning of his stay in Tampiitaua, he suddenly heard, "Here comes Dotof." He knew that this was the name which the women and children of the village used to call me, adding the diminutive i to the title by which the camarada Daniel addressed me [Tr., in Brazilian pronunciation, "Doctor" sounds like douth]. Wagley, surprised, [123:55] turned around and saw coming toward him not the colleague from São Paulo but a Tapirapé boy. "Where is Dotof?" he asked. They pointed to the boy. "But Dotof is far away," he objected. Then they told him that the boy was also called Dotof because he was the son of the Dotof from São Paulo. And as proof of this kinship they showed the ethnologist that the boy, like his distant progenitor, had no tembetá orifice in his lower lip as did other Tapirapé boys of his age. In a dry scientific work such as this, it is idle to conjecture what Wagley thought about me then and whether he compared the skin color of Dotof II with that of the other children. It is enough to say that he is my friend and the most understanding North American I know. Naturally, he did not fail to notice that the boy's age tallied roughly with the number

855 respected by the latter through abstentions to which they submit
[1464] for the child's sake over a long period of time, and not only when the child is sick. The period of physical contact also lasts longer
853 than among us. Although the statement of Father Vicente de
[114] Salvador (37), according to which certain Tupinambá mothers
[171] nursed their children "seven or eight years" is exaggerated, we may assume that the same thing occurred among those Tupi as we observed among the Tapirapé and numerous other Brazilian tribes, that is to say, a child who already plays and runs about with other children without adult supervision and who still nurses at his mother's breast. According to Lipkind (2, 187), Karajá children sleep with
[171] their mother until they stop nursing. In Tampiitaua, I found one
513 boy and one girl, each a year old, two girls of three years, and one girl of four years who slept with both parents in the same net in 1935, and two girls of one year who did so in 1947. In 1935, I found one girl of a few months, one girl of less than a year, one girl a little over a year, and one boy of three who slept with their mother, and in 1947 I found one boy of one year, one boy of two, and one boy of four who did the same. I found one girl and one boy of four and one girl of six who slept with their father in 1935 (the mother slept in an adjoining hammock with a smaller child) and one boy of two who did so in 1947. In that same year, a girl of about 10 slept with her father, a man of 35, while his wife, about seven months pregnant, who was not the girl's mother, slept in the next hammock. And in 1935, a boy of six slept with his mother's older sister while the mother slept in another house with her husband, who was not the boy's father.

The Tapirapé adorn the children with special care. I showed
301 in Chapter 6 (Photo. 13) how even before the birth they make
854 tamankurá for a child's ankles. When he is born, they proceed to adorn him with the traditional ornaments of the tribe, [127:233] and in addition they hang beads obtained from the Whites around his neck. Like everything else they may give him, these beads are
[422] acknowledged henceforth as the child's property. A museum collector may sometimes have difficulty obtaining an object owned exclusively by a child not yet old enough to understand his wish.

I was moved when I saw a Tapirapé mother attempt to protect
854 her weeks-old baby against the strong noon sun while crossing the village plaza. She held it close against her abdomen and ran bent

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

# TAPIRAPE SHAMANISM

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The present article is part of a more extensive study on Tapirapé life now in preparation. The material was collected during two periods of residence in the Tapirapé village of Tampitawa, the first from May to September 1939, and the second from November 1939, to May 1940. The field work among the Tapirapé was made possible by a grant from the Columbia University Social Science Research Council and was carried on under the direction of Dr. Ralph Linton of the Columbia University Department of Anthropology. In Brazil, the expeditions to the Tapirapé were made under the auspices of the Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro. The ethnographical collections gathered during both trips were added to the rich material on Brazilian Indian life belonging to that institution. I wish to thank the Director and the staff of the Museu Nacional for the many facilities and full cooperation which made possible both expeditions. 117 121 122

During the month of April 1940, while in the Tapirapé village, I was joined by two students from Museu Nacional. This month was spent in training these men in field techniques for the collecting of ethnographical material. This was the beginning of a training program in ethnographical field methods, which proceeded through 1941 and 1942. On a grant from the Committee for Inter-American Intellectual and Artistic Relations, I returned to Brazil to work at the Museu Nacional, in July 1941, for this purpose. At the Museu I gave a three 122

[p. 57]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



a male leader, a man of prestige, who is usually the husband of one the older women of the female kinship group. Apart from these residential groupings, the Tapirapé are divided in two other ways. 591 592

First, all Tapirapé men belong to one of the two patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties (2) and each moiety is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths, two groups of adult men of warrior age, and two groups of older men. Each of these groups bears the name of a mythical bird, the word *wirá* — bird — itself being used as the generic name for the groups. These *wirá* function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites; parallel groups also dance against one another in the ceremonials and offer reciprocal feasts to each other. The warrior-age group of each of these moieties has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and other communal work and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. 561 616 [476] [535] [574]

Both men and women of the Tapirapé are also divided into eight "feasting" groups called *tãtãpawá* — literally "fire all to eat" (3). Men belong to their father's feasting group and women to their mother's. Feasting groups are not only non-exogamic but people prefer to marry with their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry names of the mythological heads of the legendary original eight households of the first Tapirapé village. On occasion during the dry season the feast groups meet at sunset on the dance plaza for a ceremonial feast, each member bringing his or her contribution to the common meal (4). 574 571 582 [773]

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(2) Baldus (op. cit. pp. 95-98) did not recognize these *wirá* groups as age groups of men's ceremonial moieties. He calls them *grupos de trabalho* (work groups). He reports three *wirá* groups among the adult men and writes that formerly there had been three corresponding groups among the boys of the tribe. Nowadays the Tapirapé are so few that lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's *wirá* group in order to give the necessary balance for ceremonials. This presents the picture of several groups of equal ages; thus accounting, perhaps, for the divergence of opinion on this subject. Careful checking with informants, and observations of dances, hunts, races and wrestling matches when Tapirapé men were grouped according to moiety divisions led me to the definite conviction that there are age grouping of men's ceremonial moieties as described above. [314]

(3) Baldus (op. cit., p. 90).

(4) Baldus calls the *tãtãpawá* "grupos de comer" (eating groups). He reports seven feast groups functioning in 1937. He vividly describes a ceremonial meal on pages 91 to 99 of his work already cited.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



756 789 alons in order to protect the gardens and even the people themselves from his violence. This four-day ceremony is the culmination of shamanistic activity among the Tapirapé and its most exotic and violent manifestation (22).

## SOCIAL POSITION OF THE SHAMAN

554 622 The Tapirapé do not have chieftains with highly centralized authority. Instead one finds among them respected individuals who are described modernly by the Tapirapé with the Portuguese term "capitão". Such men of great prestige have in every instance gained the respect of their fellow tribesmen in one or more — usually at least two — of three ways.

622 554 858 First, an individual may be singled out by his parents, who must themselves be people of some prestige for especial treatment as a čirikakántu, a favored child (23). Parents bestow upon such a child a series of important names which in themselves carry respect and he is taught with special care the myths, songs, dances, and manual techniques of the tribe. His parents may wait upon him, bringing him water to drink and to wash himself with and preparing special foods for him. Special care is taken in oiling and painting his body and elaborate decorations are made for him to wear during the annual harvest ceremonies, for the čirikakántu are the central figures in part of this ceremony. Again, his body decorations are more elaborate than those of an ordinary youth when he dances during the ceremony of reaching maturity (24).

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(22) See page 84 for a detailed treatment of Thunder as a supernatural and of the Thunder Ceremony.

[616 562] (23) I use the masculine pronoun, for most čirikakántu are boys, although girls have been selected for this special treatment within the memory of my informants. Usually there are two male "favored children" in the village, one from each moiety.

(314) (24) On this subject of chieftainship, I again disagree with Baldus. He reports a "chefe principal" and a "vice-chefe". He considers such offices hereditary, the eldest son of the chief becoming chief and the next eldest becoming vice-chief (op. cit. page 81). But I believe the impression of primogeniture was created only by the fact that important names and the position of čirikakántu were generally passed on by parents to their eldest child and the parents of outstanding importance

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



Secondly, an individual may gain respect through being chosen as a leader of the warrior-age group of his ceremonial moiety. His companions may select him as their "walking leader" — *antá ówa* — or as their "song leader" — *amonikâ ówa* — because of his special abilities in hunting, gardening, manual technique, singing, or dancing. It frequently happens that these chosen leaders were *čirikakántu* when they were children, for the special treatment and educational advantages given such children develop qualities of leadership. 554 561 622 [858]

The third and most important road to prestige lies in shamanism. It has been shown that the Tapirapé depend upon their shamans to control the dangerous spirit world, to remove danger from first fruits, to predict the future, to bring spirits of children to their parents, and to cure the ill. In all life situations where chance or the unpredictable figure the Tapirapé depend markedly upon their shamans. Thus the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman (25). This prestige is reflected in the concepts of a separate afterlife for shamans and in the identification of ancestral culture heroes as shamans. Informants telling of Petura, the bringer of such phenomena as fire and daylight to the Tapirapé, and of Ware, who killed so many dangerous *ancúnga*, frequently referred to them as "great shamans". While a Tapirapé layman becomes a disembodied soul at death, the afterlife of a shaman is but a continuation of his present life under ideal circumstances. His soul goes to Maratawa (26), the home of the culture heroes. This home of the privileged dead lies far to the north- 558 622 756 775 [773]

were the ones who generally produced *čirikakántu*. The man whom Baldus reported as "chefe principal", carried an important name, had been a favored child, had been a "song-leader" of his with, and was currently a shaman of some power, and I believe held his position because of these things and had not inherited it. Wantomanu, whom Baldus mentions as "vice-chefe", had also before his death in 1940, been a shaman and a "walking leader". [114]

(25) The unusual importance of the shaman to the Tapirapé was well put by one of my informants: "Without our *pajé*, all we Tapirapé die".

(26) If a shaman meets death by murder, his trip to Maratawa is delayed. He goes temporarily to another "home of shamans" in the west until his wounds are healed; only then does he go to Maratawa. If his skull has been crushed by a club, a new cranium of metal is made for him at this temporary residence. A "metal" cranium is obviously an introduced concept yet informants were not able to explain of what material the new cranium might have been made before metal was known to the Tapirapé.

5: Krause--17 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Carajá
Tapirapé SP22

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Plate 28

1. First tree obstacle in the Tapirapé River.

2. Conquering the waterfall in the Tapirapé River.

3. "Smooth" channel in the upper course of the Tapirapé River.

4. My men on the march to the villages of the Tapirapé.

/Plate 28 faces p. 120./

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1. (cont.)
trim., Vol. 37, pp. 370-379; Vol. 38, pp. 19 and 83). Castelnau mentions them often and localizes their territory more exactly (Vol. 2, p. 116). Dr. Couto de Magalhães (Viagem ao Araguaya) repeats the statements of Cunha Mattos and also gives a brief description and a vocabulary of their language.

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but also roam on Bananal Island from the mouth of the Rio das Mortes to the southern tip. All the columns of smoke sighted in this region on Bananal are attributed to them. According to an isolated statement, they are also supposed to occupy a village inland from Furo das Pedras, which is at constant war with the neighboring Šavajé. They are supposed to have a darker skin-color than the Karajá. Their hair is worn in the bowl-cut. The men wear beards and large wooden disks; according to another statement, wide lip-plugs of shell in the lower lip; the ears are pierced and hang far down. They are a true campo people who have no boats. Nor do they know how to fish. In the autumn they come to the Araguaya to hunt for turtle eggs on the sand-banks. In connection with this they probably meet Karajá, by whom they are greatly feared on account of their dangerous arrows. They are regarded as the strongest (most warlike) people on the Araguaya and now play the same role there that the Chavánte did at the end of the eighteenth century.

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The peoples of the Xingu region were completely unknown to the Karajá. When I showed them Steinen's pictures, they debated for a long time about the strange style of dress (unclothed men with the penis hanging far down, uluri of the women), as well as about all kinds of implements. Obviously they were seeing such things for the first time. Language samples, too, which I read to them, were foreign to them; only in the case of the Suyá words did they listen attentively and seem to find related sounds. Only one chief, Chico Cadete in Village 18, directly below the Tapirapé mouth, pretended to know the Suyá with their large

/403 cont./
T 175 are Karajá who are so named because they live on the lower course
114 of the Tapirapé. On page 174 he mentions a village of the /404/
Tapirapé on the Fecho de Tapirapé and a village of the Karajá
five days upward in the Tapirapé River; the one village consists
of one house with ten occupants, the other, one house with 20 (p.
186). Here, therefore, the Tapirapé are regarded as a horde of
the Karajá who live at the mouth of the river itself, and in the
river, five days above the mouth; there is another village of
Karajá! Coudreau was here the end of April; he encountered
only a few places of the Karajá. His other reports are likewise
very confused and uncertain, so that one may trace these, too,
C back to misunderstood information given by the Karajá.
115 2. Information obtained /Erkundetes/. The information that
T I obtained from the Karajá was the following:
131 The Tapirapé (in Karajá: ũõhũ) live six to nine days' journey
[101] in a boat above the emptying of the river into the Araguaya. From
the landing place one is obliged to walk another half day, accord-
T ing to others two days, over the campo in order to reach their vil-
105 lages. They occupy three villages, and, to be sure, one large one
and two smaller ones (according to one isolated statement, four
villages). The men wear penis cuffs plaited out of palm leaves.
Both sexes wear the hair hanging down to the small of the back.
The men wear long lip-plugs of (reddish?) stone. Ear plugs are also
customary. Their ornaments are similar to those of the Karajá.
Tattooing occurs among the married women: they cut vertical
lines into their chins and one line on either side of the corners of
their mouths, obliquely downward; these lines are colored black.
They obtain their food primarily by cultivating manioc; since they
C are very industrious, they cultivate large quantities. They are
[829] therefore considered rich by the Karajá. Of animals they keep dogs
and, above all, araras, which the Karajá buy from them. Their
weapons are bows and arrows, clubs, spears, and spear throwers.
C They know how to work with cotton. They wind the spun threads
T into big balls, like those of the Karajá. The Karajá like to buy
[439] their large, firmly plaited, cotton net coverings with a wide, black
center stripe.

/406 cont./

114 course, I cannot state with certainty that all these objects of actually come from the Tapirapé. In particular this cannot be done in the case of the spindle; yet they all have something about them that is more or less foreign to the Karajá.

192 Of words, I obtained the following through the Karaja in their perhaps corrupt pronunciation: penis cuff, hōŏlă; urucú, kăă; tobacco, bădŭmă.

114 4. Observations in Tapirapé territory. In traveling on
[131] the Rio Tapirapé I came upon traces of a people who I assume were Tapirapé, for I met them in approximately the region in which, according to the accounts of the Karajá, the Tapirapé were supposed to live; I then crossed the boundary

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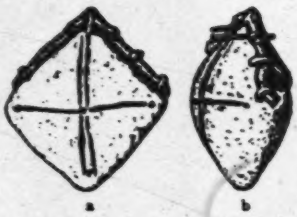


Ill. 266a, b.
Doll of white earth.

114 between the Karajá territory and the Tapirapé territory, as my Karajá companions declared; finally, the number of villages encountered (three) corresponds to that given by the Karajá.

The traces that I came across were the following: on
[226] the twelfth day of the river journey footprints on a sandbank;
[252] on the thirteenth day a lake blocked off by a fish fence, next to it in the forest a place for roasting food, from which a path led northward over the campo; on the fourteenth day a second roasting place with a campo path; from noon of this day all traces ceased. From the twelfth to the fourteenth day, on the other hand, places of fires, as well as the remains of old lake barricades, were to be seen everywhere.

[See pp. 337-339 -- Analyst]

/406 cont./

114 On the campo path from the first roasting place, which was later
[487] joined by the second coming from the left, we reached a large
[361] village on the second day of the land march, two smaller villages
on the third day, all three abandoned and in utter ruins. Water
[312] was not to be found on the campo on which the villages were
located; the swamps and brooks to which paths led were dried
out and, when excavated, in part to a depth of one meter, did
not even yield moist earth, to say nothing of water.

131 On the basis of the discoveries and observations that I
133 made at these places, I formed the following opinion. The tribe
lives on the high campo that extends from the southern bend of
the Tapirapé to the north as far as the high mountains (or plateau
borders) that enclose it in the north and west. In front of these
borders there extends a tremendous trough, apparently the source
region of the Tapirapé, which from there flows around out of
the high campo in the west and south, then turns off to the north-
[361] east. /407/ Here, approximately 130 kilometers due west from
[162] the Tapirapé mouth, the tribe lives in one large and two smaller
361 villages during the rainy season. The large village seemed to
have had three to four houses; the second, smaller one, two to
[392] three; the third perhaps the same number. The houses were in
such a state of ruin that their construction was no longer recog-
nizable; apparently they were large rectangular buildings with
a pointed gable roof. The villages lie close to the large forest
[133] area that accompanies the trough in front of the mountains. All
around in smaller troughs extend large swamps to which brooks
221 lead. During the dry season these water areas dry up completely,
so that even holes up to a meter deep in the brook bed do not
yield moist earth. As a result, the Indians are compelled to
migrate to water areas, and apparently they then first seek the
[437] upper Tapirapé. In former times they seem to have come
farther downstream to a certain place where they met the Karajá,
who extended their fishing expeditions this far, and traded with
them. This trading place lies about 30 kilometers southeast of
the first village (34 kilometers from the second and third). As
[226] a result of the conflicts with the Karajá, they now avoid this

821 emekuantxíampaní, a word that refers to the thin, long tembetá
142 [Tr., lip plug] of the boys. To other stages of [91] visibility they gave the names itaxavãhaũpíri, eviyik, and akaemerút, three terms whose meaning I was unable to determine and which must therefore be disregarded until further elucidated.

805 It became apparent that the Tapirapé are not in the habit of
192 reckoning time in terms of lunar months when I attempted to find out the duration they attribute to the span of time corresponding roughly to our year. They distinguished the following three periods: amína, "rain," the rainy season; amína akípaák, the end of the rainy season; and amína apám, "rain sleeps," the dry season. They attributed, still with some certainty, about five txãhi akantxím, "moon finished," to the first period, while their computations for the second period varied from one to five, and those for the "sleep of the rain" from three to eight. [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

Although they are not unfamiliar with the continuous alternation
[171] of day and night, the Brazilian Indians, to my knowledge, do not have words covering those two phases as a unit. The Tapirapé word ána merely designates the day from sunrise to sundown in contrast to the darkness of the night, and corresponds to ára in the above-cited Tupí dictionaries. For "night" the Tapirapé have the terms kanók (or kanúk), ípítún (or ípítúnã), and txãhi eni (or txãhi ãni), the first one designating nightfall or early evening, the second a dark, moon less [92] night, and the third a moonlit night or moonlight. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the first sentence of the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

It is not surprising that the concept of "midnight" is lacking among clockless people like the Tapirapé [Ed., the remainder of
114 the sentence is omitted]. The Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica
192 [Vocabulary of the Aboriginal Brazilian Language] lists the word
805 pigçarê with the translation, "the whole night, or throughout the night." I did not hear any similar term in Tapirapé, not even a word similar to píhá, another term for "night" listed by Montoya.

The Tapirapé word kaém, "daybreak," corresponds to coé in Montoya, coéma in the "Dicionário Brasiliano [Aboriginal Brazilian Dictionary]," coamutu in the Vocabulário na Lingua Brasílica, and coéma in Stradelli.

For "midday" the Tapirapé said atxavũapít. Montoya lists açayé, and the Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica, açajê. In Stradelli, the word "middle" is pytera.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

# WORLD VIEW OF THE TAPIRAPE INDIANS

By Charles Wagley

101 The Tapirape live in Central Brazil north of the Tapirape River, a
[131] western affluent of the Araguaya River. They are a Tupi-speaking people
isolated from other peoples speaking the same language. Culturally they
[197] are related more closely to the Tupi-speaking people of the coast than to
those of the head waters of the Xingu River. The only peoples with whom
they have had contacts within historic times are their northern neighbors,
the Gês-speaking Northern Kayapo and the Carajá (including the Javahe
branch) of the Araguaya. Because of hostility with both these neighboring
[649] peoples, the Tapirape have withdrawn farther from the Araguaya and
have contacts at present with the Carajá only through occasional European
visitors. Introduced disease, acquired from these visitors and earlier from
[161] the Carajá, have reduced the Tapirape from five large villages (originally
more than two hundred per village) to one with less than 150 people. Con-
[177] tacts with Europeans, however, have been short and few, leaving the Tapi-
rape aboriginal culture little changed.

According to Tapirape tradition, they came to their present home from
173 the north and east.[1] One group of them lived on the Araguaya and for a
823 time shared a common village with the Javahe branch of the Carajá. The
Tapirape are traditionally interested in country to the east, not to the west.
It is to the east that Maratawa, the "home of the gods," lies, and in this
[772] direction, too, is the home of two legendary peoples: the Wanchira, a can-
nibalistic tribe which ate a famous mythical ancestor of the Tapirape, and
the "other Tapirape," speaking the same language and sharing the same
culture. East of the Araguaya River there is said to be another large river
and great mountains where various supernaturals live.

648 Formerly, Tapirape who were captives of the Carajá returned to tell of
that country and people, and in modern times Tapirape have visited both
Carajá and Kayapo, as well as various Brazilian settlements on the Ara-
guaya. No foreign or hostile tribes prevent them from wandering west-
[484] ward into the open country toward the Xingu River, but it is a region of
little interest to them, and they never travel far in this direction. Of the
823 Xingu River and people, they know only what Brazilian visitors have told

[1] According to Métraux, the Tapirape were known to have been on the Araguaya as early
114 as the 18th century. He believes the Tapirape to be fugitives from the coast of Brazil, probably
174 from the vicinity of Rio, possibly from the Tamoyo. Certainly they came from the east, but
my material points to a migration from the northeast rather than from the southeast, as would
be the case if migration had been from the forests of Rio. Métraux, Alfred, Migrations Hi-
toriques des Tupi-Guarani, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N.S.* 19, 24
(1927).

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



abnormalities. Since there is a low incidence of twins and since in several known cases "abnormal" children have been allowed to live, infanticide has had little or no effect upon Tenetehara population trends. The Tenetehara tell of one or two formulas thought to produce abortion. The long taboos imposed on both parents during the pregnancy of the mother and during the early infancy of the child are a source of irritation and discomfort which would seem to tend to discourage large families. But, in general, there is little planned effort among the Tenetehara to limit family size. Men seem proud of several children; women are eager to bear children and they will leave a husband whom they believe to be sterile.

Te 847 [845] Te [843] Te 842 [168] [586]

In contrast, the Tapirapé value small families. They take specific steps to limit their families and have explicit ideas as to maximum family size. Not only do the Tapirapé bury twins at birth as do the Tenetehara (and for similar reasons) but they believe that a woman should not have more than three live children. (5) In addition, the three children of a woman should not be of the same sex. In other words, if a woman has two living daughters and her third child is also a girl, it is usually buried at birth. Similarly, if she has two male children and her third is a male, infanticide is in order. Furthermore, all men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers to her child. More than two co-fathers leads to complications. All co-fathers are expected to observe taboos on sexual relations and on the eating of certain meats during the pregnancy of the woman and the early infancy of the child. If there are three, four, or more co—fathers one of them is certain to break these taboos thus endangering the health of the infant; consequently the woman is urged to bury the child. (6)

Ta 168 842 Ta 168 851 847 [843]

On an overt level, the Tapirapé justify these checks on population by saying, "We do not want thin children" or "They would be hungry". They enlarge upon such statements by adding that it is difficult for a father to supply a large family with meat from hunting. In aboriginal times, manioc was plentiful and no one lacked the tubers with which to manufacture flour but meat was especially scarce during the rainy season when the forest is partially flooded and the paths to the savanna country are impossable. In addition, a complex set of food taboos make the job of supplying meat for a family more difficult. Children before adolescence are allowed to eat only specific meats and women are prohibited others. When a Tapirapé says "I am hungry" he generally means by implication:

Ta 168 842 Ta 262

(5) Baldus (1948) vol. CXXIII, p. 55, was told the same regarding the limitation of number of children of the Tapirapé family, but the contrary in relation to twins. According to information given to him by these Indians, the Tapirapé appreciate twins and, therefore, husband and wife eat twin or double bananas, i. e., with two fruits in the same peel.

Ta 114

(6) Genealogies indicated that these rules are adhered to almost without exception. In 1939, during my residence in a Tapirapé village, one woman hesitated in allowing her third male child to be buried. Less than a month after its birth, she appeared one day without the infant and announced that he had died of a cold. Another woman whose child had four fathers allowed the child to live only to have it die of an intestinal disorder. The villagers took a definite «I - told - you - so» attitude.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

# THE TAPIRAPÉ

By Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvão

## INTRODUCTION

Isolated from other *Tupi-Guarani*-speaking people, the *Tapirapé* live 131
in Central Brazil, west of the Araguaya River and north of the Tapirapé
River, a western tributary flowing into the Araguaya near the northern
tip of the Island of Bananal (lat. 2° S., long. 52° W.). According to [173]
tradition, the *Tapirapé* lived for a time on the banks of the Araguaya and
Javahé Rivers with the *Carajá*. They quarreled, and the *Tapirapé* moved
west to their present territory (map 1, *No. 1;* see Volume 1, map 7).
At the beginning of last century, five *Tapirapé* villages formed a line [175]
stretching northward into *Cayapó* country beginning at a point a few [361]
miles back from the Tapirapé River about 150 miles from its mouth. The 648
*Tapirapé* have always been at war with the *Cayapó*, except for a brief
period. Each of these villages contained at least 200 individuals with a 161
total *Tapirapé* population of about 1,000. Since 1900, however, there
has been a terrific reduction of *Tapirapé* population.

In 1939, there was only one remaining *Tapirapé* village situated about
20 miles north of the Tapirapé River with a total population of 147 people.
This decline in population is basically due to disease (smallpox, respira- [164]
torial diseases, etc.) acquired either directly from Neo-Brazilians or from
the *Carajá*, who are continually in contact with Neo-Brazilians. *Tapirapé* [648]
groups have been also massacred on several occasions by both the *Carajá*
and *Cayapó*.

The *Tapirapé* have had but few contacts, however, with Neo-Brazilians. Except 648
for the demoralizing effect of depopulation, their culture has been little modified.
Although stories are told of Neo-Brazilian hunters visiting the *Tapirapé* in 1909, [177]
the first registered contact with them was in 1912. During that year, Señor Manda-
curú, leading an expedition of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service, visited the
village nearest the Tapirapé River. In 1914, the Dominican priests visited the 797
*Tapirapé*. From that date on, the Dominicans returned each year or so to a camp
on the Tapirapé River for 3 or 4 days at a time and were met by the *Tapirapé*, to
whom they distributed trade goods. About 1934, a Protestant missionary, Frederick
Kiegel, made several trips, staying 2 or 3 months in a *Tapirapé* village. In 1935,
the first trained ethnologist, Dr. Herbert Baldus, resided several months with the [114]
*Tapirapé*, and in 1939–40, Wagley spent 12 months with them making the study
on which this article is based.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

115 Champuki was not the first person who came to mind when a contribution to this volume was considered. I thought of Gregorio Martin, a dignified and wise old Mayan Indian of Santiago Chimaltenango in Guatemala, who in 1937 had taught me the way of life of his people. I thought of Camirang, the dynamic young chieftain whom I had known in 1941 in a village of Tenetehara Indians along the Pindaré River in northeastern Brazil. I thought also of Nhunduca, a gifted and witty storyteller from a small Amazon community, who in 1948 introduced me to the rich folklore of the Amazon *caboclo* or peasant. But then, among all the people I had known in the various primitive and peasant cultures in which I [554] have done ethnological research, I chose Champukwi, a man of no outstanding talent, yet talented all the same—a man of not the [123] highest prestige in his society, yet admired by all. For the brief span of about a year he was my most intimate friend.

115 I knew Champukwi some 20 years ago when I lived in his small 123 village of about 175 Tapirapé Indians in central Brazil. I must have [162] seen him at once, for presents were distributed to the whole popu- [621] lation on the day of my arrival in late April of 1939. But I did not [131] distinguish Champukwi as an individual, nor did he, at first, stand out in any way from the other men of his village. His name does not appear in the notes taken during my first month among the Tapirapé.

● 114 For me, and even more for Valentim Gomes, the Brazilian fron- [103] tiersman who was my companion and employee, the first weeks in the Village of the Tapirs, as the small settlement was known, were a period of grappling with a strange and often confusing world. 177 The Tapirapé Indians lived between the Araguaia and Xingú Rivers, [131] an area at that time almost entirely isolated from modern Brazil. They had been visited by only a few people from the "outside"—by one or two missionaries; by Herbert Baldus, a German-Brazilian anthropologist; and by a few frontiersmen from the Araguaia River. The nearest Brazilian settlement to the Village of the Tapirs was Furo de Pedra, a town of 400–500 persons that lay some 300 miles

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few 177
months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of [197]
Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and [191]
verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these 114
youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals 123
we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," [621]
the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses [361]
arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were [592]
each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the per- [551]
sonal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Maria-
pawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let
alone pronounce. 114

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study [122]
intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the wide- [197]
spread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least
passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms
of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed
explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which [241]
manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops
were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poison- [462]
ous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I [252]
watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture [323]
their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm- [285]
thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building [462]
was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly [345]
became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and [291]
the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude [834]
women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never
to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also [302]
to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed
their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on
their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many [126]
other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes
and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather 123
pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our
antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversa-
tions that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales
of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



requited by gifts of beads, hardware, and salt which I provided judiciously from time to time. After a few days, I began noting questions to be asked of Champukwi in the late afternoon when he now habitually visited our house. But this was the time that others also liked to visit. At this hour of the day our house was of[illegible] crowded with men, women, children, and even pets—monkeys, parrots, and wild pigs—for which the Tapirapé along with other Brazilian tribes have an especial fondness. Such social gatherings were hardly conducive to the ethnological interview or even to the [illegible]stematic recording of vocabulary. So I asked Champukwi if I [illegible]ght go with him to his garden. There, alternating between helping [illegible]n cut brush from his garden site and sitting in the shade, I was [illegible]le to conduct a kind of haphazard interview. Often, while he worked, I formulated questions in my halting Tapirapé and I was able by repetition to understand his answers. Although the Tapirapé villagers began to joke of Champukwi's new garden site as belonging to the two of us, these days were very valuable for my research.

Walking through the forest to and from Champukwi's garden, we often hunted for *jacu*, a large forest fowl rather like a chicken. I attempted to teach Champukwi how to use my .22 rifle, but he had difficulty understanding the gunsights and missed continually. He attempted to show me how to "see" the *jacu* hidden in the thick branches of the trees, but I seldom caught sight of the birds until they had flown. Thus, our complementary incapacities combined to make our hunting in the tropical forest quite unproductive, and in disgust Champukwi often resorted to his bow and arrow. Only later in the year, after he had practiced a great deal by shooting at tin cans did Champukwi master the use of the rifle, and this new-found skill greatly added to his prestige among the Tapirapé.

My abiding friendship with Champukwi perhaps really began when I came down with malaria about six weeks after our arrival. During the first few days of my illness, I was oblivious to my surroundings. I am told that while one *panché*, or medicine man, predicted my death, another tried to cure me by massage, by blowing tobacco smoke over my body, and by attempting to suck out the "object" that was causing the fever. Evidently his efforts—plus the atabrine tablets administered by Valentim Gomes—were successful, for my fever abated. I realized, however, that convalescence would be slow. Unable to leave the house for almost three weeks, I spent my days

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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●114 and evenings suspended in a large Brazilian hammock. In this state of enervation, I must have been the very picture of the languid white [123] man in the tropics. Each late afternoon our house became a gather- [974] ing place for the Tapirapé villagers, who came not only to visit with me (communication was still difficult) but also with each other, and 123 to gaze upon the belongings of the *tori* (non-Indian). My illness 538 proved to be a boon for ethnographic research. People were more patient with the sick anthropologist than with the well one. They told stories, not only for my benefit, but also to entertain each other. [703] In attempting to explain to me about a mythological culture hero, a man would find himself telling a myth to the attending audience. Thus, I heard (and saw) Tapirapé stories told as they should be—as dramatic forms spoken with vivacity and replete with mimicry of the animals that are so often characters in these folktales. With my still imperfect knowledge of Tapirapé I inevitably lost the thread of the story and it had to be retold to me more slowly.

115 Champukwi was a frequent visitor during these days of my con- 123 valescence. He came each morning on the way to his garden and 124 he became accustomed to drinking morning coffee with us. And, [512] each late afternoon after he had returned from his garden, he came "to talk"—often slowly retelling the stories and incidents that I had difficulty understanding the evening before. Several days during this period he did not work in his garden but sat for two or three hours talking. He learned when he should pause or repeat a phrase or [212] sentence in order that I might take notes. He came to understand what writing meant, discovering that what I wrote in my notebook I could repeat to him later. In time he appreciated the fact that I was not so much interested in learning the Tapirapé language as I was in comprehending the Tapirapé way of life. As so often is the case when a person understands and speaks a foreign language poorly, one communicates best with but a single person who is accustomed to one's mistakes and one's meager vocabulary. Thus, I could understand and make myself understood to Champukwi better than any [192] other Tapirapé. Moreover, because he spent long hours in our house, [126] he was learning Portuguese from Valentim Gomes, and this was an aid in helping me translate newly learned words and phrases in Tapirapé and even helped me understand his explanations of Tapirapé culture patterns. Champukwi thus consciously became my teacher, and others came to realize that he was teaching me. During

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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morning we embarked downriver. My last memory of Champukwi was of him standing on the bank waving in *tori* style until our boat made the curve of the river.

I did not return to visit the Tapirapé until 1953, but news of them came to me at intervals. Valentim Gomes returned to the region in 1941 as an officer of the Brazilian Indian Service, and his post was charged with the protection of the Tapirapé Indians. In his first year in this capacity, he wrote me: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the 26th of July [1941]. They were in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, and the like. There were plenty of bananas. But I am sorry to say that after we left them, twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Champukwi, the best informant in the village, and our best friend." Several slow exchanges of letters brought further details from Valentim. In some manner, perhaps through a visit from a Brazilian frontiersman, several Tapirapé had contracted common colds. Its fatalness to them is indicated by the name they give it—*ó-ó* (*ó* is the augmentative which might be translated as "big, big"). Since they have no knowledge of the process of contagion and have not acquired immunity to the common cold, the disease spread rapidly throughout the village. The Tapirapé realized, I knew, that colds and other diseases such as measles which they had suffered before, were derived from visitors. Yet they also believed that death resulted from evil magic or sorcery. Why do some people who are very sick from colds get well, they asked, while others who are no more ill, soon die? It is only because those who die are the victims of sorcery, they had explained to me. So, following many deaths, including that of a young man like Champukwi, who enjoyed prestige and had many kinsmen, I was not surprised to learn from Valentim Gomes that the powerful shaman, Urukumu, had been assassinated. As Champukwi had told me, suspicion of Urukumu had already been growing even during my residence in the village. After the death of Champukwi, one of his many "brothers" (actually a cousin but called by the same term as brother in Tapirapé) had entered Urukumu's house late at night and clubbed him to death. To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *iwúterahú*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of

166 621 [627] It may be that the emigrants, leaving under the pressure of public opinion, stated that they were merely going on a hunt. Such a statement might have been motivated by a wish not to ruin any possibility of return with a definitive and hostile farewell. It actually seems that they returned a few years later and were not killed by the Kayapó. Wagley, indeed, told me that when he was in Tampiitsúa in 1939 he heard of a Tapirapé village named Chichutsúa, located six days' journey to the north and inhabited by 45 people. The inhabitants of that village appeared one fine day and joined the people of Tampiitsúa, making a total of 147 [103:185] individuals (cf. Wagley 2, 409). In 1935, I counted 130 inhabitants in Tampiitsúa. The discrepancy of 17 may well tally with the figure "20" for the emigrants, granting that among the total Tapirapé population the number of deaths was higher than that of births and taking into account the inadequate familiarity of this tribe with numbers. The quoted figure of "45" relating to the number of inhabitants in Chichutsúa may be explained by the fact that the population of this village had increased since 1935 with the arrival of other emigrants from Tampiitsúa. When he looked at the photographs I had taken, Wagley found that a large number of the Chichutsúa inhabitants had been in Tampiitsúa at the time of my visit. This is a good example of "horizontal social mobility" (cf. Baldus and Willems 153).

Regarding the propensity of these Tupí Indians for splitting up, it is fitting to cite also the following case. In September, 1932, the young and forceful "capitain" Ikaranchó, who had quarreled with Kamairahó, founded a new village one league [115] east of Tampiitsúa. Reverend Kegel, to whom I owe this piece of information, visited both villages. Ikaranchó had so much [721] energy that he managed to post well-disciplined sentries around his settlement at night. Such a precaution, taken probably on account of the Kayapó, was unheard-of among the Tapirapé. One third of the inhabitants of Tampiitsúa moved to the new village. Nearly all of them were young people [Ed., the remainder of the sentence is omitted]. At the time when Ikaranchó's village was founded, 164 731 camaradas of the Dominicans at Conceição transmitted to the Tapirapé, with whom they had been in contact on the river of the same name, an attack of influenza which

171 Yves d'Evreux (110) for the Tupinambá, and by Koch-Grünberg
276 (1, I, 128) for the Káua of the upper Aiari. They could not inhale the smoke as I did. Every time they tried, they began to cough violently. My smoke-swallowing demonstrations, when I released the smoke only after having talked and drunk some water, aroused respectful admiration, but no one dared to emulate me. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, two purposes for smoking tobacco can be clearly distinguished: one that is simply recreative and one
[158] that is medicinal. As a medicine, the smoke is blown over painful areas of the body or over the entire body of the patient. A Bakairi told Kaiß von den Steinen (II, 347) that on the upper Xingu there are two varieties of tobacco, the one smoked for pleasure being much milder than the medicinal one.

To summarize, we may say that the Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá in the term they use to designate tobacco, in their manner of swallowing smoke, and in the fact that among them only the men smoke. They differ from these Indians, from the Xingu Indians, and from other Tupi tribes in not smoking cigars. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua resemble the northern Karajá and Kayapó in their use of the jequitibá-fruit pipe; they differ from those tribes in their words for tobacco and pipe, and from the Karajá in the fact that only the men smoke in Tampiitaua. [Ed., end of Vol. 122.]

[123:53] Chapter 11

## The Life Cycle of the Individual

### Birth

192 In Tapirapé, aín means "I fall" and "I am born" [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the remainder of the paragraph are omitted.]

[123] I did not have the opportunity to witness a birth among the
[115] Tapirapé, and I can only relay the information given to me by
444 Reverend Kegel and by the Indians. Childbirth takes place inside the house. While the future father remains in his hammock, the women assist the woman in labor, who is either lying in another hammock with her legs drawn up or supported by horizontal wooden

162 What strikes us in the above table is, on the one hand, the small number of children in relation to adults (18 individuals through 15 years of age and 41 over 15 years of age), and, on the other hand, [165] the brevity of the life span (only ten individuals were over 30). Only one man and one woman were slightly over 40.

According to the reports that I received in October, 1947, from [115] Mr. Valentim Gomes, the man in charge of the Indian post Heloísa Alberto Torres, and from Father M. H. Lelong at Conceição do Araguaia, the numerical ratios listed above underwent modifications [726] caused by the Kaiapó [Cayapo] attack on Tampiitsúa at the end of August, in the course of which three women were killed and two women and one boy were abducted. Of the 59 individuals examined, therefore, there remained 31 males and 22 females.

[847] Aside from illness, the custom of killing newborn children under certain circumstances contributes to the decimation of the tribe.

Of the changes in Tapirapé culture which occurred since my first 178 visit 12 years ago, I wish to mention primarily the scarcity of 262 vegetable foods. The literature on these peaceful and industrious 241 Tupi Indians contains numerous references to their large plots. I may add that in the quantity and variety of their garden produce they outstripped not only the neighboring tribes but also the frontier people. In 1935, in the months of June to August, I found the village provided abundantly with the most delicious bananas, five varieties of manioc and numerous other tubers, beans, peanuts, and maize. In 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little cará [Tr., a variety of yam], or manioc cake. The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts, for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such [574] a change in the food situation affects the tribal behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality.

It is true that this may also have resulted in part from contact 177 with the neighboring Whites who have settled on the Tapirapé River [648] over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their 177 body is undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. 291 Thus, instead of satisfying the appetites of their Indian visitors, they

648 [342] Tapirapé houses, covered with palm and "wild banana" leaves, a sturdy protection against heat, cold, and rain, are worth nothing in the eyes of those who own earthen walls. The language which they do not understand seems as ugly to them as all the strange customs seem ridiculous or horrifying, be they facial painting, masked dances, or the practices of the sorcerers--medicine men. This does not prevent them from being no less "primitive" than the Indians in certain aspects of their material culture. In Pôrto Velho, for example, a family from Conceição used a tree trunk with hollowed-out steps as a ladder, thus resembling in this respect the Ojampi [Oyampi] Indians of Guiana who reach their raised houses by similar contraptions.

Retreating before the White intruders with the transfer of 726 Tampiitsua, the Tapirapé fell once more into the hands of that neighbor who has probably been for centuries the Number One enemy of their tribe. In 1935 they had already shown their fear openly at night, asking me not to let go of my revolver when I lay down in my net so as to be ready to defend them from the Kaiapó, who [142] had attacked and destroyed another village of theirs three years earlier and killed most of its inhabitants. When I reached Pôrto Velho last July, the same preoccupation had seized the frontiersmen. They spoke of the nearness of the Kaiapó in the same terms as it had been mentioned 12 years earlier in Tampiitsua. These rumors were confirmed by the presence of three families who had come from the plains near Conceição do Araguaia. They said that they had left it only out of fear of those Indians, who had killed seven persons in the previous year.

Unfortunately, the expected danger was not imaginary. A few weeks after our last visit, the Kaiapó attacked Tampiitsua. Details [115] of this tragic occurrence are related in a letter I received from Father [648] M. H. Lelong (1). In it we read that the village was sacked and burned [727]

1. Conceição do Araguaia, 11 October 1947
Dear Professor:

I am the Frenchman you met on the Araguaia as you went up from the Tapirapé toward Leopoldina.

I know how interested you were in this small group of attractive Indians, and thus, after arriving at Conceição the day before yesterday, I hasten to send you the news, which is very sad.

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•115 Champuki was not the first person who came to mind when a contribution to this volume was considered. I thought of Gregorio Martin, a dignified and wise old Mayan Indian of Santiago Chimaltenango in Guatemala, who in 1937 had taught me the way of life of his people. I thought of Camirang, the dynamic young chieftain whom I had known in 1941 in a village of Tenetehara Indians along the Pindaré River in northeastern Brazil. I thought also of Nhunduca, a gifted and witty storyteller from a small Amazon community, who in 1948 introduced me to the rich folklore of the Amazon *caboclo* or peasant. But then, among all the people I had known in the various primitive and peasant cultures in which I
[954] have done ethnological research, I chose Champukwi, a man of no outstanding talent, yet talented all the same—a man of not the
[123] highest prestige in his society, yet admired by all. For the brief span of about a year he was my most intimate friend.

115 I knew Champukwi some 20 years ago when I lived in his small
123 village of about 175 Tapirapé Indians in central Brazil. I must have
[162] seen him at once, for presents were distributed to the whole popu-
[620] lation on the day of my arrival in late April of 1939. But I did not
[131] distinguish Champukwi as an individual, nor did he, at first, stand out in any way from the other men of his village. His name does not appear in the notes taken during my first month among the Tapirapé.

114 For me, and even more for Valentim Gomes, the Brazilian fron-
[103] tiersman who was my companion and employee, the first weeks in the Village of the Tapirs, as the small settlement was known, were a period of grappling with a strange and often confusing world.
177 The Tapirapé Indians lived between the Araguaia and Xingú Rivers,
[131] an area at that time almost entirely isolated from modern Brazil. They had been visited by only a few people from the "outside"—by one or two missionaries; by Herbert Baldus, a German-Brazilian anthropologist; and by a few frontiersmen from the Araguaia River. The nearest Brazilian settlement to the Village of the Tapirs was Furo de Pedra, a town of 400–500 persons that lay some 300 miles

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the subject of conversation when listening to a strange language.) Then, of course, our presence was materially valuable—for the salt, knives, needles, beads, mirrors, and other presents we brought were greatly appreciated. However, within a very short time some of these people began to emerge as individuals. Awanchowa, a small boy of about 6, followed me about and literally haunted our little house, staring at our large bag of salt which he ate with the same relish children in other cultures eat sweets. Then there was Tanui, a woman of middle age (whose hair was cropped short indicating that a near relative had recently died) who often brought us presents of food. Gradually most of the villagers emerged as distinctive personalities and among them was Champukwi. I cannot remember when I first came to know him as an individual, but his name begins to appear regularly in my field notebooks about one month after our arrival. Soon, he became my best informant, and after a time, an inseparable companion.

In 1939 Champukwi must have been about 25 years of age. He was tall for a Tapirapé male, measuring perhaps about 5 feet 6 inches, strongly built but lean, and weighing, I should judge, about 150 lbs. Like all Tapirapé men he wore his hair in bangs across his forehead with a braided pigtail tied at the back of his neck. He was somewhat of a dandy, for his feet and the calves of his legs were painted bright red every evening with *rucu*. From time to time he painted an intricate design on his body, and he wore crocheted disc-like wrist ornaments of cotton string dyed red. He was obviously a man of some prestige among men of his age, for youths and younger men treated him with deference, always finding a seat for him on the bench that was built against one wall of our house. I soon learned that he, too, had spent a short period at a mission station several years earlier and that he knew a few words of Portuguese. He was married and had a daughter about 2 years of age. His wife, hardly attractive according to my American tastes, appeared to be somewhat older than he, and was pregnant when we first met.

Champukwi seemed more patient than other Tapirapé with my attempts to use his language and to seek information. He would repeat a word, a phrase, or a sentence several times so that I might write it down phonetically. He resorted to his meager Portuguese and even to mimicry to explain what was meant. His patience was of course

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requited by gifts of beads, hardware, and salt which I provided judiciously from time to time. After a few days, I began noting questions to be asked of Champukwi in the late afternoon when he now habitually visited our house. But this was the time that others also liked to visit. At this hour of the day our house was often crowded with men, women, children, and even pets—monkeys, parrots, and wild pigs—for which the Tapirapé along with other Brazilian tribes have an especial fondness. Such social gatherings were hardly conducive to the ethnological interview or even to the systematic recording of vocabulary. So I asked Champukwi if I might go with him to his garden. There, alternating between helping him cut brush from his garden site and sitting in the shade, I was able to conduct a kind of haphazard interview. Often, while he worked, I formulated questions in my halting Tapirapé and I was able by repetition to understand his answers. Although the Tapirapé villagers began to joke of Champukwi's new garden site as belonging to the two of us, these days were very valuable for my research.

Walking through the forest to and from Champukwi's garden, we often hunted for *jacu*, a large forest fowl rather like a chicken. I attempted to teach Champukwi how to use my .22 rifle, but he had difficulty understanding the gunsights and missed continually. He attempted to show me how to "see" the *jacu* hidden in the thick branches of the trees, but I seldom caught sight of the birds until they had flown. Thus, our complementary incapacities combined to make our hunting in the tropical forest quite unproductive, and in disgust Champukwi often resorted to his bow and arrow. Only later in the year, after he had practiced a great deal by shooting at tin cans did Champukwi master the use of the rifle, and this new-found skill greatly added to his prestige among the Tapirapé.

My abiding friendship with Champukwi perhaps really began when I came down with malaria about six weeks after our arrival. During the first few days of my illness, I was oblivious to my surroundings. I am told that while one *panché*, or medicine man, predicted my death, another tried to cure me by massage, by blowing tobacco smoke over my body, and by attempting to suck out the "object" that was causing the fever. Evidently his efforts—plus the atabrine tablets administered by Valentim Gomes—were successful, for my fever abated. I realized, however, that convalescence would be slow. Unable to leave the house for almost three weeks, I spent my days

114 and evenings suspended in a large Brazilian hammock. In this state of enervation, I must have been the very picture of the languid white [123] man in the tropics. Each late afternoon our house became a gather- [574] ing place for the Tapirapé villagers, who came not only to visit with me (communication was still difficult) but also with each other, and 123 to gaze upon the belongings of the *tori* (non-Indian). My illness 538 proved to be a boon for ethnographic research. People were more patient with the sick anthropologist than with the well one. They told stories, not only for my benefit, but also to entertain each other. [713] In attempting to explain to me about a mythological culture hero, a man would find himself telling a myth to the attending audience. Thus, I heard (and saw) Tapirapé stories told as they should be—as dramatic forms spoken with vivacity and replete with mimicry of the animals that are so often characters in these folktales. With my still imperfect knowledge of Tapirapé I inevitably lost the thread of the story and it had to be retold to me more slowly.

115 Champukwi was a frequent visitor during these days of my con- 123 valescence. He came each morning on the way to his garden and 124 he became accustomed to drinking morning coffee with us. And, [512] each late afternoon after he had returned from his garden, he came "to talk"—often slowly retelling the stories and incidents that I had difficulty understanding the evening before. Several days during this period he did not work in his garden but sat for two or three hours talking. He learned when he should pause or repeat a phrase or [212] sentence in order that I might take notes. He came to understand what writing meant, discovering that what I wrote in my notebook I could repeat to him later. In time he appreciated the fact that I was not so much interested in learning the Tapirapé language as I was in comprehending the Tapirapé way of life. As so often is the case when a person understands and speaks a foreign language poorly, one communicates best with but a single person who is accustomed to one's mistakes and one's meager vocabulary. Thus, I could understand and make myself understood to Champukwi better than any [192] other Tapirapé. Moreover, because he spent long hours in our house, [126] he was learning Portuguese from Valentim Gomes, and this was an aid in helping me translate newly learned words and phrases in Tapirapé and even helped me understand his explanations of Tapirapé culture patterns. Champukwi thus consciously became my teacher, and others came to realize that he was teaching me. During

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the next two months we had daily sessions, some very brief and others lasting two or more hours.

In October of 1939, some six months after my arrival, I found it necessary to leave the Village of the Tapirs to go to Furo de Pedra for supplies and to collect mail that was held there for me. Valentim Gomes and I had come up the Tapirapé River, a tributary of the Araguaia, pulled by an outboard motor belonging to an anthropological colleague who had since returned to the United States. Now we had to paddle ourselves downstream. We could expect little help from the sluggish current and since the river was so low, it might be necessary to haul our canoe through shallows. Malaria had left me weak and I doubted that I was equal to this strenuous task. Several Tapirapé men, including Champukwi, were anxious to accompany us, but having Indians with us in Furo de Pedra was not advisable. First, they were susceptible to the common cold, which among relatively uncontaminated peoples such as these American aborigines often turns into a serious, and even fatal, disease. Second, unaccustomed to clothes, money, many foods, and other Brazilian customs and forms of etiquette, they would be totally dependent upon us during our stay in this frontier community. Nevertheless, the temptation to have my best informant with me during the trip and during our stay in Furo de Pedra was great and so we agreed to take Champukwi.

The trip was made slowly. Two good frontiersmen in a light canoe could have made it in three days, but we took eight. Champukwi was of little help in the canoe; unlike the riverine tribes the Tapirapé are a forest people who know little about the water, and few of them had ever traveled by canoe. Champukwi was unusual in that he could swim. Although he had more endurance than I, his efforts at paddling endangered the equilibrium of our canoe. However, he could shoot fish with his bow and arrow. The dry season had driven game from the open savanna which borders the Tapirapé River so that we were able to kill deer, *mutum* (another species of large forest fowl), and a wild goose to supplement the less palatable fare we had brought with us. Each night we camped on a beach from which we were able to collect the eggs of a small turtle, the *tracaja*, that had been buried in the sand. Only the mosquitoes which swarmed during sundown and early evening marred our trip. The experience remains one of the most memorable

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Champukwi on the Trip to Furo de Pedra.

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of my life, a feeling that was shared, I believe, by Valentim Gomes and by Champukwi.

Champukwi adjusted to Furo de Pedra with amazing rapidity. His short visit as a youth to the mission station undoubtedly contributed to his quick adaptation although, to be sure, there were minor problems and incidents. The Brazilians of Furo de Pedra were accustomed to Indians, for nearby there was a village of semi-civilized Caraja Indians who frequently visited and traded in the settlement. Yet, Champukwi was a bit of a curiosity—the townspeople had seen only one other Tapirapé. The local Brazilians invited him into their homes and offered him coffee and sweets. Both Valentim Gomes and I watched over his movements with all the anxiety of overprotective parents for fear that he might be exposed to a respiratory infection (he did not contract any) or that the hospitality of the local Brazilians might persuade him to drink [273] *cachaça* (sugar cane *aguardiente*). Alcoholic beverages were unknown to the Tapirapé who are unlike most South American groups in this respect.

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in this respect. According to Champukwi's own report, he tried *cachaça* only once in Furo de Pedra and (quite normally) found it distasteful and unpleasant. Yet there were moments that were awkward at the time however humorous they seem in retrospect. One day when I bought several dozen oranges in the street, Champukwi calmly removed the trousers that had been provided for him and made a sack to carry home the oranges by tying up the legs. In Furo de Pedra, he often went nude in the house we had rented for our stay. Even the Brazilian woman who came to prepare our meals became more or less accustomed to his nakedness, but sometimes he forgot to dress before sallying forth into the street. The rural Brazilian diet, derived in large measure from native Indian foods, seemed to please Champukwi, but he could not be comfortable eating at the table. He preferred during meals to sit across the room on a low stool.

Champukwi's reaction to this rural form of Brazilian civilization was not childlike in any way. He in turn became an ethnologist. He wanted to see the gardens that provided the food for so many people (Furo de Pedra had hardly more than 400 people at that time). He was fascinated by the sewing machines with which he saw the women working. He attended the Catholic ceremonies held in the little chapel. He saw pairs of men and women dance face to face in semblance of an intimate embrace. About these and other strange customs he had many questions. But like the inquisitive anthropologist who had come to live in his village, his own curiosity sometimes became obtrusive. He peered into the homes of people and sometimes entered uninvited. And he followed the Brazilian women to their rather isolated bathing spot in the Araguaia River to discover if there were any anatomical differences between these women and those in his village. He even made sexual advances to Brazilian women, actions which, if he had known, were very dangerous in view of the jealous zeal with which Brazilian males protect the honor of their wives and daughters. On the whole, however, Champukwi became quite a favorite of the local Brazilians during his two week visit to Furo de Pedra. His Portuguese improved while he visited in their homes, and he collected simple presents, such as fish hooks, bottles, tin cans, and the like, to take home with him. Even during this short period away from the village, my work with him continued. He told me of antagonisms, gossip, and schisms in the

115 124 Tapirapé village which he would have hesitated to relate on home [837] grounds. He told me of adulterous affairs in process and of the [578] growing determination among one group of kinsmen to assassinate [682] Urukumu, the powerful medicine man, because they suspected him [756] of performing death-dealing sorcery.

[754] After two weeks in Furo de Pedra, I found that it would be 122 necessary for Valentim Gomes and me to go to Rio de Janeiro. It was not possible for Champukwi to accompany us and so I arranged for two Brazilian frontiersmen to return him to a point on the Tapirapé River from which he could easily hike to his village in a day. Valentim and I then began our slow trip up the Araguaia River to the motor road and thence to Rio de Janeiro. Two months [132] later, rid of malaria and with a new stock of supplies, we returned to spend the long rainy months from November until the end of [115] May in the Village of the Tapirs. Champukwi was there to wel- [123] come us, and he came each day to help repair and enlarge our house. We easily fell into our former friendly relationship, now strengthened [609] by the experience in common of the trip to Furo de Pedra and by the feeling which many anthropologists have shared with the people of their communities—that anyone who returns is an "old friend."

115 My return to the village that November marked, in a sense, the 123 end of what might be called the first phase of my relationship with Champukwi as friend and as anthropological informant. During the course of at least 200 hours of conversation (many of which may be methodologically dignified as interviews), I had learned much about Champukwi as a person as well as about Tapirapé culture. I knew that as a small boy he had come from Fish Village, where his parents had died, to live in the Village of the Tapirs. He had lived with his father's younger brother, Kamaira, who was the leader [553] of a large household. He even confided to me his boyhood name; [551] Tapirapé change their names several times during their lifetimes [522] and mention of a person's first childhood name, generally that of a fish, an animal, or simply descriptive of some personal character- istic, causes laughter among the audience and considerable embar- [165] rassment to the individual. I knew that Champukwi had been mar- ried before he took his current wife, and that his first wife had died [843] in childbirth. He revealed that her kinsmen had gossiped that her death was caused by his lack of respect for the food taboos imposed

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upon an expectant father. This same set of taboos now bothered him again. A series of foods, mainly meats and particularly venison, is prohibited to fathers of infants and to husbands of pregnant women. On two excursions to the savanna (which abounds with deer) Champukwi had eaten venison. Moreover, since the Tapirapé identified cattle with deer, and thus beef with venison, he had broken the taboo several additional times by partaking also of this forbidden meat. The rather scrawny conditon of his 2-year-old daughter, he feared, resulted from his faults. Just after our return to the village in early November, his wife gave birth to a second daughter. She had a difficult delivery, and he remembered his transgressions. Several village gossips, without knowing anything about his misdeeds, had nevertheless accused him of this breach of taboo.

[846] [825]

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Champukwi's home life was not a happy one. He was frequently in conflict with his second wife, who had, indeed, considerable basis for complaint. She could not claim that he was a poor provider, for Champukwi was a good hunter and a diligent gardener. But he confided to me that he did not find her attractive, or at least not as attractive as other women in the village. Champukwi had a lusty sense of humor and enjoyed joking with Valentim and me. In this mood he told of his many extramarital affairs, which were in truth but slightly concealed. I would in any event have heard of these liaisons; he gave his paramours beads which everyone in the village knew I had given him as presents. This practice caused trouble for the women because their husbands could readily identify the source of the gifts. It also created trouble for Champukwi at home. His wife complained of his affairs and on one occasion, according to Champukwi, she attacked him, grabbing him by his pigtail and squeezing his exposed testicles until he fell helpless into a hammock. On other occasions, she retaliated in a manner more usual for a Tapirapé woman—she simply refused to carry drinking water from the creek, to cook food for him, and to allow him to sleep in the hammock which she and Champukwi shared. For a Tapirapé man to carry drinking water, to cook, or to sleep on a mat is considered ridiculously funny. In other circumstances, Champukwi would have had to seek recourse with a female relative. However, to do so would be tantamount to a public announcement of his marital difficulties; the whole village would have known, to their considerable merriment and jest. But having *tori*[3] friends in the village, Champukwi

[522] [837] [123] [522] [602]

[3] [i.e. non-Indian -- Analyst]

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115 could come quietly to us at night to drink water, to ask for some-
593 thing to eat, and even to sleep in an extra hammock we had for
[837] visitors. His affairs were evidently extensive, for he once divided all of the adult women of the village into two categories—those "I know how to talk with" (i.e., to seduce) and those "I do not know how to talk with." There were many with whom he "could talk."

115 Unfortunately, by late November of 1939, I knew too much about
123 Champukwi's affairs either for his comfort or for mine. His wife
578 sometimes came to my house to ask if I knew where he had gone
[837] (I could generally guess), and once an irate husband even came to inquire of his whereabouts. His Don Juan activities had evidently increased. His friendship with me caused him trouble with other Tapirapé who were envious of the presents he received. The story was circulated that he had stolen a pair of scissors which, in fact,
[164] I had given to him. Moreover, several people caught colds, and he was accused of bringing the infection from Furo de Pedra (actually it was probably transmitted by the frontiersman who had helped transport us to the village in November). Champukwi sought
[345] revenge by cutting down one of the main supports of the men's
[358] house, which promptly caved in. No one died or was seriously injured and the destruction of the men's house was soon forgotten since it is normally rebuilt each year. However, people continued to criticize Champukwi, much of their criticism revolving around his
[984] relationship with me. There are no realms of esoteric secrets in Tapi-
[562] rapé culture (as there are in many cultures) that must not be re-
[196] vealed to an outsider; there is only the "secret" of the men from the women that the masked dancers are not supernatural beings but merely masquerading men, but I had been fully and openly brought into this "secret." I was, moreover, exceedingly careful in conversation never to refer to any bit of personal information that some
[203] informant, Champukwi or another, had told me. But rumors were rife in the small village—that I was angry and would soon leave (I was by then a valuable asset), that Champukwi told me lies about others, that I refused to give a bushknife to a household leader because Champukwi had urged me not to do so (I refused because I had already given him one bushknife), and the like.

115 Champukwi reacted moodily, often violently, to this situation. I
123 could no longer count on his visits nor on our research interviews. He now visited us with a glum look on his face, and when he was

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not at once offered coffee, he left offended. But the very next day he might return, gay and joking, yet without his former patience for teaching or explaining Tapirapé culture. Once he returned tired from a hunting trip, and, irritated by his wife, he beat her with the flat side of his bushknife and marched off in anger, thoughtfully taking the family hammock and a basket of manioc flour, to sleep four nights in the forest near his garden. Soon afterwards, he left his wife to take the wife of a younger man. This did not become a major scandal in the village. After some tense yet calm words between the two men, it seemed clear that the young woman preferred Champukwi and the abandoned husband peacefully moved into the men's house. Champukwi's former wife and their two young daughters continued to live with her relatives as is the Tapirapé rule. But the switch of spouses caused tension between Champukwi and his former wife's kinsmen, and between Champukwi and the abandoned husband's kinsmen; and, to multiply his woes, he now had a new set of in-laws to satisfy. For about a month thereafter I rarely saw Champukwi; he obviously avoided our house. When we met in the village or in the men's house, he simply said that he was busy repairing his house or hunting.

Discussing emotions with someone from a culture as widely different as Tapirapé is from my own was difficult, and the language barrier was still a real one. Although my Tapirapé vocabulary was increasing, it was hardly adequate to probe deeply into emotional responses; nor was Champukwi given to introspection. I shall probably never fully understand Champukwi's temporary rejection of me, but the cause was probably both sociological and psychological. First, his apparent influence with me and our close friendship had created antagonism on the part of other villagers. By rejecting the outsider, he now hoped to reinstate himself in his own society. A second, deeper and more personal reason, contributed to his rejection of me; he had told me too much about himself, and feared that he had lost face in the process. Also, it was obvious that I was growing less dependent upon him for knowledge as my facility with the language improved and my information about the culture grew. Finally, the rejection was not one-sided. Now additional informants were desirable for my research. Also, if I remember correctly (it is not stated in my notebooks), I was annoyed by Champukwi's neglect and disappointed by his lack of loyalty.

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**Charles Wagley**

115 When the heavy rains of late December and January set in, we
123 were all more or less confined to the village as the rivers and streams
124 rose to flood the savanna. What had been brooks in the tropical
[132] forest became wide streams, difficult, and sometimes dangerous, to
[133] ford. It rained many hours each day. The Tapirapé women and children spent most of the time in their dwellings, and the men and older boys lounged in the men's house. Our house again became a meeting place. And as this was of course an opportune time for interviewing, I joined the men in their club or entertained visitors at home. I began to see more of Champukwi—first, in the men's house and then as he again became a regular visitor at our house. Now, he brought his new (and younger) wife with him. He liked to sit up with us late at night after the other Tapirapé visitors had retired to their dwellings or to the men's house for the night-long sings that are customary during the season of heavy rains. Under the light of our gasoline lamp, we again took up our study of Tapirapé culture. Not once did he mention his period of antagonism except to complain that the Tapirapé gossip too much.

Sometime late in January there began what might be considered the second phase of my relationship with Champukwi. Our friendship was no less intimate than before, but our conversations and more formal interviews were not now as frequent. During the next months, Champukwi became almost my assistant, an entrepreneur of
115 Tapirapé culture. He continued to provide invaluable information,
123 but when I became interested in a subject of which he knew little,
124 he would recommend that I talk to someone else. Though he directed
756 me to Urukumu on the subject of medicine men or shamans, Cham-
[754] pukwi himself related dreams he had heard other shamans tell. He
683 explained that he did not want to become a shaman himself, for he had seen grieved relatives beat out the brains of Tapirapé shamans whom they suspected of causing a death by sorcery. He was not cer-
[782] tain, he said, whether such shamans had actually performed sorcery;
[975] but he reasoned that any shaman might come to such an end.
[976] Champukwi did have the frequent dreams that are indicative of one's powers to become a shaman and, in some of his dreams, he saw *anchunga*, the ghosts and supernaturals who are the aids of shamans. He had told only one or two of his kinsmen about this, and he did not want it to be known throughout the village lest there be pressure on him to train for shamanism.

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**Champukwi of the Village of the Tapir.**

Champukwi sketched for me the stories of Petura, the Tapirapé ancestral hero who stole fire from the King Vulture, daylight from the night owl, *genipa* (used for dye) from the monkeys, and other items for the Tapirapé. However, he persuaded Maeumi, an elder famous for his knowledge of mythology, to relate the details although he himself helped considerably to clarify for me the meaning of native phrases and to make the stories told by Maeumi more fully understandable. Champukwi also forewarned me of events that I might want to witness, events that without his warning I might have missed. Such were the wrestling matches which took place upon the return of a hunting party between those men who went on the hunt and those who remained at home. He told me of a particularly handsome basket a man had made, which I might want to add to my collection for the Brazilian National Museum. He came to tell me that a young woman in a neighboring house was in labor, thus enabling me to get a photograph of the newborn infant being washed in the stream, and he urged the men to celebrate for my benefit a ceremony which might easily have been omitted. Champukwi was no longer merely an informant. He became a participant in ethnographic research although, of course, he never thought of it in these terms. He seemed somehow to understand the anthropologist's task in studying his culture, and in the process he gained considerable objectivity about his own way of life.

Yet it must be said that Champukwi did not seem to discredit the norms, institutions, and beliefs of his own people. Although he saw Valentim and me walk safely down the path through the forest late at night, he steadfastly refused to do the same; for the path was a favorite haunt of the lonely ghosts of deceased Tapirapé who might harm the living. He reasoned that the *tori* were probably immune to this danger. When he was ill, he took the pills we urged upon him but he also called in the shaman. His curiosity about airplanes, automobiles, and "gigantic canoes" (passenger boats) which he saw pictured in the magazines we had brought with us, was great; but he boasted that the Tapirapé could walk farther and faster than any *tori* or even the Caraja (who are a canoe people). In fact, his interest in, and enthusiasm for, certain Tapirapé activities seemed to be heightened by our presence. Almost all Tapirapé ceremonials involve choral singing and Champukwi was a singing leader of one of the sections of the men's societies. He was always pleased when

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

**Charles Wagley**

115 He was always pleased when
123 we came to listen, particularly if we made the motions of joining in.
[526] He was an excellent wrestler in Tapirapé style, in which each opponent takes a firm grip on the pigtail of the other and attempts to throw him to the ground by tripping. Our wrestling match was brief although I was much taller than he; and his match with Valentim Gomes, who outweighed him by more than forty pounds, was
[186] a draw. Unlike so many who get a glimpse at a seemingly "superior" cultural world, Champukwi never became dissatisfied with his own way of life.

122 In June of 1940, my period of residence among the Tapirapé
123 Indians ended. The waters on the savanna which had to be crossed
[101] afoot to get to the Tapirapé River where our canoe was moored had not completely receded. Many Tapirapé friends, among them Champukwi, offered to carry our baggage, made lighter after a final dis-
122 tribution of gifts, down to the river. The night before our departure
123 a festival with the usual songfest was held to celebrate the final phase
881 of a ceremony during which a youth, this time the nephew of Kamiraho, became a man. Some Brazilian tribes make this occasion
[171] an ordeal by such means as applying a frame of stinging wasps to
[301] the body of the novice, but it is characteristic of the Tapirapé that
[302] the "ordeal" consists only of decorating the youth with a headdress of magnificent red macaw feathers, painting his body elaborately, and making him the center of dancing and singing—although the youth must himself dance continuously for a day and a night. Cham-
122 pukwi led the singing most of the night, but at dawn he came to
123 our house to supervise the packing of our belongings into the basket-like cases made of palm which are used for carrying loads of any kind. He divided the baggage among the younger men. Even some of the older household leaders decided to accompany us but they, of course, did not carry anything. Our trip was slow because everyone was tired after the all-night festival and because of the water through
[501] which we had to wade. At one point, rafts had to be made to trans-
[481] port our baggage across a still-swollen stream. Since the Tapirapé do not swim—or, like Champukwi, they swim but poorly—it was the job of the *tori* to swim and push the rafts. I had the honor of swimming across the stream, pushing the respected chieftain, Kamiraho. (How he got back, I shall never know.) After a day and a half, we reached the landing on the Tapirapé River, and the next

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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morning we embarked downriver. My last memory of Champukwi was of him standing on the bank waving in *tori* style until our boat made the curve of the river.

I did not return to visit the Tapirapé until 1953, but news of them came to me at intervals. Valentim Gomes returned to the region in 1941 as an officer of the Brazilian Indian Service, and his post was charged with the protection of the Tapirapé Indians. In his first year in this capacity, he wrote me: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the 26th of July [1941]. They were in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, and the like. There were plenty of bananas. But I am sorry to say that after we left them, twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Champukwi, the best informant in the village, and our best friend." Several slow exchanges of letters brought further details from Valentim. In some manner, perhaps through a visit from a Brazilian frontiersman, several Tapirapé had contracted common colds. Its fatalness to them is indicated by the name they give it—*ó-ó* (*ó* is the augmentative which might be translated as "big, big"). Since they have no knowledge of the process of contagion and have not acquired immunity to the common cold, the disease spread rapidly throughout the village. The Tapirapé realized, I knew, that colds and other diseases such as measles which they had suffered before, were derived from visitors. Yet they also believed that death resulted from evil magic or sorcery. Why do some people who are very sick from colds get well, they asked, while others who are no more ill, soon die? It is only because those who die are the victims of sorcery, they had explained to me. So, following many deaths, including that of a young man like Champukwi, who enjoyed prestige and had many kinsmen, I was not surprised to learn from Valentim Gomes that the powerful shaman, Urukumu, had been assassinated. As Champukwi had told me, suspicion of Urukumu had already been growing even during my residence in the village. After the death of Champukwi, one of his many "brothers" (actually a cousin but called by the same term as brother in Tapirapé) had entered Urukumu's house late at night and clubbed him to death. To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related

To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *iwúterahú*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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the population—from a variety of informants selected for their different status positions in their society. He interviews, as far as is possible, men and women, young and old, rich and poor, individuals of high and low status, so that his picture of the culture may not be distorted. The anthropologist might (he seldom has done so) go so far as to keep a record of his subjective reactions in an attempt to achieve greater objectivity. Yet he is never the entirely detached observer he may fancy himself to be—nor am I sure that this should be so. Anthropological field research is a profoundly human endeavor. Faced over a long period by a number of individuals, some intelligent and some slow, some gay and some dour, some placid and some irritable, the anthropologist almost inevitably is involved in a complex set of human relations among another people just as he is by virtue of his membership in his own society. And each anthropologist is a distinctive personality and each undoubtedly handles in his own way his dual role as a sympathetic friend to key informants and as a scientific observer of a society and culture which is not his own. To me, Champukwi was, above all, a friend whom I shall remember always with warm affection.

1: Baldus E-S (1935, 1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

000 The Tapirapé, a Tupi Tribe of Central Brazil
[Os Tapirapé, Tribu Tupí no Brasil Central]

Herbert Baldus

Revista do Arquivo Municipal
Vols. 96-105, 107-124, 127
São Paulo, 1944-1949

Translated from the Portuguese by Ariane Brunel

Human Relations Area Files

1960

[Title page]

1: Baldus--1 E-5 (1935,1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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000 [Figs. 13 and 19, although referred to in the text, were apparently not published.]

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End Photographs. [The numbers in parentheses in the captions are the numbers assigned to the individuals in Baldus' village census. Photographs 1-2, 33-77 were apparently not published, although they are referred to in the text.]

[96:155] Note

128 For the citation of sources, the italicized number (for example, 2) refers to the numeration of the works of the author concerned, which appears in the bibliography presented at the end of the present work [Ed., the bibliography was apparently not published]; the Roman number (for example, I) indicates, for works of several volumes, the volume concerned; the Arabic number not italicized (for example, 2) is the page number; for works paginated with Roman numerals, a special designation is given for the page (for example, p. I).

194 [96:156] Since the native words are not regularly stressed on the penultimate, the acute accent indicates the tonic syllable.

The Tapirapé language is even more nasalized than the other Tupí dialects we know. Since this nasalization affects nearly all sounds in the pronunciation of certain individuals, it has not been specifically indicated.

Parentheses ( ) indicate that the sound of the letter between them is reduced to near imperceptibility.

a, e, o, u are closed vowels.

b, d, f, j, l, m, n, p, t, v sound the same as in Portuguese [Tr., therefore roughly as in English].

au has the same sound as in the German auf.

i before a vowel is the German j in ja; before a consonant or at the end of a word, it is a vowel.

y represents the guttural i characteristic of Tupí and certain other South American linguistic families, which appears, for example, in the Tupí word y, "water." In Tapirapé, it often ends in a reduced consonant that recalls the German ch in ich.

g has the same sound as in the Portuguese gato, guerra, and guia, or the German gut, or the English "good." It forms a special sound only when preceded by n.

ng has the nasal and medial gutteral sound of the German singen and English "king." The g following ng (ngg) is pronounced like the g in the Portuguese gato [or English "good."].

194

h is aspirated as in the German hat and English has.

k corresponds to the Portuguese c in cão [or the English "car"].

ch is the tch in the word tcheco, or the ch in the Spanish muchacha, or the ch in English "charm."

x as in the Portuguese caixa, or the sch in the German schon, or sh in English "she."

r is mid-dental (alveolar), close to the nasal n.

s is the Portuguese s in sal, or the German ss in essen, or s as in English "song."

ã as in Portuguese ã, or the German ähnlich.

õ as in the French eux and the ö in German mögen.

ũ is the u in the French dur, or the ü in German für.

The following sounds alternate among themselves: (1) a:e; (2) a:o; (3) e:ö:i:y; (4) o:u, (5) u:ü:y; (6) m:v; (7) r:l:v; (8) ch:t. [Ed., the remainder of this section in Vol. 96, pp. 157-165, bearing the title, "1. The Tapirapé River," is omitted.] [Map 1 appears here.]

1:Baldus--3 E-5 (1935, 1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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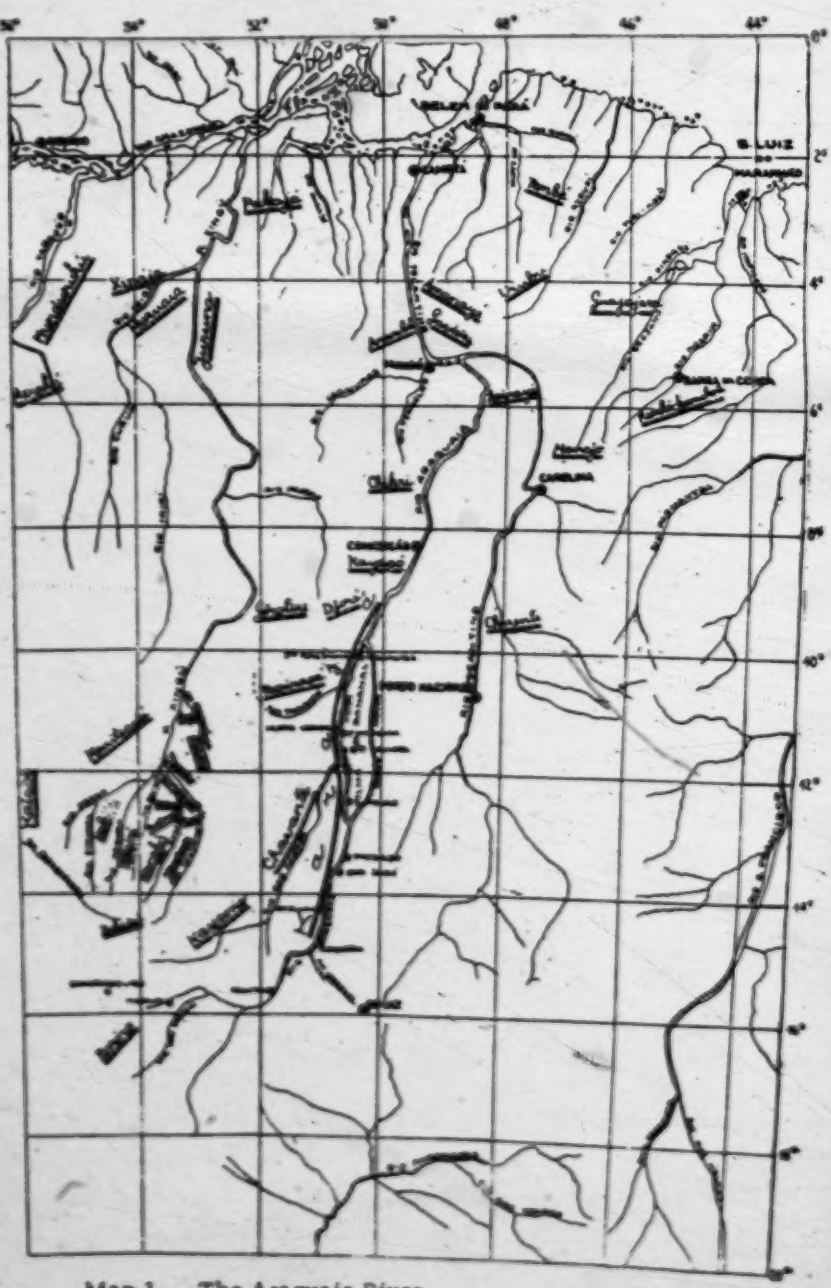

Map 1. The Araguaia River

[97:45] Chapter 1

## The Tapirapé River

000 [Ed., pp. 45-47 and most of p. 49 are omitted; Map 2 appears on p. 48 in the original text.]

[97:49] Topography of the Surrounding Area

133 137 The Tapirapé River flows through a vast savanna region which is separated from it, along most of its course, by a strip of forest quite irregular in width. This savanna, as a rule, extends [97:50] over such flat ground that the horizon would be very wide if it were not for the trees, two or three meters high, which stand a few paces from each other and make up what is called the campo cerrado [Tr., savanna with scattered scrub forest]. It is true that sometimes the distance between the trees increases, and they become better developed and a few meters higher. There are also large empty areas, that is to say, grassland completely free of arboreal growth. Sometimes these stretches are crossed by a narrow forest strip of high trees concealing a small stream, or they are broken by swampy groves of muriti palms. This does not prevent large areas of empty grassland from remaining flooded during the dry season, when their black soil [134] is often so slippery that it well deserves the name of "soap" which I gave these places of involuntary gymnastics as I skated over them.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that most of the grasslands surrounding the Tapirapé River dry out at that time of year to such a point that they become easily inflammable. On June 15, 1935, while I was in Tampũtana [later referred to as Tampiitaua], the village of the Tapirapé Indians, I saw pillars of smoke rising to the north, southwest, and east, and this brought to my attention the existence of grasslands and people in those parts. The soil of the dry grasslands can be 134 [481] so hard that the Indians massage their feet and legs after having walked several hours over it. Only rarely, however, is this soil rocky. I found it covered with small, round, brownish-red stones in only a few restricted areas, especially in small stretches of campo cerrado close to the forest inhabited by the Tapirapé.

[Text continues on p. 6]

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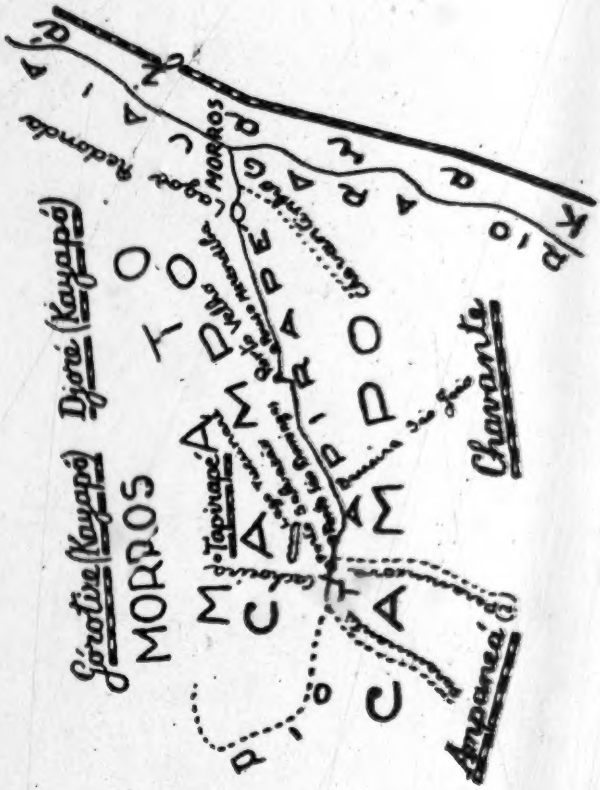


Map 2. The Tapirapé River.

[MAP 2]

137 The savanna of the hinterland beyond the left bank of the river
241 is bounded on the north by this huge forest, in which many generations of Tapirapé Indians have found enough virgin growth to prepare annually new plots that provide them with an abundance of bananas, maize, peanuts, gourds, beans, manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, peppers, tobacco, and cotton. This forest, aside from being flooded
133 extensively even in the dry season, contains small streams flowing
312 on wide beds of clear sand, which offer the Indians cool, limpid
226 water for drinking and bathing, and abundant fish, large and small, that play an important part in their diet.

The only man-made trails that we know of so far in the vicinity
487 of the Tapirapé River are the more or less deeply marked footpaths of the Tapirapé Indians. On the savanna, they are about 20 centimeters wide and follow the sinuous line involuntarily produced by human beings when they walk on flat ground. [97:51] We can verify this sinuosity, for example, on a long beach, when we attempt to reach a certain point directly and later look at the trail left by our feet. We notice that it meanders and thus differs from all animal tracks, those of the jaguar or water cavy as well as those of birds, which always run in a straight line unless they curve out deliberately.

To give an idea of a specific part of the river environs at a
114 specific time of year, I shall now describe my land journey toward the
133 north, from Porto Salvação to Tampũtána. I left on June 19, 1935, at 3:30 in the afternoon, carrying on my back the requisite sleeping and eating equipment. I walked at the rapid pace used by the local frontiersmen on long hikes, making about five kilometers an hour on flat, unobstructed ground. I went through dry grassland with a scatter-
[137] ing of medium-sized trees which sometimes stood dozens of meters apart. After a walk of nearly three hours, I reached Lake Tucunaré,
[103] so called because of its abundant fish of the same name which attract
[136] the Tapirapé Indians to the place every year. At the time of my passage, Lake Tucunaré was a slow and deep brook which I had to cross up to my waist in water. They say that it connects with the Tapirapé River during the rainy season. It is surrounded by trees, and the water is full of them. After wading through it, I reached a place on the shore where those Indians often set up their sleeping hammocks and
[136] where I spent the night. There were quite a few mosquitoes. The
[132] chief plague of the day, however, in spite of my deliberately late start, was the heat.

114 I left at 6:30 the following morning. Everything was wet with
133 dew. I skated over a stretch of black earth, damp and slippery
[132] ("soap"). I saw jaguar tracks. At eight o'clock, I reached a flooded
[134] forest strip which I had to ford. The same thing happened after walking another ten minutes. At ten o'clock I reached a traditional Tapirapé resting place located in a small patch of forest which contains fresh water. I rested there until four in the afternoon, and then set out again and waded through a swampy area. At 5:30 I reached
[136] dry scrub land where I was able to set up camp for the night. Before going to sleep, I heard frequent jaguar calls.

When I awoke on the twenty-first my clothes were soaked through with dew. I set out at six o'clock. Half an hour later, I was lost in a large and swampy muriti grove. At seven o'clock I reached dry scrub land, and at 9:15 the great forest. During the first 15 minutes of walking, the ground of the forest was more or less dry, but after that it became completely flooded. I walked for an hour and a half in water, which flowed in several places. At 11:30 [97:52] I
[241] found manioc in a brook. I then crossed four gardens separated from each other by strips of forest. At a quarter before one, I met four
[361] youths of the Tapirapé tribe, and half an hour later, still walking through the immense forest, I spotted in its midst the village of those Indians.

When I returned from the village to Porto Salvação on August 5
481 of the same year, I made the whole trip in a single day. I left at dawn with a Tapirapé youth. Although these Indians, as a rule, walk a little more slowly than the local Brazilian frontiersmen, their pace is still quite rapid and very even so that they proceed at the same speed through forest and grassland, and since they hardly stop to rest in the daytime, they may walk 40 or 50 kilometers a day.

On the way back, we took a different course through the forest.
133 The area we had gone through on the way out was still flooded. We
487 walked on ground that was quite dry, making a wide curve to the west. We reached the grassland within two hours. In many areas the Indians
[241] had already burned the grass, and our feet and legs were free of that hindering growth which adds so much to the traveler's weariness. Once in a while, a fresh breeze blew upon us. We walked four hours through
[137] open grassland and scrub forest, with frequent glimpses of pairs of deer,
[136] until we reached the traditional Tapirapé resting place in the small
[484] patch of forest containing fresh water. There we found Reverend Kegel

133 and our camarada [Tr., guide or hired hand], as well as several
487 Indians, and we set out again after a brief rest.

Two hours later we crossed another body of water surrounded by trees. Since Reverend Kegel was taken with leg cramps and also had to vomit several times because he had drunk water too quickly, we stayed there for about two hours.

Then we set out again in a long file, one behind the other. The sun burned down, but fortunately there was a breeze from time to
[484] time. To make their return journey easier, the Indians set fire to all the grass they found. Suddenly, in an unburned patch of grassland, we saw a pair of spotted jaguars engaged in amorous play. My camarada Daniel shot at them with his gun. Both animals ran away, one of them bleeding. Daniel with the gun and two Indians with bow
[231] and club vainly ran after them. The two Tapirapé dogs who were with us behaved in rather sorry fashion. One of them jumped about a little and barked, while the other did not even find courage for that.

Two hours later we reached Lake Tucunaré, where we found
[136] numerous mosquitoes. It took us three or four hours to go from there to Porto Salvação, along an old Indian trail on very hard and hot ground.

[97:53] It took us, therefore, 13 or 14 hours to return from the village to the river, and this was more or less the time we spent walking on the way out.

## Names of the River and its Tributaries

[Ed., one paragraph omitted.]

103 The Tapirapé Indians call the Tapirapé River aviohy (or aviuhy),
which means "fluff water," hy being "water." They are very fond of
[301] the fluff of the jabiru, duck, and vulture for body ornamentation, and
[237] they find it chiefly on this river. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 97, pp. 53-54, is omitted.]

## Chapter 2

### [98:105] Name and Origins of the Tribe

101 The Tapirapé River is the watercourse of the Tapirapé Indians. They are known as the inhabitants of this river basin.

103 I have already stated that the word tapirapé means "tapir path" in Tupí, tapira meaning "tapir," and pé, "path." I have also mentioned that the river known by this name differs from the Araguaia in the profusion of the paths cut along its banks by these large mammals. In view of this, it may be that White travelers gave it the name "Tapirapé" to point out this characteristic, and that the name was later extended to the tribe known to inhabit the region. However, on a map of the area (No. 220 in the collection at Itamaratí, the Brazilian Ministry of External Affairs), which, according to Dr. Afonso de E. Taunay, one of the greatest authorities on the subject, must date from the end of the eighteenth century, we find the word "Tapirapé" applied only to these Indians and not to a river, and the watercourse that flows close to the villages of this Tupí tribe, along the ninth degree of south latitude (cf. Map 3), remains anonymous. In view of this, it also may be that the name "Tapirapé" was extended from the tribe to the river. Finally, there is the possibility [98:106] that the tribe and the river were given the same name independently, since we do not know whether or not the river bore this name prior to the time when the tribe settled in its vicinity, or whether the people were already called this before they came to the area.

133 It is worth noting that on the map reproduced by Kissenberth (137 and 237), between the sixth and seventh degrees of south latitude and about the fifty-first degree of west longitude, therefore almost exactly to the north of Tamputáua and separated from this village by some three or four degrees of latitude, there appears a second Tapirapé river marked as one of the southern tributaries [Map 3 appears here] [98:107] of the Itacaiunas River, which empties near Marabá into the body of water formed by the juncture of the Tocantins and Araguaia. It may be that the Tapirapé Indians lived there in former times and got their name from that river, or that the river got its name from them. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[Text continues on p. 11]

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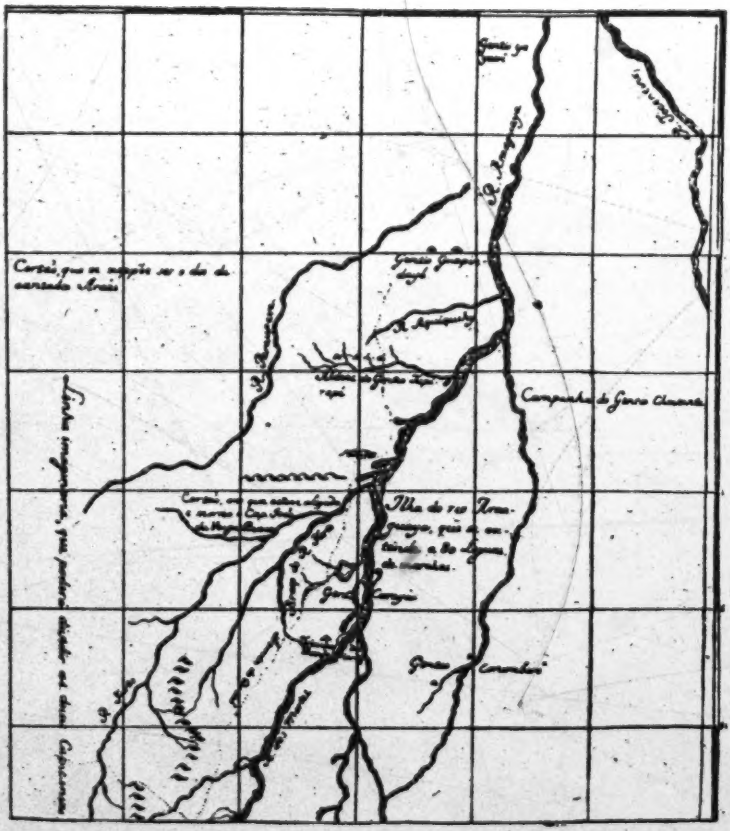

Map 3. The Middle Course of the Araguaia (18th Century).

114 The Tupí tribe found by a bandeira [Tr., pioneering expedi-
175 tion] that left São Paulo in 1613 lived not far from the mouth of the Itacaiunas, namely, on the right bank of the Araguaia, two leagues above its confluence with the Tocantins. The account of this meeting, published only recently by Serafim Leite (1, 103-110), is as far as I know the first reference to a Tupí tribe on the Araguaia. According to Taunay (181-192), several bandeiras left São Paulo between the beginning of the seventeenth century and the departure of the above-mentioned expedition. The data relating to these expeditions are so defective, however, that it is possible to identify the place names on the itinerary only in a few cases. Among the few expeditions which may thus be identified, there is not one to the Araguaia. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The above-mentioned document dealing with the 1613 expedition, recently published by Father Leite, was written by the Jesuit Antonio de Araujo and covers the information provided by Pero Domingues, one of the 30 inhabitants of the São Paulo settlement who made up the expedition. Referring to "seven very large villages" found by the
175 travelers "about two leagues from the bar of the Iabeberi," that is, the Tocantins (cf. Leite 1, 101), the report goes on to say (ibid., 105-106): "The Indians in these villages were called Caatingas. Their language was the tongue common to these shores. Our men found
[439] among them many iron tools, scythes, wedges, axes, many glass beads, and large quantities of Rouen shirts, along with numerous hats, all of which they said they had obtained in trade from the French for feathers and arrows, of which they had many canoefuls in their houses, and also for cotton. They asserted that the French were at a distance of only 11 days' journey down-river and lived in a fortress they had built many years previously, and added that they had a sugar mill and made sugar from the cane plantations they owned. They
[648] confessed that they had put to death seven Frenchmen who must have fled the fortress of their countrymen, at whose request the Indians killed them. And, without being asked, they said that so many days' journey away, on another arm of the same Pará River, lived those whom we call Almazonas and whom they call [98:108] Camaïma, that is to say, 'breastless women.' They also stated that there were large numbers of villages down-river on both sides of the stream, and
175 that they were not scarce up-river but toward the interior. The in-
648 habitants of the seven villages sent messengers forthwith to the other

175 villages, asking them to come and visit the Whites who were with
648 them. The 30 men, wary and afraid that some treachery might be afoot, resolved not to stay long in those parts. They sang the praises of the Whites, asked the Indians to come with them to São Paulo where they would be near their churches and all that was necessary for their salvation, but they did all this deceitfully, in a professional backwoods way. They stirred 3,000 souls. And since the
[241] Indians not long before had changed the site [of their gardens] and the provisions of manioc flour from the plots they had abandoned were almost exhausted, they embarked four days later in 300 canoes
[501] out of the many they owned. On embarking, the 30 men managed to take from them all their bows and arrows. They proceeded up-river, touching ground every day to rest and sleep. Among the 3,000 souls was an Indian woman (who must have been the daughter of one of the seven Frenchmen, whose progeny was numerous), the wife of the son of a certain chief who had followed our men. This woman (who had been neatly endowed by nature, according to the informant, with all the parts requisite to a perfect body) was given by the captain to one of his henchmen. The latter, either to rid himself of the worry caused by the presence of the woman's husband, or perhaps to add to it still further, returned the woman to the captain. The wretched Indian was so deeply affected by the usurpation of his rightful matrimony, and the others by the fact that within a few days they would all be separated, that at a certain time and place they got together and rose against the 30 men, killing 16 and a few of the Indians they had taken with them. Satisfied with the death of these men, they turned back toward their villages in the same canoes. The 14 men who got away, but whom the Indians could have killed, proceeded up-river with only two of the aforementioned Caatingas, who either would not or could not follow the other Indians. They reached the São Paulo settlement, which they had left 19 months earlier..."

134 The identification of their language with Lingua-geral [Tr., 181
the Tupi lingua franca] characterizes the "Caatingas" as Tupí. To
[197] my knowledge, there is no evidence of the existence of other Tupí Indians, besides the Tapirapé, along the part of the Araguaia that stretches between its confluence with the Tocantins and the northern part of Bananal Island. We must take into account, however, that

101 relatively close to this confluence, that is to say, to the north of
174 it, there lived such Tupí tribes as the Anambé of the lower Tocantins mentioned by Couto de Magalhães (2, 267) and Ehrenreich (1 and 3, IV), the Manajé of the Ararandéua River studied by Nimuendajú (2), and the Urubú cited by Rice and Raimundo Lopes (2)2

[98:109] The fact that the "Caatingas" owned many canoes
101 does not rule in any way against their identification with the
501 Tapirapé. The latter, although at present they are not navigators
174 like their neighbors the Karajá [Caraja] or the old-time Tupinambá, still retain the Tupí word for canoe, yana in Tapirapé pronunciation. Furthermore, in 1935, I saw on the Tampiitáua village stream a tree trunk hollowed out in the shape of a dugout. It is true that apparently it had been made just for fun, since it lay with the opening facing downward and was not used as a boat even in play. This, however, does not make it unlikely that the Tapirapé should have owned many traveling canoes in former times.

101 Caatinga, a Tupí word consisting of caá, "bush," and tinga,
174 "white, whitened," may refer to the region inhabited at the time by the Indians of that name, for it is known that the forests of
[137] gnarled, stunted trees that shed nearly all of their leaves during the dry season, forests called catingas or matos sêcos [dry bush], extend to the north of the state of Goiás (cf. Bernardino José de Souza 120-121). In any case, this designation does not rule against the identification of the "Caatingas" Indians with the Tapirapé or any other tribe with a different name. [Ed., the remainder of this page and part of the first paragraph on p. 110 are omitted.]

[98:110] The Tapirapé appear in the eighteenth century as
101 "Tapuyrapé" and "Tapirasse," in the nineteenth century as "Tappiraques" and "Tapirapeques" and in the twentieth century as "Itapirapés," there being even a street by this name in the city of São Paulo (see Airosa 2, 152). This leads us to assume that the name of the tribe changed over these four centuries in accordance with variations in pronunciation. In any case, I agree with the
101 opinion of Nimuendajú (ibid. [letter of October 12, 1935]) accord-
114 ing to whom it is more probable that the "Pirapêz" of Bento Maciel
174 Parente [cited apud Mendes de Almeida II, 35-37] should be

101 identified with the Tapirapé, than that there should have existed
174 in the Tocantins basin two different tribes with such similar
[114] names. [Ed., the last half of p. 110 and the first half of p. 111 are omitted.]

[98:111] Assuming, now, that the "Caatingas" and "Pirapés" were the seventeenth century ancestors of the Tapirapé, which is not impossible in the case of the former and probable in the case of the latter, it must be admitted that the Tapirapé reached their present habitat from the north.

The hypothesis in favor of such an origin is strengthened
173 further by the statements made to me by the Tapirapé themselves. They say that they lived formerly to the north of Conceição and closer to the Araguaia than today, but that they gradually moved farther south out of fear of the Kayapó [Cayapo] and farther west out of fear of the Karajá. They add, however, that they never lived south of the Tapirapé River, which is the southern boundary of their present territory.
619 It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the inhabitants
648 of Tampiitáua maintained continuous relations with another Tapirapé village located "ten days' march to the north," and therefore, in any case, at a considerable distance, while they had no contact whatever with their supposed neighbors to the southwest, the so-called Ampaneá, who apparently are also Tupí and who are much less distant from Tampiitáua than that northern Tapirapé village. It is possible that the Ampaneá
[174] and Tapirapé reached their present habitats from different directions, or that the former got there long before the Tapirapé became their neighbors.

[98:112] Kissenberth (2, 40-41, 75-78) believes it possi-
114 ble that the potsherds he found on the Morro dos Cayapós [Hill
172 of the Cayapo], located in the hinterland west of Conceição
174 do Araguaia and almost at the same latitude as this locality, are products of the Tapirapé ceramic industry (see ibid., 37, map). Stating that he is not familiar with Tapirapé pottery, the same author goes on to say (ibid., 77): "Even a cursory comparison of these fragments with the ceramics and potsherds of South American peoples forcibly suggests the Tupí-Guaraní."
[323] Regarding this, I must say that I did not encounter among present-day Tapirapé pottery the ornamentation found on these potsherds.

114 Kissenberth (ibid., 41) states in further support of the as-
174 sumption that the Tapirapé came to their present habitat from the north: "The first right-hand tributaries of some importance on the Itacaiunas River bear the legitimate Tupí names of Kateté and Tapirapé. As the Mẽkubenokré-Kayapó relate, there lives at the present time, right in that virgin forest area at the headwaters of the Itacaiunas, an anthropophagous people, the Kubẽnépre (meaning 'Bat Indians'), who according to their description must belong to the Tupí group." These arguments, though interesting, are rather weak at the present stage. [Ed., the remainder of p. 112, pp. 113-122, and the first half of p. 123 are omitted.]

[98:123] According to repeated statements made to me by
[173] the Tapirapé, their tribe, although in the past it lived closer to the Araguaia than today, never crossed this river and never lived to the east of it. This, however, does not make me doubt the veracity of Cunha Mattos when he writes of Bananal Island (2, 392-393): "The island is inhabited by Javahés and Carajás Indians, and occasionally by Carajahys, Xambioás [Shamboia], Tapirapés, Gradaús, and other barbarians..." Since this author's Chorographia [Chorography] bears the date of 1824, it is quite possible that after several generations had elapsed the Tapirapé lost recall of those "occasional settlements."

In addition, Dr. William Lipkind, the North American ethnologist who worked on Bananal Island in 1938 and 1939, told me that he obtained the following information from the Karajá of Santa Isabel, Fontoura, and other locations: in the past there were Tapirapé living with the Javahé, that is, in the interior of Bananal Island. In setting fire once to a stretch
[648] of grassland, they [the Tapirapé] burned the village of those Indians. Then the Javahé chased them away. The Tapirapé crossed the Araguaia a little to the north of Mato Verde, and thus not too far from the mouth of the Tapirapé River. This happened some 70 or 100 years ago.

After having visited the Tapirapé in Wagley's company,
114 Dr. Lipkind wrote to me (letter of September 10, 1939):
173 "The Tapirape themselves say that they learnt the masked
174 dances [98:124] -- the most marked cultural similarity with

114 the Caraja -- from the 'irewẽhẽ,' who, I take it, are the
173 Javahe, 'ijewehe' in Caraja. Near the Javahe village of
174 Imõnci I was shown a Tapirape cemetery. The Javahe tradition there is that they lived in the same village with the Tapirape, and I was shown the site" [cited in English].

Considering that the inhabitants of Tampiitáua bury the
174 dead inside the house in which they lived before death, it is
764 proper to inquire whether the Tapirapé also used this burial method when they were living with the Javahé, in which case the "cemetery" seen by Lipkind must have been the remnants of a village, or whether these representatives of the Tupí tribe proceeded in completely different fashion, performing, like the Karajá, the so-called "secondary burial," that is to say, burying the corpse in a cemetery, then exhuming the bones after the flesh had putrefied and laying them in large urns which were again buried at a common place.

Lipkind adds in the same letter: "You may be interested
114 to know that in the innermost Javahe villages there are some
144 distinctly Tapirape types, short stature, lighter coloring, face-
174 cast. My camarada Antonio Pereira, who was not aware of my preoccupation with Tapirape relations, noticed it and pointed out the resemblance" [cited in English]. [Ed., the last half of p. 124 and most of p. 125 are omitted.]

[98:125] To conclude, it may be said with Cunha Mattos
174 that the Tapirapé were on Bananal Island "occasionally," that is to say, that certain groups of their tribe were there transitorily and probably over 100 years ago. The presence of "Tapirapé types" among the Javahé may also be explained by the numerous Tapirapé women "imported" by the Karajá.

In any case, the inhabitants of Tampiitáua knew nothing
173 of ancestral migrations toward the east, such as those, for
823 example, of the Guaraní who kept searching for the [98:126] "land without evil" (cf. Nimuendajú 1 and Métraux 1 and 3). As far as I was able to ascertain, the Tapirapé were ignorant of the existence of the sea. They did not even recall being told about it by the Whites or by the Karajá. Apparently, there was no reference to the ocean in the tribal traditions either.

The Tapirapé knew of a great river to the west, however, which they called pananá-chingehó or chinghó. It is possible

823 that they may have heard this word from Whites talking about
[173] the Xingu. As I was told in Tampiitsúa, no Tapirapé had seen
that chinghó river except for one single youth "who was there
174 once, about 20 years ago." I could not obtain any further information about the life or death of this traveler. It may be that he accompanied Valadar, the Karajá famed for his exploring journeys, who visited the Tapirapé in 1911 with Alfredo de Oliveira of Ceará. The Tapirapé Kamairahó indeed told me that Valadar had taken a few of them along when he made a trip to the Xingu at that time. It may be that only one of those Tapirapé actually got to see the great river, perhaps only that single youth of which they spoke to me in the village. Be that as it may, by what I know of the cultures of the upper Xingu tribes and that of the Tapirapé, it is unquestionable that the latter did not come to their present habitat from the west.

Everything indicates, in fact, that they have lived since the eighteenth century in the hinterland of the left bank of the Tapirapé, or in other words, in the northern part of this river basin. [Ed., the last paragraph, which concludes the section in Vol. 98, is omitted.]

## Chapter 3

### [99:63] Contact with the Whites

175 Both Tapirapé and Karajá call the Whites torí. [Ed., the
[648] remainder of p. 63, p. 64, and most of p. 65 are omitted.]

[99:65] The contact of the Tapirapé with the Whites during the seventeenth century is neither more nor less uncertain than the identification of these Tupí Indians with the "Caatingas" and "Pirapés." We must assume, however, that White men visited the Tapirapé in their present habitat in the course of the following century. This is implied not only by the path of [99:66] the pioneers indicated by a dotted line on the eighteenth century map, but also by a reference cited by Ehrenreich (2, 88), according to which these Indians had contact with

175 colonists on the Tapirapé River in the eighteenth century. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Numerous nineteenth century authors refer to the Tapirapé. I have already mentioned what Silva e Sousa said in 1812, 113 175 Pizarro e Araujo in 1822, Cunha Mattos in 1824, Eschwege in 1830, Ayres de Casal in 1833, Milliet de Saint-Adolphe in 1845, Monteiro Baena in 1847, Saint-Hilaire in 1848, and Alencastre in 1864. There is also the following reference, the Roteiro da viagem que fez o capitão Francisco de Paula Ribeiro às fronteiras da capitania do Maranhão e da de Goyaz no anno de 1815 [Itinerary of the journey made by Captain Francisco de Paula Ribeiro to the boundaries of the province of Maranhão and of Goiás in the year 1815], in which the Tapirapé are mentioned (37) as one of the "barbarous and intractable nations" who inhabit the "basin of the Tocantins."

Concerning two maps of the period, Kissenberth writes (2, 176 41): "The map of Brazil by C.F. Klöden, which appeared in 1817, mentions the Indians Tapirapeques north of a tributary of the Araguaia, which corresponds to the present-day Tapirapé River. A. Bruê's 1826 map also mentions Tapirapeques north of the tributary of the Araguaia which is now called the Farto River. This map shows a Tapirapé River north of Bananal Island, approximately below the ninth degree. Tapirapé Indian dwellings are to be found south of this left tributary of the Araguaia."

On Table 28 of Balbi's Atlas ethnographique [Ethnographic 114 Atlas] (Paris, 1826), in which Ferdinand Denis deals with "Langues 174 de la région Guarani-Brésileinne [Languages of the Guarani region of Brazil]" and which reveals the state of progress of Brazilian ethnography in the first half of the last century, Tapirapé is not listed in the "Guarani Family" which includes the "East-Guarani [99:67] or Brazilian, also called Tupi and Lingoa-Geral." We read only that there is a "Tappiraques,[spoken] by the Tappiraques or Tappirapes. In the province of Mato Grosso they occupy a large part of the Tappiraquia district, to which they have lent their name and where they are found in greater numbers than any other savage group" [translated from French]. The Tapirapé language is missing from the vocabularies of Table 41 ("Tableau polyglotte des langues américaines [Polyglot Table of American Languages]") in the same atlas. Actually, the fact that Tapirapé was not included

114 in the Guaraní-Tupí family makes it probable that it was unknown
174 at the time, not only to scholars, but possibly even to the Brazilian frontiersmen. It is to be supposed that the latter would have recognized it as akin to the Língua-Geral, which was much more widely known by "civilized" or "Christian" people over 100 years ago than it is now. The lack of contact which may be inferred from the above-mentioned unfamiliarity is made understandable by the observation of the contemporaneous Cazal [I, 259] that the "Tappiraquia" region is unexplored except for its eastern boundary along the Araguaia."

The first volume of Pohl's work (I, 341), which appeared in
175 1832, contains the information, also included in the Memoria
[648] [Memoir] written by Silva e Sousa in 1812, that the capitão-mor [Tr., military officer in charge of local militia] João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira had imprisoned 100 "Tapirapéz" who all died in Vila-Boa.

Castelnau (II, 114) says that in 1844, when he went down the Araguaia, he was told about the existence of a village "of Tapirapé, which is located in the province of Mato Grosso, at the approximate latitude of the northern tip of Bananal Island, on a large stream which flows into the Furo River from the left" [translated from French].

In his classical outline of Brazilian tribes published in 1867, Martius (2, I, 205) includes the Tapirapé with the "Central Tupí," although he does not provide a Tapirapé vocabulary in his "Glossarios de diversas lingoas e dialectos, que fallão os Indios no imperio do Brazil [Glossary of the various languages and dialects spoken by the Indians of the Empire of Brazil]" (2, II). Furthermore, giving as his source the Diccionario [Dictionary] of Milliet de Saint-Adolphe, he lists (2, I, 205) the Tapirapé, "who are said, according to one tradition, to have come from Rio de Janeiro," as inhabitants of the "Tapirapés River (a western tributary of the Araguaia)." Since Martius gives no reason for classi-
[144] fying the Tapirapé as Tupí, it is to be assumed that he was familiar with the data of Souza Villa Real concerning the names of eight "prominent" Tapirapé, while apparently these data were not taken into account by the linguistic study of Ferdinand Denis since they were published 22 years later, in 1848.

Moraes Jardim (24), who explored the Araguaia in 1879,
175 writes as follows about the Tapirapé River: "The steamship Araguaya, under the [99:68] command of the late Lieutenant Balduino, ascended this river about ten leagues from its mouth to a harbor of the Tapirapé Indians without encountering any difficulties. When he reached this point, the captain sent a few scouts to the village, which stood some distance from the river. The Indians, however, sensed their approach and ran away, and the captain achieved nothing more than a reconnaissance of this section of the river."

João Severiano de Fonseca (I, 90) refers to this ascent of the Tapirapé River as follows: "The worthy Commander Balduino de Aguiar, so well known for his heroic deeds in the battles of the Coimbra Fortress and in others on the Paraguay River and at São Lourenço, ascended this river in 1868 for about 50 kilometers in a small steamer, the Araguaya, which Mr. Couto de Magalhães had brought in from Cuiabá to explore the river, whose name it adopted."

[181] At that time, therefore, the Tapirapé lived closer to the Araguaia than today.

Moraes Jardim also writes (34): "The Tapirapés have built their villages on the banks of the river of the same name. It is said that they are gentle Indians, more industrious than the others, but we have not had any contact with them so far."

[174] There must have been indirect contact between the Tapirapé and the Whites at that time, however, probably through the Karajá, for aside from the above-mentioned notice concerning their gentleness and industriousness, we read the following concerning quartz lip ornaments in an article about the Karajá written by Aristides de Souza Spinola and included in the pamphlet by Moraes Jardim (40): "In the course of my journey I saw only one common Indian [ornament] of this sort. I possess two in my small Indian chest received from the Tapirapés, who inhabit the banks of the river of the same name, a tributary of the Araguaia."

Ehrenreich, who went down the Araguaia in 1888, says in 1891 (2, 88): "The Araguaia River region is inhabited by the Tapirapé, who in truth have not yet been visited by any traveler, but who already had contact with the colonists in the past century." Like Martius, he includes these Indians with the "Central Tupí"

175 (Ibid.). [Ed., the last few lines of p. 68 and most of p. 69 are omitted.]

[99:69] Concerning the contact of the Tapirapé with the
175 Whites during the past century, one should also mention the
648 Colégio Isabel [Isabel School], which Couto de Magalhães (2, 132) referred to as follows a few years after its founding in 1871: "... all the tribes of the Araguaia are now represented among its 52 pupils." According to the preface to the second edition of the Viagem ao Araguaya [Journey to the Araguaia] by the same author (1, p. XXV), "About 20 children of both sexes immediately entered from the tribes of the Chavantes, Gorotirés, Cayapós, Tapirapés, and three from the extinct tribe of the Guajajaras."

In this connection, one should note that while the Guajajara are not yet extinct, the same cannot be said of the Colégio Isabel. Its existence was brief. In the account [99:70] of his 1888 journey published in 1892, Ehrenreich (3, 4) writes as follows: "On August 14, a number of Kayapó arrived in Leopoldina. They came from the so-called Colégio Isabel, which is now located two leagues down-river on the left bank, near Dumbazinho. They were in the company of their headmaster. They provided us with linguistic and somatic data. At the same time, we learned something of the situation in that colony, which is quite typical of the way in which the civilizing task is often carried out in this country. The institute was founded by Couto de Magalhães in the year 1871, with the aim of Christianizing Indian children, turning them into sedentary colonists, and attracting, at the same time, their savage tribal fellows. The government furnished clothes and other imported articles, especially agricultural tools. It also provided a considerable quantity of cattle, of which, at the time of his marriage, every Indian received a certain number. In addition, the government also provided an annual subvention of 5 contos. At the time of Couto de Magalhães, and especially during Sebastião's administration, the school prospered and enjoyed universal respect, even among the most distant savage tribes. Kayapó and Tapirapé children entered the school. I was told that a Tapirapé who had been educated there and who had later returned to his tribe, appeared a few years later on the river bank and awaited the arrival of the steamer for two months in a Karajá encampment so he could send his son to the same institution.

000 Only the Karajá, who will not part from their children under any circumstances, did not want to have anything to do with the school. Unfortunately, the mistake was made once of taking children from these Indians by force. As a result, they now keep all the children away whenever a ship comes by. At the time 175 of our visit, the institute was badly neglected. The headmaster 648 treated the Indians as slaves and ordered them to work in his personal service. The forlorn boys were exposed to his brutality and to that of his friends. The girls had to attend to the pleasure of all their oppressors. Most of them had already borne children or were about to do so. No new Indians had appeared for a long time, for the outrages of the White civilizers had increasingly kept them away. Most of the school Indians had already reached the age of 30, but not one of them thought of leaving. Trained all along to slavery and tutelage, they carried on their services with dumb indolence. Of course, there was no longer any question of teaching. The cattle had been stolen or had run away. The funds provided by the government ended up in the headmaster's pocket. Later, [99:71] Dr. Baggi, who as a good republican attempted to uncover and prosecute all the abuses of the current regime, achieved the suppression of the institute."

Although a few Tapirapé individuals encountered Whites during the nineteenth century, there is no evidence that the latter had any direct contact at that time with the bulk of the tribe. Ehrenreich (8), who in his classification cited above, published in 1891, includes the Tapirapé among the "Central Tupí," confesses as late as 1905 that they are known only by hearsay and this makes it impossible to state whether they are related to the Eastern or the Central Tupí. He adds that possibly they are a separate group that originated in Pará or Maranhão.

The few Tapirapé who were seen by Whites during the first ten years of this century were chiefly women and children abducted by the Karajá. Krause (2, 320 and 404) says that the [159] Karajá carried out these abductions at the times when the men of the Tupí tribe left their families to go and trade with them on a sand bar of the Tapirapé River. The captive women served them as laborers and sexual partners, and the resulting children became 175 part of the tribe. Some of those women and children were made 726 prisoners in the course of an attack when the Karajá killed several

175 726 men. Concerning this, there is the following reference by Glass (139) who was in the village of the attackers in 1909: "... the women and children were carried away captive to the Bananal Island, and they either became part of the Carajá tribe we had seen or else were sold to any bidder sometimes to white men in exchange for an ox or other thing, their equivalent for money" [cited in English].

175 648 Krause, who explored the Araguaia in 1908, writes (2, 405): "In the villages of the Karajá I saw, in all, two women, three young girls, and two boys of the Tapirapé tribe." Kissenberth, who was in the same area in that year and the following one, observed (2, 47): "I saw, in all, only seven individuals belonging to the Tapirapé: the near-sexagenarian Ngroatí (Figs. 4 and 5), whom I found in a village of Mẽkubengokré-Kayapó called Ororogdjakamkikré, located on the large stream Salobro, a tributary of the Pau-d'arco; two boys, one of whom was in the power of a rubber trader coming down the Araguaia, while the other was a slave of Tamanako, chief of the Karajá village Wouóõ; in addition, there were three women and one girl, slaves of Chief Crisóstomo of Weheriadó village, Chief Tamanako, and Chief Iwaní of Dorahíkã village."

Dona Delfina de Arruda Correia told me when I passed through the city [sic] of Goiás on September 5, 1935, [99:72] that when she was a teacher at the Leopoldina school she had among her pupils three or four Tapirapé boys brought by the Karajá. "The latter had abducted them and sold them," said the lady, without specifying, however, when those events took place.

A reference by Krause (2, 29) deserves special mention.
114 175 648 According to him, an Italian with his camaradas had abducted a Tapirapé girl whom he later sold to the Karajá, shortly before Krause reached the Araguaia. If this really happened, the Italian would be, to the best of our knowledge, the first White to make contact with the Tapirapé on tribal territory in this century. When I wrote this to Professor Krause, he answered me (letter of July 9, 1937): "I do not believe that the Italian really visited the Tapirapé. He may have abducted, or attempted to abduct, a Tapirapé girl who lived with the Karajá. This at least may be inferred from the hostility that the Karajá are said to have shown

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[648] towards him. But even such an assumption is more than doubtful. I lend no importance whatever to that rumor."

This explanation once accepted, Fritz Krause himself becomes, to our knowledge, the first White who made a systematic attempt to contact the Tupí tribe in the twentieth century. In August and September, 1908, he ascended the Tapirapé River with great difficulty to its last navigable stretch, and then traveled over the area lying to the north of its upper course. He found footprints on the sand, dams in the water, barbecues in the forest, and the remnants of summer dwellings on the savanna.

In April of the following year, Wilhelm Kissenberth, another German ethnographer, was even less successful. He gave up on the second day of his journey up the Tapirapé River, having reached the conclusion that "the only practical access to the Tapirapé villages is by land, since the inherent difficulties of an ascent of the Tapirapé River must be the same in the dry season as they are at flood time" (Kissenberth 1, 4).

Finally, in the course of an expedition in search of rubber trees that was carried out in 1911, a few men from Ceará led by their countryman Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira, after having gone up the Tapirapé River and crossed the savanna, met the Tapirapé Indians and lived with them for a while in their villages. The first information about this was given to me by Colonel João Crisóstimo de Oliveira, a brother of Mr. Alfredo. Later, when I was in Tampiñúa, the Indian Kamaiabó [99:73] frequently recalled with praise Mr. Alfredo and his companions. Actually, this journey of the Ceará men was described by Angione Costa (221-224), who published an article about it in July 29, 1912, in the
[113] Folha do Norte [a newspaper] of Belém, Pará. In addition, the following passage appears in the report on the Dominican expedition of 1914 called "Entre os Tapirapés [Among the Tapirapé]" and published in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosario (316-317): "In 1911, a group of rubber gatherers thought that the banks of the waterway (H.B. [author]: the Tapirapé River) would be rich in rubber. The leader of the expedition was one Mr. Alfredo. The starting point was Conceição. The explorations lasted for several months, from May to November. Instead of rubber, they discovered Indian villages, the three villages of the Tapirapé. It

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175 was the first time that these savages had seen civilized people, or, to use the popular term, Christians. It was God's will that savages and Christians should fraternize. Alfredo became a friend of the Tapirapé and brought to Conceição a group consisting of an elderly woman, her granddaughter of 11 or 12, and a few men. During the trip the men ran away. The girl was provided with clothes when she reached the mission."

[113] On October 9, 1912, the Rio newspaper O Paiz transcribed from the fortnightly Goiás paper O Estado de Goyaz of September 15 of the same year an article entitled "Proteção aos Indios [Indian Protection Service]," according to which Dr. Francisco Mandacarú had visited a Tapirapé village located six and three-quarters leagues from the river of the same name and had returned "a Tapirapé woman and her son of 12" whom he had "rescued" in Conceição, where they were "enslaved" (Kissenberth 2, 36, 43). They were probably the grandmother and granddaughter brought by Mr. Alfredo and mentioned in the report of the Dominicans quoted above.

Speaking of the tribes of the Araguaia, Glass (139) says that in 1913, "the Government Inspector of the Indians of this region [161] ascended the Tapirapé River and discovered about 1000 or 1500 [648] of this tribe still existing, but living forty miles away from the river for fear of the Carajás. He estimates that the Carajás, Tapirapés, Javahés, Cherentes [Sherente], Chavantes, and one or two other tribes around that district, number over 20,000 Indians" [cited in English].

In June, 1914, the French Dominicans, Domingos Carrerot, Sebastião Thomas, and Francisco Bigorre, visited the Tapirapé village located 50 kilometers from the river. They were led by the Indian Valadar, the son of a Karajá father and a Tapirapé mother. This guide had participated in Mr. Alfredo's expedition.

Ten years later, according to the Mensageiro do Santo [113] Rosario of April, 1934, page 207, the "regular catechization" of 797 the [89:74] Tapirapé by the Dominicans had a "definitive start." 175 That means that the Fathers of Conceição do Araguaia have ascended the Tapirapé River to the port of São Domingos every two years or so since 1924, awaiting there the arrival of the Indians, alerted to their presence by the smoke rising from burned grassland. Sometimes they proceed on foot to the summer dwellings

175 of the tribe at Lake Tucunaré or some other location not too far
797 from the river. They remain with the Tapirapé for one or several days, distributing axes, bush knives, knives, scissors, tobacco, and other gifts, and fulfilling their religious duties.

Aside from them, missionaries of other creeds have attempted
114 and are still attempting to save the souls of the Tampiitáua in-
175 habitants. In 1923, the Baptist minister Benedito Propheta had
797 some slight contact with these Indians, but did not reach their village. What little he has to say about them in his book, with great verbosity, is too confused and erroneous to be of scientific value.

In August, 1930, the British missionary, Josiah Wilding, of the Evangelical Union of South America, accompanied by the North American traveler Miss Elizabeth Steen, paid a brief visit to Tampiitáua. In the following year, North American Adventists spent one night in the village. In 1932, the British expedition in search of the vanished Colonel Fawcett, which is described so enjoyably in Peter Fleming's book, met the Tapirapé at the port of São Domingos. This was a slight contact of the kind these Indians also had with a group of prospectors, hunters, and an official of the Indian Service. The movie-making group from São Paulo referred to in Pompílio's notes (301-304) spent one night with them in August, 1934, at Lake Tucunaré and did not push on to Tampiitáua. At the end of August, 1935, Madame Rayliane de la Falaise and her husband spent two days in that village. The statements made about the Tapirapé by this charming and elegant writer are, for the most part, sheer fantasy.

The first White since the expedition of Mr. Alfredo, that
797 is, since 1911, to live with the Tapirapé, not just for one or sev-
175 eral days but for weeks and months on end, was the British missionary F.C. Kegel of the Evangelical Union of South America, which is established at Macauba on Bananal Island. He stayed with them in August, September, and October of 1932, from July to November of 1933, from August to November of 1934, and from June to August of 1935. We spent this last period there together, he and I.

114 [99:75] The North American ethnographer, Dr. Charles
175 Wagley, stayed with these Indians from April to October, 1939,

114 and from December of the same year until May, 1940.
175 A few Tapirapé accompanied the Dominicans and Mr. Kegel to the Araguaia and stayed briefly in the settlements of the Fathers and of the Evangelical missionary.

Considering all the various contacts that the Tapirapé have
177 had with the Whites, it is clearly impossible to determine the in-
787 fluence of each one of them. True, I was able to identify certain melodies as having been imported by Reverend Kegel and to determine the origin of some beads, clothes, and iron tools. The source of the vague allusions to Jesus Christ, however, had already become undecipherable owing to the number and variety of catechists and other visitors who might have mentioned the subject. Iron tools had already been introduced by the Karajá long before the arrival of the rubber gatherers from Ceará. And non-autochthonous plants, such as certain varieties of the banana, have been cultivated by the Tapirapé from time immemorial.
[164] Also, the diseases of European origin had already reached the Tupí tribe, probably through indirect contact with the Whites, that is to say, through other Indians.

If we look at the total influence of the Whites, both direct
177 and indirect, we may say that it has impoverished Tapirapé culture. The iron tools make it easier to farm and to manufacture various implements, but the need to replace them constantly makes the Indians who become used to them dependent on our civilization. No such consequence derived from the introduction of sugar cane and other plants, but these remain unessential in view of the successful cultivation of numerous autochthonous plants. It is worth noting, incidentally, that while iron tools have replaced previous implements made of other materials, they have not changed the traditional division of labor between the sexes. Nor do traits of European origin appear as fertilizing elements in other areas of the culture, such as ornamentation, house building, diet, industry, or the concept of the supernatural. Metal spoons are found along with shells and gourds, beads along with strung seeds; a piece of our clothing is worn with body painting; a pipe with an upright bowl, in the fashion of the Whites, is used alongside the simple smoking tube; Jesus Christ is identified with a figure who appears in their mythology as the owner of large pigs and iron implements, as "captain [chief]," husband, and father.

177 All those imports from us, living alongside the traditional traits, are no more than curiosities [99:76] in the minds of the Tapirapé, curiosities hardly more important to the functioning of their culture than one of their arrows or legends would be to the average European.

From what I was able to observe, Reverend Kegel usually 177 restricted himself to the teaching of songs and the administration 797 of medicines. Owing to their sporadic quality and short duration, and especially to the difficulty of communicating through words, the encounters with the Dominicans and other visitors have enriched Tapirapé culture even less. Unfruitful, too, were the attempts to wield an influence through individuals who had been taken to the Araguaia by the missionaries and who knew more about the White way of life than those who had never left tribal territory. It is well known how easily many of the Brazilian Indians educated in our civilized centers have re-adjusted to and been re-absorbed by their native environment (cf. Baldus 7, 165, and Araujo Lima 134-135). Actually, I did not see any Tapirapé who had lived with the Whites long enough to experience the conflicts of the "marginal man" of Park, Stonequist, and other American sociologists.

The impoverishment of Tapirapé culture was induced large- 164 ly by the diseases of the Whites, but these were introduced only partly as a result of direct contact. It is probable that the neighboring Karajá, continually exposed to contagion as inhabitants of the Araguaia, frequently acted as transmitters. This at least may be assumed as regards the strange diseases which were introduced prior to direct contact with the Whites. As Wagley (2) masterfully [114] pointed out, the catastrophic depopulation caused by the epidemics [165] that raged around 1895 and 1900, and later ones as well, affected [731] the social organization to such an extent that important traits of [178] Tapirapé culture were modified or lost.

The Tapirapé often told me that in the old days their people 177 knew everything about such celestial phenomena as eclipses and [821] about many other mythological subjects, and now know almost nothing. This may not be solely the result of the mortality caused [731] by epidemics and by the bellicose attacks of neighboring Karajá [726] and Kayapó. Some old people did survive. I can imagine the pressure exercised by the presence of our culture upon the minds

177 of the Tampiitáua inhabitants. This presence is made perceptible through the complex made up of diseases, of the fantastic stories of tribal members who went to the Araguaia, of the domineering behavior of White visitors, and of the latter's display of "riches." The effects of this type of [99:77] inter-ethnic pressure vary from culture to culture. Among peoples of vitality, they may arouse responsive forces which are manifested, for example, in the creation of new magical devices among aborigines, or in improvements in airplanes, tanks, or propaganda techniques among those who regard themselves as more "civilized." Among other peoples, however, they may cause resignation instead of resistance, and bring about what might be called a "cultural shrinkage," that is to say, a disregard for their own things without a concomitant desire to replace them with new ones, whether new creations of their own or imports. Thus, it seems possible to me that this pressure may have caused the Tapirapé to lose interest in certain traditions that did not seem to them to possess any immediate value in the struggle for existence. [Ed., end of Vol. 99.]

## Chapter 4

### [100:191] Contact with Other Indians

While it is possible to discern, up to a point, the effects of the direct and indirect contacts with the Whites, it is more difficult to perceive the influences derived from other Indian tribes. [726] I have already alluded to the murderous acts the Kayapó and Karajá and to their role as transmitters of epidemics and importers of iron tools. It must be added that the Karajá, aside from acting as intermediaries, also furnished products of their own culture, such as songs. I dare not, however, formulate hypotheses about the 171 535 origin of the masked-dance complex as a whole, to which these songs belong and which is one of the most characteristic aspects of both Tapirapé and the Karajá culture. The Tapirapé attach special importance to the masked dances of the chankuí, that is, jacuí [Tr., little jacu or guan] and of the iranchá, a fish. They perform them daily for weeks on end. Karl von den Steinen (2, [114] 313), when dealing with the masked dances of the Indians of the

171 Xingu headwaters, writes that the dance of the jacuí ("yakuí") is
535 "original to" the Auetõ and Kamayurá [Camayura], that is, the
[114] Tupí tribes of the Culuene basin and thus the eastern part of that region which is separated from Tapirapé territory by the waters of the Xingu and the Araguaia. Furthermore, [100:192] both the Auetõ and the Kamayurá had two kinds of masked dances, the dance of the jacuí and that of a fish called koahálu among the former and hũvát among the latter (ibid., 310-317). True, the masks used by those tribes (ibid., Figs. 107-114) differ completely from the masks made by the Tapirapé. In addition, what little may be inferred from the brief references to the dancing and songs of those Xingu Indians (ibid., 313-315) discloses no similarity to the chankuí and iranchá performances. On the other hand, the Tapirapé also differ from the Karajá in the design of their masks, their songs, and their dance motions.

Thus, the complex of masked dances that extends between the Xingu and the Araguaia assumes special forms in each of the above-mentioned tribes, and these forms, although they hint at a mutual relationship, do not reveal which of the tribes was the first to use masks or where it got the idea to do so. It can only be said
[648] that there are no historical data to substantiate contact between the Tapirapé and the tribes of the Culuene basin, while age-old relations between the Tapirapé and the Karajá are thoroughly documented. [Ed., the remainder of this section in Vol. 100, pp. 192-198, and the section in Vol. 101, pp. 67-75, are omitted.]

[102:123] While in Tampiitáua no one bothered with the
648 neighboring Kyrydjá [Tr., Ge-speaking, in this case Chavante] to the south, the Kayapó neighboring on the north, called Kananchahó, were mentioned frequently and with feeling. When dealing with the "Karajá of the Xingu," I referred to them and to the fear they inspire. I was informed that in 1932 they had de-
726] stroyed a large Tapirapé village located "ten days' march" north of Tampiitáua and killed most of its inhabitants. According to
[731] other reports, an epidemic depopulated that village and compelle the survivors to abandon it. No matter what the cause of this
648 mortality may have been, fear of the Kananchahó undoubtedly con-
166 tributed to the desire of the survivors to put as much distance as possible between themselves and these neighbors and to take refug in the southernmost village of their tribe, that is Tampiitáua. Th

648 same feeling, the same fear of the Kananchahó, aroused even in
166 the inhabitants of this latter village a desire to abandon it and to settle under the protection of the Whites on Bananal Island. Rev-
797 erend Kegel told me that when he arrived at Porto Salvação in 1934 he was visited by Kamairahó who came to the river bank
166 especially to ask him to come back, to have large boats built,
648 and to take the entire tribe to Macauba. The reason for this request was fear of the Kayapó. It was assumed that they had killed 20 men and women from Tampiitáua who had not returned from a hunting trip. Mr. Kegel told the most influential man among the Tapirapé that it would be impossible to feed the whole tribe since there was no longer time to prepare plots on the land of the Evangelical Union.

When we heard the harrowing cry of the potoo during the
648 night of June 23, 1935, the Tapirapé took this as a sign that the
[825] Kayapó were coming. Four days later, at night, as I stretched out on my net beside Kamairahó's hammock, the Indian "bigwig" said, "I am afraid." I retorted, with the courteous arrogance proper to a "captain [chief]" of my rank, "I am here, and therefore you need not be afraid." A little later [102:124], Kamairahó inquired,
[123] on account of the Kayapó, whether I had with me the "little killer," as we used to call the revolver to differentiate it from the "big killer," or rifle. I told him that I always slept well armed, and he laughed happily.

At the nocturnal group dances, the men hold a heavy club or
[535] bush knife in their hands, and this is not just to mark time since
[411] during the day they find an arrow or bow adequate for that purpose.

On the evening of July 8, as I talked with Mr. Kegel in front of the little house beside the village which had been built for him and camarada Daniel, several men and women came running, one of the men holding a bush knife and another a club, and they told us excitedly that there were Kananchahó in the neighboring forest. Followed by an Indian, I proceeded immediately to the spot they had pointed out. We found nothing, and I calmed the Tapirapé by telling them that the Kananchahó were sleeping very far away. They returned in silence to their hammocks, and a middle-aged woman merely said, "They will come when the moon goes to sleep."

648 When I stretched out in my hammock, Kamairahó, who was
129 already lying in his hammock with his wife, smiled at me as usual and greeted me courteously with the customary "papanekâ (you have come)." I asserted, no less decorously, "Hm, hm, ẽ, ẽ." He went on, still smiling, "Kananchahó around. Kananchahó coming. I'm afraid." Although he did not seem particularly scared in spite of this statement, I calmed him with a few words as I had done with the others, and he immediately laughed, changed the subject, and jested with his wife.

648 Later, it became evident that the presence of Kayapó in the
609 neighboring forest had been invented by Anavanî, a somewhat foolish youth of about 17. On the following morning he confessed that he had lied. He probably wanted to make himself important. The general readiness to believe him shows the state of mind of the Tapirapé toward their feared neighbors. Incidentally, on the day when Kamairahó showed me the smoke pillars of the "Ampaneá" to the southwest, he showed me a similar display by the Kayapó to the north.

The non-material defenses show that the Kananchahó are regarded as the Number One enemy. Although the Karajá are also feared, only the northern neighbors, by what I was able to observe, are the object of parodies, violently abusive songs, and mocking pantomimes. On June 24, the Tapirapé, in a weeping tone, sang
[533] a seemingly obscene chant about the Kananchahó, which aroused
831 endless laughter. It was sung in the men's house, where other
[522] youths gave a ludicrous impersonation of those enemies, emitting
[536] their would-be tribal cry, running and jumping crazily hither and yon, gesticulating with angry excitement, and hitting the house stakes with their clubs. At the same time, in front of the house,
[535] other men accompanied by the women and children danced and sang the kaó, the danced song that derives its warlike character not only from the weapons in the hands of the warriors and from their serious look, but also from the powerful rhythm of stamping feet and the menacing quality of the guttural sounds.

536 [102:125] While all this pertains to night performances, an-
726 other spectacle took place two days later in daylight. It was a dramatization of the supposed Kayapó attack on the 20 Tapirapé who had failed to return from the hunt during the previous year. Six youths, holding on to each other in friendly fashion two by two,

536 726 with the pairs one behind the other, walked peacefully from house to house. They hummed a song. The first two pairs carried a blanket on their back, and the last pair carried a straw mat. A masked man followed, bent forward, dancing and shooting arrows at the mat. After a while the pairs lined up one beside the other and stayed put, humming their song, while the masked figure emitted the Kayapó tribal cry and danced in menacing fashion, stepping always on the same spot. A little later, the walk was resumed. This scene was repeated several times. Suddenly, however, when the pairs were standing still once more in front of a hut, two masked "Kayapó" rushed headlong from behind it, and four others emerged from behind the neighboring house. All [177] these "Kayapó" had bows or clubs in their hands and were completely disguised with hammocks, blankets, and other belongings of the White guests. Their faces were covered with sifters, and my straw hat had also found a use. While the three Tapirapé pairs kept walking as peacefully as before, the masked figures alternately ran furiously hither and yon, giving their typical cry, and performed a circular dance. In this dance, some of them faced the back of the man in front while others were turned [535] toward the man behind. They all jumped on one leg and then the other, tossing their arms and legs about and gesticulating with their weapons (Photo. 73). After repeating all this several times for half an hour, the "Kayapó" attacked one another and quarreled among themselves. Then the Tapirapé pairs quietly broke up and vanished.

This performance, therefore, contrasts the mildness which 181 is indeed the tribal behavior pattern of the Tapirapé with the nervous aggressiveness of the Kayapó. This seems to be a symbol of universal significance, when we look at the pacifists and militarists in other parts of the world.

The opinion of the Tupí tribe about the nature of these 609 773 neighbors[1] seems to be expressed even in their mythology. While the Karajá are regarded as descendants of a water serpent, the ancestor of the Kayapó is tantevoga, the tick. One of the proofs of kinship with those bugs, my informants say, is the falsetto tribal cry that they attribute to their northern foe. This proof, although it might not satisfy a biologist, is sufficient for the ethnologist. Actually, everyone knows that the tick is a pesky nuisance.

[1] [i.e., the Kayapó.—Analyst]

114 The Kayapó who have intimidated the Tapirapé over the
175 past few years, however, do not belong to the bands visited by
726 Krause in 1908 and by Kissenberth in the same year and the following one, that is to say, the Indians called Kayapó-Mẽkubengokré by this author. Kissenberth (2, 40) heard Mẽkubengokré elders relate that the last hostile encounters between their people and the Tapirapé had occurred approximately in the middle of the last century. This traveler does not [102:126] explain, however, how the near-sexagenarian Tapirapé he saw in a Mẽkubengokré village (ibid., 47 and Figs. 4 and 5; 1, Figs. 18 and 19) got there and was annexed to the tribe.

171 I shall show later that the Tapirapé have a few cultural traits that are similar to traits of these Kayapó, but not as many as the ones that reveal their kinship with the Karajá. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 102, pp. 126-130, is omitted.]

[103:183] Chapter 5

## The Number of Villages and of Tribal Members

621 Sixteenth-century authors, such as Pero de Magalhães de
171 Gandavo (45) and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (362), already pointed out the propensity of the Tupí Indians to divide into bands as a result of certain dissensions. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

621 In the case of the Tapirapé, the disruptive forces were not only countered by the authority of Kamairahó in Tampiitáua, but [731] were also kept at bay by more powerful destructive forces, that is to say, terrible epidemics. Kamairahó's authority became ap- [554] parent when I attempted to ascertain in which of the various villages, now extinct, the individuals who make up the present population of Tampiitáua had originated. Those who had revealed their birthplace to me [103:184] did not dare repeat the information in the presence of this most influential leader. The unifying [578] activity of Kamairahó was justified by the fact that old antagonisms between the villages were not yet entirely forgotten, although they were seldom recalled.

578 621 In this regard one should mention, first and foremost, the survivors of the village abandoned in 1932. They may be distinguished from the other inhabitants of Tampiitáua by their scowl, their perennial tendency to make mocking remarks in a low voice, and their lack of hospitality. Their village, located "ten days' march" to the north, reputedly hated the Whites. It established contact with Tampiitáua through trade and a few marriages. I still found about 20 of those "enemies," counting the men, women, [123] and children. I got along well with them. One of them, Maninohó, became my close friend and an exception among his people in his increasingly hospitable behavior toward me. This did not prevent many Tampiitáua people from hating him. Perhaps it even increased the antagonism.

621 166 578 Gradually, I learned that the 20 individuals who disappeared in 1934 had been, for the most part, former inhabitants of the village that became extinct in 1932. Mr. Kegel recalled that already in 1933 there was a rumor in Tampiitáua that they would move far away. They were, on the whole, unpopular and remained enemies of the Whites. When they left, they took with them everything they owned. They walked away towards the north. [622] A sorcerer--medicine man, an influential and vigorous man who had been accused of causing the death of Kamairá's wife, joined them and became their leader. They had not been seen again in 1935, and it was so widely believed that they had been killed by the Kayapó that, as I have already mentioned, the whole tribe wanted to run away to Macauba and later commemorated the attack through the pantomime described earlier. There was no absolute certainty, however, as to the end met by the 20 persons. It was said, as I have already mentioned, that they never returned from a hunting trip. All the Tapirapé I asked spoke of this com- [627] munal hunt, but it is probable that those 20 persons were expelled from the community. It is well to note, however, that this hypothesis would not be corroborated by the fact that they took with them everything they owned. Indeed, they left at the very time [361] when the entire village was being transferred to a new site. Fur- [224] thermore, when people leave the village for several days with their [226] families in order to hunt or fish communally, they usually take along all their household goods, which as a rule are quite easy to [352] carry because they are few and light in weight.

166 621 [627] It may be that the emigrants, leaving under the pressure of public opinion, stated that they were merely going on a hunt. Such a statement might have been motivated by a wish not to ruin any possibility of return with a definitive and hostile farewell. It actually seems that they returned a few years later and were not killed by the Kayapó. Wagley, indeed, told me that when he was in Tampiitáua in 1939 he heard of a Tapirapé village named Chichutáua, located six days' journey to the north and inhabited by 45 people. The inhabitants of that village appeared one fine day and joined the people of Tampiitáua, making a total of 147 [103:185] individuals (cf. Wagley 2, 409). In 1935, I counted 130 inhabitants in Tampiitáua. The discrepancy of 17 may well tally with the figure "20" for the emigrants, granting that among the total Tapirapé population the number of deaths was higher than that of births and taking into account the inadequate familiarity of this tribe with numbers. The quoted figure of "45" relating to the number of inhabitants in Chichutáua may be explained by the fact that the population of this village had increased since 1935 with the arrival of other emigrants from Tampiitáua. When he looked at the photographs I had taken, Wagley found that a large number of the Chichutáua inhabitants had been in Tampiitáua at the time of my visit. This is a good example of "horizontal social mobility" (cf. Baldus and Willems 153).

Regarding the propensity of these Tupí Indians for splitting up, it is fitting to cite also the following case. In September, 1932, the young and forceful "capitain" Ikaranchó, who had quarreled with Kamairahó, founded a new village one league [115] east of Tampiitáua. Reverend Kegel, to whom I owe this piece of information, visited both villages. Ikaranchó had so much [721] energy that he managed to post well-disciplined sentries around his settlement at night. Such a precaution, taken probably on account of the Kayapó, was unheard-of among the Tapirapé. One third of the inhabitants of Tampiitáua moved to the new village. Nearly all of them were young people [Ed., the remainder of the sentence is omitted]. At the time when Ikaranchó's vil- 164 731 lage was founded, camaradas of the Dominicans at Conceição transmitted to the Tapirapé, with whom they had been in contact on the river of the same name, an attack of influenza which

164 apparently was aggravated by pneumonia. During the rainy season
731 that followed, this epidemic caused great mortality throughout
[165] the tribe, also killing Ikaranchó and his wife. Then the separa-
[166] tists returned to Tampiitáua.

The eighteenth century map reproduced in this work points
361 out with three triangles the "Aldeas do Gentio Tapirapé [villages of the Tapirapé people]." In his account of Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira's 1911 expedition, Angyone Costa (222-223) writes as follows about the Tapirapé of the time: "These Indians occupy three villages, the first one located two days' journey from the riverbank, the second one three days' away. The explorer did not visit the third one."

The following appears in the account of the Dominican ex-
[113] pedition of 1914 printed in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosário (317): "The Tapirapé form three groups, or rather three malocas [villages], five days' journey apart. The Indians can walk 50 kilo-
[481] meters a day. This shows how huge is the region inhabited by such a relatively sparse tribe. The village we visited had 16 huts,
[592] each one sheltering several families. It is true that when the
[609] Fathers drew near, some of the huts were emptied, and families, urged on by a suspicious chief, ran to hide in the forest. The peo-
[161] ple we found did not exceed 160 souls, and from this it may easily be inferred that the tribe does not include more than about a thousand members."

[103:186] The note published in 1912 about Dr. Francisco
621 Mandacarú's journey states that the Tapirapé village visited by
[161] this explorer contained 268 inhabitants and that "almost invariably, a village merely consists of a single and numerous family." The number of villages, however, is not mentioned (cf. Kissenberth 2, 43-44).

The same applies to the account of the trip by the inspector
[161] of the Indians, mentioned earlier, which only states that "some 1,000 or 1,500" Tapirapé were found (Glass, 139).

Reverend Kegel told me that in August of 1932 he found in
[161] Tampiitáua some 14 houses with slightly more than 220 occupants. These people, as we have already mentioned, split up in September, but were together again when we visited them the following
[165] year. From 50 to 60 of them died during the 1932-1933 rainy season, and only three or four children born at that time were seen by this missionary.

621 by this missionary. There was at the time only one couple with
[163] three children, while other couples with progeny only had one or two. When Mr. Kegel was in Tampiitsua in 1934, after the departure of the oft-mentioned "20" who had not yet returned in
[161] 1935, he only saw seven houses with 113 occupants. It is to be assumed that a few additional families were absent during the missionary's visit that year, for in 1935 I counted 130 Tapirapé. They were living in the seven houses seen by Mr. Kegel the
[312] previous year, and also in the so-called takana [men's house] and in another hut (marked with the letter g on the ground plan of the village) which was not as finished as the others. The distribution of those 130 individuals among the houses is indicated on the ground plan of the village (Fig. 8).

The following table shows the ratios by age, sex, marital
162 status, and progeny. [Table appears here.]
621

[103:187] It is apparent, therefore, that at the time of this census, made in 1935, there were 70 married individuals and 60 unmarried ones in Tampiitsua.

The 38 men between the ages of 18 and 45 included the fathers of 20 children. The 26 women between the ages of 21 and 60 included the mothers of 32 children. These 64 men and women, therefore, included the fathers and mothers of 52 children.

These 52 children do not include those who were cited as
[597] stepchildren or adopted offspring. It is possible, furthermore, that they may include step- or adopted children who were not cited as such. In this case, the number of children with a living father or mother, which is already relatively small, would be even smaller.

Among the couples who had issue from their current marriages, there was one with three children, two with two, and five with one child each.

There was a 45-year-old grandfather with a three-year-old granddaughter, and a grandmother of 60 with a granddaughter who was also three. A man of 33 said that he was the grandfather of a girl of five who had neither father nor mother. He may have been the brother of the girl's grandfather.

No less striking than the above figures are the following.

In the age group ranging from less than one year to 14, there were 26 males and 29 females, that is to say, 55 individuals of both sexes.

[Text continues on p. 40]

W2
62.1

| | MALES | | | | FEMALES | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Individuals | Married | Sons | Daughters | Individuals | Married | Sons | Daughters |
| Less than 1 year | — | — | — | — | 2 | — | — | — |
| 1-2 years | 1 | — | — | — | 2 | — | — | — |
| 3-5 years | 9 | — | — | — | 7 | — | — | — |
| 6-10 years | 7 | — | — | — | 11 | — | — | — |
| 11-14 years | 9 | — | — | — | 7 | 6 | — | — |
| 15-17 years | 5 | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 18-20 years | 9 | 8 | — | 2 | 6 | 6 | — | — |
| 21-25 years | 11 | 10 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 2 |
| 26-30 years | 5 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 9 | 4 | 10 |
| 31-35 years | 8 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 2 |
| 36-40 years | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 41-45 years | 2 | 2 | 1 | — | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| 46-50 years | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| 56-60 years | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | 2 | — |
| Total | 69 | 35 | 6 | 14 (Hc) | 61 | 35 | 16 | 16 |

Lithius--30 E-5 (1936, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

162 621 In the age group ranging from 15 to 30, there were 30 males and 20 females, that is, 50 individuals of both sexes.

In the age group ranging from 31 to 60, there were 13 males and 12 females, that is to say, 25 individuals of both sexes. Only two among them were older than 45, one woman who was 48 and one who was 60.

There was not a single individual older than 60.

The most striking fact is the small number of individuals over 30 years of age. On the other hand, the number of individuals younger than 15 is not, in proportion, as small as the corresponding group among certain "civilized" peoples. [Ed., the remainder of p. 187 is omitted.]

[103:188] The 35 Tampiitsua couples included 20 where [582] the husband appeared to be older than the wife, 12 where the opposite seemed to be the case, and three where they seemed to be of the same age. I say "appeared to be older" to acknowledge minor inaccuracies in reckoning people's ages, even though I did not do this alone but in collaboration with Mr. Kegel, who had more points of reference than I because he had observed these Indians for several years.

592 162 The following table shows the number, sex, and age of the occupants of each house indicated on the ground plan of the village. [Table appears here.]

621 166 I heard in 1935, and published in 1937, that the Tapirapé formerly had five villages whose descendants make up the present population of Tampiitsua (cf. Baldus 17, 86). Wagley (2, 408-409) confirmed this, adding (4, 5) that those five villages "probably existed as late as the turn of the century and are said to have had a population of about 200 people each." He also refers (ibid.) [731] to epidemics as the only cause for the abandonment of these villages. I have already mentioned that in the case of the village [648] abandoned in 1932 fear of the Kayapó must have been a contributing factor. It is worth noting the explanation given for the move of 758 the occupants of three other villages to Tampiitsua: there were 166 no médicos-feiticeiros [Tr., sorcerers--medicine men] left 621 among them. This might, of course, have occurred as the result of an epidemic. The interesting fact, however, is that the Tapirapé did not mention disease but the lack of pagés [Tr., shamans] as the reason for abandoning the villages. Nothing could

[Text continues on p. 42]

162
592

| | MALES | | | FEMALES | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Under 15 | 15 and over | Total | Under 15 | 15 and over | Total | Total Number of Occupants |
| House a | 2 | 12 | 14 | 8 | 9 | 17 | 31 |
| House b | 2 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 13 |
| House c | 2 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 8 |
| House d | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| House e | 5 | 9 | 14 | 7 | 6 | 13 | 27 |
| House f | 3 | 4 | 7 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 12 |
| House g | 4 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 9 |
| House h | 2 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 2 | 8 | 14 |
| Takana | 5 | 3 | 8 | - | - | - | 8 |
| Total | 26 | 43 | 69 | 29 | 32 | 61 | 130 |

1:Bakhu--41 E-6 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapkapd SP22

166 [underline more clearly the importance of these men.

The village abandoned in 1932 was called Moytsúa, a word made up of moyva, "cane," and tsúa, "village." The other three extinct villages were called (1) Kuruamtsúa, from kurú or koruí "squash" (Brazilian Cucurbitacea), which remained in the Brazilian vernacular as cruá [Tr., Sicana odorifera]; (2) Manicotsúa, from Manico, the name of a Karajá who was the village chief; and (3) Chechotsúa, chechó probably being jejú (Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus), a fish akin to the traíra [Tr., Amazon hungfish], or else a contraction of chechoó, "big chechó," that is to say, the pirarucú (Arapaima gigas). It may be that Chechotsúa was the "Chichotsúa" Wagley heard about, and that the Tampiitsúa emigrants [103:189] moved to the site of the former village of this name on account of the food plants which undoubtedly still grew in the surrounding plots.

166 Tampiitsúa, the "village of the tapir," no longer stands where it was at the time of my visit. It was moved farther from the river. This represents a move away from the Whites and, to some extent, "toward the Kayapó." Such a move appears to me as a "healthy policy." There were, and continue to be, attempts to relocate the Tapirapé at a "Protective Post" located near the Araguaia. The immediate and continuous contact of these Indians with the most varied representatives of our civilization, which would be inevitable if the above-mentioned project were to be carried out, would bring about the certain annihilation of this peaceful Tupí tribe, whose numbers, as I write this (1944), probably do not reach 150. [Ed., end of Vol. 103; the section in Vol. 104, pp. 93-100, is omitted.]

[105:77] Chapter 6

## Physical Appearance and Ornamentation

142 Coming from the Karajá to the Tapirapé, one immediately notices that the latter, on the average, are much shorter and less sturdy, especially shorter than the Karajá I saw in Santa Isabel, and less sturdy than the inhabitants of Berreomanso and other villages located north of the mouth of the Tapirapé River. Fritz

142 Krause (2, 405) noted the same differences in the Tapirapé women and boys whom he encountered among the Karajá. He gives (ibid., 180) the average height of the Karajá as 166 centimeters for the southern group and 160-162 centimeters for the northern group.
141 The height of the Tapirapé varies, as a rule, between 150 and 160 centimeters. Kamairá, the tallest, who was but 170 centimeters tall, stood out among them quite strikingly. The average height of the Kayapó, who are also taller than the Tapirapé, is 165.7 centimeters (Krause, ibid., 370).

In all the above-mentioned tribes, the women are considerably shorter than the men.

142 The physical appearance of the Tapirapé, like that of many Brazilian tribes, reveals two different types. It is true that in the majority of cases these two types are mixed to a greater or lesser extent, but they are nevertheless clearly distinguishable. One is a slender type with fine features, represented, for example, by Kamairahó (Photos. 51 and 52), Urukumy (Photo. 53), and Mareromyó (Photo. 3), and the other a thickset type with a coarser face, such as Vuanomanchí [105:78] (Photo. 63) and Ipayva (Photos. 32 and 60). If these types had originated from ethnic stratification, the former one would have made up the upper layer, for it is not only numerically superior but also peculiar to chiefs and their close relatives. This type unquestionably has Tupí characteristics, while the other one may perhaps be related to the
142 Kayapó as described by Krause (ibid.), or to other Gê peoples.
144

The somatic characteristics I designate as Tupí and peculiar to the Tapirapé are the short and slender figure, the aquiline nose, and a greater resemblance to Europeans in facial features and overall appearance than is found in other Indians. [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 78 and the first half of p. 79 are omitted.]

[105:79] The so-called aquiline nose, which appears in many Tupí tribes, is also found among the Tapirapé (Photo. 1). Tenivuahúa is a good example of this (Photo. 55). This Tupí nose differs from the Gê type not only in its convex bridge, but sometimes also in its lesser width. [Ed., the remainder of p. 79 and the first half of p. 80 are omitted.]

142 [106:80] Many Tapirapé bear a greater resemblance to Europeans in face and overall appearance than other Indians do. This should not be taken to mean that their "European characteristics"

142 outnumber their Indian ones. My meaning will be understood by looking, for example, at Iravuy (Photo. 62). There are Tapirapé with thin lips, there are others who show hardly any Mongoloid features, and there are some with light skins. We gave the girl Ehovytyngaho (Photo. 67) the name "Inri" owing to her lack of pigmentation, for this is the name given to us, the Whites, by the Karajá. [Ed., the remainder of p. 80 and the first half of p. 81 are omitted.]

[105:81] The difference between the Tapirapé and the Karajá, so clearly evident in terms of stature, is not apparent in the hair, which in both tribes, in contrast to the usually straight Indian hair, is sometimes slightly curly and often somewhat wavy (see Kamaiurá, Photo. 57, and the group, Photo. 28). This is most apparent when the hair is tousled, or when it is long and loose (cf. Photo. 2). [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

*I did not see any white hair among the Tapirapé.* It is, as a rule, unusual among Indians and appears only at a very advanced age. I did not find any bald heads either among the Tapirapé or among any of the other South American tribes I visited. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] Even bald spots seem to be unknown among the Tapirapé, if we may deduce this from the admiration they showed for the incipient baldness on my head, which they tactfully referred to as "small hair."

114 147 F. Krause (2, 185) says of the Karajá: "The Indians have a characteristic body odor. It is rather strong and unpleasant to us. It is hard to say, however, to what extent it is due to the oil [105:82] turning rancid on their skin and hair." Concerning this, I must say that in spite of my excellent sense of smell, I was never able to discern among the numerous Indian tribes I visited any characteristic racial odor such as the one I noticed, for example, in many African Negroes (but not all), that stench which Brazilians call catinga and which is reminiscent of rancid soap. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[142] 826 Some Tapirapé, indeed, have a rather light skin. In this respect, however, most of them do not attain their own ideal of beauty, which is white, as white as the habitually covered skin of northern Europeans. The women never tired of feeling my arms when I pushed up my sleeves. They expressed in this fashion their

826 admiration for the whiteness of my skin, not for its softness, for in this respect they could not be surpassed. My camarada Daniel, a northern Brazilian who was almost as dark as they were, did not attract as much attention. The skin tone they consider most attractive, however, must not seem to them as remote from their own color as it seems to us, for they characterized their own skin exactly as they did mine, with the terms chinga and typiánia, both of which mean "white." Whether these Tapirapé words differ in scope from our own term for "white," or whether the yearning for the ideal makes the Indians appear to themselves as lighter than they actually are, this is in any case a prime example of the possibility of broad differences in the conceptualization of such seemingly concrete phenomena and shows the researcher the desirability of comparing, whenever possible, his own observations with the information provided by the Indians.

51 826

[196]

Other native peoples of South America also prefer white skins. Fritz Krause (2, 185) writes: "The ideal of the Karajá is the whitest skin possible; they prized my white complexion very highly, and they themselves wished to be quite white (cf. the role of white people in their myths)."

M1 826

In 1663, Simão de Vasconcellos (LX) wrote that the Indians of Brazil told the Portuguese their own ancestors had been "people of white complexion," and when they were asked why they had not remained white, they answered (LXI): "Let us make an experiment: exchange your clothing for ours, and go about naked in the sun and in the rain, as we do; and you will soon see that [105:83] you have turned from white to our own hue." Consequently, just as according to the words of the Tapirapé there is no difference between their color and mine, the Indians to whom Vasconcellos is referring clearly stated that they regarded their own skin as basically identical to that of the Portuguese.

Not only do forest Indians, such as the Tapirapé, and river Indians, such as the Karajá, prefer white complexions, but so do savanna Indians, such as the Toba. In the universal conflagration myth of this Chaco tribe, only one man survived the fire that destroyed the entire earth. "But there was no woman. Then they lowered down from the sky a woman tied to a rope, and they cut the rope from above when the woman was close to the earth. Because they cut it very close to the ground, she came out ugly, but

171 826 if they had cut the rope higher up, the woman would have come out beautiful, and then all Indians would be white and beautiful" (Lehmann-Nitsche 6, 195, 196). As we can see, "white" and "beautiful" are clearly equated in this myth.

826 Just as most Tapirapé do not fit their own ideal of beauty with regard to skin color, they do not fit it either with regard to stature, for while most of them are small, they like large men.

They also like a body where none of the parts provided by nature are missing, except for the hair, which is cut on specific [304] occasions, and the body hair, which is carefully plucked. For this reason, namely, for esthetic motives, Chief Kamairahó would not allow one of his incisors to be removed, although it was quite loose and the source of frequent complaints on his part.

291 Like most Brazilian Indians who do not yet live in close [171] and continuous contact with the Whites, the Tapirapé, both men and women, go altogether naked. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] And like most Indians in this country, the Tapirapé always go barefoot. The men merely wear the penis sheath and sometimes the waist cord.

171 When I asked the Tapirapé for the name of their penis sheath, someone first told me the word nohó. This is the name 192 given to the penis in Karajá, but those Indians do not use a sheath. They tie the prepuce just over the glans with a cotton cord that they call noodakín (Krause 2, 204). Later I heard among the Tapirapé the word cherakuichivohíua to designate "my penis sheath," from cherakui, "my penis," and híua, which is related to the word for "leaf." [Ed., the first paragraph of p. 84 is omitted.]

291 [105:84] The penis sheath of the Tapirapé is made of a [287] strip of inner bark, from one and a half to two centimeters wide, taken from the stalk of the central leaf of a palm called pinavó by these Indians and simply "palm tree" by the non-Indian population of the Araguaia. As a rule, each man possesses a number of these strips, hung in bundles and rolls on the walls of his hut.

To make the sheath, the strip is folded so that its tips nearly join. Then the tips are slipped together into the resulting knot. [531] This produces a funnel with oblique walls, sometimes adorned with a few burns made with lightly applied live coals (Photo. 20). A special device prevents the funnel from opening too easily: before

291 folding the strip in half, the men fold a small part of it obliquely, and then fold the strip once more so that the triangle is placed exactly over it. The strip is not folded stiffly, since owing to its natural toughness it has a tendency to unfold. As a result of this tendency, the tip folded in this fashion remains securely held in the knot along with the other tip.

As a rule, a man will prepare a new sheath as he gets up in the morning. The prepuce is pushed through the funnel in such a way that it projects beyond the smaller opening and is tied all around like the end of a sausage, remaining erect. Thus, the funnel is worn upside-down, that is to say, with the smaller opening on top and the larger rim facing toward the front (cf. Photos. 5, 63, and 68).

As may be seen in these photographs, the yellow color of the inner-bark strip stands out clearly against the skin. In view of [832] this, a desire to attract the attention of the opposite sex may be involved in the use of the sheath. At the same time, it is also [834] possible that the men assign to the sheath the same purpose that, [171] according to Krause (2, 204), the Karajá assign to their penis cord, that is to say, that of concealing the glans from the eyes of women. There is no doubt, however, that both sheath and cord serve as 751 protection against crustaceans and insects, such as ticks, for example. We have known cases where these parasites fastened their proboscis [105:85] right at the opening of the urethra. The [825] Tapirapé make no distinctions among these various kinds of little creatures and call them all tantevoga. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Small boys do not protect their member. Just as the Karajá 291 [881] adolescents do not use the penis cord until their hair is cut for the [171] initiation, Tapirapé youths first use the sheath at the time of the haircut.

The importance of the penis sheath to the Tapirapé is perhaps [524] made evident by the fact that even the dolls made for fun were supplied with such sheaths (Photo. 77). [Ed., the last half of p. 85, p. 86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted.]

[105:87] The waist cord is called anchekuakuán or [283] chikoanghohâus in Tapirapé. It is made of cotton threads twitted [462] by the women on their thighs, but it is used solely by the men. The latter wear it so that it lies a good distance below the navel

291 (cf. Photos. 5, 25, 69). This may corroborate the conjecture of
[114] the evolutionist Von den Steinen (2, 192) that the waist cord for-
[174] merly had the function of the penis sheath. Among present-day
Tapirapé this cord may be regarded, along with the tembetá, as
[482] a prerogative of the males. It is rarely used to carry [105:88]
[412] things. Occasionally they will hang a comb from it, or in recent
times a pair of scissors as well.

Dr. Charles Wagley told me that in 1939 he found straps for
114 carrying children that were worn by the Tapirapé women over the
854 shoulder and across the chest. In 1937, Dominican missionaries
177 had gone up the Tapirapé River with large quantities of fabrics.
The straps were made of those fabrics. It is interesting to note
that in 1935 there were no such objects in existence. It is inter-
esting because it would have been possible to carry the children
in small hammocks. Furthermore, I had given away many pieces
of cloth which could have been used as straps for carrying children.
[171] Such straps not only are used by the neighboring Kayapó (Krause,
2, 394) but are also a typical cultural trait of the Tupí Indians.
[Ed., two sentences are omitted.] It is worth noting, however,
that straps for carrying children are not used by the eastern neigh-
bors of the Tapirapé, that is to say, the Karajá (Krause 2, 276
and Plates 12, 37, and 42).

In the case of the Tapirapé, it was apparently the numerous
pieces of fabric brought by the Dominicans in 1937 that played a
decisive role in the introduction of straps for carrying children. In
291 1935, all the fabrics and cloth articles coming from our factories
177 had a merely decorative function among those Indians. The men
[562] alone used them, since most adornments are prerogatives of their
[301] sex and such impressive ornaments as those made of feathers and
claws are worn only by them. Kamairahó, the most important
chief, liked best of all to wear a red dress which his wife had re-
ceived as a gift. Thus, the aim the giver had in mind, probably
inspired by catechizing hopes, was missed entirely for the lady
remained altogether naked while her husband was covered down to
177 the knees and below. It is worth noting, however, that in the even-
29 ing, when Kamairahó retired, he would undress and carefully fold
513 the garment. Thus, at an hour when every protection against the
mosquitoes and the cold would have seemed to me exceedingly

177
291 welcome, this important man lay in his small hammock without
[513] the slightest intention of hiding his skin, which was occasionally illuminated by the wavering flames.

[105:89] The same was true with regard to all other clothing of similar provenience. Kamairahô also possessed a large piece of fabric which he used as a sort of cloak, but only during the day and not as frequently as the dress. Vuatanamy, another influential leader, wrapped himself during the hottest hours of the day in a heavy poncho, which was of such good quality that I tried to find out the name of the person who had given out such presents (cf. Photo. 58). Then the evil tongues told me that this Gaucho gar-
[177] ment had belonged to a missionary, who lost it unwittingly with the full cooperation of Vuatanamy. The former owner may derive some consolation from the fact that his unintended beneficiary continued to sleep naked through mosquito bites and cold spells.

The shirts, vests, and trousers that I gave to some of the young men were also restricted to daytime use. The enthusiasm for this kind of ornament lasted only a few days. Then the law of the least effort prevailed, and the pieces were put away in a corner of the house. Incidentally, of all my gifts, the vests were the least valued. Their new owners noted signs of wear with obvious displeasure, and perhaps also felt that since the vests had no sleeves they were mere fragments of jackets and thus scorned by the Whites.

The aim of these Indians, however, was to be esteemed by the
648 Whites by conforming to their behavior. I do not mean to say that
177 this was the aim of every Tapirapé. There were some, however, who made it quite clear. There was, for example, Kamairá, the tallest and sturdiest man in Tampiitsúa and a leader on certain occasions. Kamairá sometimes liked to use a rather dirty rag as a
[177] loincloth. This was the only loincloth I saw in the tribe, and its use was probably inspired by a desire to reach the ideal proclaimed by some missionary with highly modest sentiments.

177 Such propensities for adaptation, however, did not preclude
291 the use of ornaments furnished by us, even when such objects had
301 never appeared on our own bodies. Thus, Vuatanamy wore a multicolored cap (cf. Photo. 68); Kamanané, the song leader, liked to wear a piece of brightly colored cloth on his head; the
177 red and black cardboard wrapper of my soap contributed to the
301 mosaic of bird feathers that adorned a dance mask; and beads were

177 301 the favorite ornament of both sexes, of adults as well as children (cf. Photos. 3, 4, 5, 8, and many others).

The Tapirapé showed the same love for those beads as did the 301 Karajá, wanting always the smallest and whitest ones (cf. Photo. [171] 2) and showing intense dislike for those of other colors and those made of clear [105:90] glass. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the beads I saw were used merely as necklaces. It is true that these Indians are also very fond of deck- [855] ing out their children in these ornaments, and the larger the number of beads at the neck of a girl, the more beautiful she seems in everyone's eyes. People often borrow beads from each other to enhance this sort of beauty, and not only do married couples use their beads in turn, but this is also done between parents and children and between friends belonging to different families.

Beads were the object of the only theft between two Tapirapé [674] committed during my stay at Tampiitúna. When Maeyma was deserted by his wife and hung his hammock next to that of Taipá, a matronly widow, she appeared on the following morning with beads around her neck. [Ed., the last sentence, which concludes the section in Vol. 105, is omitted; there is no section in Vol. 106.]

[107:107] Tapirapé of both sexes usually wear their hair cut 302 straight across the forehead just above the eyes, so that it cannot fall across the face (Photos. 3 and 28). They do allow it to grow on the sides and in the back, however. Some of the men, women, and children sometimes part their hair anywhere on the forehead, thus partly baring it (Photos. 59, 61, and 63). The hair reaches shoulder length in the back, and this occurs more frequently among the women than among the men (Photos. 4, 67, and 69). The latter sometimes hold it with a strip of inner bark tied around the head (Photos. 4 and 5) or gather it into a pigtail (Photos. 1, 4, and 7), while the women and children always wear it loose. The hair 171 of some boys seems to have been cut at several lengths (Photos. 2 302 and 8), as described by Krause (2, 209 and Fig. 37) for Karajá boys. It may be said that, as a rule, there are many similarities between Tapirapé and Karajá hair styles. In both tribes also, the hair of boys [856] is cut all over to half a centimeter when they are about ten years old, except for a narrow strip of hair three centimeters long that surrounds the head like a crown (cf. Krause, ibid. and Plate 43, Fig. 2).

171 Another occasion to cut the hair short is the death of a close
302 relative, when not only the males (cf. Photos. 51 and 52) but the
765 opposite sex as well (Photo. 64) are compelled to undergo this procedure. This custom is quite widespread in South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

302 Among the Tapirapé at the present time, the hair is cut with
[177] scissors received from the Whites. [Ed., the remainder of p. 107
[412] is omitted, which includes the beginning of the sentence finished at the top of p. 108.]

[107:108] . . . in 1614, Father Claude d'Abbeville (267)
302 wrote of the hair of the Tupinambá of Maranhão: "[Ed., two
171 sentences are omitted.] They [the women] are quite meticulous
515 about combing their hair and do not fail to wash it and rub it with oil and Roucou every morning" [translated from French]. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

Some Tapirapé comb their hair with great care, although they do not wash it as frequently as the Tupinambá women observed by Father Claude, or massage it as often with oil and urucú. They
[514] would no doubt anoint it more frequently if it were not for the scarcity of the raw material, a palm nut that grows only at certain times of year. This scarcity impelled an honest matron to steal from us our only bottle of oil, which we had brought to remedy the lack of fat in the diet. Instead of lining our stomachs, the entire liter of nutritious liquid ended up on the good woman's head. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 108 is omitted.]

302 [107:109] The Tapirapé also put urucú in their hair, but only on special occasions. They apply it to boys on the festive day of
[881] initiation, to girls on the day when their first menstruation ends,
[764] and to the dead. It may have religious significance, but I cannot tell.

515 Aside from hair combing, delousing is a gesture of love. The
599 bugs caught and their existence between the teeth of the catcher, who thus swallows the blood of his or her beloved. This tender duty is performed on a mutual basis by parents and children and by loving spouses. Girls show the greatest enthusiasm for this type of quest. It does happen, however, that an old man still delouses an already married son (cf. Photo. 55).

826 Not only do they avoid losing the blood stolen by lice and
261 mosquitoes by eating the culprits caught in the act, but they also

261 826 swallow the hair plucked from their own body. Indeed, like most
302 South American Indians, the Tapirapé have the custom of carefully plucking all the hair from their faces and bodies. They refer to this procedure as ekopaá. They remove body hair by covering it first with hot ashes and then plucking it out with their fingers. They likewise pluck out their whiskers exclusively with the fingers.
[413] To remove eyebrows and eyelashes, however, they use a special instrument consisting simply of the caryopsis of a certain grass plant [Tr., identified in a later, omitted passage as the fruit of Streptogyne crinita Beauv., according to F.C. Hoehne (3)] which is equipped with teeth forming hooks at acute angles. The Indian holds this pod between the right thumb and index finger, while holding the eyebrow or eyelashes of the person he is about to beautify with the corresponding fingers of the left hand. Then he places the little hooks against the stretched hair, pushing down. A few hairs are invariably caught in this natural implement and removed along with it. [Ed., the last half of p. 109, which includes a detailed description of the use of Streptogyne crinita Beauv. as an instrument for depilation, pp. 110-113, and the first two lines of p. 114 are omitted.]

[107:114] The Tapirapé apply scarification to men only.
304 [888] They first do this at the time when the boy who is to be initiated is given a haircut, that is to say, one year before the initiation ceremony. The procedure is repeated several times until marriage, and not infrequently it is carried out even after that. The Indians make vertical scratches on the skin of the arm between the shoulder and the elbow, and on the front part of the leg both on the thigh and between the knee and foot. The procedure is carried out by a mature man. Immediately afterward, the patient steps into the water to wash. It is extremely rare for inflammation
[827] to result. The aim of the procedure is to "give strength." According to Wagley (4, 17), the killer of a sorcerer--medicine man, in
751 order to protect himself and the rest of his tribe against any possible
114 danger, must, among other precautionary measures, "scratch his
304 chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dogfish, just as he did in the course of the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult" [Tr., given in English in 4, 72]. I obtained no such information while I was in Tampitfua.

304 The scarifying tool has the same name as the scratches it
413 makes, namely, chainifua. It is a triangular gourd fragment
[192]

304 equipped with a row of embedded teeth, their points sticking out
413 of the outer, convex side of the piece. The opposite side[1] is com-
[237] pletely covered with a thick black layer of beeswax. The[A] teeth are those of the so-called "dog-fish," aikyngapeva in Tapirapé, a scaly fresh-water fish of the Characinidae family, Hydrocyón subfamily, whose colloquial name alludes to its dog-like dentition (cf. Rodolfo von Ihering, 165). The 17 teeth of the scarifier I acquired in Tampiitsua (Photo. 23) jut out three to six centimeters. This piece is eight centimeters long and measures five and a half centimeters at its broadest part.

304 According to information obtained from the Tapirapé, the
881 girls are tattooed during the rainy season following their first menstruation. The operation is carried out at nightfall, between January and March, when there is tall maize, plentiful game crowded together by the rising waters, and much merrymaking as a result of all this. The Indians tattoo their chin and cheeks (Fig. 1). The cheek tattoo reaches below the ear, so that a small part of it is covered by the hair. The crossing vertical
304 and horizontal incisions look like a fine-meshed net. This
824 design is called kohova. The wounds are first rubbed with a kaauna leaf (káa, "plant"; una, "black, dark blue"). This leaf, previously squeezed into a turtle shell (chauvatf-ampekuera) full of water, is wet with its own juice mixed in
[386] water. It is the juice of kaauna that yields the indelible dark-blue tone of the tattooing. The leaf is held close to the wound for some time. Then, the Indians blow crushed cotton leaves
[278] with a pipe (amynichó-ha(u)va) onto the wounds. It may be that they do this to alleviate the pain, for the girls cry a great deal [107:115] throughout the operation, and the tattooed parts become terribly swollen (ivuvurá). As at

Fig. 1

302 the time of their first menstruation, the girls have so much urucú
881 in their hair that their coiffure, mixed with the greasy substance, looks like a sort of cap. They are not, however, painted with

[1] [of the scarification tool.—Analyst]

302 genipap. They have given up for keeps the tamankurá or cotton
881 ornaments they wore in childhood. Some of them change names,
[553] if they did not already do so at the time of their first menstruation. They eat nothing but green-maize cauí [a soup]. Both men and women sing the kaó, a kind of national anthem. When the whole ceremony is over, the girl is painted with the genipap stripes characteristic of women.

304 The tattooing is done by certain mature men. They need not
412 be sorcerer--medicine men, but some of them are, like Urukumy for example (Photo. 53). The aim of the tattooing is to differentiate the women from the girls. The small knife used to make the incisions (Photo. 22) is called voamé. It consists of a fragment of
[297] rodent incisor embedded in a small piece of thin cane wrapped in a narrow strip of philodendron inner bark. This strip strengthens
[314] the small rod, which was previously covered with resin to provide a better hold. The tooth fragment in the knife reproduced here (Photo. 22) consists of that part of a paca (kanoanó) incisor nearest to
[237] the gum, and thus not of its cutting section. The edge was created by scraping the fragment with a knife. Sometimes the fragment is also taken from the tooth of an agouti (akutí, ankuchí), another rodent that, like the paca, belongs to the Caviidae family.

304 Krause (2, 404) writes of Tapirapé tattooing: "Tattooing exists
114 among married women; they cut vertical lines in their chins, and a line that goes down obliquely from either side of the mouth." As we can see, this does not quite agree with the tattooing I observed. And the drawings published by Krause (ibid., Fig. 262), although they disagree with the description above by the same author in showing several oblique lines originating at the corners of the lips, rather than just one, still do not resemble the crossed horizontal and vertical lines that I saw on the faces of Tapirapé women. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 115, pp. 116-119 which include several pages of comparative data on scarification, and all but the last paragraph on p. 120 are omitted.]

107:120] To summarize, we may say that the special character
304 of female tattooing differentiates the Tapirapé from all neighboring
171 tribes about which anything is known in this connection. The data
[114] of Herrmann Meyer about the Aravine and their tattooing, which are given in Chapter 4 of this work, are not sufficient to be taken into account in studying this topic. It should be pointed out further

It should be pointed out further

304 171 882 that tattooing as a badge of the marriageable girl is found in South America not only in such widely separated regions as Guiana and Paraguay, but also among tribes belonging to such distinct linguistic families as the Karaib [Carib] and the Tupí. [Ed., end of Vol. 107.]

[108:121] Body painting is widely used among the Tapirapé. 302 886 In this respect, however, there are differences dictated by sex, age, and the particular individual involved. The colors used are: black, obtained from the juice of the genipap (chenipáua in Tapirapé), the fruit of a tree of the Rubiaceae family (Genipa americana, Lin.); and red extracted from the pulp of urucú, the fruit of a shrub of the Bixaceae family (Bixa orellana, Lin.). [192] The Tapirapé, too, call it urukú, lending the vowel a sound that lies between u and a closed o. The manufacture of the paste derived from this fruit is not as simple as the obtention of genipap juice and will be described in Chapter 10 [Tr., apparently not published].

The genipap is simply chewed, as Staden (v. 3) related of the [171] Tupinambá, and the juice is left in a gourd. Among the Tapirapé, [462] both men and women do this work, allowing the juice to run directly from their mouths into the container. The liquid is clear, like water, and turns black upon drying. The juice can only be used as a dye when the fruit is almost ripe, at the time when it stops growing, for the staining quality vanishes when the rind turns brownish and the pulp grows soft. This dye, according to Staden 302 (ibid.) and [108:122] Soares de Souza (215), lasts for nine days on the skin and cannot be washed off before then. I must say, however, that on my skin it did not endure more than two or three days.

Among the women, body painting with genipap was so widespread that the absence of this painting gave me almost the same feeling as I get when I see a "civilized" lady in a negligee at the wrong hour. The design uniformly used by all members of the female sex, with the exception of children and old women, is completely different from the [Fig. 2 appears here] various types of body painting displayed by the men. It is called iokápaí, while [192] kuantiana is the generic term for all designs, including those on plaited objects, gourds, etc. Straight lines stretch down obliquely from between the breasts to the belly and thighs. The latter are

302 covered, in addition, with a number of irregular lines, and so is the leg from the knee to the ankle, and sometimes the arm and forearm as well (Photos. 3, 4, 7, 8, 48, 67). The woman is not [841] painted during menstruation. [108:123] As soon as the blood stops flowing, however, the characteristic lines on the belly and thighs are renewed. Photograph 67 shows a girl of about 13 who has not yet menstruated, but who nevertheless wears the women's painting. [513] This is because she shares her sleeping hammock with a 20-year-old boy.

The chief genipap paintings used by the men are, with slight

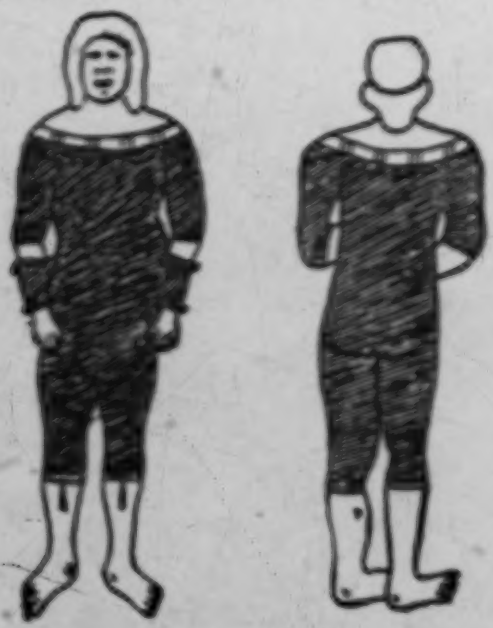

Fig. 2. Vuangkanã male body painting.

[525] variations, (1) vuangkanã (Fig. 2), the name of a water bird, [Fig. 3 appears here] possibly a kingfisher (Ceryle spec.); (2) ipihauíua (Fig. 3), the name of a fish; (3) chankoaka (Fig. 4), the name of an anchinga, a spirit seen by a sorcerer--medicine man; (4) [101] kanamchabó (Fig. 5), the name by which the northern Kayapó are known (cf. Ch. 4). It is doubtful that the name of this latter painting alludes to its origin. Krause (2, 386) found nothing similar [178] among the Kayapó. [Ed., the last sentence on p. 123 and the first paragraph of p. 124 are omitted.]

302 [108:124] [Fig. 4 appears here.] I have sometimes seen Tapirapé men whose painting merely consisted of a series of handprints scattered all over the body. They called this vaipapé, a word [192] which may be derived from vaitepe, "many," and pe, "hand."

The Tapirapé often blacken their hands with genipap or outline their mouths with it. In the vuangkané painting (Fig. 2), the man also has a black border around the mouth. This decora- [191] tion is also used by the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Fig. 48a). [108: 125] The genipap design on the inside of a man's thigh (Fig. 6) [584] was drawn by his lover at the outset of their relationship. They call it anampaí and maintain that it is a "fish." They also draw

Fig. 3. Ipihaúna male body painting.

it on the arms.

While the above-mentioned male paintings are worn by the 302 men from their initiation up to the time when they no longer 891 participate in daytime dances, boys have their entire bodies blackened with genipap for a whole year preceding the day of their

301 initiation. [Fig. 5 appears here.] I noted the same custom
881 among the Karajá. According to Reverend Kegel's observations,
[871] the Tapirapé boy who is about to be initiated bears a genipap
design on the day of the ceremony, which consists of two parallel
lines with dots between them, stretching from the corners of the
mouth to the ears, from the root of the nose to its tip, from the
chin cavity to the Adam's apple, from the shoulder to the elbow
on the front and back surface of each arm, and from each side of
the chest in duplicate down to a little above the knees, with a
matching design on [108:126] the back. The tips of these last

Fig. 4. Chanhoaka male body painting.

eight pairs of parallel lines with dots between them are connected by two bands of the same design, one running across the shoulders and the other around the thighs.

On this occasion, the urucú paste was applied not only to the boy's hair, but also to his cotton bracelets and knee bands, as well
902 as to the lower part of his legs and to his feet. Such red "stockings"

302 are a characteristic decoration of the men (Photo. 68). I never saw a Tapirapé woman painted with urucú. [Fig. 6 appears here.] Only a few girls sometimes wore urucú designs on their bodies, for example, Kamana, a pampered eight-year-old girl (Photo. 9).
[531] The girls' cotton ornaments are also dyed with this staining ma-
[881] terial, which also serves, incidentally, to plaster a girl's hair on
the day when her first menstruation ends.
[462] As a rule, the women paint not only other members of the female sex, but also their sons, lovers, and husbands. I once saw a man painting a little girl, however.

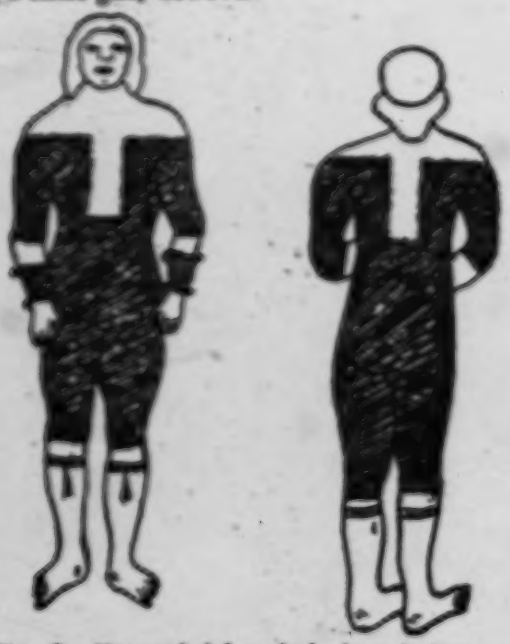

Fig. 5. Kamanchahó male body painting.

Genipap paintings, as well as those done with urucú, are applied simply with the hands, that is to say, without any implement (Photo. 7 and 8).

There are authors who regard the application of urucú on the
114 skin as a protection against the rays of the sun and against insect
302 bites. Experiments proved that one of the properties of urucú is its
751 failure to absorb solar heat in any but very modest amounts. The feet and lower part of the legs, that is to say, the places where

114 urucú "stockings" are often applied, are one of the body parts
302 most frequently exposed to the attack of various troublesome in-
751 sects. The following objections, however, are in order: (1) as
body paint, although widespread in South America, urucú is used
[171] to cover the entire body only in a very few tribes and is usually
applied only to certain skin areas; (2) among the tribes with which
we are familiar, this staining material is not used every day, but
only on certain occasions; (3) on such occasions, the Indians do
not paint all members of the tribe with urucú, but only certain
persons; (4) there are [108:127] tribes who prefer to blacken the

Fig. 6. Design on a man's thigh.

skin with genipap juice rather than anoint it with the oily urucú, although they possess both staining materials in abundance. Such a preference would not be explained by the following sentence in Gabriel Soares de Sousa (215) about genipap: "This dye has the property of drying the yaws pustules of the Indians, and of anyone who uses it as a salve."

The supposition that body painting originally had a magical
302 purpose, which was forgotten by many tribes in the course of time,
789 would seem to me more adequate than any rationalistic explanation
[114] set forth by ethnocentric Europeans.

307 set forth by ethnocentric Europeans. Among the precautionary
789 measures taken by the killer of the Tapirapé shaman, listed by Wagley (4, 16-17 [Tr., in English at 4, 72]), there is also painting the entire body with genipap and the hair with urucú. According to the same author (ibid., 11 [Tr., in English at 4, 67]), a certain Tapirapé medicine man painted his chest and chin with urucú to represent the cauí of blood that drools from the mouth of forest spirits. [Ed., the remainder of p. 127, p. 128, and all but the last paragraph of p. 129 are omitted.]

000 [108:129] Krause (2, 214) writes that the Karajá, when they paint their bodies, usually reserve the color red for men and adolescent boys, and the black for boys and young girls. He adds (ibid.), "Only once did I see a woman painted wholly with red." I wish [108:130] to note in this connection, however, that as far as our trading fabrics are concerned, the Karajá in 1935 left the red ones exclusively to the women, while the men dressed in those of other colors, such as white or green. They might already have learned from the Whites that men do not wear red. A person like the
[291] Tapirapé Kamairahó, who had had less contact with so-called civilized people than the Karajá, hid his charms at that time under a woman's dress which had originally been red and which might be said to have remained red in spite of daily wear for weeks on end.

In view of the facts noted by Krause (ibid., 386) about the
101 northern Kayapó and by Von den Steinen (2, 184-188) about the
171 Indians of the upper Xingu basin, it may be said in summary that
302 the Tapirapé are quite sharply differentiated from their neighbors in facial and body painting, although certain similarities exist with the Karajá in torso painting, and with the Kayapó and Xingu Indians in the red "stockings." It is worth noting that such "stockings" were also used by the Tupinambá.

According to what I saw, the Tapirapé stick soft plumage
301 (aviõ, aviõ) chiefly on the arms and legs of children. The girl
237 Ampitúnia was often adorned in this way. Grownups, however, also use white down glued on the arm when wearing a certain
[081] mask (Photo. 79). At the initiation ceremony, the adolescent has white down glued on the forehead, arms, torso, and thighs, with the exception of the buttocks. The glue is a resin (ykyryva in

The glue is a resin (ykyryvá) in
901 Tapirapé) used by both sexes to anoint the body and hair. Once
23 crushed, it is mixed with peanut oil (chany). [Ed., the last two
[34] paragraphs of p. 130 and all but the last paragraph of p. 131 are
[36] omitted.]

[108:131] Larger feather ornaments are used by the Tapirapé, as a rule, only on festive occasions. The Tapirapé Kanchowaí, however, when I invited him to come with me to the Araguaia, showed me the large red macaw feathers that he intended to wear on his head upon reaching the Karajá villages. These are the
[171] feathers prized most highly both in his own tribe and among the shore dwellers of the big river. I never saw any Tapirapé use them aside from such occasions. [Ed., the remainder of p. 131 and the first half of p. 132 are omitted.]

[108:132] The circular feather headdress is of the greatest
292 importance to the Tapirapé. Referring to its use in the Thunder
79 ceremony, Wagley writes (4, 33-34 [Tr., in English at 4, 89-90]): "... each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate
[172] headdress--the ankungiténa. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer. Without exception all who
292 wore the ankungiténa, even Panteri and Urukumã, showed genuine
781 fear and fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder. Before a man could put the headdress on, a shaman waved it slowly before
[173] his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific 'heat.' When Urukumã wore the ankungiténa, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circuit of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid, and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panteri. Panteri likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the headdress. During his trance he sang matches of a song, and when
787 he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of
78 Thunder. Later, Panteri [108:133] related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: 'I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They

787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a topi). It wore a small
headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I
reached to pull out the lip plug (thus Panterí vanquished the topi),
but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panterí had not de-
feated the topi, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow).
I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three
days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the
[821] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is
big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers
of the red parrot. I saw many topi and many souls of shamans near
[775] him. I did not talk but returned fast." He added later that if he
[756] had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the
other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and
292 again a rare layman, wore the ankungifua, and people marveled
781 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the
courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also
to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days.
At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the
powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panterí grabbed
the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the
air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immedi-
ately, stricken by a panché-flowers. Urukumé picked up the
ankungifua. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants
with him."

I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized
825 most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of
[292] the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (ibid., Note 30) says in
[235] this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the
Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red
[821] feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told
[753] me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a
headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not
292 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated
285 by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. ibid., Fig. 1).
114 The figures in Wagley's work (ibid., Figs. 1-9) do not provide any
details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the
feathers. The frame (Photo. 15) that I acquired in Tampitifua

285 belonged to the headdress called angkynghetanokó, [108:134]
292 that is to say, the same term written ankungitáua by Wagley with
[114] the addition of the augmentative suffix ho. Strips one to one and a half centimeters wide, taken from a leaf stem of the muriti palm, are folded across in such a way that one tip projects three or four centimeters beyond the other (cf. Fig. 19). The jutting ends
[283] of all the strips lie on the same side when the folded ends are strung on a cord that is twisted clockwise and made up of four threads of vegetable fiber twisted counter-clockwise. The semicircular position of this cord forces the strips into a radiating pattern. In the particular specimen being discussed (Photo. 15), the folded ends are so tightly packed side by side and even on top of each other that the periphery of the semicircle they form measures 27 centimeters. To keep them in this position, the cord is tied with knots at the tips of the semicircle to prevent it from slipping. At a distance of 13 or 15 centimeters from the folded ends, the
[283] strips are entwined with string twisted counter-clockwise and made up of two threads of cotton spun clockwise. These strings lie parallel to each other, close together, and they are dyed a dark brown color. The entwined band takes up from seven and a half to nine centimeters of the longer strip sections, which vary in length from 28 to 30 centimeters. On the side of the shorter section, the entwined band is coated with light-grey clay. The strips are held by this band in such a way that their tips lie a few millimeters apart. This, along with the already-mentioned crowding of the folded ends, produces the semicircular shape reminiscent of the
[774] form that the Tapirapé attribute to certain anchinga, that is to say, "shadows" or spirits, and by which they represent them. The periphery of the frame measures 135 centimeters, and its total width is 70 centimeters. The entwined band consists of 112 strings divided into units of four. These units are due to the fact that two pairs of strings are twined alternately around the strips, and that these pairs twine alternately around each other after their common entwining of each strip. This mutual and alternate penetration of both pairs of strings, with each pair always consisting of the same two strings, is due to the fact that the strings of one pair cross each other when they are entwined by the strings of the other pair. An irregularity arises when the strings of one pair cross twice between two regular crossing points of the strings of the other pair. Both

292 pairs are joined into a knot after having been twined once around
285 every strip. Their starting point at the other end of the band was also a knot, so that the band displays 28 knots at each end. The strings are cut three or four centimeters beyond the knot, except for the strings involved in the four outermost knots on each side. These strings extend about 30 [108:135] centimeters beyond the knots on one side, and slightly over 11 centimeters on the other side. These strings are twisted into a cord in groups of four, while the other strings are not joined in any way along the three or four centimeters that extend beyond the knots. The strips, when they retain their natural curvature, leave an empty space within their folded ends. The large tail feathers of the red macaw are inserted in this opening to complete the impressive ornament. They are kept in an internode of thick cane when not in use.

292 The frame specimen described and reproduced above was the only one I found in Tampitíkus. It was in Maninkó's possession. I
[114] have not found any reference in the literature to such objects among
[171] the Karajá, the Kayapó, or any other Indians. Nor do I know whether anything like the Tapirapé head "edifice" reproduced by Wagley is to be found in any other tribe.

Reverend Kegel described to me the circular occipital head-
292 dress he saw at the initiation ceremony as a wooden disk about 15
881 centimeters in diameter and two centimeters thick, blackened with
237 genipap, and bearing three concentric circles of feathers laid out in a radiating pattern. The inner circle consisted of scalloped, dark-green duck feathers, the middle one of white jabiru feathers, and the outer one of red macaw tail feathers. The hair of the boy who was being initiated was gathered into a pigtail and drawn through a hole in the center of the disk. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 136 and the first paragraph of p. 136 are omitted.]

[108:136] I saw a large semicircular wooden disk with small
532 holes in the center hanging from the wall of the chief's house in Tampitíkus. The Tapirapé showed me that these holes were meant for the eyes and that the disk, when covered with a mosaic of feathers and a crown of macaw feathers, was used as a dance mask (Photo. 70). Unfortunately, however, I did not have an opportunity
171 to find out the specific function of this mask, which is as distinct
532 from other Tapirapé masks as it is from those of the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 20) and which bears no resemblance to the masks

532 of wood, plaited and woven material found by Von den Steinen
[17] (2, Figs. 94-118) among the Xingu tribes.

The cylindrical masks of the Tapirapé are also adorned with feathers (Photo. 72). In the daytime dances of these Indians, some
30 of the male participants wear one or several red macaw tail feathers vertically on the occiput (Photo. 8). On such occasions they also wore the ear ornament (Photo. 21), which I acquired in Tampiitiua and which I shall now describe. Two strings, twined
[283] counter-clockwise and consisting of two threads spun clockwise, are tied to a cotton cord twined clockwise and consisting of two strings twined counter-clockwise and made up in turn of two threads spun clockwise. The first two strings mentioned are each folded in the middle and placed on the rope in such a way that on one side there is a loop, and on the other the two free-twinging ends. These ends are slipped through the loop and stretched to make a knot. Each end, after being slipped through a perforated palm nut,
[237] is attached to three or four tail feathers of the green oropendola (Ostinops viridis), which are yellow with black spots and up to nine centimeters long. The feathers are tied by the lower, denuded part of the stem, which is folded up at the tip for the purpose. When the cord is worn across the forehead and tied on the occiput, the
[364] feathers fall over the ears. All the threads are dyed with genipap. [Ed., the last two lines of p. 136 and the first paragraph of p. 137 are omitted.]

[108:137] According to Reverend Kegel, the Tapirapé adoles-
30 cent at the initiation ceremony wears around his neck two cotton
81 strips, three centimeters wide, which hang down in front to below the knees and in the back to below the calves. These strips end in tassels, and under the tassel is a palm-nut shell, its opening facing downward, surrounded with small brown feathers of the red macaw. On each arm the boy wears a cotton cord from which hang five of these shells with the same little red feathers.

To summarize: the Tapirapé feather ornaments are not only
[71] distinct from those of the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó visited by
30 Krause (2, passim), from those of the inhabitants of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen 2, 328), the Bororo (Colbacchini and Albisetti, passim), the Tupi tribe of the Urubu (Lopes 2, passim), and the Tupinambá (Métraux 2, 130-148), but also much less numerous and varied than the featherwork in any of these tribes.

171 This scarcity may be one of the consequences of the great epi-
301 demics, since the dead are buried with all their feather ornaments.
[182] In addition, the Tapirapé, as cultivators and forest Indians, have
369 fewer opportunities to obtain the raw materials for these ornaments than the more game-oriented tribes who live close to rivers and to other areas rich in bird life.

495 Like the ancient Tupinambá (Léry 159), the Tapirapé keep the large macaw feathers in internodes of thick cane (vuanamú). [Ed., the last sentence on p. 137, which concludes the section in Vol. 108, is omitted.]

237 [109:75] I found a single specimen of a crown of jaguar claws
292 in Tamplitfua (Photo. 16). It belonged to Maninohó, who used it only for certain daytime dances (Photo. 4). Its name was simply chauvuanohó pyampé, "jaguar claw." It consisted of a wooden ring that reached one centimeter in width and 20 centimeters in diameter, wrapped in cotton thread blackened with genipap and charcoal. Not only does this thread keep the ring closed, but it also holds 14 jaguar claws, all of which are set pointing in the same direction. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

301 The use of flowers as a head ornament is unusual among South American Indians. I observed it only once in Tamplitfua. Iravuy, a married man 26 years old, returned once from the forest with a bunch of flowers in his hand. On entering the village, he met Amplitfuia on the path and gave her the flowers. This girl, who was four or five years old, immediately tied them to her hair. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

304 Male Tapirapé have pierced ears. I was told that among them it is the mother who [109:76] makes these perforations in the early hours of the day following the birth of her child. She does this with the bone needle used in the manufacture of the cotton ornaments called tamankuré. Small pieces of tucum wood [Tr., Bactris setosa] or thin cane are placed in the holes, and for initiates
301 these pieces may reach two centimeters in length. [Ed., the re-
89 mainder of the paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

To summarize, it may be said that as far as ear ornaments and
171 their attendant cultural traits are concerned, the Tapirapé differ
301 considerably not only from all their neighbors about whom anything is known in this connection, but from the ancient Tupinambá as well.

304 Like the ear perforation, that of the lower lip is restricted to members of the male sex among the inhabitants of Tampiitsua. According to them, it is also made by the mother with a bone [412] needle on the morning following the birth of her child. The 301 Tapirapé do not have a generic name for the objects inserted into the artificial lip opening, which vary with the age of the wearer. 237 When they want to refer to a lip ornament without specifying [192] which one, they merely say emekuana (emeguana, temekuana), or emekuanî if a small boy is concerned. Emê means "lower lip" (cheremê, "my lower lip"), kuana means "hole," and i is a diminutive (kuanî, "little hole"). The opening in a child's lip is indeed much smaller than in that of an adult such as Kamaiurá (Photo. 57). They insert a bone there until the time when the boy who is about to be initiated has his hair cut, and this bone grows along with its wearer (Photos. 3, 6, 25, 28, 61). Thus, a boy who was about five years old wore a wild-pig bone nine and a half centimeters long and from two to four millimeters wide, with a crosspiece about eight millimeters wide (Photo. 18). A boy of eight or ten had a deer bone 25 centimeters long and three to five [109:77] in diameter, with a crosspiece one centimeter wide (Photo. 17). Rhea bones were also used as boys' lip ornaments. The bone is introduced from the inside, so that the crosspiece remains inside the mouth to secure the ornament.

[502] When a boy's hair is cut, a year before his initiation cere- [381] mony, the deer bone is replaced with the wooden plug worn by the men (Photo. 19a). Some of these plugs contain the embedded teeth of a tapiti (Sylvilagus minensis, tampichî in Tapirapé) (Photo. 56). The plug with a tooth shown in Photograph 18a is about eight to ten millimeters in diameter and six millimeters along its full length, or in other words, four millimeters in the wooden section and two millimeters in the projecting part of the tooth. The piece that secures the plug is two centimeters wide. [524] The plugs are made with the pointed excrescences found on the trunks of a tree called tanchimoyve in Tapirapé. The one reproduced here (Photo. 18b) is 25 millimeters long and from 15 to 25 millimeters wide.

301 At the initiation ceremony, however, and only on that great 324 day, the boy wears an ornament that would qualify for the Tupi [92] name tembetá, from tembê, "lower lip," and itá, "stone." This

301 word is usually given to all the hard, stiff objects worn by Brazilian
324 Indians in the artificial lower-lip hole, except for the botoque which differs from the tembetá in shape and size (cf. Baldus and Willems 33-34 and 218). [Fig. 7 appears here.] It is true that the Tapirapé
[172] are unfamiliar with this word and speak only of itachinga, "white
[135] stone," when they point at this quartz ornament. I was told by them that the raw material is found "in large quantities" in a stream they call Tochypiá, which flows several days' journey northwest of Tampiitúna, near Moytúna, the Tapirapé village abandoned in 1932. The specimen I saw (Fig. 7) measured nine and a half centimeters along its full length and four and a half centimeters around the slender part, while the thick part was ten and a half centimeters all around and three and a half centimeters in diameter. It was the only specimen extant in Tampiitúna, and Kamaitabó, in whose possession it was, did not want to let me have it at any price. This shows the importance of this ornament in the life of the tribe. Since the tembetá was no longer complete, I asked the Indian Kaniã to show me how it was worn. It became

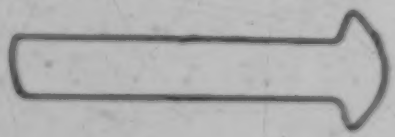

Fig. 7. Ceremonial quartz tembetá.

evident that the thicker part remains outside the mouth, for Kaniã coated the other end with wax and introduced it into the lip hole (Photo. 2).

In Chapter 4 I mentioned the notices of João Manuel de Menezes,
[71] Arinildes de Souza Spinola, Fritz Krause, and Wilhelm Kissenberth
301 concerning the existence of Tapirapé tembetá among the [109:78] Kanajé. The specimen acquired by Kissenberth (2, 72 and Fig. 18) from these Indians, which he reproduces in its actual size, has almost the same length as the fragment I saw in Tampiitúna, that is to say, 8.6 centimeters, and it too is incomplete. The difference, however, lies in the fact that the broadened, convex, plug-shaped end is missing, rather than the securing piece. The latter has the shape of a T, that is to say, it is a crosspiece like those on the

171/ bone ornament mentioned above. Its width is 27 millimeters.
301 The thin part of the tembetá is 14 millimeters wide at the point where it begins to swell to form the crosspiece.

Ehrenreich (1, 10-11 and Fig. 2a), in his monograph on the Karajá, reproduces a complete specimen and makes the following remarks: "The most precious lip ornament, which is only worn on festive occasions and which is carefully kept at other times wrapped in cotton, is a long and heavy tembetá (manutere) of rosy hyalite or quartz whose T-shaped tip is introduced into the lower lip, while the conical plug hangs underneath. The largest of the four specimens in the collection is 17.5 centimeters long. The
[439] Karajá do not make these lip stones but trade for them from the Tapirapé. The elevations on the left bank of the river (Araguaia), such as the Caiapó Range, abound in this material."

The specimen reproduced by Krause (2, Fig. 62) resembles the one just mentioned. The author notes in this connection (ibid., 223-224): "Unmarried men alone use these tembetás, which they wear only at special festivities. When they marry, they present them to a young kinsman. The stone tembetá is very thick, and
[304] requires previous enlargement of the lip opening. To achieve this, the Indians wear increasingly thick wooden tembetá. I saw a single specimen of a stone tembetá among the northern band. I was unable to acquire it. It was only long after leaving their village that I heard of a specimen extant among the southern band.
[439] These tembetás are not made by the Karajá but by the Tapirapé, from whom the Karajá of the northern band trade for them. The people of the southern band, in turn, purchase them from the latter. They say that the current price is a dugout, an axe, a pot, and a bush knife, in short, it is very high..." [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 78 and the first two paragraphs on p. 79 are omitted.]

[109/78] The same author [Métraux] states (2, 165-166): "Among the present-day Tupi-Guarani, the Tapirapé alone have tembetás comparable in shape and material to those of the Tupinambá." [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

To summarize, the manufacture of quartz tembetá is a Tapirapé culture trait. We know of no such trait among other present-day Tupi cultures or among tribes neighboring the Tapirapé, with the exception of the northern Kayapó. Their stone tembetá,

[71] however, differ from those of the Tapirapé in lacking a "plug."
80] I know of no such "plugs" on the stone lip cylinders of the ancient Tupinambá. Those found on the São Paulo coast and in the vicinity of Bahia, reproduced by H. von Ihering (apud Wegner 3, 34, Fig. 3), do not have any. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 79, p. 80, and the first two paragraphs on p. 81 are omitted.]

[109:81] To summarize, it may be said that among the Tapirapé, just as among the Tupinambá, Karajá, and Kayapó, the tembetá is an exclusively male ornament that varies in its shape and material according to the age of the wearer. The Tapirapé differ from the Tupinambá in that adults do not have the coin-shaped stone tembetá mentioned by Léry. As far as material, shape, and size are concerned, the differences between the Tapirapé, Karajá, and Kayapó tembetá are, on the whole, greater than the resemblances. The Central Tupi differ from the Tapirapé in not having any lip ornament.

The arm and leg ornaments made of cotton dyed with urucú are a striking link between the Tapirapé and Karajá cultures. They are everyday ornaments worn by both sexes. Among the Karajá, according to [109:82] Krause (2, 238), they are "the distinctive badge of unmarried men, therefore used from earliest childhood until marriage, and in widowhood." The same author (ibid.) adds, however, that these bands may also be used by married men "if their wives are pleased with them."

Among the Tapirapé, I saw married men wearing the cotton ornaments called tamakuré in their language. This name covers three different kinds, namely, the bracelet, the garter, and the ankle band. They are all made by the women with the crochet
[162] needle (chukuta, cho meaning "thorn"), which was originally made
[163] of bone and today, as a result of White impact, may also be of
[179] metal. Among the Karajá, this is also woman's work (cf. ibid.).

The bracelets (desé in Karajá) are cylinders with reinforced, concaving edges. Each of the two bracelets that had been worn by a Tapirapé man and are reproduced in Photograph 14b is 14 centimeters long, 19 centimeters in circumference at the upper end, and 17 at the lower end, while the upper edge is four centimeters wide and the lower one two and a half centimeters wide. The initial phase of their manufacture is shown in Photograph 11.

171
301

I saw few of them in Tampitiúa, and those extant were worn exclusively by youths who had already been initiated (Photos. 10 and 70). Among the Karajá, however, these objects are also worn on the forearms of young girls and children (Krause, ibid., Plates 16, 18, 45, Fig. 2).

The garters (*deobuné* in Karajá, according to Krause, ibid.) are strips with reinforced edges and tassels hanging down the front. Indian women close them with crochet stitches directly on the leg, that is to say, just below the knee. Each of the garters in the pair reproduced in Photograph 14a, which had been used by a Tapirapé man, is two and a half centimeters wide and 25 centimeters in circumference, while the tassels are 12 centimeters long. A pair of garters belonging to a little girl had the same width, and its tassels were 20 centimeters long. Among the Tapirapé, the garters are worn by girls before puberty (Photos. 3 and 9), by boys (Photos. 28, 53, 61, and 69) and by adult males (Photos. 7, 8, 25, 26, 28, 61, and 69). The same applies to the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plates 11, 15, 16, 36, 38, 43, and 45). According to Krause (ibid., 226 and Plate 44), they frequently tie up the tassels in the back to prevent them from being an encumbrance while running and on long walks. Sometimes, among the Tapirapé, these tassels are merely cut off (Photo. 28).

Only a few little girls in Tampitiúa wore *tamanhuné* at the ankles while I was there (Photos. 3, 9, 12). This ornament is a cylinder with a reinforced and outcurving lower edge and fringes as long as the *tamanhuné* itself hanging from the upper edge. One specimen was 12 centimeters long, 19 centimeters in circumference at the upper end and 16 at the lower end, while the lower edge was four centimeters wide. I was told that certain social and spiritual leaders such as Kamaiabá, Yuatanamy, and Urukumy had also worn similar ornaments before puberty. Among the Karajá, I saw boys as well as girls with bands at the ankles. These were distinct, however, from the corresponding *tamanhuné* of Tapirapé girls in that they did not have an outcurving edge (cf. Krause 2, Fig. 44 and Plates 16 and 45). Their Karajá name is *wáiá* (ibid., 226).

[109.82] According to Krause (ibid., 227), the Karajá begin to use leg bands right after birth, and cut them off and replace

[71] 301 them as they become too tight. The same is done by the Tapirapé. I even found in Tamplitsíua a forked stick which was used as a frame to make tamankuré for the ankles of children yet to be born (Photo. 13). This fork holds one unfinished tamankuré and a finished one which is four centimeters long with an edge two centimeters wide. [Ed., the remainder of p. 83, pp. 84-86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted. Pages 84, 85, 86, and 87 contain comparative data from the Tupinambá and other tribes on wrist and leg ornaments.]

[109:87] To summarize: one of the chief resemblances between the Tapirapé, Karajá, and Javahé cultures resides in the tamankuré complex, and differences among the three cultures in this area are insignificant. Kayapó culture, as described by Krause, differs from these cultures in [109:88] the absence of this complex, which left only a few traces upon it. According to the data mentioned above, certain elements of the complex distinguish the culture of the Tapirapé from that of other Tupi Indians, as well as from that of the Xingu Indians, while other elements reveal similarities among all these cultures. Although such similarities do not prove that this complex or any part of it originated among the Tupi Indians, they do not permit the formulation of the opposite hypothesis either. It is probable that the garter should be regarded as a trait of cultural relationship between the Tapirapé, the northern Tupinambá, and other Tupi Indians. Among certain Tupi tribes (Tapirapé, Turuna), the cotton leg ornaments differ from those of certain Gê tribes in that they are made with a crochet needle instead of being woven. It will be the task of future research to determine whether this is the case among so many tribes in both families that it may serve as a general differentiating factor between the Tupi and the Gê peoples. [Ed., end of Vol. 109.]

[110:101] Chapter 7

## The Village and the Houses

[56] 95 At the time of my visit, Tamplitsíua was located in the center of a large clearing. Around each house (ayuya in Tapirapé)

351 lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the vil-
lage square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstruc-
[972] tions. The trunks served as seats and, bit by bit, as firewood.
They lay in such numbers over the vast area stretching between
the houses and the edge of the forest, and were so entangled and
[114] [712] entwined by their branches, that the imaginative Madame de
la Falaise (196), who visited Tainpitawa on August 23, 1935, that
is to say, shortly after my departure, went so far as to write the
following: "We proceeded toward the village, where the tribe,
for fear of armed aggression, has fortified the surroundings. The
felled, tangled trees, the traps and ingenious obstacles, are dis-
couraging. The boldest aggressor would break his neck long be-
fore he got the better of them" [translated from French].

361 In this respect, however, I must confess that the only serious
712 obstacles I encountered daily on crossing the area in question were
114 the products of the tribal digestive processes, for the supposed
[514] fortification held no role other than that of a huge toilet. [110:
192] I do not wish to determine whether such obstacles may be
termed "ingenious," but I wish to emphasize that they did not
discourage me. The truth is that the Tapirapé do not fortify their
[171] village in any way, and differ in this respect from the Tupinambá,
who surrounded their villages (Jean Parmentier apud J.F. de
Almeida Prado, 180; Hans Staden, p. 3; Gabriel Soares de Sousa,
366). The "traps and ingenious obstacles" mentioned above exist
only in the imagination of the author. Even the act of placing
[721] sentries, a precaution referred to in Chapter 5, is strikingly incon-
sistent with the natural bent of the Tapirapé.

361 Toward the east a stream meandered, a few paces from the
[912] village. Its clear, fresh waters ran free of the thick forest for only
[535] a short stretch, which was used at the same time as bathroom and
[724] drinking fountain, and as a spot for fishing and for washing the
[971] sleeping hammocks. A well-beaten path led from it to the vil-
211 lage plaza, skirting a plot of sugar cane to the left. According to
776 what Reverend Kegel told me, this plot resulted from collective
labor performed for Kamaiurá. The latter had ruined on the site
of the plot and concurrently on that of the village, which had been
built later beside the communally prepared garden. It was, so to
speak, a luxury plot, for it contained nothing but the sweet grass

297 that the Indians suck. It was, incidentally, the only cultivated
976 plot within the clearing where Tampitawa stood.

The center of Tampitawa was the takana, the large men's
961 house. Eight communal huts were grouped around it, with their
942 entrances set in such a way that it was impossible to look from the
945 inside of one hut into that of another (cf. Fig. 8, in which the chief entrances are represented with black rectangles and the secondary ones with blank rectangles). The village plaza stretched between the front of the takana and the semicircle formed by the houses on the east side of the settlement, and it was the setting for dances, singing, games, races, speeches, and banquets.

The "village of the tapir," however, had not always stood
961 in the clearing where I found it, nor did it remain there after my
166 departure (cf. Ch. 8). At certain times, the Tapirapé move far away. At regular intervals varying from two to five years, however, they move the village to a spot only one or a few leagues away. When they abandoned the village located on the banks of the lower Tapirapé, the distance they covered was considerable, that is to say, probably a few dozen kilometers. Long distances
[621] were also covered at various times when villages split up or joined
[578] together, as a result, in the former case, of internal dissensions, and in the latter case of dwindling population [Fig. 8 appears here] [110:193] or lack of shamans. The chief causes for the smaller,
156 habitual moves are the plagues of cockroaches and the number of
166 graves within the huts. The unchecked proliferation of Blattella
961 germanica L. compels the Indians to abandon and burn down all their houses every few years. The recurrence of this event is ensured by the carelessness of the Indians, for after the village has been destroyed the household goods carried to the new site are never sufficiently free from cockroaches to prevent them from
[764] soon swarming all over the dwellings. When epidemics cause the
[754] floors of the huts to fill rapidly with graves, this manner of burial may entail the erection of a new village within an even shorter period of time.

Not only does the settlement change as to site, however, but
961 it also changes in size. I have already mentioned in Chapter 5 the data furnished by Reverend Kegel, according to which
[392] Tampitawa consisted of about 14 houses in August, 1932. The

[Text continues on p. 78]

1.Baldus--76 E-5 (1936,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapiapé SP22

[facing p. 195]

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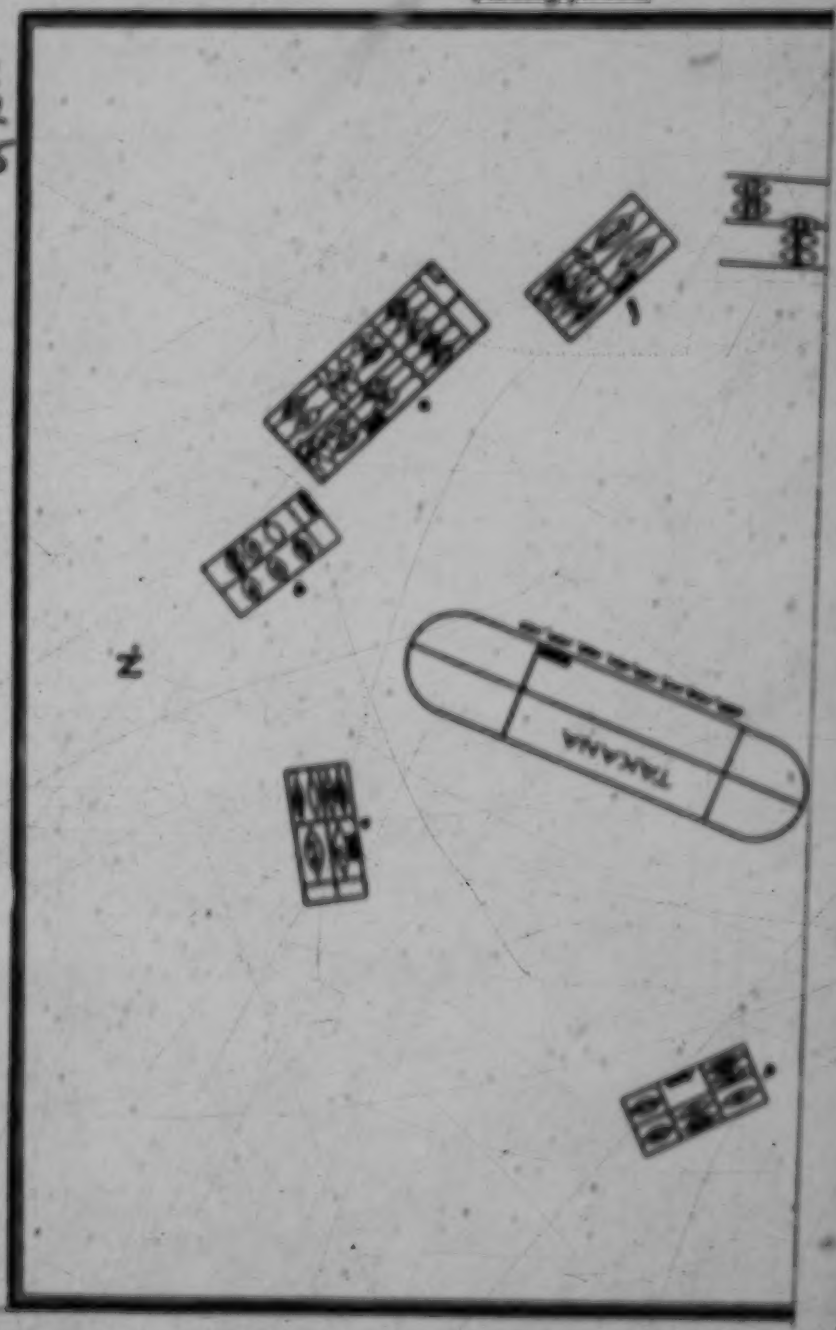


[FIG. 9 - TOP HALF]

Fig. 8. Ground plan of the village.

[FIG. 8 - BOTTOM HALF]

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961 size of the houses also varies, of course, with the number of their
[942] occupants. The ground plan of the village (Fig. 8) shows this numerical distribution, listed in Chapter 5, as it stood at the time of my visit.

942 Since I did not witness the construction of houses (avuyra-ham, "to build a house"), the following description of the procedure is based on what my companion, Mr. Kegel, observed on a previous visit. In August, during the day, the men cut down tree trunks of
[943] varying thickness in the forest, as well as leaves of the so-called "wild banana" (Heliconia spec.) and of the palm called macaba by the frontiersmen of the Araguaia. These provide the beams, poles, and thatch for the houses. The Indians carry these mate-
[1482] rials to the site of the future village in the late afternoon, thus avoiding the daytime heat which would cause the "banana" leaves to curl in transit and the bearers to tire unduly.

The construction work begins around four or five in the afternoon. First, the framework of beams is erected. The vertical shafts are laid out in three parallel rows, both outer rows being of the same height and the middle one being higher. Thus, in house a (Fig. 10), the outer shafts are about 1.60 meters high while the inner ones are about 3.80 meters high, and this represents a general average for all the houses except the takana. In house a, the outer rows stand about 2.75 meters from the inner one, and the intervals between the shafts in each row (marked with circles in Fig. 9) are one meter, 3.40 meters, 2.90 meters, 3.25 meters, 3.50 meters, and 1.30 meters, respectively. Since these intervals are the same in all three lines, seven other rows of shafts result, which stand perpendicular to the others and divide the house into rectangular quadrilaterals. This division, which is
[592] socially important because it reflects the distribution of the occupants [110:194] into couples and nuclear families, is emphasized further by crossbeams that form the sides of the quadrilaterals and
[283] are tied with embira cord [Tr., bast fiber yielded by a tree] at a height of 1.60 meters when they do not rest on the forked tips of the outer vertical shafts (cf. Fig. 10 and Photos. 3 and 48). In addition, the inner vertical shafts are connected to one another with several poles (marked with circles in Fig. 10) at a height varying from 3.20 to 3.80 meters.

342 Once the framework is completed, the Indians drive rods into the ground in a straight line between the outer vertical shafts. The series of numbers in Fig. 9 (3, 8, 11, 10, 7, and 1) refers to these rods, which I represented with dots on the ground plan of house a. The rods are fastened with embira cord to the ridge formed by the highest longitudinal poles, and to the longitudinal poles connecting the outer vertical shafts. This results in an elongated dome where the roof and walls make up a homogeneous unit rather than two separate sections. Once the men have planted the rods securely in the ground, they tie onto them horizontal ones [Figs. 9 and 10 appear here] (marked with circles in Fig. 10), beginning at the bottom and working their way up so that they use the rods as a ladder until they reach the top.

When this has been done, sticks about one meter long are fastened vertically about one meter apart to the outside of the longitudinal poles connecting the outer shafts. These sticks are

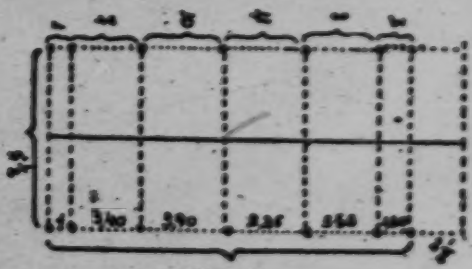

Fig. 9.

Fig. 10.

Fig. 9. Plan of house a.
Fig. 10. Cross-section of house a.

fastened in such a way that they stand half above and half below the longitudinal poles, their upper half conforming to the curvature of the dome and their lower half jutting out slightly. The sole purpose of these sticks is to hold, in the middle of their lower, jutting half, a cord of twisted embira fiber that stretches all around the house, tied with a knot to every stick. This cord supports from below the "wild banana" leaves laid out evenly and carefully [110:195] on the framework of beams and rods, and fits into notches cut into their stems for this purpose. The

942 Indians curve the leaves slightly to make them conform to the curvature of the dome. In any case, these leaves stop curling in the coolness of the afternoon, and at that hour, as a rule, there is no wind capable of blowing them off.

Then, the men climb upon the framework to cover up ampytapyk, that is to say, the upper part of the house. They are assisted in this work by the young women and the girls, who lift up the Heliconia leaves and hand them to the men. These leaves are laid down in such a way that they cover the framework of beams and rods, hanging from their folded stems (pakavaka, "to fold") which are doubled over the two highest longitudinal poles lying on each side of the ridge piece. The tips of the stems are secured between the second series of longitudinal poles and their covering leaves. In the case of large houses, such as house a, for example, a second layer of leaves hangs from the second series of longitudinal poles, with the tips of their stems inserted between the third longitudinal poles and their covering leaves. The stems are laid side by side until all the spaces between the vertical rods have been filled. The crest itself is covered with "wild banana" leaves laid lengthwise along the ridgepole, so that their longitudinal halves conform to those of the dome.

Green macaba leaves are placed over the "wild banana" leaves, with their stems jutting over the top and tied together. These palm leaves, which are quite heavy when green, prevent the foliage underneath from being blown off by the wind or curled up by the sun.

The lower part of the longitudinal sides of the house is covered with macaba leaves which are fastened to the framework from the outside being laid out side by side with their stems pointing upward and interwoven. "Wild banana" leaves are placed over them, fastened to the longitudinal poles in the same fashion as those hanging from the higher longitudinal poles. This thatching system is usually applied to the two smaller sides of the house, since leaves held on a cord by their notched stems would fall off for lack of support from these vertical, uncurved walls. The "cord technique" is not used in thatching the takana, either, for the lower part of this large structure remains open (see Photos. 68 and 69), while the upper part is covered in the same manner as the corresponding section of other houses, with as many layers as needed.

342 In simpler structures, such as house g (Photos. 64 and 67 to the right) and the summer dwellings (Photo. 7), there is no framework of rods, and because of this the leaves covering [110:196] the lower part of the shelter lean obliquely against the outer longitudinal poles with their stems resting directly upon the ground. The smaller sides are open in house g and only slightly covered [321] in the summer dwelling shown in Photograph 7. Structures of the latter type are erected in the fields and in neighboring wooded [226] areas when the dry season and its fishing opportunities lure the Indians into leaving their village and moving closer to the river in August, September, and October. The fact that the roofing of these temporary dwellings is not as good as that of permanent houses is understandable, since they are used as a protection against dew and sunlight rather than against rain properly speaking. The remnants of summer dwellings that I found along the trail leading from the river to the village consisted merely of a framework of poles lacking the finer latticework of sticks, and their covering was completely gone.

It is worth noting the existence of a sort of porch which took up entirely one of the smaller sides of house a and which was two and a half meters wide (Fig. 9). It was thatched only on its upper part, down to the longitudinal poles, and it was used by the men and women who wanted to be in the open air while lying in their hammocks or performing household tasks, but who wished to be sheltered from the sun (Photo. 48).

The house entrances are about the width of an adult person (Photos. 59 and 67), and they are bounded on top by the longitudinal pole, 1.60 meters from the ground. To my knowledge, they are never closed up.

[355] Reverend Kegel told me that during the rainy season the Tapirapé raise an earth bank around each house to prevent the waters from seeping in.

417 Beside the houses there stand wooden frameworks, triangular or quadrangular according to the number of their legs, where 251 manioc, peppers, and other fruits are laid out to dry and bananas are left to warm up in the sun.

345 The takana deserves special mention, not only because of its function as the men's house but also because of its appearance

345 which sets it apart from all other village structures in terms of thatching, size, and basic shape. As I mentioned above, the lower part of the takana remains open. The part covered with leaves is indicated by the parentheses [brackets] in Figure 12. The leaves rest on a framework of rods. The lower part of the takana, that is to say, the lower 1.60 meters, lacks horizontal rods, so the structure may be entered at any point (cf. Photos. 68 and 69). The front part of the house, however, has a particular (place indicated on Fig. 8 and 11) representing the entrance proper. At this place, a few vertical poles are also lacking, and this enables the pairs of dancers to come out [110:197] together and abreast without breaking up their mutual hold. The shafts that support the lowest longitudinal pole are not vertical but oblique; they are planted inside the house and form an acute angle with the vertical rods (Photo. 68). Oblique shafts also support the horizontal poles that jut out considerably from the thatch cover (Photos. 4, 68, and 69) and cross the takana at a height of 3.25 meters, dividing it into three sections, [Fig. 11 appears here] eight, 15, and 7.60 meters in length, respectively (Fig. 11). This building outstrips all the others in total length (30.60 meters), height (5.30 meters), and width (7.25 meters) (Fig. 12), and differs from them further in that its smaller sides are not rectilinear, but shaped like semicircles (Figs. 8, 9, and 11).

While only a few sleeping hammocks and some rare objects [352] [347] of male usage reveal that the takana serves not only for [Fig. 12 appears here] ceremonial purposes, but also as a dwelling, the entire scene inside the other houses is clearly indicative of their do- 352 mestic role. Take, for instance, house a. Within it, against 445 the wall, there are Kamaiabó's little bench, a sitting mat, bows and arrows, sifters, and tall carrying baskets full of urucú fruit and gourds. Stuck into the walls, there are small baskets, gourds, small bags, strips [of inner bark] to make penis sheaths, and large cane internodes in which the red macaw tail feathers are stored. On the floor, in the center of the house, there are jars full of food and cotton for spinning, gourds, small mortars made of sections of palm trunks, and fires, some of which are surrounded with stones to support the pots. [110:198] Hanging from the lower crossbeams, there are sleeping hammocks, small baskets and gourds full of manioc flour, a rag or two, a few ears of maize, and

352 bananas ripe for eating. The storeroom proper begins there and
415 extends to the upper crossbeams, from which hang large quanti-
[251] ties of bananas. Similar strips [of bark] tied to the roof just within the reach of a standing adult support small baskets, gourds, and small bags whose contents (usually manioc flour), like all foodstuffs, must be protected from the voracity of cockroaches and dogs. The floor of the house is of light grey, beaten earth. Low, oblong mounds mark the graves. The smoke that always fills the house gives the inner side of the entire thatch cover a shiny black

[345]

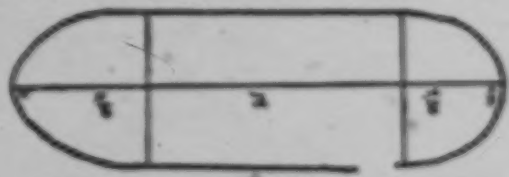

Fig. 11. Plan of the takana.

hue. The half-light maintained through the night by the fires burning beside the hammocks becomes a little brighter when daylight filters in through the slits in the lower part of the walls and through the doors.

Here is a nocturnal scene in house a.

512 The chickens roosting upon the roof keep moving unceasingly,
[231] and from all sides comes the rustling of myriads of scuttling roaches.
[136]

[345]

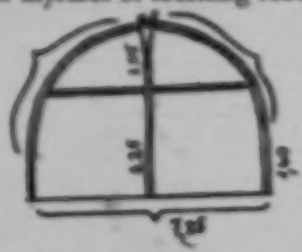

Fig. 12. Cross-section of the takana.

The swinging of hammocks makes the crossbeams creak. The
[516] smoke from the fires is not sufficient to protect the naked bodies from mosquitoes, and because of this, the Tapirapé swings his hammock, pushing his hand or foot against a rope stretched at his side or hanging one leg outside the hammock and pushing with it against the floor. He swings in this fashion until he goes to sleep.

512 Hens and their chicks walk about the floor through the night eating
cockroaches, and so do chickens who from infancy are used to the
rule of nocturnal birds around the fires. From time to time, a dog
[234] walks leisurely about, patiently investigating the gastronomic
possibilities. The large jars of cauí are closed tight, however,
[251] and all other foods are hung out of reach. The dog yawns, urinates
from habit against a beam, and lies down again near the fire.
Sometimes one of the fires flares up, illuminating brightly the
whole house, everything that is moving about, and everything that
is making a sound. As far as noises are concerned, it must be
said that the human beings do not show any constraint either, and
this becomes more apparent as the talk dies down. As a rule, two
or three hours after sundown, everyone has stopped talking. It is
true that those who turn in later, around midnight perhaps, after
dancing outside or becoming cold while sleeping in the takana,
speak up freely so that some people awaken and the talk is resumed
for a moment. I remain lying for a long time, unable to go to
sleep. It is impossible to put up a mosquito net because of the
smoke, which would come in [110:198] and accumulate, unable
to escape. Then, too, there is not enough space in the house to
stretch out this strange object. So I pull the woolen blanket over
my head, and when I am on the point of suffocation and bathed
in sweat, I surrender once more to the mosquitoes (Anopheles brand)
and to the smoke. This is repeated I know not how many times.
The cockroaches that visit me have already ceased to arouse any
reaction on my part. Sometimes, however, the shirt I have folded
up to serve as a pillow falls onto the grave where, separated verti-
cally from me by a meter and a half of air and earth, lies the corpse
of one of the occupants of the house. After I have picked it up, I
shake it to remove the dust, trying not to think of the human
spittle, the dog urine, and the chicken excrement, and set it again
under my head. While I do this, I must be careful not to knock down
the revolver and flashlight that I keep in my hammock to defend
Tampitaua against nocturnal Kayapó attacks. All of a sudden, a
[255] roar echoes very close to my ear. My hammock neighbors, the two
sorcerers--medicine men, Kamairahó and Urukumy, are commonly
consulted during the night, and the fierce retching and other sounds
associated with vomiting are part of their therapy. My hammock is

92 not far from the door, and every quarter of an hour a pair of dancers, singing in loud voices and hammering the ground with their feet, pass before the opening. The other occupants of the house also have trouble getting an uninterrupted night's sleep. After midnight it turns increasingly cold. Then the Indian takes a piece of burning wood from the fire beside his net, breaks it into embers by striking it against the ground, and lays the pieces directly under his hammock. A small boy is asleep, curled up on a net that is already too small for him. He has no mother to make him a new one. His long shea-bone tembetá hangs down into thin air. Suddenly the boy moans; the mosquitoes and the cold have awakened him. He gets up, heavy with sleep, squats by the nearly burned-out embers of his small fire, and blows until the flame revives. Then he sits in his hammock once more, rubs the soles of his feet together to remove the light grey dust of the floor, and swings while sighing once in a while, "Aky, taichió (Ai, mosquito!)." When daylight breaks dimly into the house, everyone awakens. The women get up first, blow on the fire,
[462] place the pots upon it, fetch cotton and spindle, sit beside their
[283] still prone spouses, and spin for a while. Then they set the spindle aside to fetch a few bananas for their husbands and themselves, stir the pots while the men get up, and thus, gradually, all the occupants of the house start moving.

[110:200] When they are in the village and there are no festivities underway, both sexes usually spend not only most of the night, but most of the day at home. For a while before and after sundown, however, they sit in the space fronting their house, which is called takupé, or in the plaza in front of the takana. At the
[595] time of my visit, the men's house served as permanent dwelling only for the few initiates and for one or two bachelors. Other men would go in only to "have a chat" or to dance a little, and never stayed there for hours on end as do Bororo married men in their men's house. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 110, pp. 200-202, and the first page, p. 105, of the section in Vol. 111, as well as the first paragraph on p. 106, are omitted. Vol. 110, pp. 200-202, and Vol. 111, p. 105, contain data on Tupinambá houses.]

171 [111:106] These data show a certain similarity between
361 Tupinambá villages and Tampiitana in the arrangement of the

[71] houses, since in both cases the structures stand around the central
[56] plaza. The chief difference lies in the fact that the large men's house stands in the center of the Tampiitana plaza, while according to all references and pertinent woodcuts the Tupinambá village plaza had no building whatever in the center.

There seems to be a closer similarity between Tapirapé and Mundurukú [Mundurucú] villages. [Ed., the remainder of p. 106 and all but the last paragraph on p. 107 are omitted.]

[111:107] On the plan of Tampiitana (Fig. 8), the arrange-
[56] ment of houses around the takana clearly reveals two semicircles
[62] standing [111:108] at some distance from each other, one on the
[61] northern side and the other on the southern side. The largest house in each group stands in the middle of the others, so that these two larger houses, a and e, stand more or less opposite with the takana between them. The important kauihó dance, which
[535] will be described in a later chapter, was performed first in house a, and immediately afterward by the same persons in house e. In various masked dances, the pairs, when crossing the village plaza, moved alternately from one of these houses to the other. The
[622] heads of the two houses, Kamaiaihó and Vuatanamy, not only were the main leaders of Tampiitana, but also performed as a pair in one of those dances. It is thus possible that they represented the "patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties" mentioned by Wagley (4, 7 [Tr., in English at 4, 63]).

[59] According to that author (ibid.), Tapirapé residence is matri-
[114] local. At the time of my stay in Tampiitana, there were eight couples with living ancestors: (1) in house a, the couple designated by the numbers 3 and 10 on the village plan (Fig. 8) lived with No. 1, that is, the husband's father (the husband's mother and the wife's parents were dead); (2) couple 11 and 16, in the same house, did not live with No. 29, that is, the wife's father, in house b (the husband's parents and the wife's mother were dead); (3) couple 13 and 18 lived in the same house, a, as No. 8, that is, the husband's mother, and this was also the house of 17 and 24, that is, the wife's parents (the husband's father was dead); (4) couple 29 and 36, in house b, did not live with No. 22, that is, the wife's mother, in house a (the husband's parents and the wife's father were dead); (5) couple 33 and 42, in house b, lived

114 in this house with No. 48, that is, the husband's mother (the hus-
591 band's father and the wife's parents were dead); (6) couple 35 and 40, in the same house, did not live with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother, who lived in house d (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (7) couple 51 and 58, in house d, lived in this house with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (8) couple 85 and 92, in house f, did not live with No. 22, that is, the husband's mother, in house a (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead). As we can see, these data do not permit us to mention the existence of either a matrilocal or a patrilocal pattern among the Tapirapé in 1935, nor do they contribute any answer to the question as to whether these Indians were formerly patrilocal or matrilocal. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 108, p. 109, and the first paragraph of p. 110 are omitted.]

[111:110] Thus, while the villages of various tribes at the
171 headwaters of the Xingu resemble Tampinaua in their inclusion
361 of a ceremonial house and in the arrangement of the dwellings around it, they differ from it in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of dwellings and ceremonial houses. In that
171 region of the Xingu basin, the houses do not have, like those of the
342 Tapirapé, a rectangular plan. They are elliptical or round, and similar in their beehive shape to the hemispherical houses of the Rio das Mortes Chavante rather than to the elongated dome (cf. Max Schmidt 3, 460-461; Meyer, 1, 62; and the figure in Von den Steinen 1, 124). There, in addition, the ceremonial house
171 is not larger than the family dwellings around it, as is the takana
345 at Tampinaua, but as a rule is actually smaller (Max Schmidt 3, 462). [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 110, p. 111, and all but the last two paragraphs on p. 112 are omitted.]

[101] [111:112] The use of a sleeping hammock also points out the
171 kinship of the Tapirapé with the Tupinambá and with the Tupi fam-
513 ily as a whole (cf. Métraux 2, 60-62). Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá also slept naked and without blankets, maintaining a fire beside the net through the night (cf. Staden p. 4; Dialogos
114 das grandezas do Brazil [Dialogues on the Grandeurs of Brazil] 270;
171 Salvador 35). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] While according to
513 Father Vicente de Salvador (35), the Tupinambá husband usually

114 171 513 slept with his wife in the same net, this also being the custom among the Tapirapé with certain exceptions, couples in the region of the Xingu headwaters, according to Hermann Meyer's diary (1, 64), sleep separately in nets set up one above the other. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá, according to Léry (279), took their nets along when they went hunting and fishing, hanging them from trees when it was time to sleep.

171 516 The Tapirapé custom of swinging the hammock was also found among Indians of the eastern Bolivian forest. Each of the following words by Richard N. Wegner (1, 70) about the Siriono may be applied to many inhabitants of Tampiitana: [111:113] "Both naked Siriono lay in short hammocks. Only the buttocks and the head more or less fitted in. The right foot was balanced on the cord that held up the net, while the left leg, which hung out even in sleep, kept the net swinging throughout the night."

352 513 941 The menstruation net is a peculiarity of Tapirapé culture. Certain hammocks have an opening at the spot where the woman's buttocks lie. As a rule, these nets are also used at other times. In house d, however, the couple consisting of Techipy and Manchiró slept with Marekanté, their three-year-old daughter, in the same net, and also possessed a menstruation hammock. The latter, however, was used by Manchiró only at the time for which it was intended, and this is why I left it blank in Figure 8. I have never heard of the existence of menstruating nets in other cultures. It is possible, of course, that they may exist among other peoples and go unnoticed by explorers.

231 The net in house c, which I left blank on the same figure, was tiny because it belonged to a small dog. It was the bed of a "dog child," in the words of the Tapirapé.

171 513 352 In their use of the hammock, these Indians differ from their eastern, northern, and probably also their southern neighbors. The Karajá and Kayapó sleep on the ground (cf. Krause 2, 198 and 373), and the same must be assumed of the Rio das Mortes Chavante, among whom many mats have been found, but to my knowledge no sleeping hammocks.

114 171 352 The small bench was an article of which only one specimen existed in Tampiitana. We read in Métraux (2, 63): "No cultural

114 trait is as characteristic of northern and central South America
171 as the wooden stool. Its southern boundary, like that of the
952 hammock, is the southernmost region inhabited by the Tupi-Guarani tribes. We find it mentioned, indeed, among the Tupinamba, Caingua, Chiriguano, Guayaná, Turuna, Chipaya, Curuaya, Aueté, Kamayurá, and Oyampi. Ortiguera lists among
[531] the wonders owned by the Omagua their painted and varnished
[532] stools. Those of the Chiriguano, Caingua, Turuna, and Kamayurá are made in the shape of animals" [translated from French].

It should be remembered, however, that as Father Wilhelm
114 Schmidt showed on a comparative table, there is a wide variety
171 of types, not only among the benches as a whole but also among
952 those representing animals. One of the latter is peculiar to the
532 Indians of the upper Xingu (Von den Steinen 2, 288-289), to the Karajá (Krause 2, 199), and to the Tapirapé. It consists of a single piece of wood for the seat, and two supporting boards set up as they would be in a sled. Among the Kamayurá, Mehinaká [Mehinacu], and Trumai, however, the representation of birds retains a certain naturalism (cf. Von den Steinen 2, Figs. 82-84), while it is altogether stylized among the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 19), where the ellipsoidal seat of the bench ends on either side in a sort of triangular head with mother-of-pearl eyes supplied with wax pupils, and tameh [111:114] of yellow-red parrot feathers at the ear openings. The bench I saw in Tampiitaua was similar in shape to the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause (ibid.) and was also painted black with genipap juice (cf. Krause 2, 199), but it possessed neither eyes nor ear openings and ornaments. Although its appearance indicated a closer relationship with the stool of the Araguaia Indians, its name related it to the Xingu bench. While the Karajá call the stool kolixá (Krause, ibid.),
114 the Tapirapé give it the name ampykaua, which in the Tupi of
171 the Aueté and Kamayurá comes out as apykáp (apïkáp in Von den
952 Steinen's spelling, 2, 288). It is worth noting that a Karaib tribe
192 in the same region, the Bakairi, use the same Tupi term changed to apyka (apïka in Von den Steinen's monograph). The same word, but with the tonic accent on the last syllable, that is to say, apyká, means "bench" in the Tupi-Guarani dialect heard by Montoya (2, I, 105) in the upper Paraná basin, while the A-mazon

Mbeŋgaru [Tr., the native name for Tupi, meaning "good language"] language recorded by Stradelli (194) has *uapiheum* or *uapiatyua* for "bench," and *uapiaui* for the person sitting on it. Claude d'Abbeville (208) mentions among the Tupinambá of Maranhão "very nice little stools which they call *Apouycaue*" [translated from French].

As far as the function of these benches is concerned, we must take into account the observation relayed by Krause (*loc. cit.*) that among the Karajá "they are only for the chiefs," and the note by Von den Steinen (2, 287) that there are not many specimens in existence among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin, but that they are always found in the chiefs' houses where they are offered to guests. (This latter observation is confirmed by Meyer 1, 62.)

Kamairahó was the owner of the stool in Tampitaua. This man was the most important leader among the Tapirapé, and wherever he went there went the wooden seat as though it were a badge of distinction. Kamairahó took it and sat on the Tampitaua plaza or outside the village before the little house built and inhabited by my companion Kegel and our *camarada* Daniel. Only when he was in his own house would he place the stool against the wall close to his net and sit or lie in the latter. As among the Xingu tribes, this "ceremonial seat" was also offered to guests among the Tapirapé. I never sat on it alone, however. Since two people could sit on it at once if they pressed very close together, Kamairahó never granted me more than half his throne. In order to do this, he could not merely move over to the side. He had to stand up and establish with me a complete harmony of movement. For although the horizontal board of the seat was large enough for both of us, the central support, like that of the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause, was so small, dwindling further toward the ground, that we had to take over our respective halves with the most rigorous synchronization to avoid tipping the seat over and either hitting the floor or being hit in the buttocks by the bench.

Kamairahó and I frequently spent the early hours of the night in such equipoise, while beside [111:115] and before us the other men and boys sat on a tree trunk and the women and girls sat

516 directly upon the ground. Actually, the manner of sitting is
562 one of the cultural traits in which the sexes are radically differentiated among the Tapirapé. A woman, when she is not sitting in her hammock, sits on the ground without previously covering it, and only exceptionally does she sit on a tree trunk beside
[534] her husband (cf. Photo. 58). She always hides her sexual organs, however, either by covering them with the hand or with a leg folded against the body while the other leg is stretched out (Photo. 59) or by crossing her legs (Photos. 11 and 22). When she wields the pestle and kneels to hold the mortar between her knees, this object hides, up to a point, her sexual organs (Baldus 7, Fig. 21). The men usually sit with open legs and cover the ground with a mat (Photo. 63) or a piece of cloth (Photo. 63), when they do not squat (Photo. 28) or sit on a tree trunk (Photo. 61). When several of them sit on the same trunk, they prefer to press close together rather than to leave space between them. When eating at home, the husband cases himself into the net while the woman sits before him on the floor. [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

171 The Tapirapé resemble the majority of Brazilian tribes in not
354 having any special implements to light up their houses, but merely relying at night on the weak flames of their fires for the purpose.

I did not witness the making of fire among the Tapirapé, for
572 they never allowed it to go out and carried burning sticks with
171 them on their journeys. In Wagley's collection at the National Museum [Rio de Janeiro], however, there are fire drills to indicate that this tribe, whenever necessary, makes fire by the process used in all [111:116] Brazilian tribes and already described and reproduced in Hans Staden's woodcuts (p 3), that is to say, by twirling between the open hands a rod resting perpendicularly on a piece of wood.

To kindle the fire, the Tapirapé use fans which are made, as in a number of Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 101), of plaited palm leaves. The Tupinambá also had fans for this purpose, as is shown in one of Staden's woodcuts (t 1).

When the inhabitants of Tampiitaua leave the house at night
[514] to answer the calls of nature, they light their way with a burning stick which they wave about constantly to prevent the fire from dying out. Adalbert, Prince of Prussia (679), when he traveled in

572 Juruna [Yuruna] territory, called this habit of waving a burning
171 piece of wood to one side and another "the Indian way" in his diary. Among the Tapirapé, the burning sticks shaken in this
572 fashion serve as nocturnal protection against certain anchinga,
776 that is to say, evil spirits. Hans Staden (p 4) also wrote of the
171 Tupinambá: "At night, when they must attend to their needs, they do not like to leave their homes without taking a light, for such is their fear of the devil called Ingange and frequently seen by them." According to Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 168), the fear of evil spirits (maauarí) impels the Taulipáng to carry a burning stick when they leave the house at night.

In spite of the constant danger presented by the anchinga and
514 naturally also by the fearsome Kayapó neighbors, the Tapirapé never defecate near the house even at night, but go into the labyrinth of felled trunks lying between the village and the forest, far enough so the clean open spaces near the dwelling will not be soiled and the odor of the feces will not reach the house. The
[175] custom of retiring to a good distance for this purpose is embodied in the expression haa-pe-pyá ("belly-to-the-woods"), or to translate it more freely, "I shall now take my belly toward the woods," a phrase with which every well-bred lady in Tampiitaua must announce to her housemates her intention to go and defecate.

When it comes to urinating, however, these women are not quite as formal. When we rose from a night session carried out in front of the house and presided over by Kamairahó, the moon was out and I could see dark spots on the ground where members of the female sex had been sitting. Without moving or showing the slightest sign of unrest, the ladies, young and old, who had been sitting around us, had urinated copiously while the great man and I aired the most profound mythological questions. Apparently, the wet spots on which they sat had not been overly unpleasant to them.

Naturally, a woman who is standing does not sit directly upon the ground, but squats, when she wishes to urinate. The men also adopt this position. There were some interesting endeavors at
177 cultural change in this respect, however. Once, some time after
514 my arrival in the village, while I urinated in the neighboring woods, I was surprised to see several young men imitate me by standing also. No sooner had they started out in this way, however,

177 than overcome by habit they bent down until they were squatting
-514 again. These inroads on the traditional manner [111:117] of urinating were repeated on the days that followed. "I urinate"
-[192] is absurd in Tapirapé. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

A letter from Father Antônio Blasques, written in Bahia in
000 1587 and included in the Cartas jesuíticas [Letters from the Jesuits] (II, 172) says of the local Tupinambá: "Their houses are dark, ill-smelling, and smoky, and in the center stand some jars shaped like half-troughs that recall the caldrons of hell. At the same moment, some of the Indians are laughing and others are crying, so slowly does the night go by in this house, where no one goes out. Their beds are hammocks rotten with urine, for they are so lazy that they will not get up to answer the calls of nature." [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

As far as the Tapirapé are concerned, I may say that I never
514 saw them urinate inside the house and never smelled urine on their hammocks, which, in any case, were washed in the nearby stream. To judge the cleanliness of the village as a whole, there is
956 no better authority than that of the mistress of a household in one
964 of the most civilized nations of Europe, namely, the charming Madame de la Falaise, who writes as follows about Tampitaua (200): "The general impression is one of stability and cleanliness, which is not encountered in any of the Caraja villages I visited. Here, there is neatness. No litter, no thrift-shop jumble, no tattered witches, no garbage, or broken pottery. Caraja villages express disorder, laziness, a heedless attitude. They are flea markets stinking of old fish. The Tapirapé village expresses order. The basic character of each race is clearly expressed. The Caraja,
000 who camp for five or six months [111:118] at most, delight in the
961 temporary. The Tapirapé, who are much more sedentary, set up their house for a long time" [translated from French.] [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Of course, the cleanliness of the Tapirapé has limits which
231 the kindness of Madame de la Falaise does not disclose, but which
964 become apparent when we take a good look at the ground in some of the photographs reproduced in this work. There is no doubt that the voracity of the dogs and chickens contributes a great deal to the cleanliness of the houses and their immediate vicinity, for if it were not for them, much of the kind of garbage in which they are

331 364 interested would remain where it is. Also, I have already mentioned the enthusiastic hunting of the chickens against roaches, [136] which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé [325] to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (150-160), in- 136 cidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá 192 and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Arauers by the savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked and poorly wrapped at night, these Arauers gnawed them to the bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning." [translated from French].

The word written arauers in the French spelling of the sixteenth century author tallies perfectly with the anavé, anauê, and araué with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we 171 may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá [361] in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the [342] erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the [476] elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and [364] in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient [712] coastal Tupi in not fortifying their village with fences and in possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in [345] the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most typically Tupi are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial, and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Karajá [352] in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupi name they give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings, in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The 171 Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:119] of houses 361 around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

other Gê tribes and of the Bororo, but they differ from their northern neighbors in the ground plan and framework of the houses, in the manner of burial, and in the use of the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble various tribes of the upper Xingu basin in the layout of the houses around a ceremonial house and in the use of the sleeping hammock, but differ from them in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of the dwellings versus the ceremonial house, as well as in the custom of burying the dead inside the house. It is also worth noting the difference between the elongated-dome shape of the Tapirapé and northern Kayapó houses and the beehive shape of the Kayapó-Chavante dwellings on the Rio das Mortes. [Ed., end of Vol. III.]

## Chapter 8

### [112:51] Subsistence

The Tapirapé derive their subsistence largely from farming and fishing. This does not keep them from using any opportunity they may have to gather wild fruits and honey and to hunt. The fruits of certain trees are plucked as they chance to be found along the way, but those of the _tacum-acú_ (_Astrocaryum_ spec.), called _chavana_ in Tapirapé, are sought out systematically during the month of October. In September or thereabouts, the men equip themselves with axes and gourds and go into the forest to look for honey. During the same month they catch turtles and turtle eggs. At different times of the year they gather the larvae of various kinds of wasps (_kaut_, "wasp" in Tapirapé) and kill animals both small and large. Although some of them hunt at all times of the year, February and March are the special hunting months, for this is the time when game, especially wild pigs, armadilloes, and pacas, is crowded in by the rising waters.

During my stay in Tampiitana, there was only one man who preferred hunting to any other occupation. He was Kanchovani, a Tapirapé about 32 years of age who was more slender in body than many other members of his tribe. While the others worked in their

224 plots or at some task in the village, he would be on the lookout in the jungle or in the scrub forest. Some younger men also went hunting from time to time, but Kanchowani stood out as a specialist, a hunter par excellence.

Aside from individual hunting, there are collective hunts carried out by a few men (Photo. 24) or by the work groups.

The hunting weapons consist of bow and arrow and club. While traveling, the Indian usually takes along a bow and arrow, and often a club as well. On August 5, when we met a pair of jaguars as we marched from the village to the river, Kamaiú and Chapoió ran after them with bow and club in hand. On July 14, a Tapirapé killed a wild pig with a club.

411 The bow (*yirampana*) shown in Figure 13 and in Photographs 25, 26, 27, and 29 is typical [112:52] [Fig. 13 appears here.] [112:53] In the specimen shown in Photograph 29, the stave of *paú* palm wood (*Syagrus botryophora*), *tamaú* or *tamayva* in Tapirapé, is 175 centimeters long, and its circumference is eight centimeters in the center part, five centimeters near the notches at the ends, and three and a half at the tips, of which the upper one is four and a half and the lower one three and a half centimeters long. The cross-section is circular. The cord of vegetable matter (*iniyma*, *ámayma*) is 162 centimeters long. Sometimes it is rubbed with the greasy urucú paste, and this is done even more frequently to the bow stave and to the club. On certain bows made [539] with special care, which are used by the dance leaders as decorative weapons and to mark time, the cord is whitened all over (Photos. 4, 68, 69).

Krause (2, 264) gives the length of the Karajá bow cord as 171 184-204 centimeters. Except for its size, this bow is identical to 411 that of the Tapirapé. In Meyer's (3, 8) classification, these bows belong to the "eastern Brazilian" type. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Krause (2, 262) writes as follows about the palm wood of which 439 the Karajá bow stave is made: "They say that this wood (*olotó*, *woaluó*) grows only in the Tapirapé area. In any case, according to their unanimous assertion, the Indians of the southern band obtain their bows, or the materials for them, from the Karajá of the northern band or from the Tapirapé themselves. As a result, I was able to acquire bows only from the northern band, for among the

[Text continues on p. 98]

1:Baldus--97 E-S (1935, 1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

284
411

[112:52]

Fig. 13. Knots holding the bow cord.

439 southern band they were regarded as precious articles." This may explain why Nuerehí, a Karajá about 50 years old and an inhabitant of Beroromandú, a village located near Santa Terezinha, asked me to bring him a bow and a handful of arrows from the Tapirapé, stating that these objects were better in the Tupi tribe than in his own. I already mentioned in Chapter 2 that, according to Krause (2, 456), the word uohú, with which the Karajá designate the Tapirapé, means "arrow." This may possibly refer to their capacity as arrow suppliers. [101]

The arrows (oyva) of these Indians, shown in Photographs 27, 29, and 30, resemble the corresponding Karajá and Kayapó arrows described by Krause (2, 264-270, 392-393). The corresponding arrows are the barbed ones and those with a simple, rounded, wooden tip. I have not seen any Tapirapé arrows like the two encountered by the same author (2, 411 and Fig. 270), of which one had a flat wooden tip with "barbs cut out on both sides and a double edge," while the other had a cane tip. Nor did I find [112:54] arrows with notched wooden tips among the Tapirapé, such as those Krause (2, 265) encountered among the Karajá. On the other hand, the bird arrow with a thick wax tip which that author (2, 247) noted in the same tribe is also used by the Tapirapé (see Photos. 25 and 26). 171 411

Like the Karajá, Kayapó (loc. cit., 267 and 392), and tribes of the Xingu headwaters (Von den Steinen 2, 229), the Tapirapé also make a kind of barbed arrow by fastening to the tip of the wooden part of the shaft, previously grooved laterally, a small piece of bone that is slightly curved and sharp at both ends. This piece is tied on, and the whole binding is covered with black resin. In the barbed Tapirapé arrows tipped with the spine of the sting-ray, the barb is not made with the spine also, as Krause (2, 393 and Fig. 249h) asserts of a Kayapó arrow that is similar but made of wood. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.] [314]

The length of barbed arrows with bone or sting-ray tips is roughly identical among the Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé. The tip, on the average, is six centimeters long, the wooden part of the shaft from 35 to 50 centimeters, and the cane part about one meter long. [297]

The wooden rod bearing the arrow point (oyvanchí, chi meaning "point") is inserted into the cane stem (angkamanchyva) and

171
411 secured there with resin. It was previously placed near the fire to be straightened out while still hot. As a rule, however, the rod becomes straight in general orientation only and remains crooked in one or several places. An essentially agricultural tribe like the Tapirapé does not make weapons with the care expended on such work by a hunting tribe, such as the Bororo, for example. The heat of the fire also serves to harden the wood, which is sometimes dyed red or black.

The section of the cane shaft that encircles the rod is bound
[824] spirally with a narrow black strip of philodendron bark (vuamé)
[314] glued on with resin. This covering is from nine to 16 centimeters long and makes the shaft stronger.

The feathered part (pepá or "wing," pe meaning "path," "direction," "forward motion," and pa meaning "hand") is, on the average, from 16 to 25 centimeters long. Like the Karajá and the Kayapó, the Tapirapé fasten two feathers in opposition to each
[237] other at the extreme tip of the shaft. The feathers are usually those of macaws, hawks, or hoatzins. Their stems are tied to the shaft with cotton thread (inimá). The twisting of the feathers, which aims at spinning the arrow in flight, seldom covers a quarter of the shaft circumference and often does not even cover an eighth of it. The barbs of the feathers are crudely cut out
[439] with scissors acquired from the Whites, and the half that juts out is broader than the other half. The stem of the feather is slit at the tip and glued to the cane covered with resin. Both spiral bindings of cotton thread are fastened to the shaft with resin. The front one is of [112:55] blackened cotton, about six centimeters long, and holds small red and sometimes yellow macaw breast f feathers whose barbs extend backward, that is to say, inside the feathering. The rear binding is of white cotton, about one and a half centimeters long, and serves not only to secure the thinner part of the feather stems, but also to strengthen the tip of the arrow. This tip has an oblique notch (vuatachimeakáua), more than h than half a centimeter deep, that receives the bow cord. The binding reaches up to this notch, and its third function seems to be that of a tribal marking, for aside from the parallel threads it bears two crossed ones which are, as Krause (2, 270) heard among the Karajá, characteristic of the Tapirapé.

171 These Indians, like the Karajá (ibid.) and Kayapó (ibid., 393)
411 decorate the shaft section between the two cotton bindings with
531 one or more rings of red resin (totayga, chotahypyrynga). In the Tupi tribe, the width of these rings varies from one to eight centimeters. The raw material is cooked in a pot with water by the
[462] woman, since, according to the Tapirapé behavior pattern, all
[252] cooking in pots is female work, while roasting falls to the men. The cotton thread is also made by the woman. Otherwise, the arrow, like other weapons and their component parts, is made by
[422] the man, and usually the owner of the weapon was also its maker.

Thevet (1, 291) writes as follows of a tree called "Vhebehasou"
171 which is extremely tall, with leaves similar to those of a cabbage
314 and fruits over a foot long which never ripen because they are soon eaten up by wild bees: "In addition, it bears a red gum, suitable to many different ends, which they handle skillfully" [translated from French]. Could it be that the Indians visited by Thevet, that is to say, the Tupinambá of the sixteenth century, used the above-mentioned "red gum" for the same end as the Tapirapé use totayaga?

227 The barbed arrow is better suited to the pursuit of large fish
411 than any other, since the barb, by fastening the weapon to the animal's body, not only prevents it from escaping and weakens and kills it, as also happens with mammals, but also facilitates the removal of the fish from the water. The conditions are different, however, when small fish are shot in shallow waters where the arrowpoint easily penetrates into the sand. In such cases the Tapirapé use a small bow (vuirampampí) and special arrows, 60 to 70 centimeters long, with simple rounded wooden points, ten to 20 centimeters long, which are inserted directly into the cane shaft. In harmony with the overall size of these arrows, parrot
[237] feathers are used at the tip instead of the plumage of macaws and other large birds used on barbed arrows. In other respects, however, these two types of arrows are identical from the tip of the cane shaft, which is bound with a strip of philodendron bark, to the other tip where the bow cord rests upon the notch, and all the details of the feathered section are exactly the same. As far as the point is concerned, however, it is worth noting that sometimes the small arrows have up to three of those simple, rounded, wooden points instead of just one (see Photo. 30). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

171 [112:56] In Meyer's classification (3, 9, 33), the feathering
411 of the Tapirapé arrow belongs to the "eastern Brazilian or Gê-Tupi" type, and it is clearly distinct from the "sewn feathering of the Xingu" in which two half feathers are sewn to the shaft (ibid., Plate 1, Fig. 9). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

114 Krause (2, 273-274 and Fig. 127) describes the spear thrower
171 (aubí, obirú) of the Karajá as a sporting weapon used in a game
411 called anarkánted-uohú, that is, "game of the Tapirapé," and says
524 he was told by those Araguaia Indians that both spear thrower and game also exist in this Tupi tribe. [Ed., two sentences are omitted.] Among the Tapirapé, I did not see or hear anything about this weapon or about the game referred to by Krause.

114 This author (2, Fig. 265) presents as a Tapirapé club a
171 weapon that he acquired in a Karajá village located near the mouth
411 of the Tapirapé River, which resembles the rounded club (gohordé) of the Karajá not only in shape but also in the grooves on its rear section and handle (cf. ibid., Fig. 123). Regarding the Karajá, Krause (ibid., 271) notes: "Nowhere did I see smooth clubs like those brought by Ehrenreich." The Javahé club is grooved on the rear section and handle (ibid., 361 and Fig. 196), like that of the Karajá, while most of the rounded Kayapó clubs are entirely covered with these grooves (ibid., 390 and Fig. 245). It is worth noting, however, that these northern neighbors of the Tapirapé also have flat clubs (ibid., Fig. 246).

171 All the Tapirapé clubs I saw (yvyrá, "stick," the generic term
411 for "wood") had the shape of the above-mentioned rounded clubs possessed by their neighbors, but they were not grooved in any way, and they were usually smaller than those of the Karajá. According to Ehrenreich (1, 19), Karajá clubs are from 95 to 137 centimeters long, and one of these weapons in my own private collection measures 111 centimeters, while its maximum circumference is 20 centimeters and the minimum one ten centimeters. In other words, it has average measurements. The Tapirapé club (Photo. 29), however, which is also average in size, is 90 centimeters long, 17 centimeters at its maximum circumference, and eight centimeters at the minimum one. As we can see in the photograph, it has the shape of a cudgel, being thicker at the hitting end. The ring between the handle and the body is three centimeters wide and 11 centimeters [112:57] in circumference on this Tapirapé club, and

171 25 centimeters wide and 12 centimeters in circumference on the
411 above-mentioned Karajá club which is in my possession. Both specimens are made of heavy wood. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

In hand-to-hand fighting, to kill at a short distance, the club
411 is usually preferable to the arrow. The Tapirapé will also grab
[726] their clubs when quarreling with a member of their own tribe, but
[578] in spite of this menacing gesture the quarrel is usually limited to a string of verbal insults. While in daytime dances the men of
411 Tampiitaua held in their hands an arrow or bow, and only excep-
535 tionally a club, in the kaó, or great nocturnal group dance, they held clubs and bush knives. These weapons were not used largely to mark time, as was the case with the bow and arrow in the daytime dances. They were displayed to make clear the character of kaó, which, as shown also by the intonation of the accompanying chant and by other elements, is basically a martial one. Fur-
[721] thermore, when equipped with clubs and bush knives, the warriors stood ready every night to repel any dreaded attack by their Kayapó neighbors. As far as hunting is concerned, it must be re-
224 called that the density of the forest vegetation and the height of
411 the grass in the savanna frequently ruled against the use of bow and
[137] arrow and impelled the Indian to attack from a short distance, that is to say, to use the club. In spite of this, during the march between the village and the river I observed that all the men carried
[683] bows and arrows, while they did not all carry clubs. Another specialized function of the Tapirapé club is to kill those people who are regarded as evil sorcerers.

The Tapirapé spear (yvyra-háia, "pointed stick," or mina,
114 "spear") may have been imported from the Karajá. There are no
411 references to spears among the ancient Tupinambá or among the
[439] upper Xingu tribes. In Montoya's work (2, II), however, we find
[171] the terms ibirâhaquâbae, "pointed stick" (haquâ, "point") and my, "spear, prong." I did not see any spears while I was with the
[535] Tapirapé, but at Macauba on Bananal Island, Mr. Frederico Kegel showed me one that he had brought back from a previous visit to those Indians, and told me that they used it exclusively in their dances to mark the time, in the same manner as the above-men-
171 tioned weapons. This spear resembled the Karajá spear (donolf)
411 described by Krause (2, 272-273 and Fig. 126). It was likewise a

171 decorative object used on festive occasions and equipped with a
411 large bone point superposed on the shaft and adorned with tufts of pendant feathers. On the Karajá spear, however, these tufts are secured between the bone point and a braided ornament that covers the front part of the shaft along a length of 50 to 80 centimeters, while in the Tapirapé photographs published in the article "A civilização dos indios de Goyaz" [The Civilization of the Goiás Indians] (Revista [112:58] da Semana), they are fastened behind (or, if the spear is held vertically, under) the two-tone braiding. The Karajá told Krause (loc. cit.) that in olden times, when the spear was used to hunt jaguars, the tufts served to frighten the animal. Speaking of the Kayapó, the same author (2, 390) writes that he observed a few spears similar to those of the Karajá in the course of a ceremony.

Judging by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use hunting traps
224 and differ in this respect from the ancient coastal Tupi whose
171 traps are mentioned by several authors, for example, by Léry (134, 143) in the sixteenth century and by Vasconcellos (p. LXXVII) in the seventeenth. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

During our march to the river, the Tapirapé set fire to the
311 high, dry grass. According to them, they did this to make walking
484 easier on the return journey. This reason differs from that indi-
171 cated to me by the Brazilian frontiersmen when they set grass fields
224 on fire. They said that new grass would grow as a result of the burning and would attract deer and other animals, thus improving hunting conditions. Krause (2, 247) got the same explanation from the Karajá, who also liked to set fire to the grass fields. It may be
224 that the reason given by the Tapirapé reflects their lack of inclination for hunting. To my knowledge, they do not set fire to the fields for the purpose of killing the animals who run away from the fire and of gathering the small rodents who die in the flames, like, for example, the Chamakoko [Chamacoco] of the Chaco (Baldus 1, 32) and the Paressi of Mato Grosso (Roquette Pinto 126).

Among the dozen dogs (chavuana) in Tampiitaua, I did not
224 find a single one specialized for a certain type of game. The two
231 dogs who were with us when we encountered the pair of jaguars were immediately frightened by the animals and dared not run after them even in the company of the Indians. On the other hand, the wild

224 pig killed on July 14 was brought to bay by Tapirapé dogs. Krause
23 (2, 407) found numerous tracks of Tapirapé dogs on a sandbar of the river that goes by the same name. The same author (2, 245 and 386) mentions dogs belonging to the Karajá (kjolozá in their
171 language) and the Kayapó. According to the Tapirapé, the
231 Ampanea stole young dogs from them. The complete absence of
[648] dogs in the upper Xingu region, which was noted by Von den Steinen (1, 326) in 1884, was confirmed in 1924 by Hintermann (255).

224 I was unable to obtain a satisfactory explanation for the following custom, which was related to me by my companion Kegel: the Tapirapé, after killing game, place a number of small sticks, corresponding to the number of animals killed, at the spot where they re-enter one of the paths used by the tribe; they tear each stick slightly and insert a feather or a few hairs of the slain animal in the resulting slit. I encountered the same custom in 1946 among the Kaingang [Caingang] of the upper Ivaí. There, the Indian Salvador Veiniá, after hunting baitaca [Tr., parrots of the Pionias genus], plucked a few feathers from one of these birds in my presence and tossed them beside the path. This same Kaingang, while in [112:59] the company of my assistant Harald Schultz, once found a stick lying on a footpath with two clusters of tateto hair in its split upper tip, and he said that two of those wild pigs had been killed at that spot and that the stick with the hair had been left there by the hunter to impart the news to passersby.

I did not observe any magic with the explicit purpose of catch-
224 ing or multiplying game. It is uncertain whether the animal dances
533 and songs which I shall describe in the chapter dealing with re-
535 ligion [Tr., apparently not published] have such a purpose, or whether their aim is merely to express joy. The Indians themselves
[226] say that there is a lot of fish when they sing, but that there is also a lot of fish when they do not sing. To judge from this statement, the animal songs and dances are not hunting magic. The Tapirapé
533 sing and dance because they like to sing and dance. For this reason,
535 also, they borrowed songs and dances from the Karajá. It would
177 be necessary to find out (1) whether the animal dances and songs were originally magical, (2) whether anyone still regards them as such, and (3) if so, who does. I was unable to settle these questions.

533 In any case, the greater part of the animal dances and songs
535 that I witnessed dealt with fish. Only the dance of the chankui, that is, "little guan," was also performed frequently. A dance
[171] by this name is mentioned by Von den Steinen (2, 313) for the Auetõ and Kamayurá as "original" to these Tupi tribes. Actually,
[137] those gallinaceans of the Penelope genus, which are easy to catch, abound in Tapirapé territory, and their tasty meat is not barred to either sex. It would be possible to build fine hypotheses about the connection between these facts and the above-mentioned dance, but I shall abstain.

The predominance of fish dances accords with the importance
226 of fishing. The chief fishing period lasts from June to October. During these months, the waters are low and clearer, and in many places it is possible to see all the way down to the bottom. The
[133] small streams gradually dry out, and the fish are compelled to crowd into certain stretches of the river and into the lakes. The latter lose their connections with the river, or they are closed off artificially with dams, observed by Krause (2, 409, Fig. 7, and 267, Plate 29), which consist of stakes connected with crosspieces and covered with thick foliage.

The areas thus dammed are poisoned with a vine called chimá in Tapirapé. The Indians pound the water with pieces of this vine, and call the procedure anchimaká. The water turns a purplish blue. Only the very small fry are killed, however. Other fish are stunned.
[312] To get drinking water the Indians dig holes in the banks, which sometimes lie no farther than one meter from the poisoned waters, but whose contents, filtered through the sand, are harmless to man. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[112:60] Another Tapirapé fishing method, which I have already mentioned, is with the bow and arrow. While the large barbed arrow is used exclusively by adult men, the small one with one or several simple wooden points is used by the boys. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

At Tampiitaua I saw a fish trap (chekiá) consisting of a cylin-
227 drical, funnel-shaped basket made of cane strips (Photo. 32). Aside from this, the Indians showed me a strange object, according to them, used to catch the tiniest fish, which is placed in the water, like the trap, in such a way that the current makes it easy for the fish to get in and impossible for it to get out. This object

227 consists of cane internodes, slit lengthwise in such a way that a ring of the same material placed across the middle of each internode constitutes, so to speak, the common base of two cones formed by the splayed and distended strips, which remain joined only at the tips of the internode, that is to say, at the two nodes (Photo. 31). The Tapirapé name for this "rod-trap" is chekiá-
[192] nayngaua, and the name of the material used is angkamanchyva, the same kind of cane that is used in making arrows. I must
171 confess that I never saw the chekiá-nayngaua in use and have not
227 heard of its existence in other tribes. Among the eastern Bororo, however, there are hair ornaments consisting of cane internodes which are also distended with a ring of the same material and adorned with feathers. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

The strainer (yrupema) of cane strips is used by children and
227 adults of both sexes to catch small fish, as I frequently observed at the village stream. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[112:61] There are couples who go to the fishing waters at
226 night with burning sticks. The fish are drawn by the light, and they are killed easily with a club or bush knife or caught with the hand. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not see any fishing with nets among the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not witness any harpoon fishing among the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, I did not see any fishing with the im-
171 plement of small pointed sticks arranged in the shape of a truncated
227 cone, which is called kutu by the Bakairi (Von den Steinen 2, 73, 74, and 236). It is also used by the Tembé (Nordenskiöld 6, 102 and Map 11), but is not found among the Karajá and Kayapó.

To judge by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use fishhooks and
227 do not care much for them as gifts. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

On a lake whose waters had been poisoned by the Tapirapé,
114 the same author [Krause] (2, 409) saw a few light tree trunks
501 bound together, which he assumed had been used for navigation. As I already mentioned in Chapter 2, I found on the Tampiitaua stream a trunk hollowed out in the shape of a canoe, but lying with

114 its opening facing downward. As a result, it served us nicely to
501 wash our clothes on. It had apparently been made just to pass the time and did not seem to have any further purpose. The
171 Tapirapé do not usually travel in boats, differing in this respect
501 from the Tupinambá and from most of the present-day Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 207-211), from the Xingu Indians (Von den Steinen 2, 234), and from the Karajá (Krause 2, 276), but not from the Kayapó (ibid., 393). The Chavante, who do not have canoes either, cross the Rio das Mortes on the crude rafts described by Szaffka. It is worth noting, however, that the Tapirapé retain
[192] the old Tupi word for "canoe," that is, yana, written yara by Stradelli and considered by him (715) "a contraction of y, 'water,' and iara, 'mistress,' 'mistress of the water.'" In any case, it is not impossible that the Tapirapé formerly possessed canoes for navigation.

As far as fishing is concerned, let us also mention Manggambí's
787 "dream." The people of Tampiitaua often say that they dreamed
776 of something which they actually suspect or know about. Manggambí
226 was the fattest Tapirapé at the time of my visit. He dreamed of an abundance of fish at a specific spot in a certain stream, [112:62] which held so many fish that the anchinga would be able to eat them
[535] in large quantities. The name anchinga is applied not only to certain spirits, but also to the masked dancers who represent them. All the anchinga who inhabit the hills and waters feed on fish. This
[182] Tapirapé belief, incidentally, is a token of the importance of fishing. Manggambí said that "all" the men should go and fetch the fish he had dreamed of. What Tampiitaua regards as "all" the men did go. They were Manggambí himself and eight companions. When they returned, Manggambí held a large basket full of tiny fish, which were cooked and eaten shortly before dawn in the ceremonial house by the men and adolescents who had impersonated [in the dance] anchinga, chankuí [a bird], and irangchá [a fish]. [Ed., end of Vol. 112.]

[113:191] Although fishing is one of their chief means of sub-
105 sistence, the Tapirapé cannot be regarded essentially as a fishing tribe, as their neighbors the Karajá might fittingly be described. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua do not lead the amphibian life of those big-river navigators. They are forest Indians and cultivators par excellence. In this respect, they remain typical Tupi Indians.

The Karajá plots are wretched as compared with those of the
241 Tapirapé. I found Karajá Indians living north of the mouth of the
171 Tapirapé River who suffered hunger for several years because they had always planted on the same spot. The Araguaia had flooded it several times, depriving them of the fruit of their labor and punishing them for their lack of foresight. The fact that this happened to a people who had known the river so thoroughly and for such a long time goes to show that they are not very adept and capable at tilling the soil. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph on p. 191 and the first paragraph on p. 192 are omitted.]

241 [113: 192] From June to August, that is to say, during the
[221] driest months of the year, the Tapirapé cut down forest growth to make new plots. The felling of trees is carried out by the method
[171] so widespread among South American tribes and also used by the White colonists of Brazil and neighboring countries. It consists of causing a whole cluster of trees to topple together by incising them in such a way that they all must fall in the same direction when their swaying neighbor leans against them from the opposite side. The largest tree in the group, usually a veritable giant, is felled in such a way that it drags to the ground along with it all its companions weakened by the axe. [Ed., the last half of p. 192 and the first paragraph of p. 193 are omitted.]

[113:193] The following note by Steere (385) refers to the
171 Yamamadí, an Aruak [Arawak] tribe of the Purus River: "The
241 first civilized men who visited them say that, at that time, they incised the trees in the shape of a belt, removing the bark with the stone ax. Then, they felled the trees by burning them with firewood piled up around their base."

Stradelli (575) provides a more detailed description of the same procedure as used by the Indians of the upper Uaupés: "The ax is used to make an initial incision all around the tree, which bruises rather than cuts the bark. When this has been done, and after a few days have elapsed to allow the bruised spot to dry or at least to wither, they pile up around the tree a lot of dry wood and then set fire to it. The bruised part, which is at least withered if the time was not sufficient for it to dry, naturally catches fire more readily than the rest. Once the fire has gone out, they remove the layer of charcoal resulting from this initial procedure and scrape the wood bare. They immediately light a new fire, then remove

171 the new layer of charcoal, and repeat this until the tree is felled."
241 [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[113:194] I do not know whether the Tapirapé used the method described by Stradelli. I heard that they felled large trees by setting up a fire beneath the roots. If this is confirmed by the vestiges of carbonization on the roots of fallen trunks and in the holes lying around them, which were still visible in the old plots in 1935, not much time would have elapsed since fire was used for this purpose. Considering that the Tapirapé have owned
[177] iron axes for dozens of years, it should then be assumed that fire was used in connection with these products of our civilization.

In any case, I did not find stone axes among the Tapirapé,
174 nor did I find anyone in Tampiitaua who had used them, or anyone
412 who had found similar implements at sites formerly occupied by the tribe. Of course, there is no doubt that the Tapirapé did possess them in the past, and they may have been as small as those of the Ampanés, according to the Tapirapé. It is certain, however, that
174 several generations ago the Tapirapé obtained iron objects
412 (itanchoa, "iron," "glass," from ita, "stone," and choa, "yellow")
439 through the Karajá, and not only axes, but bush knives as well (kyché-eté, from kyché, "knife," and eté, "real," an augmentative, the term kiché being already mentioned in the Vocabulário da Língua Brasílica [Vocabulary of the Indigenous Brazilian Language] as quigce, by Montoya as quicé [author: i= y in our spelling], and
[177] by Stradelli as kicé). It is worth noting that the Tapirapé, who have used metal cutting tools for so long, cannot bring themselves to sharpen them, although this procedure has already been taught to them several times by the Whites, who also offered them sharpening stones. This is an illustration of the fact that the acceptance of foreign cultural traits does not necessarily imply the acceptance of all the procedures connected with them.

On July 30, I witnessed the felling of some trees, carried out
241 as a collective endeavor called apachirú by the Tapirapé (the
476 puchirum of the frontiersmen in the states of Pará and Amazonas). The leader, Tanuapanchoa, marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those places without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax. He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others. The other men selected their own trees around his as they pleased. They incised the small ones and finally

241 cut down the biggest one. Throughout this work, they only used
476 axes with rather long handles (Photos. 56 and 61). Each man hit the trunks at the level most convenient to him, so that the stumps varied in height from 30 to 90 centimeters. After extreme exertion for a while, each man would rest until he felt like resuming his task. They were all quite diligent. And as I watched those men, most of them [113:195] endowed with the physique of our adolescents, conquer piece after piece of the huge forest around them, I saw none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness or tedious-
[461] ness that characterizes so much of the collective work among us. Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side, as though they were performing a very amusing game.

Since the time when the trees are felled is the driest of the
221 year, the leaves and branches of the toppled trees wither more
241 rapidly and become easily combustible. The Tapirapé set fire to them and then do their planting between the felled and nearly carbonized trees as soon as the rains come to nurture the vegetation. Thus, the chief time for planting falls in November and December, but in certain areas of higher humidity it comes as early as October.

To plant yams, cará [Tr., another kind of yam], and manioc,
244 the Indians use the hoe to dig a funnel-shaped hole, from one to
[412] one and a half meters in diameter and depth at the center, in which they pile up the earth in the shape of a cone. They slip into this cone four or five yam protuberances or an equal number of cará knobs, that is to say, fragments or "eyes" of the respective tubers, or four or five manioc shoots. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195 and the first two lines of p. 196 are omitted.]

[412] [113:196] The dibble is used by the Tapirapé to plant maize,
241 peanuts, and cotton in straight lines that ride over the fallen trunks and other irregularities in the terrain and lie about four meters apart. In planting cotton, around December, they place several seeds in each hole and keep the holes about two meters apart; the distance is smaller when planting maize or peanuts. Weeding also begins in December. Maize, peanuts, and cotton are harvested from June to August. Manioc and bananas are gathered throughout the year. Bananas and maize are gathered when still green and hung under the house roof to ripen, for there are many forest animals interested in eating them. The plots,

241 incidentally, although separated from one another by strips of forest, are not provided with fences or scarecrows.

Gabriel Soares de Sousa (377) wrote of the sixteenth century
171 Tupi in Bahia: "When the Tupinambá go to their gardens, they
512 work only from seven in the morning until midday." Except for the apachiré, which involves afternoon work, this also applies to the Tapirapé. The couples leave the village early in the morning and return at the hottest hours. The Portuguese chronicler goes on to say (ibid.): "The males customarily clear the forest growth,
171 burn it, and dress the ground, while the females plant the food-
462 stuffs and weed them." Among the Tapirapé, not only do the men have the same duties as the ancient Tupinambá, but aside from this they also do the planting and weeding and carry the large baskets in which the farm produce is taken home. The women participate only in the planting of maize, peanuts, and cotton, that is to say, both sexes sow these plants and harvest them.

Krause wrote of the Karajá (2, 243): "They say that the planting of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, and urucú falls to the women." The division of labor among those Indians is exactly the same as among the Tapirapé, as far as the dressing of the ground, the planting of manioc and cará, and the conveyance of the large baskets are concerned, for all those tasks devolve to the male sex in both tribes (cf. Krause ibid. and Plate 15).

Among the majority of other South American Indians, it is the woman who carries heavy burdens from the plot, as, for example, among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen 2, 214; Max Schmidt 2, 429) and among those of the Guianas and Venezuela (Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 50 and Plate 53). Von den Steinen's generalization (loc. cit.) is incorrect, however, when he states of the Indians in that Xingu region: "As in all of Brazil [113: 197], not only does the home preparation of manioc fall to the women, but so does its planting." I have already mentioned that this planting is male work among the Tapirapé and Karajá, and, according to Koch-Grünberg (loc. cit.), the same applies to the Taulipáng and their neighbors.

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé also cultivate various plants in large quantities. These will be listed in the following chapter.

When I was in Tampiitaua, there were no domestic animals
231 aside from dogs and chickens. There were no vestiges of a pair of

There were no vestiges of a pair of
231 pigs brought in shortly before that time by a White friend who
[648] hoped to induce the Indians to raise these animals.

Reference to the dogs above when I spoke about hunting. The puppies of those canines of the harrier type were suckled by women, and unfortunately not by old ones, but by the most beautiful girls. In one house, hung alongside the sleeping hammocks, there was even an incredibly small net which was the bed of one of these four-footed children. After a childhood replete with such pampering, however, the dog's life becomes a dog's life. He goes through it hungry, his ribs showing, stealing remnants of human food and sometimes even bananas, and granted as his only truly inexhaustible and non-forbidden means of subsistence the gathering of cockroaches. Just as he must now chew on these bugs instead of sucking on a kind Tapirapé breast, he must, instead of being petted, submit to curses, blows, and kicks, even though they are usually administered with a certain restraint and even gentleness. When, at a male gathering, a man's flatulence gives rise to unpleasant odors, the nearest dog is blamed for it, and the men grunt disapprovingly and kick in the animal's direction, an uncertain kick aimed at the air rather than at the dog.

The chickens are not usually fed by human hands either and
235 therefore resort to hunting the cockroaches which abound on the walls and floor of the house. At night, by the light of the fires, I often saw hens with their chicks walking around the house in search of these bugs. This does not mean that they are anything else during the day.

Just as dogs are never confined in any way, so do the chickens enjoy complete freedom and at the time of my visit used to roost on top of the houses. Their role in Tapirapé culture is to supply feathers on rare occasions, and even more rarely to supply a dish of meat.

The Tapirapé word for "chicken" is vuyranchampokdinia,
[192] which corresponds to the guirá capucaya listed in the Vocabulário da língua Brasílica, which, according to Ayrosa, was probably compiled by Anchieta. [Ed., all but the last paragraph of p. 198 is omitted.]

235 [113:198] I did not see any tamed animals in Tampiitaua. In my talks with the inhabitants, however, I gathered that, like Indians in general, they would have liked to have such animals, and that they had formerly owned various mammals and wild birds. The most important among these were the red-blue-and-green macaw (Ara chloroptera Gray, arana in Tapirapé), much rarer in the Araguaia basin than the blue-and-yellow macaw (Ara ararauna Lin., kaninê in Tapirapé), for the [113:199] former's red feathers are more highly prized as ornaments than the latter's blue and yellow ones. This is the case not only among the Tapirapé,
171 but also among the Karajá, and this is why shortly before my ar-
235 rival to the Araguaia a man of this tribe of canoemen had traded in a canoe, which at that time and in that area was worth from 50 to 100 milreis or one rifle, for the nestling of a red-blue-and-green macaw. At the time when the Karajá traded regularly with
439 the Tapirapé, these nestlings were one of the chief commodities of trade.

This trade, through which the Tupi tribe received iron articles
[412] in exchange for tamed macaws, urucú, hammocks, quartz tembetá,
[241] and other products of their industry, actually played a decisive role in their subsistence, owing especially to the importance of the iron tools in farming. In this respect, it was fortunate for the Tapirapé that they established direct contact with the Whites shortly after they broke relations with the Karajá. For the lack of iron tools among people who had never worked with stone axes would probably have led either to rash behavior in their "foreign relations," or to intratribal conflicts.

Thus, as far as the subsistence of the Tapirapé is concerned,
797 their most important relations with the Whites are their contacts with
[412] the Dominicans, which have occurred with some regularity every year or two since 1914 and which keep them supplied with the necessary tools. Actually, no real trading is involved in this case, since as a rule the Indians are not required to furnish any products of their industry in exchange for the materials, but only to pay attention to certain words and procedures peculiar to the Fathers. This
437 is not to say that they are ignorant of the concept of reciprocal trade
123 with the Whites. When I wanted to acquire an arrow for my collection, they not only knew how to set high prices, but also how to raise the value of the common object by calling it a "captain's

123 [chief's] arrow." This "mercantilism" even operated in the area
437 of "spiritual" (or "non-material") culture, for just as they had bartered dances and songs with the Karajá, they also demanded songs from me in exchange for theirs, and I had to teach them a song from my childhood, in which the fox is accused of having
[533] stolen the goose ("Fuchs, du hast die Gans gestohlen") to learn from them a children's ballad dealing with a mouse.

When the Tapirapé bartered among themselves, I observed considerable haggling. [Ed., end of Vol. 113.]

## Chapter 9

### [114:185] The Diet

The last chapter referred to the importance of plants in the
262 Tapirapé diet. First and foremost, there is manioc. Aside from
824 fish, it is the only food mentioned in these Indians' description of
[772] the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven lying above our visible one. The inhabitants of Tampiitáua call the roots of that Euphorbiacea by the generic name mandiaga. Ayrosa (4, 112) questions the Tupi origin of the word mandioca [manioc].

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have both "wild manioc"
[771] (Manihot utilissima Pohl) and "sweet manioc" (Manihot dulcis Pax.). They distinguish five varieties of the Manihot genus, while the number of varieties known to the ancient Tupi was even greater (cf. Soares de Sousa 187; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXVIII; Métraux 2, 65).

Like those Indians, the Tapirapé have two basic ways of pre-
171 paring the manioc roots for consumption: (1) by placing them for
252 a few days in water until they become soft, turning them into what they call mandiyvungna and what is called puba [manioc mash] by the neo-Brazilians; (2) by grating them without putting them through the water treatment [114:186] (cf. Staden q 2; Soares de Sousa 189 and 191; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXIX; Claude d'Abbeville 304-305). Some of the varieties are prepared in either way, and others are prepared only in one way. The roots softened
[251] in water are dried in the sun and pounded in the mortar, and the mashed substance is used in the manufacture of beiju [flat cakes] and cauí [a soup].

171 252 and cauí [a soup]. The fresh, grated manioc, after being dried in the sun, put through the sifter, and roasted in a clay pot, yields the flour that goes into the making of certain dishes and that accompanies others by being tossed straight into the mouth with the hand. The Tupinambá had these three ways of consuming manioc, that is to say, the cake, the more or less fermented liquid varying in consistency between a porridge and a soup, and the flour which is added to other foods either in the pot or in the mouth (cf. Soares de Sousa 189 and 196; Simão de Vasconcellos, pp. LXXXV, CXXIX, and CXXX; and others).

Like the Tapirapé and many other tribes, those ancient inhabitants of the coast grated or pounded the manioc roots, dried them in the sun, ran the particles through a sifter, and roasted them in pots over the fire. The only notable difference in the procedures used in making the tubers edible was in the manner of wringing the grated mass of "wild manioc" to extract its poisonous juice. While Hans Staden (q 2) found the tipiti among the Tupinambá of the capitania [Tr., province] of São Vicente, and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (189) found it among the Tupinambá of Bahia, this press of braided palm leaves shaped like a tube or bag (cf. Baldus and Willems 219-220) was not mentioned by the French authors who visited Indians of the same name in other parts of Brazil in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (cf. Métraux 2, 104). Claude d'Abbeville (304) says specifically of the Tupinambá of Maranhão that "they take all the gratings from these roots and squeeze them with their hands..." [translated from French]. The [174] use of the same procedure and the absence of tipiti among the Tapirapé are, therefore, corroborative of the assumption that these Indians came from Maranhão. [Ed., the remainder of p. 186, p. 187, and the first paragraph of p. 188 are omitted.]

[114:188] One variety of "sweet manioc" cultivated by the 262 824 Tapirapé, called vuaykyra, reaches more than 30 centimeters in circumference and more than half a meter in length. I ate it frequently and with pleasure, boiled or roasted in the embers.

Other tubers that I tried among the Tapirapé, roasted in the [252] same manner, were from the following plants: (1) a variety of sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas Lam., chetyka in Tapirapé), orange-colored inside and almost like pumpkin in taste; (2) purple cará (Dioscorea spec., urukú-ampaí in Tapirapé), purple inside, shaped

262 like a turnip, the size of a child's fist, and slightly more pungent
824 in taste than the white cará with which we are familiar; (3) this
[177] same white cará, which was imported from the Whites as is shown by its Tapirapé name of mayrangkanakuera (mayra, "White man"; kaná, "cará"; kuera, "that was"), often 70 centimeters in circumference, half a meter in length, and tasteless; (4) a third Dioscoreacea, found wild in the forest and called kanachinga or "white cará" in Tapirapé because the tubers are white inside, which is shaped like a carrot, 20 centimeters around, 30 centimeters long, and as tasteless as mairangkanakuera; (5) a yam that reaches 60 centimeters in circumference and 35 in length (Alocasia spec., iampokumaé in Tapirapé), tastier than the various cará; (7) a smaller yam called uvanchaira in Tapirapé. It is a known fact that the sweet potato and the cará plants are autochthonous to America, while the yams are imported (cf. Hoehne 2, 187). The Tapirapé assert that they cultivated iampokumaé in remote times and remember having received uvanchaira from the Whites.

Hans Staden (v. 3) liked the sweet potato of the Tupinambá
171 and wrote its name as jettiki. The Tupi term was entered in the
824 vernacular as jetica (Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua
192 Portuguesa [Small Brazilian Dictionary of the Portuguese Language], 5th edition, 1944). Stradelli (500), in his Nheêngatu vocabulary, [114:189] listed iutyca as the word for "potato." Incidentally, the Tapirapé plant chetyka only in small quantities. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Aside from the tubers mentioned above, bananas are the vege-
262 table food of greatest importance to the Tapirapé. Like manioc, they are gathered by these Indians almost throughout the entire year. At the time of my visit in July, 1947, however, there were considerably fewer bananas and other foodstuffs in the village than in the months of June to August, 1935. In Chapter 2, it has al-
[192] ready been mentioned that the generic term chatá or tatá, with
[171] which the inhabitants of Tampiitúa designate the bananas they cultivate, resembles the Karajá word for this fruit. In Tampiitúa I ate the following varieties of this Musacea.

262 (1) A banana 30 centimeters long and from 15 to 20 centi-
824 meters in circumference, the largest one cultivated by the Tapirapé and for this reason called tatabó, that is, the generic term plus the augmentative. The neo-Brazilians of the Araguaia call it

262 "long banana." It is probably a variety of the banana da terra
824 (Musa paradisiaca L., normalis subspec.). During my first stay with the Tapirapé, they ate it every day in large quantities. I, too, never tired of devouring the huge and extremely tasty fruits, with the result that my body acquired the same proportions as those of a horse that feeds on grass alone for months at a stretch.
252 The [114:190] Tapirapé gather these bananas when green and hang them inside the house until they become yellow and ripe. Then they expose them to the sun until they are black outside and turning brownish inside. To achieve this, they place them on wooden frameworks that are erected at the place where the bananas grew, or at some other place regarded as adequate. The Karajá,
[171] who also cultivate these large bananas, bury them too, and so did the Péua (Takunhapeba) of the lower Xingu visited by Von den Steinen (1, 275). The Tapirapé like to eat these fruits when they are not only rotting, but also warm from the immediate action of the sun or from the sand warmed by its rays. They do not peel
264 them, but open the hard skin a little at one of the tips, put the tip between their lips, and slowly empty the skin by squeezing it with their fingers so that the soft and brownish pulp gradually penetrates into their mouths. In this respect I did not agree with the taste of the Indians, for I found these bananas a revolting thing when rotten and preferred to eat them while still yellow on the outside and pinkish-yellow on the inside, when they were already quite juicy.

(2) The white flesh of one of the larger bananas was not dry
262 either, and its sweet flavor was reminiscent of candy permeated
824 with the scent used by a cheap barber, while its skin was pinkish-green. The Tapirapé name for this fruit is tatampiringó. Its length is equal to its circumference, that is to say, about 15 centimeters. My camarada called it "purple banana," asserting that among "civilized people" it reaches twice that circumference. It is probably Musa paradisiaca L., sapientum subspec., rubra var.

(3) The banana 15 centimeters long and ten centimeters in circumference, whose white and soft flesh had a mild flavor and whose green skin did not turn yellow, was probably the "São Tomé"
[252] banana. The Tapirapé hang it inside the house and call it inanchanymí.

(4) The banana called abibakíngamaé by the Tapirapé is yellow both inside and out and similar in shape and flavor to the tatah' banana, although a little smaller and drier.

262 824 (5) Another banana with highly "scented" flesh is also yellow both inside and out as indicated by its name, tatanchova. It is 15 centimeters long and 12 in circumference.

(6) Tatakyra is the name given in Tampiitáua to a green, medium-sized banana that tastes like a very dry potato when roasted in the embers.

[114:191] (7) The inhabitants of this village also cultivate the banana ouro (regia variety of the sapientum subspec.) which in their gardens reaches up to ten centimeters in length and eight in circumference. [Ed., the subsequent paragraph is omitted down to the last sentence.]

[171] The scarcity of bananas noted by Krause [2, 241-242] among the Karajá reveals, in any case, a characteristic difference between these Indians and the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of p. 191, pp. 192-193, and the first paragraph on p. 194 are omitted.]

[114:194] Although the same author [Nordenskiöld] (5, 29 and 76) assumes that in view of the similarity of the terms mentioned earlier the Tapirapé became familiar with the banana through the Karajá, we may note that on the extensive list of names used by South American Indians to designate the banana, which was published by Nordenskiöld along with a distribution map (ibid., 78-85 and Map IV), there is no term resembling chatá or tatá.

114 171 824

It is worth noting that the paankuá of the Tapirapé also plays a certain role in their diet. In Tampiitáua, this "wild banana" supplies not only leaves for the thatching of houses, but also seeds that the children eat roasted after removing the skin of the pip. The rather bland flavor is vaguely reminiscent of milk and wheat flour.

262 824

Among other wild plants used as food by the Tapirapé, the following should be mentioned.

The tree they call ampí, whose red fruits, shaped like cherries, ripen in October and taste like a sweet cherry.

The mangabeira (Hancornia speciosa Gomes, mangaua in Tapirapé), already described by Gabriel Soares de Sousa (210-211), whose yellow-green fruits, resembling small apples in shape and size, ripen in October. They are eaten raw, and without their skins they taste like a roasted apple. According to Hoehne (2, 227),

262 the mangaba [Tr., fruit of the mangabeira] is "the best wild fruit"
824 in the Paressi Range and in many other localities of Mato Grosso and the northeastern part of Brazil.

The palm tree called pinaua by the Tapirapé and macaba by my north-Brazilian camarada, with a nut, slightly larger than a cherry, that ripens in October or November. This nut is boiled
[252] until the flesh is softened and then rubbed on a strainer lying in a pot, so that the flesh is worked loose from the pit and falls into the pot where it is boiled in water. The end result is reminiscent of walnuts in flavor and is refreshing.

[114:195] The small nut of another tree, the tucuma palm or tucum-açu (Astrocaryun spec., chavana in Tapirapé) is prized for its oil content and is gathered in October.

The Tapirapé like to eat a kind of mushroom they call yvãpá.

243 These Indians cultivate several other plants aside from those
252 mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Maize (Zea mays L.,
262 avandxí in Tapirapé) is harvested while still green, hung inside
824 the house to yellow, and then crushed and used to make porridge or cauí. Its Tapirapé name corresponds to abati in Staden (e 2), auati in Léry (120), ubatim in Soares de Sousa (199), auatî in Stradelli (384), and abatí in Montoya (2, I, 357 and II, 10). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The seeds of peanuts (Arachis spec., monoví in Tapirapé) are
244 pounded and then added to certain mushes, or else roasted, pounded,
252 and eaten in this way, or roasted and eaten without being subjected
262 to the pestle, or chewed and spit into the pot to ferment and turn
824 into cauí. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195, p. 196, and the first paragraph on p. 197 are omitted.]

[114:197] In the previous chapter, we mentioned that the
262 Tapirapé women participate in sowing and harvesting only peanuts,
824 [462] maize, and cotton. The observation by the sixteenth century
[241] Portuguese author [Gabriel Soares de Sousa] that peanuts are "very hot when eaten excessively," and harmful in certain cases, seems to agree with the idea expressed by the Tapirapé custom that re-
[751] quires father and mother to abstain from this food during their child's first two years so as not to endanger his life.

137 The peanuts I saw in large quantities among the Tapirapé seem
17 to be a variety of Arachis nambyquarae. This species was found
244 by Kuhlmann in 1919 among the Nambikuara [Nambicuara] of

137 Pimenta Bueno in the state of Mato Grosso and described by Hoehne
171 (1, 21-22 and Table 190; 2). Like it, the Tapirapé monovĩ differs
244 from the "common peanut" (Arachis hypogaea) in its size, which is much larger, for its pod may reach seven centimeters in length and its seeds two or three centimeters. According to Hoehne (1, 22), each specimen of Arachis nambyquarae may yield from 50 to 100 pods. Owing to its oil content and abundance, the peanut is
262 of some importance in the Tapirapé diet and also was one of my favorite foods during my stay in Tampiitáua. Krause (2, 241-242, 358-359, and 387) does not mention this plant among the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó. A legend I heard in July, 1947, at the Karajá village of Santa Isabel, however, states that a civilizing hero of that tribe, the evening star, taught them to plant peanuts among other things.

Less important than peanuts to the Tapirapé were the large
244 flat beans [Tr., lima beans], slightly larger than those of Europe.
262 Only a few individuals cultivated them, planting them in small
824 quantities. Their Tapirapé name, kumaná, corresponds to comendá in Soares de Sousa (200) and cumandá in Montoya (2, II, 105v) and Stradelli (427). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] The large Tapirapé bean seems to be a variety of [114:198] Phaseolus lunatus L. and thus to belong to the same species as the beans mentioned by Anchieta (Hoehne 2, 107), Thevet (ibid., 132), and Soares de
[252] Sousa (ibid., 211-213). In Tampiitáua, it is boiled in small earthenware pots. Then its green skin is removed. Underneath this skin, the bean is white. I ate it with great pleasure.

Smaller than these beans are the round yellow fruits of a leguminous shrub cultivated by the Tapirapé and called kumaná-yvyraí, "bean-shrub." The neo-Brazilians plant this shrub on Morro da Areia [Tr., a high outcrop hill on the Araguaia River] and other places in the region and give it the name anduzeiro. This name might lead us to assume that the plant belongs to the Cytisus cajanus Lin. species.

262 The Tapirapé use the fruits of certain Cucurbitaceae as recep-
824 tacles after removing the flesh, and they use those of another variety
252 in the same family to prepare a highly prized dish with the juice.
[415] This juice is heated, and as it begins to boil it is mixed in with pounded raw maize; the boiling mixture is stirred for ten minutes until it thickens. Sometimes they add crushed peanuts. In this

252 case, the addition is made before the juice begins to boil. The
262 fruit that supplies this juice reaches 35 centimeters in length, 30
824 in circumference, and has a thick, hard shell. Its Tapirapé name is koruanchoa, choa (or chova) referring to the color yellow. The neo-Brazilians in the area know this fruit by the name croá which, according to the Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa, 5th edition, is synonymous with cruá, crauá, and melão-caboclo (Sicana odorifera Naud.) [Tr., the cassabanana]. In Stradelli's Nheêngatú vocabulary (435), curúua is "a kind of squash covered with protuberances." [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

249 Kamairahó's small sugar-cane plantation lay close to
263 Tampiitáua in 1935. No other member of the tribe owned a plan-
114 tation of Saccharum officinarum L., and in 1947 I did not see any.
[177] The sugar cane was used exclusively for sucking and was a recent
[171] import. Krause (2, 242) refutes Ehrenreich's statement that the Karajá planted sugar cane on sandbars, and says that what he saw was manioc and maize. He writes in reference to those Indians: "... I saw no sugar cane. If they had possessed it, they probably would not have been so eager for my sugar... " This conclusion is wrong. The fact that they sucked on sugar cane never kept the Tapirapé from asking for my rapadura [Tr., raw brown sugar in lumps].

These Indians make beiju (meijú or mãjú in their language),
252 sometimes with the tapioca extracted from manioc mash, as al-
262 ready mentioned, [114:199] and at other times with peanut or maize flour. According to Ayrosa (1, 54), the word "mbeiú or mbeyú of the Tupi-Guarani" is "equivalent to 'coil,' 'roll,' 'fold,' etc." The same author (ibid., 51-54) lists several varieties of this cake, which has been described by various authors. The Tapirapé beijú is similar in shape to the so-called beiju-açú, which is a large, thin disk roasted in a shallow earthen pan. It is not everyday food. During my stays in Tampiitáua, I saw it only once. This was on June 29, 1935, at the time of a festival of "masks." They placed a large pan full of these disks of manioc-mash tapioca, made by Anampí, the wife of Tanupanchoa, in the middle of the takana. This important man offered it to several of the people
171 present and apportioned it himself. I, too, got my share and liked
252 it. Hans Staden (q 2) mentions similar Tupinambá cakes made in the
262 same fashion with the same material and writes their name as byyw.
192

171 According to Karl von den Steinen (2, 539), the Kamayurá voice
192 a nasalized meiũ, that is to say, almost meniũ (meyu and menyu
252 in his spelling). The same author (ibid., Fig. 54) reproduces a
262 spade decorated with geometric designs that was used by these Indians to turn the cakes over. In Tampiitáua I did not see any special implement for this purpose, and in Wagley's collection at the [Brazilian] National Museum there is nothing like it either. [Ed., the last two sentences concluding the section in Vol. 114 are omitted.]

[115:255] To the Tapirapé, the most important vegetable
262 dish is unquestionably cauí.' [Ed., five sentences are omitted.]
171 In sixteenth century references, the intoxicating drinks of the
192 Tupinambá appear as Kaa.wy and Kawi in the spelling of the German Hans Staden (e 2, f 3), Cahouin in Thevet (1, 121), and Caou-in in De Léry (125). The nasalized i indicated by the two
194 Frenchmen, and later pointed out in various Tupi languages by authors coming from different countries, does not exist either in Tapirapé or in Kamayurá, but in both these languages the u in kauí is nasalized, and the i is the tonic syllable (cf. Von den Steinen 2, 213). Furthermore, neither the [115:256] Tapirapé
[273] nor the Kamayurá make intoxicating beverages. The Tapirapé
272 designate with the word kauí their peanut, maize, manioc, cotton-
192 seed, squash, and banana soups, and even straight drinking water
171 (ỹ-kauí), while the Kamayurá use this term for the simple refreshing drink made of water and crumbled beiju (ibid.). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The kauí of the Tapirapé is not always made exclusively from
272 one of the plants mentioned above. There are mixtures, such as crushed maize with chewed peanuts or with chewed cottonseed. No other plant aside from those listed are used, however, and no such soups are made, for example, with cará or yams. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 256 and the first paragraph on p. 257 are omitted.]

[115:257] None of the [early] authors mentions expressly the
[114] three kinds of cauí that are made by the Tapirapé with cotton seeds,
[252] peanuts, and squash. As I have already mentioned, the cotton seeds are chewed with crushed maize. The resulting drink has a yellowish-green appearance and little flavor. It is true that the
171 Tupinambá of Bahia also found those seeds nutritious, but they pre-
252 pared them in a different fashion. Gabriel Soares de Sousa (235)

171 252 writes: "The natives eat these cotton seeds crushed and then boiled into a mush which they call mingau."

At the time of my stays among the Tapirapé, the monoví-
272 kauí was the kind most frequently used and the one I myself took most often. I confess that I liked this drink so much and developed such nostalgia for it that in 1947, when I again met the people whose hammocks had hung beside mine 12 years earlier, the first wish I expressed was this, "Monoví-kauí." It is worth noting
114 that Gabriel Soares de Sousa (203), in describing the use of the
191 peanut among the Tupinambá, does not mention it in connection
272 with the preparation of a liquid. The same applies to squash, incidentally, of which, according to the sixteenth century Portuguese author (ibid., 201), "there are ten or 12 varieties" called gerumús by the Tupinambá of Bahia. The Tapirapé drink made
272 with crumbled squash is called kuruá-kauí. Kuruá may not be
[137] one of the "varieties" of "gerumús" known in Bahia, but like them, in any case, it belongs to the edible Cucurbitaceae.

The vegetable substances used in preparing the various kinds
[462] of Tapirapé kauí are crumbled or mashed by the women in three different ways, namely, between the hands, in the mortar, and between the teeth. Squash and bananas go between the hands; maize and manioc, the latter previously soaked in water and then sun-dried, go into the mortar; while maize, manioc, peanuts, and cotton seeds are chewed. In the Tapirapé language, amatykú
[192] means "I chew," and andjahák, "I pound." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 257, p. 258, and the first paragraph on p. 259 are omitted.]

[115:259] The custom of turning a food into mush by chewing
252 it is used by the Tapirapé not only to make cauí, but for the two
[757] following purposes: they chew peanuts to make a paste with which they anoint their bodies when they have been made ill by spoiled
[858] manioc, and they chew certain foods and give the mush to nursing children. These children are also given true cauí. It is to be supposed that observing the already considerable saccharification that takes place in chewing led the Indians to apply this procedure to the preparation of their favorite food. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 259 and p. 260, whibh concludes the section in Vol. 115, are omitted.]

272 [116:55] Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have three stages in the preparation of their masticated-fermented drink: (1) they

272 boil the substance to be masticated, (2) they chew it and thus add to it the ferment contained in the saliva, (3) they once more heat the liquid mixed with the chewed mass (cf. Staden q 4, Léry 124, Claude d'Abbeville 302). [Ed., the remainder of p. 55 and the first two paragraphs on p. 56 are omitted.]

[116:56] The Tapirapé heat the liquid mixed with the masti-
171 cated mass over the embers. In this connection, it is well to quote
272 Georg Wilhelm Freyreiss (102), who visited Espírito Santo in the first quarter of the nineteenth century and stated that "the Indians of the coast prepare cauí from manioc roots which are boiled and then chewed by the women, spit into a large pot, and covered with water. They leave it there to ferment. Also, probably to accelerate the fermenting process, they place the pan near the fire" (the italics are ours, and the original text of this sentence reads "... auch wohl um die Gährung zu befördern den Topf in die Nähe des Feuers setzt"). The German author adds that this drink is taken, as a rule, before 24 hours have elapsed. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Drinks whose fermentation is fostered by chewing may be
272 divided into intoxicating and non-intoxicating ones. The cauí of the Tapirapé belongs in the second category, for it is taken, like the one mentioned by Freyreiss, before 24 hours have elapsed from the time of mastication. [Ed., the last three lines on p. 56, pp. 57-58, and the first paragraph on p. 59 are omitted.]

[116:59] The fermented drinks are taken by the Tapirapé either warm or unheated. For example, on the morning following my arrival in Tampiitáua in 1947, when my little friend Ampitánia fulfilled my wish by serving me monoví-kauí, I took it in the manner most agreeable to the Tapirapé and to myself, that is to say, good
[123] and hot. Ampitánia demonstrated her affection by filling up a truly gigantic pot during the night. She must have pounded and masticated a great deal. From the bubbling liquid she took out a goodly portion with a large gourd, stirred it with a smaller gourd to cool it off a little, and then placed the large gourd before me, putting into one of my hands the smaller gourd as a dish and in the other hand another gourd, still smaller, to serve as a spoon. Sitting in the girl's net, I voraciously swallowed the hot soup, sweetish and nutritious, half floury and half grainy, filling my "dish" over and over again from the large gourd until I had emptied it completely.

272 Cold cauí, however, is also enjoyed by these Indians. I often saw one of them wake up in the middle of the night and, while everyone slept, take a gourdful of cauí that still stood in a pot removed from the fire several hours earlier. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

To the Tapirapé, the chewed and fermented drink represents not only the high point of festive banquets, but also the pièce de résistance of everyday meals, and its importance is well illustrated [773] by the fact that the flood myth ends with the following words: "When the flood ended, (the survivors) came out from under the earth, and there was cauí and many Tapirapé." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 59, p. 60, and the first two paragraphs on p. 61 are omitted.]

[116:61] To summarize, we may say that the elements of the 171 cauí complex we have studied reveal a close cultural relationship 272 between the Tapirapé and the Tupinambá (1) in the name of the drink, (2) in the important role played by manioc and maize in its preparation, (3) in the above-mentioned three stages in the preparation of the drink, which is fermented by the saliva produced in chewing, (4) in the important role played in the diet by the various kinds of cauí prepared in this fashion. When set off against these similarities, the fact mentioned by certain sixteenth century authors that the Tupinambá, in contrast to the Tapirapé, got drunk on certain occasions is of little importance.

Unquestionably less close than this cultural relationship is that relating the Tapirapé, as far as the cauí complex is concerned, to the Tupi of the upper Xingu basin. The inhabitants of Tampiitáua hold in common with the Kamayurá the name of a non-intoxicating drink, but the manufacture and function of these drinks are entirely different.

Although it would be sufficient to eliminate two consonants [192] from the Karajá word kaluxí to transform it into the word kauí, I dare not build any hypotheses around possible connections between these two words. In any case, kaluxí is to the Karajá not only what cafèzinho [Tr., the frequent demitasse] is to the people of São Paulo, but also what kauí is to the Tapirapé, that is to say, an important aliment. There is also a similarity in the preparation of these drinks among the Karajá and the Tapirapé. It is true, however, that the former often omit the mastication. The fact that the various kaluxí I tasted were less thick than the maize, manioc, peanut, and cottonseed kauí I tried, and different in their composition, does not

171 necessarily mean that Karajá women are unfamiliar with the
272 recipes for these Tapirapé drinks. They might have come to know them through the girls from the Tupi tribe who were abducted by the Karajá at various times and under various circumstances. [Ed., end of Vol. 116.]

[117:91] The Tapirapé do not eat meat raw or rare, but
252 roasted in the embers or broiled, while smaller fish are boiled in a pot. Fish are often tossed whole into the embers, that is, without being gutted. They are left there until they are charred on the outside. This manner of preparing them lends them a delicious flavor. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

"I boil" is avũn in Tapirapé, "I roast," aihyn, and "I broil,"
[192] amakaé. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

When studying the widespread distribution of the barbecue in
171 South America, Nordenskiöld (6, 135-137 and Map 15) distin-
252 guished two types, namely: (1) a quadrangular platform of sticks supported by four or, rarely, three stakes, and (2) three sticks set up, like stacked rifles, with a grille laid out between them horizontally. He lists (ibid., 136) the Tapirapé among those having the first type on the basis of the information provided by Krause (2). This author (ibid., 122, 407, 409, Plate 29, and Fig. 269 a-c) found several subspecies of that type with three or four supports, one of the supports being a tree. The stakes were not forked like those of the Tupinambá barbecue of the same type (Staden k 4, [117:92] ℓ 3, m 1, m 2, t 11; Léry 135; Claude d'Abbeville 294), which is apparently identical to those of the Karajá and Javahé seen by Krause (2, 251 and Plate 61). As far as the barbecue is concerned, however, the Tapirapé seem to differ even more from those tribes, since they also possess, as is shown in Photograph 33, the second type distinguished by Nordenskiöld and not mentioned by him as existing among the Tupinambá, Karajá, or Javahé. On the other hand, the same pyramid-shaped barbecue was found among the northern Kayapó (Krause 2, 387 and Plate 25) and the tribes of the upper Xingu basin visited by Von den Steinen (2, 236 and Fig. 30). To summarize, we may say that the inhabitants of Tampiitáua use both types of barbecue described by Nordenskiöld, while their neighbors, the Xingu Indians and the Tupinambá, are listed by the same author among the representatives having one type only.

252 In the Tapirapé barbecues, the height at which the grille is fastened varies with its different functions. It is placed low to
[251] roast meat or fish, and higher to dry it.

171 The pot is held by three stones laid around the fire, as I also
252 noted among the Karajá and as Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 48) ob-
[354] served among the Taulipáng of the Rio Branco basin. What Karl von den Steinen (2, 215) said of the Xingu Indians, that is: "The men roasted [meat], but never boiled it," may be said also of the Tapirapé and of numerous other South American tribes (cf. Baldus 7, 142 and Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 91, 335, 351). Speaking of the Karajá, Krause (2, 253) amends this rule with the fact that "the men also know how to boil [meat]," as they show on trips whenever necessary. This cannot be said of the Tapirapé. They do
[481] not carry pots on their journeys since they go on foot, while those Indians travel by canoe and therefore can take along with them heavy and breakable cooking utensils. Aside from this, the
252 division of labor is so strict among the sexes that the Tapirapé man,
462 if for some reason he does not have a wife, misses her simply from the fact that he cannot eat stew unless he is willing to take it from other families. On the other hand, the roasting of large animals is usually done by the men. It is only when game is killed close to the village that in some cases the women barbecue it. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

124 With the aim of setting up a Tapirapé zoological vocabulary, and also of finding out which animals were eaten by the inhabitants of Tampiitáua or by certain groups among them, I repeatedly showed to numerous persons of different ages and sex the figures in Rodolpho von Ihering s book entitled Da vida dos nossos animais. Fauna do Brasil [The Habits of Our Animals. Brazilian Fauna] (Rotermund & Co., São Leopoldo, 1934). This gave them much pleasure, and I recommend this method to Indianists as a way of establishing rapport. It also makes rather strict controls possible, since each animal is identified by several if not by numerous experts, and its name is pronounced several times by many individuals. Of course, a single look is not always sufficient for the Indian to recognize the animal represented. It is often necessary to [117:93] add comments about its size, color, motions, cry, and habits. Concerning certain insects, for example, the size of the

124 pictures is much larger than the original, while the opposite applies to most other animals. It is especially difficult to identify various kinds of fish which vary considerably in actual size.

I shall transcribe from Rodolpho von Ihering's book the 128 colloquial and scholarly names, while sometimes omitting that of the species. Most of the errors which I have probably committed in spite of this precaution will thus, I hope, easily be corrected by zoologists. It is well to call the attention of those who study [825] the geographic distribution of animals to the fact that the Tapirapé are not familiar with the species represented by R. von Ihering and omitted from the following list, for I showed them all the figures in the book. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

[Tr., the following list is summarized from the original text, and omissions have not been indicated. To avoid confusion, it should be emphasized that the first name listed is the Tapirapé term. Its translation is given in Portuguese when there is no English equivalent or it is uncertain, and in most cases the Brazilian term is of Tupi derivation.]

## MAMMALS

136 (1) anyrá -- bats in general. Not eaten.

262 (2) tatu -- hairy six banded armadillo (Euphractus sexcinctus). Eaten by men. [117:94] The Tapirapé were not familiar with the nine-banded armadillo (Dasypus novemcinctus) in Fig. 15.

(3) tamanua -- great anteater (Myrmecophaga jubata). Eaten.

(4) tamanduá-beva -- small anteater (Tamandua tetradactylus). Eaten by men and youths, not by boys or women.

(5) chingó -- sloth (species of the Bradypodidae family). Not eaten. The Tapirapé word may arouse doubts, for it differs completely from the Tupi term mentioned by numerous authors.

(6) tapidjí -- tapiti (Tr., a small hare-like rodent] (Sylvilagus minensis). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 19.

(7) kuanohó -- rat (a species). They used this name for the wild rat (Axymycterus nasutus) in Fig. 20, as well as the coypu [117:95] (Myocastor coypus) in Fig. 22. Considering the great

136 differences in size and general appearance between these two
262 rodents, and taking the information by R. von Ihering (25) that the second one "is found only in the southern Brazilian states," I take it that the Tapirapé made a mistake. They said of both that only men eat them. It is also interesting to note the augmentative suffix ho when we read of the coypu: "Its body has the shape of a huge rat, but in size it is almost an agouti with short legs and a rat tail, almost as long as the body, measuring from 45 to 55 centimeters" (ibid.). The same Tapirapé word with the diminutive suffix i, that is, kuanoí, designates the coendou which I shall mention under item 12.

(8) kereroá -- rice rat (Calomys longicaudatus). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering s Fig. 21.

(9) anuchá -- mouse that lives in tree trunks and not on the ground. Not depicted by R. von Ihering.

(10) anochaó -- mouse that builds a straw nest. Not depicted by R. von Ihering. The suffix o is augmentative.

(11) Vuavedeí -- serelepe [Tr., a kind of chipmunk or ground squirrel] (Sciurus spec.). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 23.

(12) kuanoí -- porcupine (Coendu spec.). Eaten by the men.

(13) ampereá -- cavy (Cavia aperea). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering s Fig. 25.

(14) ankuchí, akutí -- agouti (Dasyprocta spec.). Eaten.

(15) kanoanó -- paca (Coelogenys paca). Eaten. It is inter-
[171] esting to note that the Tapirapé are not familiar with the Tupi word paca. Many white hunters regard the meat of this animal as the best in the world.

[117:96] (16) angkampíyvuana -- capybara (Hydrochoerus capybara). Eaten by grown men. According to Karl von den Steinen, (1, 174) the meat of the capybara tastes like "machine oil."

(17) ypiravuira -- white porpoise (Inia geoffroyensis). Not eaten. This fresh-water variety is not depicted by R. von Ihering. Joaquim Branco (XVI, 213) gives pirayaguara as the name of the white Amazon porpoise, adding that this means "dog-fish" (cf. also Stradelli, 132 and 603). The Tapirapé word, however, means "bird-fish."

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(18) auvaná -- agouara (Canis jubatus). Not eaten.

The Tapirapé were not familiar with the wild dog depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 40.

(19) koandji -- coati (Nasua narica). Eaten.

(20) eirana -- tayra (Tayra barbara). Eaten by the men.

(21) mykura. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the zorrilho [Tr., a conepate] depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 45. It is known, however, that mycura or mucura is the name given in the Amazon to marsupials of the Didelphys genus called gambá in the south of the country (cf. Stradelli 568, R. von Ihering 9). The Tapirapé were not familiar with the opossum (Didelphys aurita) represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 1. The Tapirapé do not eat the animal they call mykura.

(22) chauatanangka -- giant river otter (Pteronura brasiliensis). Not eaten.

(23) chauvuanohó -- jaguar (Felis onza). Eaten by the men. This Tapirapé word covers both the spotted and the black jaguars. In Tapirapé, chauvuana means "dog" (Canis familiaris), ho being the augmentative suffix.

[117:97]

(24) chauvuápinima -- spotted jaguar.

(25) chauangpytyngó -- cougar (Felis concolor). Eaten by the men.

(26) manangganchaí -- wild cat (Felis spec.). Eaten by the men.

(27) tampiira -- tapir (Tapirus americanus). Eaten by the men.

(28) chinguá -- catêto or caitetu [Tr., a wild pig] (Dicotyles tayassu). Eaten. The Yekuaná do not eat the tongue, heart, or brains of this animal, which is their favorite game (Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 335-336). Among the Tapirapé, however, I found persons who greatly appreciated the brains (cf. Baldus 7, 95).

(29) tanchahó -- white-lipped peccary (Dicotyles albirostris). Eaten.

(30) opokú -- marsh deer (Dorcelaphus dichotomus). Eaten by men who do not have small children.

(31) ochinga -- savanna deer (Dorcelaphus bezoarcticus). Eaten by the men. I found its meat very dry.

(32) mianá -- brocket (Mazama americana). Eaten.

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[117:98]

(33) anakuahó -- brocket (Mazama simplicicornis). Eaten. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book.

The Tapirapé were not familiar with the hairy saki or fox-tailed monkey (Pithecia monachus) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 66.

(34) antamaní -- saki (species?) Eaten by the men.

(35) yaí -- ring-necked titi (Callicebus torquatus). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 71).

(36) kaí -- capuchin monkey (Cebus spec.) Eaten. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book. I ate its meat often and found it good either boiled or roasted.

(37) kai-ió -- howling monkey (Allouatta spec.). Eaten by the men. (kaí: cf. No. 36.)

(38) kokykoky - spider monkey (Ateles spec.) Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 76. [Ed., end of Vol. 117.]

[118:117] BIRDS

(39) vuyrá, uyrá -- bird in general. Many kinds of birds are eaten only by the men. The Tapirapé Kamaira listed 97 bird names for my companion F.C. Kegel.

(40) vuyranchampokáinia -- domestic chicken. Eaten.

(41) chanoó -- rhea (Rhea americana). Eaten by the men.

(42) oró -- capueira partridge (Odontophorus spec.). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 79.

(43) muitú -- curassow (Crax spec.). The Tapirapé distinguish the sexes, calling the male muitunoó because it is larger than the female, which is spotted in contrast to the male and hence called muitupinima. Eaten.

[118:118]

(44) inomó -- tinamou (Crypturus spec.). Eaten.

(45) changkú -- guan (Penelope spec.). Eaten. The guan is relatively abundant on the Araguaia, easy to hunt, and the favorite dish of the Tapirapé.

(46) tepangkuá -- tinamou (Crypturus noctivagus). Eaten.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the doves depicted by R. von Ihering in Figs. 85 and 86.

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(b) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the white-faced tree-duck (Dendrocygna viduata) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 87.

(c) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the horned screamer (Palamedea cornuta) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 88.

(47) uyrahó -- jabiru (Mycteria mycteria). Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé name means literally "large bird." I found its meat strongly redolent of fish.

(48) mauaní -- American stork (Euxenura maguari). Eaten. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw the bird depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 91, which therefore belongs to the Ciconidae and not to the Ardeidae family.

(49) vuaná -- roseate spoonbill (Ajaja ajaja). Eaten.

(50) akakó -- wood rail (species?) The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw Aramides saracura in R. von Ihering's Fig. 99 and asserted that the men eat this bird of the Rallidae family.

[118:119]

(51) karakaraka -- tapicurú [Tr., an ibis]. Eaten by the men. The Tapirapé thought that this bird of the Ibididae family, which is not depicted in R. von Ihering's book, resembles the wood rail in Fig. 99, although it has a longer beak. I liked its meat. My companion, Mr. Kegel, found it very "oily."

(52) anangkura - seriema (Microdactylus cristatus). Eaten by the men. When I recorded this Tapirapé word, its similarity to saracura [Tr., Portuguese for No. 50] led me to think that a confusion had been made between the two wading birds depicted in R. von Ihering's book one beside the other. But the Tapirapé removed my doubts, and in any case I found in Kissenberth's (2, 59) short Tapirapé vocabulary the word arãkorí with the German translation Strausfsart, that is, "kind of ostrich," which can only be the seriema since this author (ibid.) gives the same Tapirapé word for "rhea," with a slight difference in spelling, as I listed under No. 41 above.

(53) vuangká -- biguá-tinga [Tr., a darter] (Plotus anhinga). Eaten.

(54) yrevú pevó -- common or black vulture (Catharista atratus brasiliensis). Not eaten.

(55) yrevú chingú -- king vulture (Gypagus papa). Not eaten.

(56) yrevú ampaá -- red-headed vulture (Cathartes aura). Not eaten. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book.

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(57) tampiikyvanchinga -- caracara (Milvago chimachima or similar species). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 104.

(58) tamyngó -- carancho [Tr., a hawk] (Polyborus tharus or similar species). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 105.

(59) pypypypyó -- harpy eagle (Thrasaetus harpyia). Eaten by the men.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the burrowing owl depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 107.

(60) urukureá -- striped owl (species?). Eaten by grown men. The name given by the Tapirapé was known to the sixteenth century Tupi of Bahia.

[118:120]

(61) vuantori(n)iá -- hoatzin (Opisthocomus cristatus). Only old people eat this bird after removing its skin, which is also done by the few neo-Brazilians who do not scorn its flesh, for the hoatzin is also called catingueiro [stinker] by the frontiersmen owing to its penetrating odor. The Tapirapé use the word ikanchíng, "stinking," in referring to it. This bird abounds on the banks of the Tapirapé and middle Araguaia, and it is easy to hunt because it is clumsy and slow. These Indians kill it to feather their arrows with its plumes. Not mentioned in R. von Ihering's book.

(62) ypekú -- woodpecker in general. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé use this name not only for the climbing birds of the Picidae family, but also the bird of the Dendrocolaptidae family depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 132.

(63) chryvá -- motmot (Momotus spec.). Eaten by adults.

(64) tatauantí -- kingfisher (Ceryle spec.). Eaten by grown men.

(65) vuainomy -- hummingbird in general. Eaten. R. von Ihering's Figs. 112, 114-116.

(66) yvychangó -- taperá [Tr., a swallow]. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw Chaetura cinereiventris in R. von Ihering's Fig. 117.

(67) urutauí -- potoo (Nyctibius spec.). Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw the ringed nighthawk depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 118, a bird belonging to a different genus but to the same Caprimulgideae family.

(68) tuichinga -- parakeet. Eaten by the men. The Tapirapé gave this name, which means "white tuí [parakeet]" when they

136 262 saw the Pyrrhura vittata in R. von Ihering's Fig. 119. They were not familiar with the parakeet (Psittacula passerina) depicted in Fig. 123.

[118:121]

(69) arana -- scarlet macaw (Ara spec.). Eaten by grown men.

(70) kaninę -- blue-and-yellow macaw (Ara ararauna). Eaten by grown men. Among the Tapirapé, I several times ate the tough flesh of this bird which does not become tender even when boiled for a long time.

(71) anchorõ -- parrot (Amazona spec.). Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave me this word when they saw the Amazona aestiva in R. von Ihering's Fig. 121.

(72) tokynõ -- toucan (Rhamphastus spec.). Eaten.

(73) pyichiva -- a kind of "small toucan," smaller than tokynõ. Eaten.

(74) anĩ -- common ani (Crotophaga ani). Eaten by men and boys. R. von Ihering's Fig. 125.

(75) anachychyryõ -- quiriru [Tr., guira cuckoo] (Octopteryx guira). Eaten by men and boys.

(76) pytauvuyõ -- bem-te-vi [Tr., tyrant-flycatcher family] (Pitangus sulphuratus). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 127.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the cagassebinho [Tr., a small tyrant bird] represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 128.

(b) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the ant shrike (Thamnophilus caerulescens), a bird of the Formicariideae family depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 129.

(c) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the lavandeira (Fluvicola albiventris) represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 130.

(d) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the spine-tail (Synallaxis spixi) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 131.

(e) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the oven-bird (Furnarius rufus) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 134.

(77) aviã -- thrush (Turdus spec.). But the Tapirapé were not familiar with the dusky thrush (Turdus amaurochalinus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 135.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the yellow sugarbird (Callospiza flava) in R. Ihering's Fig. 139.

[118:122]

(78) ancoschinghõ -- oriole (Xanthornus jamacai). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 141.

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262 (79) angkaé -- jay (Uroleuca cyanoleuca or Cyanocorax spec.?). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 142.

(80) champohú -- japu [Tr., oriole family] (Ostinops decumanus). Eaten by grown men. A large bird of the Icteridae family. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book.

## REPTILES

(81) changkané -- alligator in general. Eaten by the men. I ate meat from the tail of a grown alligator on the Araguaia, and found it pleasantly tender and so characteristic that it did not recall either fish or the flesh of any mammal.

(82) chauvatí-pevoú -- cágado [Tr., a semi-aquatic, fresh-water turtle]. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw Hydrispis hilarii in R. von Ihering's Fig. 147. They eat the flesh and the eggs.

(83) chauvatió -- turtle. Eaten. This word, which means "large turtle," was given on seeing the tartaruga do mar [literally, "sea turtle"] (Talassochelis carreta) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 149. It is probable, however, that the word referred to the tartaruga da Amazônia (Podocnemis expansa).

(a) I did not get the Tapirapé word for the tracajá [Tr., a semi-aquatic, fresh-water turtle] (Podocnemis cayennensis) which is not depicted in R. von Ihering's book, but I saw the inhabitants of Tampiitsúa eat one of those small cheloniens which they had caught when it climbed the sandy river bank in order to lay eggs. The entire animal was roasted in the embers with its eggs alongside.

(84) chauvatí-été -- jaboti [Tr., a fruit-eating tortoise] (Testudo tabulata). Eaten. I found its flesh very flabby when I ate it on the Tapirapé river bank.

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(85) chauvachí-amperanchí -- matamata (Chelys fimbriata). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 151.

(86) When they saw the limbless lizard (Amphisbaena alba) represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 153, the Tapirapé merely said maiá or máia, their word for snakes in general. They said that they do not eat this animal.

(87) tanú -- small lizard. Not eaten. The Tapirapé gave this name for Hemidactyeus mabuia in R. von Ihering's Fig. 154, as well

136 as to Diploglossus fasciatus in Fig. 155.
262 (88) amereva -- mabuia agilis. Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 157.

(a) The Tapirapé were unfamiliar with the teioid (Microblepharus maximiliani) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 158.

(89) chichuputereva -- teju (Tupinambis teguixin). Not eaten.

(90) anemy -- iguana (Iguana tuberculata). Eaten by grown men.

(91) kamechorânia. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the papavento [Tr., lizard of iguana family] (Anolis punctatus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 161. They said that they do not eat it.

(92) kovianá -- truira-peva [Tr., small lizard of iguana family (Hoplocercus spinosus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 164.

(93) maichiningó -- rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificus). Not eaten.

[118:124]

(94) maiayva -- jararaca [Tr., pit viper] (Lachesis lanceolatus). Not eaten.

(95) okumaní. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the "false coral" (Oxyrhopus trigeminus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 181 and the "true coral" (Micrurus corallinus) in Fig. 183 of the same author. Not eaten.

(96) urukukú -- bushmaster (Lachesis mutus). Not eaten.

(97) maioó -- anaconda (Eunectes murinus). Not eaten. The Tapirapé word means literally "large snake." It is the largest snake in the world. R. von Ihering's Fig. 185.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the harmless cobra-nova (Drymobius bifossatus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 186.

(98) machukyry. The Tapirapé gave this term when they saw the tree snake (Chironius) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 187, and said that they do not eat this animal.

## AMPHIBIANS

(99) tayra. The Tapirapé gave this word, which is used by sons to designate their fathers, when they saw the tadpoles represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 191, the butterfly larva in Fig. 464, and the butterfly chrysalid in Fig. 465. They said that they eat the tadpoles.

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(100) chof -- frog. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw Nototrema fissipes in R. von Ihering's Fig. 192.

(101) kororó -- toad (Bufo marinus). Not eaten.

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(102) chyioó -- horned frog (Ceratophrys spec.). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 196.

(103) vuavá -- frog. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw Leptodactylus caliginosus in R. von Ihering's Fig. 197.

(104) mantereva. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the frog (Dendrobates tinctorius) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 198. They added that they do not eat this batrachian.

(105) kurtáua -- small tree toad (Hyla spec.). Eaten by the men.

(106) choipapevó -- frog (Phyllomedusa spec.). Eaten by the men. [Ed., end of Vol. 118.]

[119:79] FISH

(107) xpirá -- fish in general. My traveling companion, Reverend F.C.Kegel, gathered 54 Tapirapé names for fish.

(108) chavevuyra -- fresh-water ray in general. Eaten.

(109) pirampokó -- literally, "long fish." This is what the Tapirapé call the barracuda (Sphyraena barracuda) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 224, asserting that they eat this marine fish, which also goes into fresh waters according to what I was told by Dr. Antenor Leitão de Carvalho of the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro.

(110) ampakochingó. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the look-down (Selene vomer) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 225, and they added that they eat this animal. No doubt they confused it with another fish, for Dr. Leitão de Carvalho told me that this marine fish does not go into fresh waters, which do, however, contain similar species.

(111) chauevychanché. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the flounder (Achirus lineatus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 227, adding that they eat this fish, which goes into fresh waters, according to Dr. Leitão de Carvalho. R. von Ihering himself (158)

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asserts that there are flounders which are "perfectly adapted to fresh water and found as far as the upper Amazon and Mato Grosso." The Tapirapé word seems to be made up of chavevuyra, "ray" (cf. No. 108) and chancé, "father's sister" (as said by the men), thus meaning "ray's paternal aunt." This hypothesis becomes more reasonable when we consider that both fishes have a thoroughly flattened body and both live at the bottom of the water with their white side facing down and the side where the eyes are located facing up. It is also appropriate to recall that the Kaingang word for the centipede means, literally, "snake's father-in-law" (Baldus 11, 157).

(112) mairampeyá. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the swellfish (Spheroides spengleri) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 234, and [119-80] they added that they eat this marine fish. According to the same author (ibid., 158), there are swellfish adapted to fresh water in the Amazon and in Mato Grosso.

(113) moó. The Tapirape gave this word when they saw the moray eel (Lycodontis moringa) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 248, and said that, among them, the men eat this animal. They probably confused this marine fish with the snake eel (Symbranchus marmoratus) which looks very much like the moray eel and lives in fresh water.

(114) purangké -- electric eel (Electrophorus electricus). Eaten by the men.

(115) chechoó -- piracuru [Tr., or pirarucu, a giant Amazon fish] (Arapaima gigas). Eaten by the men.

(116) chechó. This small fish, highly prized by the Tapirapé, is probably the jeju (Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus). In Chapter 5, I alluded to the possibility that this Tapirapé word may be part of the name of the village Chechotśua. As for the relationship between chechó and chechoó, that is, "big chechó," one should mention what Stradelli (467) noted about those two scaled fresh-water fish of such divergent size. According to this author, the fishermen of the lower Amazon say that the jeju is the best bait for catching pirarucu with the hook. Would this indicate a magical relationship?

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the catfish (Paulicea lütkni) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 259.

(117) orovi - sorubim (Pseudoplatystoma corruscans). Eaten.

136 (118) tauvanuã. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw
262 the river catfish (Pseudopimelodus zungaro) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 261, and stated that they eat this fish.

(119) tororopy. This is what the Tapirapé called the spotted fresh-water catfish (Pimelodus clarias) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 262, stating that they eat this fish.

(120) chaniã -- small catfish (Pimelodus). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 263.

(121) itaiaí -- cambeva [Tr., a catfish] (Pygidium brasiliensis). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 264.

(122) chaniauhõ -- fresh-water catfish (Pimelodella brasiliensis). Cf. No. 120, chaniã. Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 265.

(123) atavachipeva -- mailed catfish (Loricaria spec.). Eaten.

(124) morõ -- mailed catfish (Plecostumus spec.). Eaten.

[119:81]

(125) amoatã -- armored catfish (Callichthys spec.). Eaten. According to Plínio Ayrosa (4, 148) "the meaning of this name is probably to be found in the variant camboatã, from kaãbo-atã, 'one that walks through the forest,' because these fish, which are supplied with richly vascular hairlike appendages serving for respiratory purposes, can move about freely on land when they intend to move from one waterway to another." It is proper, however, to raise the possibility of a relationship between the Tapirapé words amoatã and amatãua, since the latter, meaning "mustache," may allude to the fish's barbs. In any case, the Tapirapé catch and value the tamboatã, and they have a dance that deals with it.

(126) amoa ã. The Tapirapé gave this name to the cuiúcuiú (Doras marmoratus) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 271, and asserted that they eat it. This fish, distinguished from the amoatã by its augmentative suffix, resembles it in that it also has barbs and also moves about on land.

(127) anampã -- fresh-water eel (Carapus fasciatus). Eaten by the men.

(128) antangkopanã -- pirã-tamanduã [Tr., pirã is the Tupi word for "fish," and tamanduã for "anteater"] (Sternarchus curvirostris). Eaten.

(129) akmã -- acarã [Tr., a fresh-water cichlid] (Geophagus brasiliensis). Eaten.

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(130) changkoná -- jacundá [Tr., a cichloid fish] (Crenicichla spec.). Eaten.

(131) tukunaré -- tucunaré (Cichla spec.). Eaten. This fish, reaching half a meter in length, is among those most highly valued by the Tapirapé and is killed by them with bow and arrow. Not depicted by R. von Ihering.

(132) vuananaó -- corumbatá (Prochilodus spec.). Eaten.

(133) vuananaí. The Tapirapé gave this diminutive form of the word listed under No. 132 when they saw the chimboré (Anostomus kneri) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 279, next to his Fig. 278 which depicts the corumbatá [No. 132]. Indeed, head excluded, there are many similarities between these two fish as represented here, Fig. 278 being slightly larger than the other. The Tapirapé asserted that they eat vuananaí.

(134) ipiáua -- piava [Tr., a small fresh-water fish] (Leporinus spec.). Eaten.

(135) ipirápechova -- lambari-guaçu [Tr., lambari is a Tupi word for "minnow"; guaçu is a Tupi augmentative suffix]. Eaten. The Tapirapé gave this word, which literally signifies "flat yellow fish," when they saw Tetragonopterus rutilus in R. von Ihering's Fig. 282.

[119:82]

(136) pekakuhama -- lambari-mirim [Tr., mirim is a Tupi diminutive suffix] (Characidium fasciatum). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 283.

(137) aikyngapeva -- dog-fish or saincanga (Acestrorhamphus hepsetus). Eaten.

(138) tanayra -- trafra [Tr., lungfish?] (Hoplias malabaricus). Eaten.

(139) ipiránionó -- piranha in general (Pygocentrus and Serrassalmus genera). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 288.

## MOLLUSKS

(140) ity -- shellfish in general.

(141) champoroá. This word was given by the Tapirapé when they saw Planorbis peregrinus in R. von Ihering's Fig. 316. Not eaten.

136 262 (142) tatytá -- Strophocheilus oblongus. Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 321.

## CRUSTACEANS

(143) machiy -- fresh-water shrimp (Bithynis spec.). Eaten.

(144) vuananó -- fresh-water crab in general, literally, "large crab." Eaten.

(145) vuapema. This word, which means literally "flat crab," was given when the Tapirapé saw the guaiá das pedras (Panopaeus herbstti) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 356. They asserted that they eat this crab.

## ARACHNOIDS

136 262 (146) china. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the scorpion (Tytius bahiensis) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 362, and asserted that they do not eat it.

(147) chanó -- spider in general. Not eaten. The Tapirapé are familiar with several of the spiders depicted in R. von Ihering's book, without [119:83] identifying them, however, with specific names. They call the spider web chanóini, ini being also the word for "hammock."

(148) tantevoga -- tick in general. Not eaten (except for those taken directly from the human body). The Tapirapé made no distinctions among the ticks depicted by R. von Ihering.

## MYRIAPODS

(149) amoévaí -- millipede (Leptodesmus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 390.

(150) amoá -- millipede (Rhinocricus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 391.

(151) chapeauá -- centipede (Scolopendra). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 393.

## INSECTS

136 (152) tokorí -- leaping insect in general. Not eaten.

262 (153) tokoró ambipém -- esperança (an orthopteran). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 397.

(154) tokoró. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw the lantern fly (Fulgora lanternaria) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 430. I was unable to determine whether they establish a relationship between this homopteron and the insects mentioned under Nos. 152 and 153, or whether a confusion is involved. They asserted that they do not eat this insect.

(155) kyngeyma -- twig insect. Phasmida. Not eaten. The Tapirapé word is probably made up of kynga, "bone," and yma, a negative suffix. This would be quite significant considering the appearance of this insect, which looks like a stick when motionless. R. von Ihering's Fig. 398.

(156) tiraná -- praying mantis (Stagmatoptera predicatoria). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 399.

(157) pykapykáua -- cricket (Gryllus spec.). Not eaten. The Tapirapé word [119:84] is related to the generic term for "butterfly," that is, pykápyká (cf. No. 170). R. von Ihering's Fig. 400.

(158) ygechuchauana -- mole cricket (Gryllotalpa spec.). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 401.

(159) anavé, anaué, araué -- cockroach (Blatella germanica I.). Not eaten. In Chapter 7 I described the important role played by this insect in the life of the Tapirapé.

(160) kupií -- termite in general. Not eaten.

(161) chichinó -- dragonfly. The Tapirapé gave this name not only to the cavalo-de-cão [Tr., spider wasp] (Aeschnidae) in Fig. 412, but also to the neuropteran in Fig. 409. They used the name chichina for the ichneumonidan in Fig. 511 and the vespid (Synoeca) in Fig. 529. The four insects mentioned are represented with open wings, and this may have led the Indians to find similarities and to give terms distinguished from one another by the augmentative suffix. They asserted that they do not eat these four insects.

(162) ámpeámpeí. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word on seeing pictures of insects as diverse as the following ones: psocid (Atropos), Fig. 413; thysanopteran, Fig. 415; aquatic bug (Belostoma),

136 262 Fig. 422; notonectid, Fig. 423; bedbug (Acanthia lectularia), Fig. 424; cercopid, Fig. 425; aphid, rose louse (Aphis rosae), Fig. 428; cicada (Zammara tympanum), Fig. 429; buprestidan (Conognatha), Fig. 450; meloid (Lytta), Fig. 451; brenthid (Brenthis), Fig. 452; curculionid (Heilipus), Fig. 453; curculionid (Heilipus), Fig. 453; curculionid (Entimus), Fig. 454; Cerambycidae, Figs. 455 (Lophnocercus), 456 and 457; coccinellid (Neda), Fig. 458; staphylinid (Paederus), Fig. 459; hydrophilid, Fig. 462. None of them are eaten.

(163) kyva -- head louse (Pediculus capitis). These parasites [515] are eaten when picked from beloved persons. In fact, since this insect is always related to a particular person, I heard its Tapirapé name only in connection with the possessive, that is, chekyva, "my louse," anenekyva, "your louse," ikyva, "his or her louse."

(164) inimãkyrynga -- hammock louse (inĩ means "hammock"), probably the body louse (Pediculus vestimenti). It is larger than the [119:85] head louse and assailed me painfully, while I never harbored any of the innumerable head lice of the Tapirapé in spite of the fact that I offered them many opportunities for transmigration. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua ate the hammock louse when they caught it in flagrante. According to Gabriel Soares de Sousa (325), this insect also existed among the Tupinambá.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the ephemeris in Fig. 410.

(165) mechuã. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word when they saw pictures of the following Hemiptera: reduviid, the blood-sucking conenose bug (Triatoma megistus) in Fig. 417; pyrrhocorid (Dysdercus ruficollis) in Fig. 418; coreid in Fig. 419; Pentatomidae in Figs. 420 and 421. None of them are eaten.

(166) ypehaga. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word when they saw pictures of the following Coleoptera: passalid (Neleus), Fig. 439; lucanid (Leptinopterus), Fig. 440; cetonian (Gymnetes), Fig. 442; Melolonthidae (Macrodactylus), Fig. 443; rutelian (Pelidnota), Fig. 444; carabid (Galerita), Fig. 445; cicindelid (Tetracha), Fig. 446; erotylid (Cypherotylus), Fig. 447. None of these beetles are eaten.

(167) byrema -- dynastid (Coelosis) and Scarabaeid (Phanacus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Figs. 441 and 449.

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262 (168) anerechinga -- Lymexilonidae (Atractocerus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 448.

(169) takuereré, takuarereka - firefly in general; takú means "hot." Not eaten.

(170) pykápyká. The Tapirapé gave this generic name to all the Lepidoptera, butterflies as well as moths, not differentiating among families and species. They also gave the same name when they saw the Membracidae in Figs. 426 and 427 and the trichopteran in Fig. 463. As already mentioned under No. 99, they call larvae and chrysalids tayra. In contrast to other native peoples (cf. Thurnwald 106), the Tapirapé are familiar with butterfly metamorphosis. They do not eat these insects at any stage of their life cycle.

(171) iĩ -- small nocturnal blood-sucking mosquito, perhaps a variety of birigui [Tr., a small blood-sucking sand fly] (Phlebotomus).

(a) I did not obtain from the Tapirapé the name for the mosquito pólvora [Tr., a small blood-sucking sand fly] (Culicoides spec.).

(172) ipió, ipioeté -- gnat (Simulium spec.). It is eaten when caught in flagrante.

[119:86]

(173) ipiochinga -- lambe-olhos [Tr., literally "graze-eye"; a stingless honeybee (Trigona duckei). Eaten when caught in flagrante. This bee, incidentally the smallest in the world, is not depicted by R. von Ihering.

(174) tanchió, tanchiú -- muriçoca mosquito (Anopheles spec.). Eaten when caught in flagrante.

(175) merú. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word when they saw the pictures of the stable fly (Stomoxys calcitrans) in Fig. 494, the Stratiomyiidae (Tachina melanopyga and Hermetia illucens) in Figs. 497 and 498, and the blowfly (Cochlionvia macellaria) in Fig. 499. Not eaten..

(176) mutuka -- motuca fly [horse fly] (Chrysops and Erephopsis). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Figs. 495 and 496.

(177) iora -- flea (Pulex irritans or Ctenocephalus canis?).

(178) tongá -- chigoe (Tunga penetrans).

136 262 (179) chauanakaõ. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the mutillid depicted in Fig. 518 and known as the "squeaking ant" [Tr., in English, "velvet ant"] owing to the sound it emits when caught, and also as "little jaguar" or "jaguar louse" owing to its pattern. A bold etymologist might perhaps interpret the Tapirapé word as "dog song" or even "jaguar song," taking into account not only the sound and the spots, but also the terms mentioned under No. 23 and the fact that kaõ is the name of a specific song in Tapirapé and corresponds to the Guarani term guahú which means "the barking of dogs" (Recalde 1, 68). There might even be a connection with the large stinger possessed by the female of the species, which causes sufficient pain to draw howls of despair from its victim. The Tapirapé do not eat this insect.

(180) taiyva -- fire ant (Solenopsis geminata). Not in R. von Ihering's book.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the carpenter ant (Prenolepis) in Fig. 519.

(181) mamangao -- bumblebee (Bombus spec.). The Tapirapé asserted that they eat the honey of this large bee that is described as "worthless" by R. von Ihering (256). They call all kinds of [237] honey and bee eí or eirá, and they eat the honey of 20 different bees. My companion F.C. Kegel gathered 29 Tapirapé names for bees.

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(182) kaueauá -- mandaçaia [Tr., a stingless honeybee] [237] (Melipona spec.). They eat the honey of this bee, which incidentally is also regarded as delicious by the Whites. R. von Ihering's Fig. 533.

(183) tateí -- jatai (Trigona spec.). They eat the tasty honey [237] of this small bee. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book. I dealt with another Trigona species, the graze-eye, under No. 173.

(184) anchova. The Tapirapé gave this name to a small black bee which gets entangled in the hair and which, according to them, does not yield honey. It may be the irapuã [Tr., a small stingless bee] (Trigona ruficrus), whose honey is actually sparse and "worthless" in R. von Ihering's words (256). Not depicted in his book.

(185) káua -- wasp in general. The larvae are eaten roasted in their nest cells and then removed from their cubicles with a twig

136 or by knocking them against the hand. Both men and women eat
262 all wasp larvae. They regard them as special delicacies and usually eat them mixed with manioc flour.

(186) yvyraantana -- tree-living wasp (species?). With the Tapirapé, I ate its white larvae which are two centimeters long. Their taste, extremely floury and sweetish in the unsmoked parts, was not unpleasant. It came from the almost liquid substance of the larva and not from its skin. Several of the larvae were still moving because they had not been as close to the fire as the others. Living or dead, however, they were eaten indiscriminately. [Ed., end of Vol. 119.]

[120:51] We may draw the following conclusions from the preceding list. [Ed., a paragraph giving the first conclusion is omitted.]

171 2. With the exception of the spider monkey (No. 38), there is
262 no animal eaten by the Karajá and not by the Tapirapé, but there are numerous mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibians, fishes, and crustaceans that are eaten by the latter and not by the former.

3. With the exception of the bat (No. 1), which "a few men eat" among the Cherente, and of the teju (No. 89) which "some people eat" among these Indians and which "nowadays some people eat, but no one ate in the old days" among the Kaingang of the Ivaí, there is no animal eaten by these two tribes and not by the Tapirapé. The animals eaten by the latter and not by the Cherente are: the tayra (No. 20), the roseate spoonbill (No. 49), the darter (No. 53), the harpy eagle (No. 59), the owl (No. 60), the motmot (No. 63), the kingfisher (No. 64), the hummingbird (No. 65), the potoo (No. 67), the frog (No. 100), and the crustaceans (Nos. 143 and 144). The following animals are eaten by the Tapirapé and not by the Kaingang: the great anteater (No. 3), the small anteater (No. 4), the porcupine (No. 12), the wild cat (No. 26), the darter (No. 53), the kingfisher (No. 64), the potoo (No. 67), the ani (No. 74), the bem-te-vi (No. 76), the alligator (No. 81), the cágado (No. 82), the horned frog (No. 102), and the crab (No. 144).

[120:52]

4. We see, therefore, that of the four tribes in question, it is the Tapirapé who eat the greatest variety of animals, while the opposite applies to the Karajá.

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5. Just as these four tribes differ among themselves as far as language is concerned, they also differ as far as their concept of the edible is concerned.

6. The majority of the animals eaten by the Tapirapé and not by the other three tribes are regarded, among these Indians, as exclusively male food.

7. While among the Tapirapé there are numerous mammals and birds, various reptiles, amphibians, and fish which are eaten exclusively by the men, the only male foods among the Karajá are the paca (No. 15), the coati (No. 19), the tapir (No. 27), and the spider monkey (No. 38). As for the paca, which is regarded as excellent meat by many white hunters and which is valued by the Tapirapé and Cherente of both sexes, it is well to recall that among the ancient Kaingang this rodent was eaten only by individuals who were regarded as less vulnerable to supernatural evil forces. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

8. Among the Cherente, also, the number of animals eaten exclusively by the men is small. They are: the bat (No. 1), the howling monkey (No. 37), the jabiru (No. 47), the alligator (No. 81), the teju (No. 89), the iguana (No. 90), and the electric eel (No. 114). Among these animals, the bat is not eaten by any of the other tribes in question; the howling monkey, which Cherente women do not eat "because it looks like people," is also eaten only by the men among the Tapirapé, while among the Kaingang it is eaten only by "some people" and among the Karajá by no one; the jabiru and electric eel are, among the Tapirapé, exclusively male food, while the Karajá do not eat them and the Kaingang are not familiar with them; the alligator, of which Cherente men eat the tail, is eaten among the Tapirapé only by the men while no one eats it among the Karajá and Kaingang; the teju, although its flesh is so tasty to many Whites, is not eaten by either the Tapirapé or the Karajá, and it is eaten by only a few present-day Kaingang; the iguana, which is highly prized by the Karajá, is eaten only by men among the Tapirapé and is unknown to the Kaingang. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

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9. [Ed., the first sentence is omitted.] There is no animal restricted to the women among the Tapirapé, Karajá, or Cherente. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

171 10. [Ed., the first two sentences are omitted.] Whenever I
262 told the Tapirapé that among other tribes the woman would be-
784 come ill or even die if she were to eat of the animals whose flesh is forbidden to her, I was told that it would not harm a Tapirapé woman to eat the animals whose flesh, as a rule, is eaten only by men. According to Kamairahó, a woman will not eat of such flesh of her own accord. This means that in this case the abstentions are not connected with the supernatural. Actually, the mammals, birds, reptiles, and fish regarded as most delicious, not only by the Tapirapé but by most other Indians and also by the Whites, are all eaten by the women of this Tupi tribe, while as a rule the animals they do not eat are those that are not prized by us either. Although it may be hazardous to look for a relationship
[562] between the concept of the edible and the social status of the sexes, it is appropriate to mention: (a) among the Chamakoko the woman plays a predominant role (Baldus 1, 64); (b) Tapirapé culture, in its essential traits, reveals a male preponderance; (c) important aspects of Kaingang culture disclose an equality between the sexes.

171 11. As far as the concept of the edible is concerned, age has
262 less importance than sex among the Tapirapé and Cherente, while it has very little importance among the Kaingang and none among the Karajá. When listing the animals eaten exclusively by males, the Tapirapé mentioned for the most part that only "men" eat them, specifying in two cases (the common ani, No. 74, and the guira cuckoo, No. 75) that "men and boys" eat them, and stating about the rest that "men do, boys don't." According to this, the animals eaten only by "grown men" are: the small anteater (No. 4), the tapiti (No. 6), the serelepe (No. 11), the capybara (No. 16), the jabiru (No. 47), the owl (No. 60), the woodpecker (No. 62), the kingfisher (No. 64), the swallow (No. 66), the potoo (No. 67), the macaws and parrots (Nos. 69-71), the oriole (No. 78), the jay (No. 79), the japu (No. 80), the iguana (No. 90), the frog (No. 100), and the horned frog (No. 102). Concerning the hoatzin (No. 61), the Tapirapé stated that only the old people eat it, and concerning the motmot (No. 63), they said that this bird is eaten exclusively by adults. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

12. The animals not eaten by any Tapirapé are: the bat (No. 1), the white porpoise (No. 17), the wild dog (No. 18), the river

171/ 262 otter (No. 22), the [120:54] spider monkey (No. 38), the vultures (Nos. 54-56), the hawk (No. 58), the small lizard (No. 87), Mabuia agilis (No. 88), the teju (No. 89), the papavento (No. 91), the truira-peva (No. 92), the snakes (Nos. 93-98), the toad (No. 101), the mollusks (Nos. 140-142), the arachnoids (Nos. 146-148) (except for the ticks removed from the human body), the myriapods (Nos. 149-151), and the insects (Nos. 152-186) (except for those caught in flagrante sucking human blood and for certain larvae and honey). Most of the animals that are not eaten by the Tapirapé are known to the Karajá, Cherente, and Kaingang and are not eaten by these three tribes either, except for the bat which is eaten by "some men" among the Cherente, the spider monkey which is eaten by Karajá men, and the teju which is eaten by "some men" among the Cherente and by a few present-day Kaingang.

13. Just as I was told that it would not harm a Tapirapé woman to eat of the animals whose flesh is usually eaten only by the men (cf. item 10 above), I also heard that those animals not eaten by any Tapirapé would not harm anyone who should happen to eat them. There are, however, certain animals eaten exclusively by [753] the men, namely, the tapir (No. 27), the marsh deer (No. 30), the rhea (No. 41), and the alligator (No. 81), which, if eaten by the father of a small child, would cause the latter to fall ill and die. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the subsequent paragraph, No. 14, are omitted.]

262 Concerning animal foods, the following observations are also in order.

The Tapirapé do not consume the raw blood of animals, for they regard it as bad.

In spite of the distance between Tampiitaua and the river, and 226 in spite of the fact that the life of the Tapirapé as forest dwellers 262 and farmers does not allow fish to play as important a role in their [171] diet as in that of the Karajá water-dwellers, this animal is of greater importance to the Tapirapé than any other. From early childhood, they are constantly looking for small fish in the stream near the vil- [787] lage. They dream that there is abundant fish at certain spots, and

[787] since the information provided by such dreams is readily accepted,
[226] they organize collective fishing trips. Fish constitutes their main
825 source of animal fat and calcium. The calcium comes from the
262 bones, [120:55] crumbled into a strongly spiced sauce, their
252 favorite breakfast food. This is a cold dish, but the flesh of the
[263] fish is eaten on the previous day, good and hot, and invariably accompanied by manioc flour. I caused general amazement when I ate small roasted fish for the first time in Tampiitaua, and did so without manioc flour. My friend Vuanomanchi said that fish without flour is bad, gesticulated and spat as though he were smelling bad odor, and wanted to get up and fetch some of his own flour. A woman who was eating seated by my side immediately offered me hers. Of all the pictures in the zoological book that I showed them, it was always those of fish that aroused the greatest interest.
[535] The majority of the masked dances I witnessed dealt with fish, and there is an unmasked dance in which most of the text of the
[533] song consists of the word ypirá. It was this generic term for fish that I also heard almost invariably when I asked for the cause of a
[754] disease. This did not mean, however, that eating fish had been harmful to the sick person, but that a fish bone had been shot into his body as a magic projectile by an evil sorcerer. They also say
[776] that all the spirits of the hills and of the waters eat fish, and do not mention any other food for these spirits. Furthermore, as already stated at the beginning of this chapter, fish, along with manioc, is the only food included in the Tapirapé description of
[772] the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven that lies above our visible one. They do not fail to add that in this case "very fat fish" are involved. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Concerning head lice, I wish to mention in passing the fact
136 that I never found any on my own body during my stays among various tribes, in spite of the fact that much lousy hair came in contact with mine and that I did not take any special preventive measures. The same proved to be the case among other Whites who stayed with South American Indians. I also know of a blond young man on whose head lice of the Krabo [Craho] Indians settled without biting.

263 The pepper used by the Tapirapé and called by them ykaynia or ikeynia is apparently the bush red-pepper (Capsicum frutescens, Willd.). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph on this page and at the top of p. 56 is omitted.]

[120:56] The Tapirapé are immensely fond of raw brown sugar and our salt, and eat them as soon as they get them, that is, without waiting to use them as ingredients. To my knowledge, they [171] do not replace salt with substances extracted from vegetable ashes as do the Nahuquá (Von den Steinen 2, 100), Mehinaku (ibid., 106), Kamayurá (Meyer 1, 61), and other Brazilian tribes (Staden 9, 3; Martius 2, 497). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the first sentence of the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

261 The Tapirapé, too, are great geophagists. They have no salt and suffer from worms and intestinal disorders. A wattle-and-daub house built by my companion Frederico C. Kegel alongside the village lost the clay from its walls, for the inhabitants of Tampiitaua kept breaking off small pieces all day long which they savored as though they were candy. [Ed., the remainder of p. 56, p. 57 which concludes the section in Vol. 120, and all the section in Vol. 121, pp. 79-82, are omitted.]

[122:167] If we look at the Tapirapé diet from the standpoint 146 of nutritive values, we may repeat the observation of Josué de Castro (66) about the Amazon diet in general: "It strikes one immediately as inadequate in the extreme paucity or even absence of some of the protective foods: meat, milk, cheese, butter, eggs, green vegetables, and fruits." "The amount of vitamins of the B complex contained in manioc, which is the staple food, is much smaller than that contained in cereals, rice, and wheat, the husks of which are saturated with these elements. In addition, what small quantities exist are practically destroyed in the process of preparing the flour" (ibid., 89). Also worthy of note are the following words by the same author: "... maize protein is quite incomplete, for it lacks several active acids essential to growth and organic equilibrium. Manioc, too, is very poor in proteins, poorer even than maize and qualitatively inferior to it. The Amazon dweller is saved by the fact that he does not eat pure flour as the Mexican eats maize and maize alone for days on end" (ibid., 73). In any case, various opinions were cited at the beginning of this chapter about the nutritive values of manioc flour.

262 [122:168] Fortunately, the Tapirapé is also saved by a more varied diet. Manioc flour is usually eaten along with other foods. To give an idea of the variety available at a specific time of the year, I shall list the dishes that were offered to me on the afternoon of June 21, 1935, when I reached Tampiitaua for the first time: two varieties of bananas, warmed and cold; warm and cold peanuts; raw and roasted peanut flour; peanut, maize, and manioc cauí; roasted calabash seeds; boiled and ember-roasted squash, yams, and cará; large boiled green beans; warm manioc flour; small boiled fish; warm manioc soup with small unripe peppers and chicken meat; manioc soup with barbecued fish; the raw and roasted seeds of tucum [Tr., Bactris setosa]; and sugar cane for sucking. Since I did not want to offend anyone, I ate large quanti-
123 ties of each of these delicious dishes in all the village houses that afternoon. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

During my stay in Tampiitaua, I shared largely in the Tapirapé diet and got along well on this almost exclusively vegetarian basis. My digestive apparatus had never functioned as well as it did at the time, and my companion Kegel noticed that after a few weeks of Indian food my face had filled out. In this respect I stood in contrast to our camarada Daniel. This poor frontiersman, who showed his "civilized" status by eating his daily share of rice, occasionally tempered by a piece of game, with punctilious regularity, visibly wasted away. This probably was caused also by the cultural shocks he suffered incessantly, which, as far as food was concerned, were of the same order as those suffered by the Tapirapé when Reverend Kegel opened a can of wieners. A child saw those snake-like forms coming out of the can, ran home, and soon the whole village was there. Each person smelled the can and then spat emphatically to leave no doubt as to the disgust he felt or thought it proper to feel. True, this did not prevent gluttonous Kamairahó from trying a small piece, although with a certain reluctance, from liking it, and asking for more.

Unfortunately, the abundance and variety of foods which I found
262 in Tampiitaua in the months of June to August, 1935, disappeared
178 later. As I wrote in a report to the director of the Indian [122:169] Service, "in 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little cará, or manioc cake.

262 The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts,
178 for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such a change in the food situation affects the tribal
[574] behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality. It is true that this may also have resulted in
177 part from contact with the White neighbors who have settled on
291 the Tapirapé river over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer, or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their bodies are undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. Thus, instead of satisfying the appetite of their Indian visitors, they are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural rather than physical, one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitaua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them wear complete dresses. It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actual-
262 ly experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their
177 new neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the
648 number of inhabitants of their village has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following were not lacking, however: "Now the Tapirapé eat only small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., a large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs. These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the dry spell, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna, as well as the human beings in the region, have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the frontiersmen, by settling permanently on all the habitable spots along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitaua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers" (Baldus 12).

171 264 [122:170] In their manner of eating the Tapirapé retain many similarities with the ancient Tupinambá. As was the case among the latter, the Tampiitaua family usually eats together from the same container, which stands in the middle, with the father lying in the hammock and the wife and children squatting on the ground (cf. Gabriel Soares de Sousa 366 and 375; Vicente de Salvador 35). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

These present-day Tupi, like the ancient coastal ones, do not drink while they eat (cf. Vicente de Salvador 33; Soares de Sousa 375; Anchieta 2, 330; Cardim 165; Léry 127). Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé eat "all the time, night and day, at any hour or moment" (Cardim 164), and what Simão de Vasconcellos (p. LXXXV) wrote about those Indians may be applied to these: "Eating time comes whenever nature demands it, as with wild animals; and nature demands it so often, that they eat during the day, and during the night if they must." It so happened that at midnight, when everyone was asleep, my hammock neighbor Kamairahó suddenly awoke because he was hungry. He got up, awakening his wife and children. The woman prepared fish, and finally they all began to eat and to take cauí.

The habit of tossing manioc flour into the mouth is a cultural trait that the Tapirapé share not only with the ancient coastal Tupi (cf. Léry 118-119; Thevet I, 303; Cardim 166; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. LXXXV), but also with the peasants who live near the city of São Paulo. The only difference is that around this modern metropolis the flour is propelled into the mouth with a spoon, while among the Indians this is done directly with the fingers.

262 252 Boiled food is eaten or drunk by the Tapirapé as hot as they can stand it. In this respect they can stand more than I, for example. If the food is still too hot even for them, they cool it off by blowing upon it or, if it is liquid, by stirring it with a gourd.

[192] [122:171] In Tapirapé, aõ means "I eat," and ayõ "I drink water," the o sounding almost like a u.

312 To obtain clear, fresh water, the Tapirapé dig a hole so close to still water or to the river that the liquid penetrates through the dividing wall of earth. The use of this filtering process shows that what Anchieta (II, 330) wrote about the Indians he knew cannot be applied to these: "... they hardly distinguish bad water from good, and are satisfied with any kind." In this respect, the inhabitants of

312 Tampiitaua could teach a lesson to the "civilized" frontiersmen, whom I never observed to use any filtering process in any of the Brazilian states I visited, but who merely drew water from river, pond, or swamp. It is true that when they have fresh, clear water available from small streams such as the one that flowed by the 1935 village, the Tapirapé omit the filtering. They seldom keep water longer than a few hours, and they leave it in gourds, usually small, that they also use as a rule to fetch the water.

276 The only narcotic used by the Tapirapé is tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum L.). They call it petyma. The small species they smoke grows in the forest without being cultivated. Only exceptionally [249] do they transplant a few specimens close to their gardens. They dry the leaves of this Solanacea in the sun, and then store them in [415] the large braided cylinders (orokoros) that are worn on the head in certain masked dances. They do not allow the tobacco to ferment. Before putting it into the pipe, they crumble the leaves by rubbing them between their hands.

In 1935 they had two kinds of pipe (petyaua), that is, clay pipes, and pipes made of the fruit of the jequitibá [Tr., any tree of the Cariniana genus]. In 1947, the clay pipes had vanished. The 171 Karajá and Kayapó also use pipes made of the fruit of the jequitibá 276 (Krause II, 260 and 388). These two tribes and the Tapirapé do not chew tobacco and do not take snuff, nor do they smoke cigars or cigarettes like the numerous Tupi tribes mentioned by Métraux (II, 116), among them the Tupinambá, Auetó, and Yuruña, and to which we may add the Kamayurá (cf. Meyer I, 61). This how, ever, does not mean that my Tampiitaua friends did not pounce avidly on the butt of every cigarette I threw upon the ground, and smoke it until they burned their mouth and fingers. The Karajá are also crazy about smoking, and koty', that is, tobacco, is what they ask for most often from the traveler. While among them both women and men smoke the pipe, [122:172] only the men smoke among the Tapirapé. Speaking of the Tupinambá, Léry (190) states that he did not see the women use "Petun smoke."

The Tapirapé transfer the smoke from mouth to stomach, and then expel it noisily in a rapid sequence of belches. I did not see them expel it through the nostrils, as reported by Léry (190) and

171 Yves d'Evreux (110) for the Tupinambá, and by Koch-Grünberg
276 (1, I, 128) for the Kâua of the upper Alari. They could not inhale the smoke as I did. Every time they tried, they began to cough violently. My smoke-swallowing demonstrations, when I released the smoke only after having talked and drunk some water, aroused respectful admiration, but no one dared to emulate me. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, two purposes for smoking tobacco can be clearly distinguished: one that is simply recreative and one that is medicinal. As a medicine, the smoke is blown over painful [155] areas of the body or over the entire body of the patient. A Bakairi told Karl von den Steinen (II, 347) that on the upper Xingu there are two varieties of tobacco, the one smoked for pleasure being much milder than the medicinal one.

To summarize, we may say that the Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá in the term they use to designate tobacco, in their manner of swallowing smoke, and in the fact that among them only the men smoke. They differ from these Indians, from the Xingu Indians, and from other Tupi tribes in not smoking cigars. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua resemble the northern Karajá and Kayapó in their use of the jequitibá-fruit pipe; they differ from those tribes in their words for tobacco and pipe, and from the Karajá in the fact that only the men smoke in Tampiitaua. [Ed., end of Vol. 122.]

[123:53] Chapter 11

## The Life Cycle of the Individual

### Birth

192 In Tapirapé, aãn means "I fall" and "I am born" [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the remainder of the paragraph are omitted.]

[123] [115] I did not have the opportunity to witness a birth among the Tapirapé, and I can only relay the information given to me by 844 Reverend Kegel and by the Indians. Childbirth takes place inside the house. While the future father remains in his hammock, the women assist the woman in labor, who is either lying in another hammock with her legs drawn up or supported by horizontal wooden

844 poles. A large pot full of water is placed nearby to wash the mother and child. If the confinement is difficult, a woman presses the mother's belly until the child comes out. The baby is received in the arms of another woman who waits beneath the mother. The umbilical cord is severed with a cane shiver, and the afterbirth is buried. Both father and mother abstain from any food for one day. Both stay in their nets "until the loss of blood 846 ceases, that is, often for several days." There are no food absten- [847] tions for the future parents prior to the birth. For about two years 862 after the birth of the child, the parents give up peanuts and 864 bananas. In addition, the father frequently abstains from those animal foods that are never eaten by the woman, especially tapir, marsh deer, rhea, and alligator, until the child is almost six years [756] old. Only if he is a shaman may he eat of everything. The wife of a shaman, however, does not share this privilege.

The Tapirapé believe that the child will die if these absten- [761] tions are not observed. They say that in this case death would not be caused by an evil sorcerer, as they usually believe, but by the food that should not be consumed and that turns evil when it is eaten. And they add that in such cases the Whites have many medicines that might save the child, while the Tapirapé do not have any, and so among them the child would be lost. [123:54] When I offered them deer meat, which is coveted by all Tampiitaua men (perhaps because it is a type of game that, although abundant, is seldom killed without firearms), it was not accepted by the fathers of one-year-old children. Even Urukumy who, as a shaman, could have eaten the meat, was careful to pass it on to someone else after courteously accepting it from me.

The abstention from bananas and peanuts is impressive when we consider the important role played by these foods in the Tapirapé [165] diet. It is possible that the high mortality among children during the first two years of life may have led to such onerous rules. [755] Actually, these Indians assert that their Karajá neighbors and the Whites eat of anything when their child is ill, while Tapirapé parents, in such cases, subsist exclusively on mahioc flour and maize and manioc cauí, even when the child is older than six.

The behavior of Indian parents toward the newborn recalls to 171 some extent a custom of the colonists of São Bonifácio, in the state 946 of Santa Catarina, who come for the most part from Westphalia.

171 According to Francisco S.G.Schaden (30), the fathers in this
846 locality, accompanied by their wives, visit the new mother on the Sunday following the birth and must not refuse a draught of spirits at the time of this so-called Kindchenkaffee, for otherwise it is said that the newborn child would be unable to urinate. We see, therefore, that in this case the child's well-being hinges on the behavior of its parents' friends.

Among certain South American tribes, the father is not per-
[224] mitted to go hunting during the first few days following the birth (cf. Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 136). I was told that the Tapirapé goes hunting at this time and is even accompanied by his wife as soon as the is able to come.

853 Wagley and Galvão (3, 192) assert that Tapirapé parents must
933 abstain from sexual relations until the child is "weaned." They
[114] may intend this word to refer to the time when the child begins to take other foods aside from its mother s milk, for the latter is taken, whenever possible, for two or three years or even longer. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The Tapirapé seem to believe in magic conception, although
842 they know that pregnancy results from sexual relations. On March 31, 1942, Dr. Wagley told me the following story: once, at the beginning of his stay in Tampiitaua, he suddenly heard, "Here comes Dotoí." He knew that this was the name which the women and children of the village used to call me, adding the diminutive i to the title by which the camarada Daniel addressed me [Tr., in Brazilian pronunciation, "Doctor" sounds like doutô]. Wagley, surprised, [123:55] turned around and saw coming toward him not the colleague from São Paulo but a Tapirapé boy. "Where is Dotoí?" he asked. They pointed to the boy. "But Dotoí is far away," he objected. Then they told him that the boy was also called Dotoí because he was the son of the Dotoí from São Paulo. And as proof of this kinship they showed the ethnologist that the boy, like his distant progenitor, had no tembetá orifice in his lower lip as did other Tapirapé boys of his age. In a dry scientific work such as this, it is idle to conjecture what Wagley thought about me then and whether he compared the skin color of Dotoí II with that of the other children. It is enough to say that he is my friend and the most understanding North American I know. Naturally, he did not fail to notice that the boy's age tallied roughly with the number

842 of years that had elapsed since my stay in Tampiitaua. He also noted that Vuanomanchi was playing the part of the boy's father. And Vuanomanchi had been my close friend in 1935.

A few weeks later, Wagley learned that the "child's spirit" is brought to the woman by a good shaman in the course of the journeys he is wont to make in his dreams. The Tapirapé were familiar with my capacity to "dream from Tampiitaua to São Paulo," that is, to make that long trip while my body was asleep in a hammock in Kamairahó's house. They did not doubt that I was a great shaman. Obviously, therefore, they considered me [123] capable of bringing children's spirits. The fact that I was regarded as the carrier of the spirit of Vuanomanchi's son must have been, first and foremost, an acknowledgement of the ties of sympathy between this Indian and myself.

Contrary to some other Indians, such as the Guaikuru described 845 by Sánchez Labrador (II, 30), who kill newborn twins, the Tapirapé 842 like such dual births. Husbands and wives in this Tupi tribe eat [171] linked bananas in order to give birth to twins, preferably of opposite sex. They call both the twins and those double bananas apekunia, and this term is also used when there are three bananas within one skin. Kamairahó said with reference to such a triple banana that it consisted of one boy and two girls. The Tapirapé had never heard of a triple human birth.

In view of their behavior toward twins, it might be assumed 171 that the vagrant life of the Guaikuru led them to infanticide, while 847 the Tapirapé, as farmers tied to the soil, like to have several children and save all those who are born. The way of life of those hunting and herding Indians of the Paraguay basin contributed to their custom of killing some of the newborn babies. On the other 847 hand, it seems that the Tapirapé do not allow every child to live, either. According to what I was told, they think that it is bad for a couple to have more than three children and more than two of the same sex, and hence kill those who are in excess of these numbers. Wagley and Galvão (3, 172) confirm this, adding that the child who is to be killed is buried in a hole dug for the afterbirth inside the house. As was shown in Chapter 5, in Tampiitaua in 1935 there was 162 only one couple with three children who were issue of that same marriage, and none with more. The children were a boy [123:56]

162 of about four, a girl of about 11, and another girl of less than a year. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

171 We see, therefore, that the Tapirapé resemble the Karajá and
646 Kayapó, as well as Indians of the upper Xingu basin, the Tupinambá, and other Tupi tribes, in practicing the couvade. [Ed., end of Vol. 123.]

553 [124:139] In Tapirapé, herang means "name" and corresponds
[192] to the word héra cited by Montoya (2, II, 154) and céra by Stradelli (413). The inhabitants of Tampiitaua told me that, among them, it is the mother who gives the newborn baby a name and who
[904] perforates the lower lip and ear lobes of a boy with a bone pin at dawn of the day following birth. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

No two or more Tapirapé ever bear the same name at the
551 same time. I was able to discover the meaning of only a few. Animal names prevail among the women. In 1935 there was a woman over 40 years old whose name was Purangkeí, that is, "little electric eel." Another, about 35 years old, was called Tamamaí, or "great anteater" with [124:140] the addition of the diminutive i, and an old woman of about 45 had the name Anampaí, anampá being a fresh-water eel. A girl of 11 was called Chauevuyra, that is, "fresh-water ray," and another girl of six Tanchahó, the name of the white-lipped peccary. In 1947 there was a year-old girl whose name, Kaí, is that of the capuchin monkey. Among the men, I only found one in 1935 whose name I could identify with that of an animal, and it was a generic name, Vuyraí, "little bird," a somewhat humorous appellation in view of the man's thick, robust body. Other translatable names, aside from those of animals, are Kanuana, belonging to an eight-year-old girl, meaning "thunder" and "gourd rattle," and the names of two boys I knew in 1947, who were two and four years old, respectively, Yvytí, "wind," and Ekonomíchinga, "white boy."

171 According to Gabriel Soares de Sousa (370), the Tupinambá
551 bore the names of "animals, fish, birds, trees, foods, weapons and various other things," according to Staden (r 1) of "forest animals," and according to Vicente de Salvador (41) of "animals, plants, or whatever chances to come before their eyes."

000 This last author also notes about those Indians that "... they do not regard killing as prowess unless they break heads, even

000 those of people killed by others, and whatever number of heads they break, that many names they take, casting off the name given by their father at birth... but the name they take they will not tell (even when begged to do so) except at great festivities with wine and songs in their honor..."

553 It sometimes happened that when I asked for the name of a certain Tapirapé, the person in question would give me one name and some other person present would give another. When I asked which of the names was more commonly used, I was always told that a Tapirapé adult, as a rule, has "many" names. According to what I was able to observe, however, each person was called, as a rule, by a single name which remained the same throughout the time of my visit in 1935. This does not invalidate the information they gave me, however, for a Tapirapé does receive other names aside from the one he is given at birth, although this is done for reasons very different from those leading to the proliferation of names among the Tupinambá. Reverend Kegel witnessed a festive gathering in September, which he described to me as follows. After sundown, in the moonlight, the men sat on mats in the Tampiitaua plaza divided into two groups, one facing the other. One of the leaders of the village stood between the two groups, inventing names. Whenever a name came to his mind, he would call one of the men present, and walk hither and yon humming a song that included the new name of the person he had called, the name being sometimes jocular and sometimes serious in meaning.

[124:141] Kamairahó, the principal leader, told me that at three different ages he had had successively the following names: [551] Pancheengví, Ananavuytingí, and Kanchoarioí. Only after the death of his father did he adopt his present name, which was the name of his father and of all his male ancestors in the paternal line. He added that only then did he marry. He stated further that like him, all Tapirapé have several successive names through childhood and adulthood.

It may be, as I shall show, that they were given these names but did not use them. In Tampiitaua in 1947 I identified nine Tapirapé males and six females, and with less certainty another male and seven other females, whom I had known at the time of my previous visit. In 1935, I had figured out the ages of the nine

553 individuals in the first group as 8, 12, 17, 18, 20, 26, and 38 years, respectively; that of the six females in the same group as 1 1/2, 4-5, 20, 25, 28, and 30 years; that of the male identified without complete certainty as 4 years; and that of the seven females about whom I had similar doubts as 3, 6, 7, 7, 13, 20, and 26 years. Now, among those 23 individuals, only three were using totally different names in 1947 from those they had used in 1935. Incidentally, all the Tapirapé whom Wagley recognized on photographs taken by myself in 1935 still had in 1939 the same name they had used when photographed. Some slight phonetic differences between the names of certain persons as registered by myself in 1935 and in 1947 probably resulted from variations in the pronunciation of the informants, or else existed only in the ear of the researcher. In 1947, as in 1935, two names were sometimes given instead of one. A young man who had been 12 years old in 1935, and who at that time had only the name Tampirí, was called Tampirí-Chamaneyma in 1947. A woman whose name I recorded as Airuvitynga in 1935 (tynga, like chinga, means "white") was called Eirova-Chaeroí 12 years later as an elderly lady and the wife of a new husband (the final i in Airuvi is added for euphonic reasons, and this word is otherwise identical to Eirova).

The three individuals who had changed names altogether, on the other hand, were called Tamupanchoa, Panchaí, and Kovyra at the time of my first visit. The first one, who was a man of 45 or 50 in 1947, had adopted the name of his younger brother Kamanané, who died after 1935. The second one, who appeared to be about 35 in 1947 and who had become a shaman and acquired despotic tendencies, had come to be called Vuatanamy, the name of the late sorcerer--medicine man who had been the toughest of the Tampiitaua leaders in 1935. The new Vuatanamy was not living at the time in the house of the former one, was [124:142] about 20 years younger, and to my knowledge was not a close relative. In 1935, Kovyra, a boy about eight years old, was already regarded as a sort of future successor to Kamairahó, the principal leader. In reference to this he was sometimes called by the man's name in a joking tone, with the addition of the diminutive suffix i. In 1947 he no longer used his own childhood name and had been addressed exclusively by the name of the deceased leader for some time, although still with the addition of the diminutive for he was

553 still young and lacked the political weight of the illustrious dead man.

One day, as I talked to Kamairahó about the "name-giving festivity" mentioned above, I complained about not having received a Tapirapé name as Reverend Kegel had and this only because my companion had the opportunity to be present at that gathering while I did not. The Indian immediately gave me his own name. Yves d'Evreux writes of the Tupinambá in Maranhão:
171 "They also have another manner of giving names, and this is when
553 they are fond of you, and show the high regard in which they hold you, by giving you their own name"[translated from French]. The exchange of names for motives of respect and friendship is a custom found among tribes in various parts of South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

It should be added that I, naturally, also gave my name to
553 Kamairahó. Such exchanges of names, at least among the Tapirapé, are to some extent merely done in jest. Thus, I was called Kamairahó only a few times and smilingly, while I never heard Reverend Kegel called by his Tapirapé name or the Indian leader by my own.

It certainly cannot be said that the Tapirapé hide their
171 name, or one of their names, as did the Tupinambá according to
551 the above-quoted observation by Vicente de Salvador. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua told me their names with apparent pleasure, and many of them repeated the name several times until I pronounced it properly, and asked me about it [124:143] again on subsequent occasions to see whether I had learned it correctly. They differed in this respect from the Kayapó, who do not reveal their own name according to Krause (2, 401). The latter was able to find out their names only through a third person, and they were given in a very low voice. The Karajá never made it a problem to tell me their own names. Like the Tapirapé, they are very desirous to find out about ours, and soon after the visitor s arrival they ask for his name, that of his wife, his children, and other relatives.

On the other hand, many of the inhabitants of Tampiitaua
551 were ignorant of the names of their deceased parents, and nearly
171 all were unfamiliar with those of their grandparents and other rela-
173 tives who were no longer alive, so we cannot assert that the Tapirapé are as interested in their own genealogy as are, for example, the Kaingang tribe of the so-called Botocudo of Santa

171
173 Catarina, Xokleng [Shokleng] or Aveikoma [Aweikoma], studied
551 by Henry (50). [Ed., end of Vol. 124.]

[127:231] CHILDHOOD

171 Father Fernão Cardim (310) wrote of the Tupinambá: "There
855 is nothing parents love more than their own children, and he who does something for the children can obtain anything from the parents." Roughly, this sentence could be applied to nearly all Brazilian tribes and to the Tapirapé among them. This love is
855 manifested in the understanding with which the adults treat the children. An Indian father would never answer his child's question with: "This is grownup stuff you can't understand," thus destroying, in the fashion of certain White fathers, the trust with which the child seeks out his most learned friend. The Indian father does not speak to the child with an air of superiority, and consequently there is no chasm between them, such as frequently separates children from adults among us.

In fact, a Tapirapé will show patience toward a child even before he reaches the age of asking for explanations. I shall never forget the attitude of Vuanomanchí when a small child seated in his lap urinated on his bare legs. No fuss! This worthy family man did not even get up. He took a piece of straw from the ground and pushed down the liquid with it. He neither scrubbed nor washed himself. He uttered no word and made no motion that might disturb the child.

[127:232] Nor shall I forget the behavior of Maeyma during the illness of his little girl. Several women were weeping around the girl's hammock, and Maeyma was the only man who was crying. Seated in his hammock, he covered his face with his hands and sobbed. He seemed to have lost weight during the short period of
[262] his child's illness. As befits a mindful father, he ate nothing during
[755] this time except for a little maize cauí and manioc flour. On the following day, when the girl seemed to have improved, Maeyma, lying in the hammock held her like something breakable, and when he moved his hands he did so gingerly.

794 In the Tapirapé tribe, as in many others, the intimate and con-
855 tinuous connection between child and parents is acknowledged and

855 respected by the latter through abstentions to which they submit
[784] for the child's sake over a long period of time, and not only when
the child is sick. The period of physical contact also lasts longer
853 than among us. Although the statement of Father Vicente de
[114] Salvador (37), according to which certain Tupinambá mothers
[171] nursed their children "seven or eight years" is exaggerated, we
may assume that the same thing occurred among those Tupi as we
observed among the Tapirapé and numerous other Brazilian tribes,
that is to say, a child who already plays and runs about with other
children without adult supervision and who still nurses at his mother's
[171] breast. According to Lipkind (2, 187), Karajá children sleep with
513 their mother until they stop nursing. In Tampiitaua, I found one
boy and one girl, each a year old, two girls of three years, and
one girl of four years who slept with both parents in the same net
in 1935, and two girls of one year who did so in 1947. In 1935,
I found one girl of a few months, one girl of less than a year, one
girl a little over a year, and one boy of three who slept with their
mother, and in 1947 I found one boy of one year, one boy of two,
and one boy of four who did the same. I found one girl and one
boy of four and one girl of six who slept with their father in 1935
(the mother slept in an adjoining hammock with a smaller child)
and one boy of two who did so in 1947. In that same year, a girl
of about 10 slept with her father, a man of 35, while his wife,
about seven months pregnant, who was not the girl s mother, slept
in the next hammock. And in 1935, a boy of six slept with his
mother's older sister while the mother slept in another house with
her husband, who was not the boy's father.

The Tapirapé adorn the children with special care. I showed
301 in Chapter 6 (Photo. 13) how even before the birth they make
854 tamankurá for a child's ankles. When he is born, they proceed to
adorn him with the traditional ornaments of the tribe, [127:233]
and in addition they hang beads obtained from the Whites around his
neck. Like everything else they may give him, these beads are
[422] acknowledged henceforth as the child's property. A museum collec-
tor may sometimes have difficulty obtaining an object owned ex-
clusively by a child not yet old enough to understand his wish.

I was moved when I saw a Tapirapé mother attempt to protect
854 her weeks-old baby against the strong noon sun while crossing the
village plaza. She held it close against her abdomen and ran bent

854 over so that the child lay in the shadow of the woman's nude body. Only when she reached the house did the mother hold herself erect and take the child in her arms again.

171 As a rule, when carried, the Tampiitaua child rides on the hip
854 of the adult, who holds him with the hand. We also saw this among the Karajá (cf. also Krause 2, 276). I did not observe in either tribe the use of straps for carrying children, which I dealt with in some detail in Chapter 6. Although Tupinambá women, according to Fernão Cardim (130), carried their children "wrapped in hammock strips," they held them in the Tapirapé fashion, "like gypsies, straddling the hip." And just as among the inhabitants of Tampiitaua, so also among the ancient eastern Tupi, according to Vicente de Salvador (37), fathers as well as mothers carried the children in their arms.

Referring to the Taulipáng, Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 147) notes
171 that it is extremely rare for parents to speak harshly to their child
861 or to spank him, and adds, "I never saw corrective punishment." This could be said of nearly all Brazilian tribes, and especially of the Tapirapé. Fernão Cardim (170) notes of the Tupinambá that they did not subject their children to "punishments of any sort." Among the Karajá, according to Lipkind (2, 187), "sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children" [cited in English]. Tapirapé parents usually laugh at a crying child, unless he is sick.

In Tampiitaua in 1935, I found nine children under ten who
736 had neither father nor mother, six of whom were boys, namely, one of three years, three of five years, and two of eight years, and three girls between six and eight. Among the latter, one hung her net beside that of her father's brother, and another had hers in her stepmother's home. One of the five-year-old boys hung his net beside that of his father's sister. I found no close relatives for the other six orphans. The fate of the youngest one, the boy of three, was not an enviable one. He served as the village plaything, and he was the victim of everyone's moods, good and bad. He was dirty and sad. The older orphans, however, were not in such a lamentable state and were not distinguishable in behavior [127:234] from other children of the same age. According to Wagley and Galvão (4, 76), in the Tupi tribe of the Tenetehara (Guajajara) of Maranhão, only

736 male orphans are neglected. In Tampiitaua in 1947, I found a single child under ten without father or mother. He was a boy of about two years. He was captured by the Kayapó when they [726] attacked the village shortly after my visit. The fact that he was the only child to be abducted at the time may help to define the position of orphans under four years of age.

In contrast to these insufficiently protected children, we found 858 among the Tapirapé a figure who differed from the usual child in 554 being treated with far greater attention and pampering. In 1935 Ampitania was the "favorite child." This girl of four or five was indeed the little princess of Tampiitaua. She was always gentle and polite, and constantly disclosed new charms. She was far more ornamented than other children, wearing white fluff glued to her body and several bead necklaces, aside from the cotton ornaments painted with urucú. She stayed alternately with the two most important men in the village, spending one day and one night with Kamairahó and his wife, and the following day and night with Vuatanamy and wife. She lived, therefore, in the two largest houses and with the leaders who were, to some extent, [621] rivals. She thus held, undoubtedly, a unifying function. Kamairahó made a point of telling me repeatedly that she was descended from "captains," thus calling my attention to the girl's "blue blood." Incidentally, he himself also seems to have been a "favorite child" (cf. Wagley 4, 23).

The institution of the "favorite child" also exists among the [171] Karajá, according to my inquiry of 1935 (cf. Baldus 7, 83) and confirmed years later by Lipkind (2, 186). These Indians of the Araguaia have a special term for such children, whom they call ioló.

Among the Tapirapé, as among all other South American tribes 171 I visited, I observed the behavior of children among themselves 858 and in relation to adults, which differs markedly from the behavior of the children I knew in Germany. These seemed, so to speak, much more "childish" than the Indian children and many neo-Brazilian children. They had less interest in the adult world because it was much less accessible to them than it is to the children of the Brazilian forests and cities. Because they did not talk to adults on an equal footing, asschildren here so commonly do, the

171 children raised under the German authoritarianism of the turn of
858 the century did not seem as "grownup." The attitude of the Indian child, [127:235] however, is determined not only by the freedom he enjoys along with many neo-Brazilian children, but also by two other factors which make him more like the adults: (1) among the
[857] Indians, the activities of the child are much closer to those of the adults than among us and are never different in type from the work of the parents; (2) from the earliest age, the Indian child owns
[421] individual property which he and he alone may dispose of as he wishes.

We have already alluded above to the strict respect shown for
857 the child's property. As far as work is concerned, it may be said
968 that the Tapirapé children learn adult work through play. The boy
422 of three already has a small bow and arrow, the size of which corresponds to his size. The girl of three already has a small sifter, the size of which corresponds to her size. Thus, the two of them go fishing like a grownup couple, with the little man shooting the fish and the little woman gathering them in the sifter. Naturally, the size of the fish is also in proportion to the size of the fishermen. When they return home, they put the little fish in the embers and roast them. Then they eat them, thus showing that a Tapirapé of three already knows how to take care of himself. As the boy and girl grow, so do the bow and sifter, until they become a man's bow and a woman's sifter when their owners reach puberty. This applies to all the implements used by these Indians, namely, clubs, baskets, pestles, spindles, and other utensils. This, however, does not mean that prior to puberty the boys participate in the economic life to the same extent as the girls, who often, while the boys loaf, help their mothers from a tender age according to their strength and to the capacities of their years and thus constitute an increasingly productive element.

Naturally, Tapirapé children imitate grownups in areas other
857 than work. They soon learn the so-called automatic smile that
[201] characterizes those Indians, a certain coquettishness, and what stirs most vividly the soul of their tribe, that is, dances and songs. I saw boys from four to seven years old making dance masks for themselves with wild-banana leaves, put them on their heads, and then dance and sing in a manner corresponding to the type of mask used. In the Karajá village of Santa Isabel, I witnessed similar scenes in 1947.

171 We may say of the children of that village on the isle of
865 Bananal, of Tampiitaua, and of many other Brazilian Indian communities, what Fernão Cardim (175) wrote with reference to the Tupinambá: "...the boys are cheerful and given to frolic and play with much gentleness and friendship, for among them no evil words are heard, no [127:236] indecencies, nor do they call their fathers and mothers names, and rarely do they disagree as they play, or quarrel about anything, hit each other, or do battle..." Modern authors also speak of the pleasant children they found among South American Indians (cf., for example, Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 147). Small children of both sexes, up to
192 about five years of age, are called antaí in Tapirapé. In
561 Stradelli's Nheengatú vocabulary (656), we find the following
858 entry: "Taína, 'child.' Name applied to both sexes during the
171 first years of life, until they begin to walk and talk, are given a name, and begin to specialize in their respective tasks, at which point the boy becomes curumi and girl cunhantaí." Aside from these terms, the Tapirapé use ampyki for the small boy and pityngí for the little girl. Yves d'Evreux (86), dealing with the age "levels" among the Tupinambá of Maranhão, writes as follows: "The first level, assumed to be common to males and females as they come out of their mother's womb, is called Peitan..." [translated from French]. In Montoya we read (2, 384): "A girl, or a boy up to age three, Mitang" [translated from Spanish].

From about six to around 12, that is, until the girl s first menstruation and the beginning of the boy s puberty, the Tapirapé call the former kutantaí and the latter ekonomî. Montoya (2, I, 383 and 377) gives Cuña taî for a "girl up to 10 years" and Cunumí for a "youth."

1:Baldus--170 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Photo. 3

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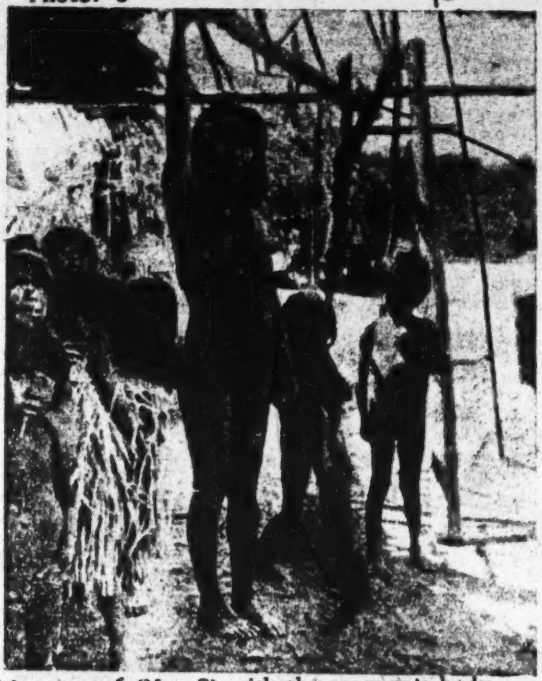

Mareromyó (No. 2) with the women's body painting, boys with tembetá and girls with tamankurá.

Photo. 4

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Maninohó (No. 111), Kaunevanvynhó (No. 3), Techipy (No. 51), Inamoreo (No. 23). The woman is Tora-Maneaia (No. 100).

1:Baldus--171 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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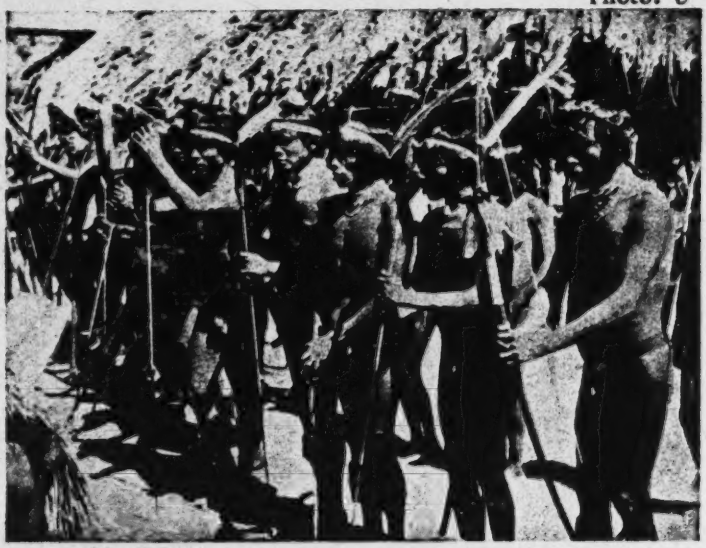
Photo. 5



The dancers of Photo. 4, with Pancheaví (No. 75) and Manupauvynghoi (No. 13) to the right of Inamoreo (No. 23).

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Photo. 6

Manavangkó (No. 87) with a bone tembetá. Auayauí (No. 93) is on his left.

1:Baldus--172 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Photo. 7

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Woman painting her husband. The structure in the background is a summer dwelling. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

Photo. 8

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Woman anointing her husband's foot with urucú. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

1:Baldus--173 E-5 (1938,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 9

Kanuana (No. 6), painted with urucu, with girl's tamankurá at the ankles.

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Photo. 10

Tamankurá on the forearms of a youth.

1:Baldus--134 E-6 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 12



Putting the tamankuré on the girl's ankle. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

[352]

Photo. 11



The initial phase in the making of tamankuré (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

1:Baldus--175 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 14a

Garter tamankuré.

Photo. 13

Tamankuré for a child as yet unborn.

Photo. 14b

Forearm tamankuré.

1:Baldus--170 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 15

Framework of headdress without the feathers.

Photo. 16

Crown of jaguar teeth.

1:Baldus--177 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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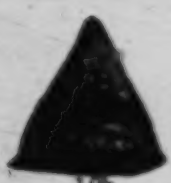
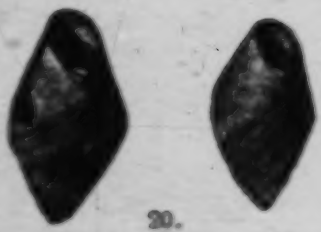
19a.



19b.



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23.

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Photo. 17. Tembetá of deer bone. -- 18. Tembetá of wild-pig bone. -- 19a. Wooden tembetá. -- 19b. Raw material for wooden tembetá. -- 20. Penis sheaths. -- 21. Ear ornament. -- 22. Small tattooing knife. -- 22. Scarifier.

1:Baldus--178 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 24

Men leaving for the hunt.

1:Baldus--179 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 25

Shooting a bird arrow.

Photo. 26

Shooting a bird arrow.

1:Baldus--180 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 27

The proportion between the height of the men and the length of their weapons.

Photo. 28

Man with club.

1:Baldus--181 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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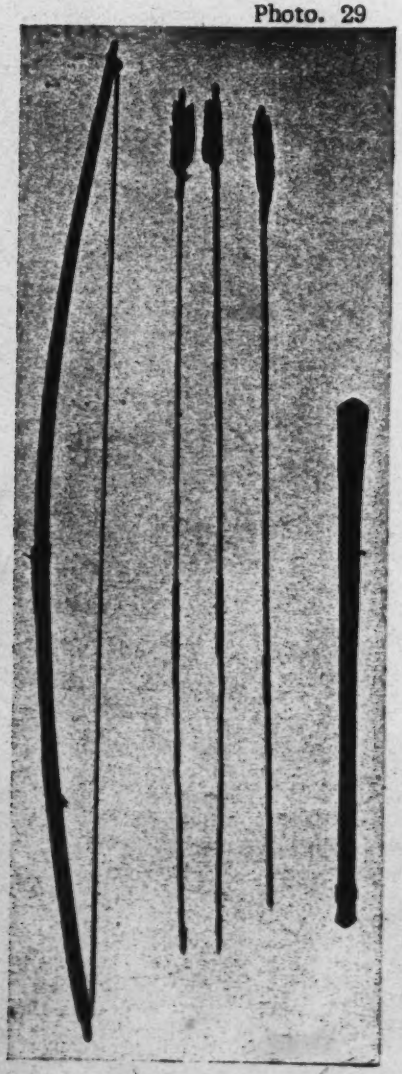
Photo. 29



Club, bow, and arrows.

1:Baldus--182 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



Photo. 30

Small fishing arrows with one and three points.

Photo. 31

"Rod-trap".

1:Baldus--183 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 32

Funnel-shaped fish trap (chekiá) with Ipayva (No. 106) sitting beside it.

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Photo. 33

Roasting fish. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

1:Baldus
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SP22 Tapirapé SP22

/Materials on diet will be found in category 116, pp. 114-123, 128-141, 143, and 145-153./

1: Baldus SP22 Tapirapé

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[Title page]

# OS TAPIRAPÉ

## TRIBU TUPÍ NO BRASIL CENTRAL

(Especial para a "REVISTA DO ARQUIVO")

HERBERT BALDUS

### *Advertência*

*Na citação de fontes, o número grifado (por exemplo: 2) refere-se à numeração das obras do autor em questão que figuram na bibliografia apresentada no fim da presente publicação; o romano (por exemplo: I) indica, tendo a obra vários tômos, o tômo em questão; o arábico não grifado (por exemplo: 2) é o número da página; tendo o citado trabalho paginação romana, o romano citado é especialmente designado como página (por exemplo: pág. I).*

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NOTA DA REDAÇÃO:

Principiamos neste número a publicação parcelada desta monografia sôbre os índios Tapirapé. Seu autor, o dr. Herbert Baldus, Diretor catedrático da Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política, instituição complementar da Universidade de São Paulo, foi o primeiro etnógrafo que conseguiu entrar em contacto com aquela tribo tupi depois de frustradas as viagens empreendidas, com o mesmo objetivo, por Fritz Krause e Wilhelm Kissenberth.

Os Tapirapé são citados anteriormente dos Chavantes de rio das Mortes. Confinam e com terrítorio com a região em que desapareceu o coronel inglês Fawcett. Foi em 1935 que o prof. Baldus teve a felicidade de alcançá-los e passar na sua aldeia o tempo suficiente para estudar pormenorizadamente os numerosos traços de sua cultura descritos na obra cuja publicação iniciamos neste número.

Desde mais tarde de 1935 que o prof. Herbert Baldus é assíduo colaborador da "REVISTA DO ARQUIVO". E haverá, certamente, poucos estudiosos dos estudos de nossa terra que ainda não conheçam o volume 101 da "Brasiliana", "Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira", de seu autorio.

[p.105]

[p.1]

*Nas palavras índias não paroxítonas, o acento agudo indica a sílaba tônica.*

*O tapirapé é ainda mais nasal do que os outros dialetos tupí que conhecemos. Abrangendo esta nasalação, na pronúncia de muitos indivíduos, mais ou menos todos os sons, abstenho-me de designa-la especialmente.*

*Parenteses ( ) indicam que o som da letra encerrada é reduzido até ser quase imperceptível.*

*a, e, o, u são vogais fechadas (estreitas).*

*b, d, f, j, l, m, n, p, t, v soam como em português.*

*au é o ditongo da palavra alemã "auf".*

*i antes de uma vogal é o j alemão em "ja"; antes de uma consoante e no fim da palavra, o i é vogal.*

*y representa o i gutural característico do tupí e de certas outras famílias linguísticas sul-americanas, que aparece, por exemplo, no vocábulo tupí y: água. No tapirapé, acaba frequentemente numa consoante reduzida que lembra o ch alemão em "ich".*

*g soa como o g português em "gato", o gu português em "guerra" e "guia", o g alemão em "gut" e o g inglês em "good". Somente estando precedido por n forma um som especial.*

*ng é o som nasal e médio-gutural da palavra alemã "singen" e do inglês "king". O g que segue estas duas letras (ngg) é pronunciado como o g português em "gato".*

*h é aspirado como na palavra alemã "hat" e na inglesa "has".*

*k corresponde ao c português em "cão".*

*ch é o tch na palavra "tcheco", o ch castelhano em "muchacha" e o ch inglês em "charm".*

*x é o x português na palavra "caixa", o sch alemão em "schon" e o sh inglês em "she".*

*r é médio-dental (alveolar), aproximando-se do nasal n.*

*z é o s português em "sal", o ss alemão em "essen" e o s inglês em "song".*

*ã soa como a palavra portuguesa "ã" e como o ä alemão em "ähnlich".*

*Õ soa como a palavra francesa "eux" e como o Ö alemão em "mögen".*

*ũ soa como o u francês em "dur" e como o ü alemão em "für".*

*Os seguintes sons alternam entre si: 1) a: e; 2) a: o; 3) e: ã: i: y; 4) o: u; 5) u: ũ: y; 6) m: v; 7) r: l: v; 8) ch: t*

## I. O RIO TAPIRAPÉ

### *A subida*

Subi o rio Tapirapé numa canôa dos indios Karajá. Esta ubá transportava cinco homens, víveres para três mêses e presentes para os indios. Dois camaradas remavam e um estava na popa dirigindo com o jacumã, como nesta região chamam a pá que serve de leme. A "zinga", varejão que tanto havia acelerado possa subida no Araguáia, quase nunca servia no Tapirapé.

Navegamos 43 horas e meia da desembocadura para cima, o que, segundo nosso cálculo, representava 33 léguas, isto é, cêrca de duzentos quilômetros.

Viajando no Araguáia, percebe-se a proximidade do Tapirapé, já à certa distância, por dois morros que se erguem abaixo da confluência. O Araguáia passa por entre êles, estreitando-se até 280 metros, segundo a medição feita por Henri Coudreau. São grandes rochedos com arestas agudas, de côr cinzento-pardo-escura, e cobertos de mato verde. Elevam-se abruptamente sôbre a imensa planície.

Perto do morro da margem esquerda distingue-se já a água do Tapirapé que é verde e mais fresca do que a água cinzento-parda do Araguáia.

No dia 11 de junho de 1935, às onze horas, almocei na desembocadura do Tapirapé. Êste se divide, perto daqui, em quatro braços principais que, por sua vez, em certas épocas, têm numerosas ilhas. O braço em cuja margem estavamos acampados, tinha forte correnteza. Havia aqui uma casa com uma família sertaneja. Representava o último posto avançado da nossa civilização. A praia em frente estava habitada por indios Karajá.

À uma hora entramos no Tapirapé. Navegamos, em geral, entre sudoeste e noroeste, passando por muitas e grandes curvas. Não ha praia. Ambos os lados são matos inundados. Várias bôtos nos acompanham durante algum tempo, nadando um pouco mais devagar do que a nossa ubá. Fora de grossas vespas verde-claras que voam continuamente ao redor de nós, não há inseto que nos moleste. Só ao escurecer aparecem os *emphalex*. De noite, estes mosquitos enchem o ar com o ruido de um motor, obrigando-nos a jantar dançando. Ouvimos, ainda, neste dia muitas cigarras e o juú, e tôda a noite o socó. Vimos, tambem, duas garças cinzentas. Em muitos lugares, o rio está cheio de piranhas. Em certa distância da desembocadura, a água do Tapirapé corre ainda mais devagar do que a vagarosa parte do Araguáia que acabamos de deixar. Verdes camalotes que parecem menos nestes dois rios do que no

Paraguái, têm lindas umbelas brancas. Numerosos são os tucuns. Vemos também bromélias e imbauhaí. As palmeiras yuaris têm ramos quebrados pelos macacos. A navegação, frequentemente, se torna perigosa por causa de troncos subaquáticos de árvores caídas. Às três paramos para merendar. Pouco antes tínhamos passado o lugar aonde, em 1934, foram levadas quatrocentas a quinhentas peças de gado, de Barrarinha, que está situada 30 léguas ao sul do Furo de Pedras, até Mato Verde que dista dêste vão do Tapirapé umas oito léguas. Foi na ocasião em que vinte famílias de Barrarinha, por causa da inundação e mau pasto, transmigraram para Mato Verde.

Um quarto antes das seis fizemos pouso na margem direita, num pedacinho molhado e mole de chão de mato, pouco acima da água e inteiramente cercado por êle. Da desembocadura até aqui são três léguas e meia.

Partimos no dia 12 às 7 horas. O mosquiteiro estava sêco, ao passo que na noite anterior, quando dormimos num banco de areia do Araguáia, ficou completamente molhado pelo orvalho. Alguns *oncphoies* nos perseguem ainda durante várias horas. Depois de uma légua passamos a chamada "Lagôa redonda". Nela, cuja largura é de cerca de 500 metros, não se faz sentir correntesa alguma. Nos outros trechos do Tapirapé que percorremos êste dia, a largura é, em geral, entre 100 e 150 metros, e a direção, às vezes, para o norte e para o este. Não há praia, e só vimos uma garça cinzenta, uma galinha d'água, um urubú e dois Martim-pescadores. De quando em quando, o mato é bem alto, e em pequenas barrancas aparecem caminhos de antas, "tapira-pé" em tupí. Numerosos são os bandos das cigarras. Almoçamos às dez e meia. Meus Karajá põem uma tartaruga com casca no fogo, enquanto os camaradas brasileiros cozinham o seu eterno prato predilêto chamado "Maria-Isabel" que consiste em carne sêca e arroz. Prefiro a comida dos índios. Uma hora mais tarde continuamos viagem. Avistamos um rebanho de macacos pretos e matamos um macho gordo. Frequentes são os anús pretos, os pequenos canarís cinzentos com peito amarelo que fazem o ninho em buracos da barranca, e os bentevís que são menores ainda do que êstes. Apresentam-se também um jaburú, duas parelhas de marrecas e várias patos. Quatro grandes aviadas mostram a cabeça redonda em cima da água, enquanto um perdiz solitário vôa de uma margem para a outra. Admiro numa árvore uma enorme bromélia em flôr. Às cinco horas desembarcamos, como antes, na margem direita, isto é, na terra do índio chavante. Fizemos cinco léguas, hoje. Durante algum tempo pairaram novas per-

tas em cima de nós, como se viesse chuva. Mas êste fenomeno é frequente, aqui, nos meses de junho até agosto, e nunca chove nesta época.

Partimos às 7 horas no dia seguinte. Inúmeras ciganas movem-se vagarosamente e com muito barulho entre as ramas. Bem-te-vi, Martim-pescador e jaburú são outros representantes visíveis da avifauna. Surpreende o número de caminhos de anta. Às dez e meia comemos o velho macaco que, cozinhado muito tempo, se tornou bastante saboroso. Pequenos mosquitos pretos atormentam um pouco. Nas árvores tem ninhos de vespas. Cresce aqui o *philodendron* com suas grandes e decorativas folhas. Partimos às onze e um quarto e merendamos à uma hora. A merenda sempre consiste em farinha de mandioca misturada com rapadura e água. Nas margens dentro da água há muitos arbustos de goiaba. Estão completamente secos por terem estado, até há pouco, embaixo da água. Atrás deles têm outros arbustos um pouco maiores, chamados saram. Suas frutas que agora são verdes, têm em dezembro o tamanho de uma cereja, a côr azul e amarela e um sabor amargo e refrescante. Vemos também as flores amarelas do arbusto chamado canudo, que mais tarde dá frutas oblongas, mas não comestíveis. Várias altas e retas árvores são jatobás. Em lugares secos sentem-se borboletas frequentemente em aglomerações multicores. Quando aparecem campos, meus camaradas que voltarão na semana seguinte, os incendeiam, para poder comer, no seu regresso, os veados atraídos pelo capim novo que brota depois da queimada. Curicas gritam, e o grito desses papagaios lembra o berro dum cabrito, consistindo, porém, num único som. Às quatro e meia avistamos na margem esquerda um grupo de merendibas. Estas grandes e lindas árvores têm em junho e agosto frutas amarelinhas, um tanto azedas, mas comestíveis e estimadas por todos os animais, principalmente pela anta, pela paca e pelo veado. Aqui é o melhor pouso em todo o Tapirapé, uma margem alta e seca, atrás da qual há um campo inundado. Fizemos hoje 5 léguas.

No dia 14, deixamos o "Pouso Merendibas" às sete horas. Depois de uma hora e meia de viagem, ou de uma légua e um quarto, aparece na margem esquerda o "Porto Velho". Um jatobá solitário é a marca. A margem é alta, e nela os missionários dominicanos de Conceição do Araguáia construíram um abrigo em forma de um teto que um norte-americano de nome Reinhart aproveitou para guardar embaixo dele uma máquina para lavar ouro. Êste instrumento representativo da nossa civilização não podia ser melhor guardado, pois aqui ninguem vai roubá-lo. Em 1932, os padres fizeram ao redor do abrigo uma roça, mas não plantaram

1: Baldus SP22 Tapirapé



nada. Passando por ela, apanha-se carrapatinhos. Atrás dela estende-se campo e surge um morro. Dizem que perto deste morro havia antigamente uma aldêia dos índios Tapirapé o que hoje fica indicado sòmente ainda por cacos de barro. Em todo caso, quando os Tapirapé, em 1905 mais ou menos, foram assaltados pelos Karajá, já não moravam mais aqui, mas na mesma região que habitam ainda hoje. Os dominicanos, modernamente, queriam fazê-los mudar para Porto Velho, mas não o conseguiram. Pois aqui é um dos poucos lugares habitáveis de todo o rio, e talvez o único lugar habitável durante o ano inteiro. Aqui, o rio alcança, também, sua maior largura, sem perder-se na imobilidade duma lagôa. Tem cêrca de 350 metros e curva-se subitamente no NNO para SSE. O trecho antes e o depois dessa curva são, também, os mais largos com seus duzentos até trezentos metros. Depois, o rio se curva para oeste e entra num trecho chamado "Apertado" cuja largura é, quando muito, de 50 metros. Quanto mais nos afastamos do Araguaia, tanto mais raras se tornam as aves, por não haver práias. Remamos e remamos e nunca mais usamos da zinga. Só alguns jacús aparecem, e numa árvore estão muitos baguaris de côres preta e branca, pelos meus camaradas nordestinos chamados de manguaris e estimados por muito saborosos. Um dos meus Karajá atira um toconaré (tucunaré) com arco e flecha, assando êste excelente peixe na brasa, quando, às dez, almoçamos. E' um petisco também para mim. Passamos por uma árvore gigantesca chamada piranheiro. Depois matamos com a carabina um jacú. Cinco ariranhas pulam da terra para a água quando percebem nossa chegada. Vespas verdes, cilíndricas e grossas como besouros, giram ao redor de nós. Às vezes aparece uma ave raliforme, e de repente há vários Martim-pescadores, muitas ciganas, também seus filhotes meio-adultos, alguns bentevis e numerosos baguaris que estão nos seus ninhos nas copas de altas árvores. Todas essas aves não são praianas, se bem que não desprezem as lindas planícies de areia quando estas, no tempo mais sêco, surgem das águas. Há muitos ninhos de baguaris em cada uma das altas árvores, e os filhotes neles quasi já têm o tamanho dos pais. O rio continua com a largura de 30 até 50 metros. Há 65 remadas por minuto e com cada remada fazemos um metro. Sentimos alguns borrachudos. Em certos lugares a correnteza é um pouco maior. Nas margens baixas estão, em geral, até a metade na água, os arbustos da goiaba. Sempre de novo vemos caminhos de anta. Às quatro e meia chegamos a um piranheiro recentemente caído na margem esquerda que tranca todo o rio. Êste tem aqui 25 metros de largura. Com machado e facão abrimos passo pelas ramas do gigante nas quais crescem ainda as bromélias, e depois de meia hora o obstáculo está

cendido. Para um batelão teria sido trabalho de duas horas, no mínimo. O rio continua estreito, de 25 a 30 metros. Finalmente, às cinco e um quarto, encontramos, na margem direita, um lugar miserável para pousar. O chão é mole e húmido, coberto de capim pardo-claros que contem madeira e roupa, e nas árvores nas quais armamos as redes, há formigas um pouco menores e mais claras do que a saúva, que mordem consideravelmente a gente. Às oito horas da noite, quando já estavamos deitados digerindo a "Maria-Isabel", os camaradas suspeitaram ouvir porcos. Pularam de suas redes. Um deles já passara uma vez, uma noite inteira, em cima duma árvore por causa de porcos do mato. Um outro tinha na cara cicatrizes provenientes de mordeduras dêsses animais. Nossa situação na luz da luz é a seguinte: estamos cercados de água e lama pela qual os porcos podem passar, mas não a gente; nas árvores há as formigas agressivas; em caso de um ataque de surpresa não há bastante tempo para subir e até de cair das baleiras e raízes de árvores; o rio está cheio de piranhas e jacarés, se bem que êstes últimos não pareceu ser grandes heróis; no ar mosquitos; e o valor das nossas armas de fogo é bem problemático em frente de centenas de porcos furibundos. Digo: "Eu preferia alguns Chavantes". Um camarada responde: "Prefiro os porcos". Digo: "Não precisam ser muitos Chavantes". Mas o camarada continua a preferir os porcos. Felizmente não vem nem porcos nem Chavantes. De fato, a gente, nessa espécie de viagens tem boa sorte em 99% de todos os casos críticos. Talvez também aquilo que os camaradas ouviram não fosse produzido por uma vara de porcos. Talvez fosse só o grunhido de jacarés. Em todo caso dormimos a terceira noite na margem reputada por terra de Chavantes, e era, provavelmente, por isso que vi, quando levantamos na manhã seguinte, o camarada que tinha dormido a meu lado, sair da rede com a carabina na mão. No dia 14 remamos 8 horas, fazendo mais ou menos 6 léguas.

Partimos, no dia seguinte, às sete horas menos um quarto. O rio estreita-se cada vez mais, tendo em certos lugares 15 metros de largura, os quais seguem, porém, trechos que se alargam até 40 metros, e assim continua alternadamente, ficando a fraca correnteza ainda mais fraca com a largura e um pouquinho acelerada nos estreitos. Vemos canindés, dois Martim-pescadores e muitas anta e ouvimos os golpes do picapau numa árvore ôca, que são tão sonoros como se alguem trabalhasse com o machado. Ouvimos ainda um socó e as vozes roucas das cigarras. Tres horas depois da partida paramos para almoçar, comendo jacú com feijão e arroz. Aparece um mosquito negro com cabeça verde e um pouco maior do que o mosquito do mato completamente negro. Avistamos patos,

marrecas e mutum. Na continuação da viagem passamos vários trechos onde o rio se alarga de novo até cem metros. Os Karajá que sempre sorriem amavelmente com seus belos dentes, fazendo tudo de bôa vontade, indicam muitos lugares onde apanham tartarugas no tempo sêco. Também agora capturam, mas as águas ainda são altas demais. Observamos dois negros mergulhões. Subindo uma alta barranca na margem esquerda, encontramos imenso campo com muitos rastos de veado e porcos. Só quasi às seis achamos bom pouso na mesma margem: um lugar alto e sêco embaixo de árvores e separado de um campo por alguns tucuns. Fizemos seis léguas e meia, neste dia.

Passamos o dia 16 no mesmo pouso, para dar descanso à tripulação. Em pouca distância há uma praia. Vou lá para tomar banho. No caminho passa rodando uma grande raia branca. Há no Tapirapé raias brancas e raias negras em grande quantidade. *Em outra viagem por este rio*, quando era tempo de trabalhar com a zinga, os camaradas de meu companheiro Kegel mataram, em tres dias, quarenta e oito, perfurando-as com a vara.

Partimos no dia 17 às sete e um quarto, depois de ter matado uma anta. Na água, as ariranhas, com a cabeça muito erguida, expelem seus bufidos. Ouvimos mutum e vemos jacutinga. As ciganas são numerosas, como em geral. Os Karajá e os Tapirapé não as comem, mas os Tapirapé as matam, pois utilizam as penas para as suas flechas. Segundo os Karajá, as ciganas vivem só de folhas. Numa árvore está sentado um gavião. Como de costume, surgem e submergem alguns bôtos. Em vários trechos, o rio alcança a largura de cem metros. De novo aparecem ariranhas. Impeço os camaradas brasileiros de mata-las, pois quando morrem esses animais vão ao fundo, sendo perdido o couro em todo caso. Um camarada karajá disse que a gente de sua tribu não mata animais só para mata-los. Há poucos camalotes; um desce o rio, se se bem que, ordinàriamente, essas ilhas flutuantes formadas de plantas aquáticas só costumam viajar no tempo da enchente. Almoçamos jacú e feijão. Observamos um bando de macaco-prego. Ouvimos duas aves, uma em cada margem e uma em frente da outra, cujo grito consiste em dois sons que lembram chicotadas. Os camaradas brasileiros não sabem seu nome. Talvez seja o pequeno, verde e dificilmente visível habitante da mata virgem que os ornitólogos chamam de *Lipaugus cinereus* (fam. Cotingidae) e que o povo conhece pelos nomes sabiá do mato-grosso, Bastião, Sebastião e trepeiro.

Às quatro horas da tarde chegamos ao "Porto São Domingos". Está na margem esquerda, na barranca mais alta do rio que, aqui, tem cerca de 80 metros de largura. Na barranca há um caminho

que conduz ao teto de palha construído pelos missionários dominicanos que cada dois anos, mais ou menos, chegam até aqui, para distribuir presentes aos Tapirapé, chamando-os incendiando o campo. Nesta alta margem crescem palmeiras pati, taquara fina e gravatá. Continuamos a remar ainda por algo mais de uma hora, fazendo cerca de uma légua, até divisar na margem esquerda o lugar que meu companheiro de viagem, o Rev. Kegel, missionário inglês, denominou de "Porto Salvação". Era o ponto final da nossa navegação e o ponto inicial da nossa marcha para a aldéia dos índios Tapirapé. Fizemos 7 léguas neste dia.

*A descida*

No dia 6 de agosto embarcamos novamente em Porto Salvação para regressar ao Araguáia. Na ubá estavam o snr. Kegel, eu e o nortista Daniel, único camarada que nos tinha acompanhado até a aldéia dos índios. Os outros camaradas, logo depois da nossa chegada a Porto Salvação, tinham voltado numa segunda ubá que tinhamos levado para esse fim.

Partimos ao meio-dia. À uma hora, no abrigo dos dominicanos, tive o prazer de cumprimentar o missionário Frei Luiz Palha que acabou de chegar com alguns remadores de Conceição. Meia hora mais tarde continuamos viagem, deixando-nos levar pela corrente. Só Daniel tem um remo na mão, usando-o como jacumã. Vamos muito de vagar. Depois de algum tempo ouvimos da margem esquerda os grunhidos, e batidas de dentes de uma vara de porcos. Daniel não se deixa reter. Entra correndo na mata com espingarda e revolver. Logo depois ouvimos cinco tiros. Segue um silêncio tão demorado que já supomos terem os porcos feito subir o camarada numa árvore. O snr. Kegel disse: "Talvez agora os porcos dirijam o ataque contra nós, e não possamos a tempo soltar a ubá da margem. Tem o seu revolver pronto para atirar?" Estou com o Colt na mão e já disposto a ir para averiguar o fim que aconteceu ao nosso Daniel, quando êste aparece. A vara era de cinquenta a sessenta cabeças e, de fato, o tinha obrigado a subir no tronco dobradiço e espinhoso duma palmeira tucum. Felizmente, porém, continuou logo a sua marcha. Daniel tinha conseguido matar dois porcos e leva-lós á margem um pouco em baixo do lugar onde nós o esperamos. Lá fomos para carregar a prêsa na ubá.

O ar está cheio dum perfume de mel. As ramas largamente estendidas das numerosas grandes cangiranas, árvores com troncos claros, estão cobertas de umbelas amarelas. Também o Pau d'arco, árvore menor do que a cangirana, tem agora suas flores amarelas. Corre um vento fresco. Há muitas aves. Observamos um boto.

Às sete horas pousamos numa pequena praia que pela descida da água aparecem na margem esquerda em frente do "Lago da Tartaruga", bahia na qual os Karajá costumam apanhar tartarugas. Navegamos, hoje, 4 léguas. Antes de dormir estripamos os porcos. Um jacaré gigantesco sobe, sempre de novo, na pequena praia para roubar-nos um porco, e nós o afugentamos, cada vez, gritando, pulando, jogando os braços para cima e correndo ao encontro dele. Por fim depositamos os porcos perto dos lugares onde, dormindo na areia, estão as nossas cabeças. Assim os defendemos com os nossos corpos. Em compensação disso transmigram, durante a noite, os carrapatos dos porcos mortos para nossos corpos.

Apesar de tudo isso dormimos bem até o dia 7. Uma hora antes da madrugada me desperta o frio. Suponho ouvir porcos, mas não os meus surdos e monótonos do mutum. Trabalhamos toda a manhã como carniceiros. Salgamos bôa parte dos porcos com a intenção de dar essa carne a tróco de bananas aos Karajá que encontramos no caminho. Partimos ao meio dia. Para a merenda escavamos numa pequena praia ovos de tracajá que gosto de comer crús e misturados com rapadura. Nessa praia há na areia traços compridos provenientes do rabo do camaleão. Esse sinimbú que bota os proprios ovos na praia, come os ovos da tracajá.

O aspecto do rio mudou completamente desde a nossa subida. A água desceu ainda mais dois metros (de Porto Velho até a desembocadura cerca de um metro e meio). Na metade superior do rio surgiram muitas praias nas quais se estabeleceram numerosas espécies de aves. Aparecem, agora, além de todas as aves que já vimos na subida, colheireiros de côr rósea, muitas gaivotas e outras aves praianas. Fora do pequeno Martim-pescador observamos agora também o seu parente maior que tem um colete de côr de ferrugem. Na areia, além dos ovos de tracajá bem escondidos, estão em pequenas cavidades, sem coberta alguma, ovozinhos de aves de diferentes espécies, ás vêzes de ninhos de dois, ás vêzes de três. E' interessante, também, lêr os numerosos rastos de aves e outros animais na areia fina que guarda a impressão mais leve. Na medida em que os pantanos e regatos de ambos os lados se secam, concentra-se a fauna no rio. Também as ariranhas augmentaram em número. Com cada anoitecer começa um barulho ensurdecente de rãs e sapos que não ouvi na subida. E cada vez em que, durante o dia, o remo fica imóvel deixando-nos deslizar silenciosamente, sou de todas as partes da mata o zumir das abelhas cujo pasto está, agora, na maior abundância. Os brasileiros desta região chamam a época atual de verão, a pesar de que, segundo aprendemos na escola, deve ser agora inverno no hemisfério meridional. A gente não letrada de aqui diz também que o agosto é o mez mais

1: Baldus SP22 Tapirapé



quente do ano. Falando assim, pensam no ardor ilimitado do sol que não fica coberto por nuvem alguma, não havendo chuva alguma para dar uns momentos de alívio. Provavelmente, porém, aquela gente não se lembra que, agora, as noites são muito mais frias do que nas outras épocas do ano: em geral, na madrugada, ficamos tão molhados do orvalho como o mosquiteiro e o cobertor, estando o rio espessamente nevoento e sua água tão quente que não se pode bebe-la sem nojo, ao passo que a água que guardei a noite inteira num copo de alumínio, tem quasi o paladar de água gelada. Provavelmente, também, aquela gente não se lembra que falta, atualmente, o ar sufocante e humido tido como caraterístico da zona trópica: nenhum dos nossos utensilios de couro, como sapatos, cintos etc., cria mofo, ao passo que aqui, no tempo de chuva, até a roupa na mala, os livros e os cigarros cheiram mal e ficam com manchas dentro de poucos dias. Fala em favor da teoria do inverno o fato de que algumas árvores perderam suas folhas. A teoria do verão pode basear-se na verdade que agora é o tempo mais lindo de todo o ano, estando tudo cheio de flores, perfume e vida.

Desde este segundo dia da descida remamos todos nós três. Com algum perigo e dificuldade passamos o "apertado" onde surgiram muitos tocos e onde agora o piranheiro que já na subida nos atrapalhou bastante, fecha mais solidamente ainda o caminho. A correnteza que nesses trechos estreitos nos leva bem para diante, torna-se tanto mais imperceptível, quanto mais aproximamo-nos da desembocadura. Em todo caso o rio tem ainda tanta água que não encalhamos sendo obrigados a arrastar a ubá ou cavar uma sanja na areia como, em outros anos, costumava ser preciso nesta época. Para os bôtos, aparentemnte, a altura da água já diminuiu demais, pois são menos numerosos do que na subida. Uma vêz, quando um deles passa por baixo da ubá, esta se levanta de maneira pouco amável.

Não dormimos nas redes, durante a descida. Deitamo-nos sempre no chão, as primeiras três noites na areia das praias e a última em montões de folhas secas. Remamos não só durante o dia, mas também, aproveitando a luz da meia lua, continuamos viagem durante as primeiras horas da noite, chegando então a tal cansaço que adormecemos sem jantar. Armar a rede com todos os preparos necessários para isso significaria, neste caso, perder estupidamente o tempo mais precioso. Às vêzes os jacarés, por causa da carne de porco, perturbam o nosso repouso. Há, aqui, duas espécies desses répteis, espécies essas também distinguidas pelos índios Tapirapé.

Ao meio dia de 10 de agosto de 1935 chegamos à desembocadura.

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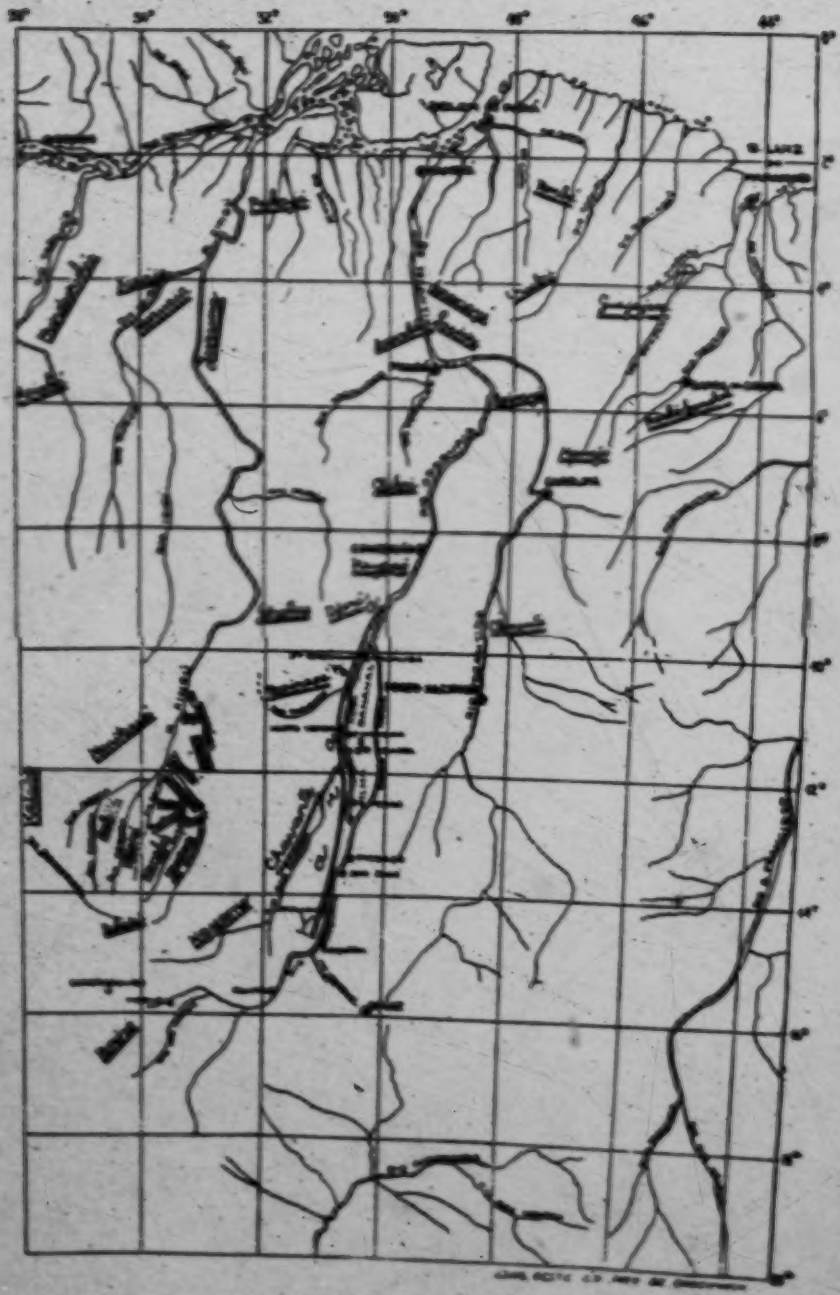


# OS TAPIRAPÉ

## TRIBU TUPÍ NO BRASIL CENTRAL

(Especial para a "REVISTA DO ARQUIVO")

### I. *O rio Tapirapé*

(Continuação)

HERBERT BALDUS

O rio Tapirapé é um Araguaia em tamanho menor. Essa impressão geral é tida pela gente que compara os dois rios, principalmente o trecho de Leopoldina a Conceição com o de Porto Salvação à confluência, isto é, com a maior parte do Tapirapé. Ambos esses trechos apresentam os caracteres do rio da planície em leito arenoso os quais observamos, por exemplo, tambem no rio Paraguai e que distinguem esses cursos d'água radicalmente do rio do chamado planalto brasileiro em leito pedregoso como, por exemplo, o Alto Paraná em cima de Encarnação e o Araguaia em cima de Baliza. Assim, os primeiros tendem mais a alargar-se do que, como os últimos, a aprofundar-se. Suas margens ou, pelo menos, uma delas, são baixas e expostas à inundação, ao passo que as do rio do planalto, aumentando esse a profundidade à custa da largura, são altas e íngremes. A natureza do solo da planície faz seus rios deslizar quasi imovelmente com tranquilidade magestosa, enquanto a composição dos terrenos do planalto deixam os cursos d'água de sua zona pular, apressar-se e agitar-se ostensivamente por entre as pedras.

O reino mineral, determinando assim a forma do leito e a correnteza do rio, determina tambem os reinos vegetal e animal.

As enchentes da planície que fazem o rio estender-se em furos, lagoas, lagos e pantanais, criam uma flora própria. Suas águas mais ou menos estaganadas são preferidas por uma fauna específica que consiste, por exemplo, no jacaré, na piranha e no mosquito, animais esses que povoam em grandes quantidades o Tapirapé, o Araguaia de Leopoldina para baixo e o Paraguai. Por outro lado, as águas velozes no leito pedregoso do Alto Paraná, por exemplo, favorecem o desenvolvimento das larvas do borrachudo (o "pium" dos nortistas), o que se me apresentou como praga principal na parte deste rio percorrido por mim, a saber, desde perto do Iguassú até Encárnação, região essa onde não vi exemplar algum do mencionado répil e do dito peixe.

Há outros animais no Tapirapé pertencentes à fauna amazônica e desconhecidos tanto no Paraguai como no Paraná, entre eles os bôtos e as tartarugas da água doce.

Inúmeros são além de tudo isso os caracteres comuns que justificam a afirmação de ser o Tapirapé um Araguaia em tamanho menor. Ambos os rios correm, na maior parte, por entre margens alagadiças nas quais crescem arbustos meio-afogados e arvores com troncos nus e raizes descobertas. Cá e acolá aparecem as chamadas "barreiras", barrancos nos quais o campo aberto não está separado do rio por faixa arbórea; assim por exemplo, no Tapirapé a Barreira de São João situada entre Porto Velho e Porto São Domingos, e no Araguaia, umas vinte léguas acima de Conceição, a Barreira de Santana, ou, cerca de uma légua acima da desembocadura do Cristalino, a Barreira dos Chavantes. No tempo sêco, também o Tapirapé tem suas lindas praias, se bem que nunca tão gigantescas como as do Araguaia. Nos dois rios há abundância de certas árvores, por exemplo, do pau d'arco de flores amarelas, de cangirana e da gameleira. Em ambos há grande frequência de certos animais que, além dos já mencionados, são, por exemplo, a cigana, vários galináceos como o mutum, o jaó, o inambú e o jacú, diferentes pernaltas como o baguari, o jabirú, a garça, o socó e o colheireiro e muitos psitacideos como o periquito, a arara e o papagaio.

A densidade desta fauna depende da estreiteza do rio, de maneira que os animais, concentrando-se na época em que as águas escaseiam, aparecem em maior aglomeração no Tapirapé do que no Araguaia onde, então, só nos furos e outros lugares menos largos seu número aumenta proporcionalmente.

Essa observação nos leva a indicar os limites da comparabilidade do Tapirapé com o Araguaia. Além disso, o primeiro se distingue do último pelos frequentes caminhos de anta, pelo número proporcionalmente muito maior de lagos e, como já mencionei, pela água verde e mais fresca.

O Tapirapé atravessa o hinterland do Araguaia em larga curva pelo sudoeste. Seus barrancos que, no tempo sêco, têm oito metros e mais de altura, estão, na maior parte, na margem esquerda, ao passo que seus principais afluentes entram do outro lado, isto é, correm obedecendo à inclinação geral da planície do Araguaia para o norte.

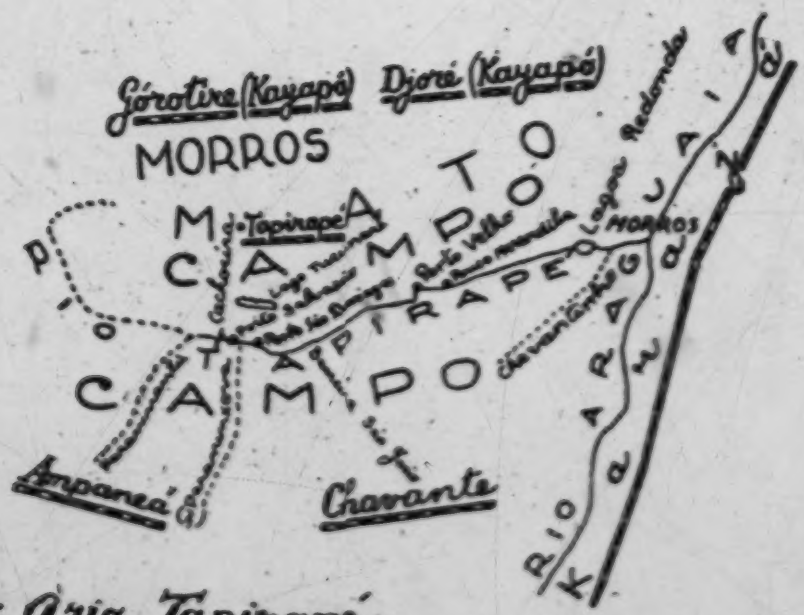
Durante a nossa subida em junho de 1935, a largura do Tapirapé, nas primeiras 14 léguas da desembocadura para cima, variava de 100 a 150 metros, alcançando em Porto Velho, isto é, quase na metade de nosso caminho, uns 350 metros. Diminuia, então, cada vez mais, a saber, variava nas seguintes 8 léguas para cima, ao começo de 50 a 30 metros, mais tarde de 30 a 25 e, depois, de 40 a 15 metros. Só nas últimas 10 léguas antes de chegarmos a Porto Salvação aumentava de novo, frequentemente, até 100 metros.

A profundidade estava, termo médio, entre 6 e 7 metros, havendo desde a desembocadura até o Porto Salvação marcas nas margens das quais deduzimos que o Tapirapé, neste ano de 1935, tinha estado cerca de 4 metros mais alto. De fato, o rio que, na parte em questão, costuma baixar, em outubro, até a profundidade média de 2 a 3 metros, sobe, desde então até março, por cerca de 8 metros, alcança, por conseguinte, a profundidade média de 10 a 11 metros. Nesta época das águas mais altas inunda a maior parte das suas margens, estendendo suas águas por muitas léguas, pois em antigas aldeias dos índios Tapirapé, numa distância de várias dezenas de quilômetros do rio, acham-se numerosos ossos de bôto, animal êsse que os índios não caçam e que, por isso, só podem ter chegado até lá nadando na enchente.

Segundo Coudreau (255), a foz do Tapirapé está a 191 metros acima do nível do mar.

## NASCENTES E AFLUENTES

Tentei reunir num bosquejo aquilo que vi e ouvi a respeito do curso do Tapirapé, suas nascentes e seus afluentes. Êste bosquejo, por falta de medições exatas, oferece apenas ligeira informação. Nele os cursos de água meramente supostos são pontiados (V. mapa 2). Tomei como base o mapa em que Fritz Krause (2) desenhou o curso principal do rio que êle percorreu em 1908. Êste autor, na sua viagem de subida, pouco mais de um dia antes de chegar ao ponto onde a direção geral do rio muda do sudoeste para o noroeste, estava numa barreira que figura em seu mapa com o nome de Barreira dos Tapirapés, sendo, talvez, idêntica com a Barreira de São João. Avistando, de lá, enorme campo e no noroeste uma mon-




Mapa 2: O rio Tapirapé

tanha, observa (2-120): "Perante a montanha completamente selvosa estende-se uma baixada coberta de mato na qual, provavelmente, há água. O rio rodeia o campo numa grande volta, quanto se pode perceber pelo mato ribeirinho, e parece provir da baixada"

Peter Fleming (198) supõe nascer o Tapirapé ao norte de dois morros que devem ser a "montanha" mencionada por Krause. A expedição inglesa de 1932 da qual Fleming participou, encontrou meia légua rio acima de São Domingos um afluente que "estendeu ramificações para o sudoeste, deixando serpear o Tapirapé, primeiro para o norte e, depois para o nordeste, com o semicírculo imprevisto que indica o mapa em frente da página 9" (ibidem).

Passei pela foz do mencionado afluente que, com uma largura de dez metros, entrou na margem direita no Tapirapé entre o Porto São Domingos e o Porto Salvação. E' chamado de Chavantinho pelos sertanejos e de paranyuchova pelos índios Tapirapé.

Não muito mais de meia légua acima de sua confluência com êste tributário e quinhentos metros acima de Porto Salvação, o Tapirapé passa por uma cachoeira que, no tempo sêco, o faz saltar de quase um metro de altura. Deve ser a mesma que já foi encontrada e assinalada por Krause (2 — 121).

Segundo as informações que recebi de Vuotanany e outros índios Tapirapé, o rio, um pouco acima da cachoeira, se curva para sudsudoeste até alcançar nesta direção sua nascente que está num alto morro em distância de três a quatro dias de marcha pelo campo (isto é, 100 a 200 quilômetros) da aldeia desta tribu. Os mesmos índios chamam de paranynantú êste curso superior provindo do sul. Não há dúvida, porém, da existência do outro "curso superior" do Tapirapé ao qual se referem as citadas frases de Krause e Fleming. Fica em questão se os dois supostos confluentes do sul sejam, realmente ou só na expressão dos índios, dois cursos de água diferentes. Krause não menciona nenhum deles e o que Fleming, que em seu mapa indica só um, escreve a respeito (2 — 198 e 206), serve mais para turvar o problema do que para esclarecê-lo.

E' de mencionar-se ainda, um afluente que entra da margem direita no Tapirapé numa distância de três léguas da foz dêste rio. Tem igualmente o nome de Chavantinho, provavelmente por causa de correr no território dos índios Chavante. Quando passei pela sua desembocadura, esta tinha cêrca de vinte metros de largura.

## TOPOGRAFIA DOS ARREDORES

O Tapirapé corre por uma vasta região de campos que, na maior parte de seu curso, são separados dele por uma faixa de mata cuja largura varia consideravelmente. Êstes campos se estendem

num terreno em geral tão plano que o horizonte poderia ser amplíssimo se não houvesse a vegetação daquelas árvores de dois a três metros de altura que, estando numa distância de poucos passos uma da outra, produzem a formação chamada de campo cerrado. E' verdade que a distância entre essas árvores aumenta, às vezes, ficando elas, então, com menos caráter raquítico e com mais alguns metros de altura. Não faltam, porém, grandes trechos de campo limpo isto é, capinzais completamente livres de vegetação arbórea. Acontece serem êles cortados ao meio por estreita faixa florestal de porte alto onde se esconde um rego de água, ou interrompidos por buritizais pantanosos. Isso não exclue que também grandes partes dêsses campos limpos continuem alagadas na estação da sêca, ficando então seu solo de terra negra frequentemente tão escorregadio que bem merece a denominação de "sabão" com a qual batizei êsses lugares de ginástica involuntária quando patinei por êles.

Por outro lado, porém, é certo que a maioria de todos os campos dos arredores do Tapirapé secam, naquela época, a tal ponto que são facilmente inflamáveis. Foi êste fato que, no dia 15 de junho de 1935, quando estive em Tampûtana, aldeia dos índios Tapirapé, vendo as colunas de fumaça no norte, sudoeste e este, me habilitou a constatar a existência de campos e gente nas mencionadas regiões. Nesses campos sêcos o solo chega a ser tão duro que os índios aplicam massagem aos pés e às pernas depois de terem marchado várias horas por êle. Mas só raras vezes apresenta-se pedregoso. Encontrei-o coberto de pedrinhas redondas de côr vermelho-parda, unicamente em alguns pequenos sítios, sobretudo em pedacinhos de campo cerrado, perto da mata habitada pelos Tapirapé.

Os campos do hinterland da margem esquerda do rio são limitados, no norte, por essa imensa floresta na qual muitas gerações de índios Tapirapé acharam bastante mata virgem para fazerem, todos os anos, grandes roças novas que lhes deram abundância de bananas, milho, amendoim, cucurbitáceas, feijões, mandioca, cará, batata doce, pimenta, fumo e algodão. E' uma selva que, além de ser inundada, em parte considerável, até no tempo da sêca, contém arroios em largos leitos de areia clara que oferecem aos índios água límpida e fria para beberem e tomarem banho e muitos peixes e peixinhos para comerem, sendo êstes componente importante de sua alimentação.

Os únicos caminhos feitos pelo homem nos arredores do rio Tapirapé dos quais temos notícia até hoje, são os atalhos mais ou menos profundamente pisados pelos índios homônimos. Têm, no campo, cêrca de vinte centímetros de largura e aquela linha costumamente sinuosa que o homem, marchando em terreno plano, produz

sem querer. Podemos observar a origem de sua sinuosidade, por exemplo, numa grande praia, quando tentamos ir diretamente para um determinado ponto e encaramos, depois, a linha imprimida por nossos pés. Percebemos, então, passar ela serpeando, distinguindo-se nisso de todos os rastos animais, tanto dos da onça ou da capivara como dos das aves, rastos esses que decorrem em linha reta quando não se curvam de propósito.

Para dar idéia de determinada parte dos arredores do rio em determinada época, relato em seguida a marcha que fiz em direção ao norte, de Porto Salvação a Tampitána. Parti no dia 19 de junho de 1935, às três e meia da tarde, carregando nas costas o necessário para dormir e comer. Andei com o passo rápido com que os sertanejos da região costumam fazer grandes caminhadas, percorrendo em terreno plano e sem obstáculos cêrca de cinco quilometros por hora. Passei por campo sêco e vestido de árvores de tamanho médio que, às vezes, estavam dezenas de metros afastadas uma da outra. Depois de quase três horas de marcha cheguei ao Lago Tucumaré, assim chamado pela sua riqueza em peixes dêsse nome que atraem os índios Tapirapé todos os anos para êste lugar. Ao tempo da minha passagem, o Lago Tucumaré foi um córrego lento e fundo que tive de atravessar com água até a cintura. Dizem que na época das chuvas comunica-se com o Tapirapé. Está cercado de árvores e cheio delas por dentro. Na margem que alcancei vadeando, há um lugar onde aquêles índios costumam armar suas rêdes para dormir. Serviu-me também para pernoitar. Havia bastante mosquito nele. Mas a praga principal dêste dia, apesar de ter sido intencionalmente tarde a minha partida, foi o calor.

Partí na manhã segunite, às seis e meia. Tudo estava molhado de orvalho. Patinei por um campo de terra negra, úmida e escorregadia ("sabão"). Vi rastos de onça. Alcancei, às oito horas, uma faixa de mato com água que tive de passar a vau. Depois de mais dez minutos de marcha repetiu-se o mesmo. Às dez horas entrei num pouso tradicional dos Tapirapé situado num matosinho com água fresca. Lá fiquei descançando até as quatro horas da tarde. Continuei a marcha vadeando por campo pantanoso. Às cinco e meia cheguei a um cerrado sêco onde pude pernoitar. Antes de adormecer ouvi frequentes gritos de onça.

Acordei, no dia 21, numa roupa completamente molhada pelo orvalho. Partí às seis. Depois de meia hora perdi-me num estenso e pantanoso buritizal. Às sete horas entrei num cerrado sêco e, às nove horas e um quarto, na grande mata. No primeiro quarto de hora de marcha o solo desta mata estava mais ou menos sêco, estando, depois, completamente alagado. Andei durante uma hora e meia na água que, em vários lugares tinha correnteza. Às onze

1: Baldus SP22 Tapirapé



e meia encontrei mandioca num córrego. Atravessei, então, quatro roças separadas uma da outra por faixas de mata. Um quarto antes de uma hora saudei quatro rapazes da tribu tapirapé, e meia hora mais tarde, sempre andando pela imensa floresta, avistei no meio dela a aldeia dêstes índios.

Quando regressei, em 5 de agosto do mesmo ano, desta aldeia para o Porto Salvação, fiz toda esta viagem num único dia. Parti na madrugada em companhia dum rapaz Tapirapé. Se bem que êstes índios costumem marchar um pouquinho mais devagar do que os sertanejos brasileiros da região, seus passos são ainda bastante rapidos e sempre iguais, de maneira que vão com a mesma velocidade no mato e no campo, e como, durante o dia, quasi não param para descançar, fazem jornadas de 40 a 50 quilômetros.

Tomamos na volta outro caminho pela floresta. O trecho pelo qual passámos na ida, continuava alagado. Andamos em solo bem sêco, fazendo larga curva pelo oeste. Dentro de duas horas alcançamos o campo. Em muitas partes os índios já tinham queimado o capim. Assim o pé e a perna não encontravam mais essa vegetação embaraçosa que tanto contribue para fatigar o viajante. Às vezes eramos acariciados por um ventinho fresco. Passamos durante quatro horas por campos abertos e cerrados, avistando repetidamente parelhas de veados, até chegarmos ao tradicional pouso dos Tapirapé no pequeno matosinho com a água fresca. Aqui nos reunimos ao Rev. Kegel, ao nosso camarada e a alguns índios, continuando viagem depois de breve descanço.

Duas horas mais tarde atravessamos outra água cercada de árvores. Como o Rev. Kegel ficasse com convulsões na perna, tendo, além disso, de vomitar várias vezes por ter tomado água precipitadamente, demoramo-nos aqui umas duas horas.

Depois continuamos marchando em longa fila, um atrás do outro. O sol ardeu, mas, felizmente, de vez em quando havia um ventinho. Os índios para facilitar sua volta, acenderam todo o capim que ainda encontraram. De repente avistamos num pedaço de campo ainda não queimado uma parelha de onças pintadas brincando amorosamente. O camarada Daniel deu-lhes um tiro de espingarda. Ambos os felinos fugiram, um deles vertendo sangue. Daniel com a espingarda e dois índios com arco e cacete correram em vão atrás dêles. Os dois cães dos Tapirapé que nos acompanharam, desempenharam papel bastante triste: um pulou um pouco para cá e acolá latindo, ao passo que o outro nem para isso teve coragem.

Duas horas mais tarde chegamos ao Lago Tucumaré onde havia muitos mosquitos. De lá a Porto Salvação fomos em três a quatro horas, andando no velho atalho dos índios por terra muito dura e quente.

Fizemos, por conseguinte, o regresso da aldeia ao rio em treze a catorze horas de marcha, o que representa, mais ou menos, o mesmo tempo que, em nossa ida, gastamos caminhando.

## NOMES DO RIO E DOS AFLUENTES

A informação de Krause (2 — 456) segundo a qual os Karajá designam com a voz *ubaberé* o rio Tapirapé, não parece certa. Averiguei ser *ówáberé* o nome dado pelos Karajá ao Chavantinho que desemboca no Tapirapé na distância de três léguas da confluência com o Araguaia e que não é mencionado nem no mapa nem no texto do livro daquele autor. Além disso, Krause (ibidem) indica mais outro nome karajá do rio Tapirapé, a saber: *berá mená*, que corresponde ao que Ehrenreich e eu ouvimos dos Karajá com o mesmo sentido. Assim, o rio Tapirapé é chamado, em karajá, segundo Ehrenreich (ibidem), *mana-berá*, e segundo meus apontamentos, *m(a)náberé* pelos homens e *m(a)náberaky* pelas mulheres (sendo o "*a*" entre parênteses quase mudo). Significando *mana*, segundo Krause (p. 423) e *náua*, segundo Ehrenreich (ibidem), pedra, a tradução do nome karajá do Tapirapé é: rio da pedra ou rio das pedras. A causa desta denominação pode ser o fato de os Karajá cujas aldeias ficam perto da foz do Tapirapé e que são, por isso, aquêles de sua tribo que mais frequentam êste rio, habitarem justamente o trecho menos pedregoso do trêcho o Araguaia e saberem da existência do trecho pedregoso do Tapirapé acima de Porto São Domingos. Talvez, também, fossem, simplesmente, os morros de rochedos perto da foz do Tapirapé que sugerissem aos Karajá o mencionado nome.

Os índios Tapirapé chamam o rio Tapirapé *ewíaky* (ou: *awíaky*) o que quer dizer: água das penagens, sendo *ky* a água. Apanham muito, para adornar-se, as penagens do jabiru, pato e urubú, e as encontram, principalmente, naquele rio.

Já mencionei que tanto o afluente chamado *ówáberé* pelos Karajá como aquêle que desemboca entre Porto São Domingos e Pôrto Salvação e é chamado *pamaytchowa* pelos Tapirapé, recebem dos sertanejos o nome Chavantinho, e isso, provavelmente, por correrem no território chavante. Proponho, para melhor distinguir os dois, adotar para o segundo a designação dada pelos Tapirapé. A palavra *pamaytchowa* é composta de *pamaya*, forma diminutiva de *pamaná*: rio, e de *chowa* que pode ter identidade com o vocábulo *chua*: amarelo, porque os índios me explicaram que êste afluente tem muitas praias de areia amarela (*chua*), mas pode ser, também, uma variante de procedência do termo *chyua*: braço, significando,

neste caso, *pinanyachove*: braço do rio. Para melhor adaptação à nomenclatura geográfica brasileira e à ortografia moderna, convém transformar a palavra *pinanyachove* em *paranaiarva*. As palavras *paraí* e *paranã* aparecem em inúmeras designações geográficas e reconhecemos o "r" dêstes vocábulos também no correspondente termo tapirapé, pois nas línguas tupi, como já observou o padre Joseph de Anchieta, o "r" torna-se nasal até soar como "n", quando precedido por uma vogal nasal, e é justamente isso o que acontece naquela palavra tapirapé. O "y", som gutural característico do tupi e de algumas outras línguas sul-americanas, que no Brasil, apesar de ter sido escrito na ortografia antiga, frequentemente, com "y", foi pronunciado como "i", já passou, na ortografia moderna, a ser escrito como "i". O som "tx", escrito como "ch", na presente obra, tão comum em muitas outras línguas e que, por exemplo, em castelhano se escreve "ch", não é próprio do idioma português onde há numerosas palavras idênticas, em sentido e grafia, com palavras espanholas e diferindo delas, unicamente, pois falta do "i" na pronúncia do "ch" (chato, chupar e borralho, ou nomes geográficos como Chaco e Chile). Parece-me preferível escrever paranaiarva com "x" em vez de "ch", por designar, assim, o mesmo som, com uma única letra em vez de duas.

Com tôda a reserva acima feita a respeito de sua existência, isto é, de sua não-identidade com o Paranaiarva, quero mencionar mais uma vez o chamado paranyanatã cujo nome talvez, esteja relacionado com o termo tupi *paranã-ichara* que, segundo o conde Ermano Stradelli ("Vocabulários da língua geral português-uaupés e uaupés-português" na Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, tômo 104, vol. 158, Rio de Janeiro 1929, pág. 588) significa rio embravecido. Para o uso na geografia brasileira, também a respeito dessa palavra tapirapé proponho, pelas mesmas razões que em Paranaiarva, a mudança do primeiro "a" em "r" e do "y" em "i", de maneira que fique Paraninanã.

[23]

# OS TAPIRAPÉ

## TRIBO TUPI DO BRASIL CENTRAL

(Especial para a "REVISTA DO ARQUIVO")

HERBERT BALDUS

(Continuação)

### II — *O nome e a procedência da tribo*

O rio Tapirapé é o rio dos índios Tapirapé. Êles são conhecidos como sendo os habitantes dessa bacia fluvial.

Já mencionei que a palavra tapirapé significa, em tupi, "caminho de anta", sendo *tapíra* a anta e *pé* o caminho. Eu disse também que o rio com êsse nome se distingue do Araguaia pela abundância de tais animais trilhados nas suas margens pelo grande mamífero. Pode ser, por isso, que os viajantes brancos deram o nome Tapirapé para caracterizar a citada particularidade e que êle tôsse estendido, depois, à tribo conhecida como habitante da região. Mas, num mapa da zona em questão que está sob número 220 na mapoteca do Itamaratí, Ministério das Relações Exteriores dos E.E. U.U do Brasil, e que, como me afirmou o dr. Afonso de E. Taunay, uma das maiores autoridades a respeito, deve ser do fim do século XVIII, encontramos a palavra Tapirapé só como designação dêsses índios e não de um rio, sendo aíndaíno aquele perto do qual estão assentadas as aldeias da tribo tupi e que corre ao longo do mesmo grão de latitude sul (cf. mapa 3). Por isso, pode ser também que o nome Tapirapé tenha passado da tribo para o rio. Há, por fim, a possi-

bilidade de que a trilha e o rio teriam respeitado o mesmo nome independentemente um do outro, pois ignoramos se o rio teve no não tinha nome antes da trilha atravessar seus arredores ou se esta antes se chamava antes de chegar lá.

E' digno de nota estar assinalado no mapa reproduzido por Kissenberth (13° e 23°), entre 6 e 7° de latitude sul e em cerca de 51° de longitude oeste, por conseguinte quase exatamente ao norte de Tampetéum e separado desta aldeia por uns 3 a 4 graus de latitude, um segundo rio Tapirapé como um dos afluentes meridionais do

Mapa 2: Curso médio do Araguaia (século XVIII)

rio Itacaiunas que desemboca perto de Marabá no rio reunido do Tocantins e Araguaia. Talvez os índios Tapirapé morassem lá, antigamente, tendo recebido, então, o seu nome daquele rio ou êste o nome dêles. O grande mapa organizado pelo Clube de Engenharia do Rio de Janeiro e impresso por Dietrich Reimer, Berlim, 1922, não indica nominalmente o citado afluente do rio Itacaiunas, contendo, porém, sem dar os nomes, alguns dos seus tributários meridionais dos quais, provavelmente, um se deixará identificar com o dito segundo rio Tapirapé do mapa de Kissenberth.

Não muito longe da foz do Itacaiunas; a saber, na margem direita do Araguaia, duas léguas acima de sua confluência com o Tocantins, morava a tribo tupi que foi encontrada por uma bandeira saída de São Paulo em 1613. A descrição dêsse encontro, só publicada recentemente por Serafim Leite (*1* 103-110), é, pelo que sei, a primeira referência a uma tribo tupi no Araguaia. Segundo Taunay (181-192), desde o começo do século XVII até a saída da mencionada expedição partiram várias bandeiras de São Paulo. Mas os dados a seu respeito são tão deficientes que só acerca de poucas é possível identificar as localidades do itinerário. Entre as poucas bandeiras assim determináveis não há nenhuma que tenha ido ao Araguaia. Em 3 de novembro de 1937 o citado historiador das bandeiras paulistas me disse que, na sua opinião, a primeira expedição de São Paulo a êsse rio foi a de 1613.

O aludido documento a respeito dela, recém-editado pelo padre Leite, foi redigido pelo jesuíta Antonio de Araujo, contendo as informações de Pero Domingues, um dos trinta moradores da dita vila, de que se compunha a bandeira. Referindo-se a "7 aldeias mui grandes" encontradas pelos viajantes "tanto quanto como duas léguas da barra do Iabeberi", isto é, Tocantins (cf. Leite *1* 101), o relatório diz (ibidem 105-106): "Os índios delas se chamavam Castingas. Sua língua era a geral desta costa. Entre êles acharam os nossos muita ferramenta, foices, cunhas, machados, muito velório, grande número de camisas de Ruão, com muitos chapéus, o que tudo disseram iam resgatar por penas, frecharia, de que tinham cheias muitas cascas dentro em sua casa, e por algodão, com os Franceses que afirmaram distarem dêles oitas jornadas pelo rio abaixo, em uma fortaleza que havia muitos anos aí fizeram; ajuntando mais que os ditos tinham engenho de açucar, que faziam dos canaviais que possuiam. Confessaram que tinham dado a morte a 7 franceses, que deviam de ter fugido da dita fortaleza dos seus, por cujo recado decerto os ditos índios os matariam. E, sem serem perguntados, disseram que daí a tantas jornadas, em outro braço do mesmo Pará, habitavam os que não chamamos Almazonas e êles *Co-*

índias, se mulheres sem peito. Afirmaram outrossi que pelo rio abaixo, de uma e de outra banda, havia grande número de Aldeias, das quais não faltavam muitas pelo mesmo rio acima, mas pela terra dentro. Os das sete começaram logo a despachar mensageiros aos das outras pedindo-lhes que fossem visitar os brancos que com êles estavam. Temendo-se os 30 e receando alguma traição determinaram fazer aí pouca demora. Pregam-lhes mil louvores dos brancos, pedem-lhes que se venham com êles para S. Paulo, onde estarão todos juntos com suas igrejas e com o mais necessário para a própria salvação, mas tudo com engano, profissão de sertanistas. Abalam 3.000 almas. E como havia pouco tempo que tinham mudado sítio, e os cirios de farinha, das roças que diafiaram no que deixaram, eram quasi sem número, em 4 dias de demora se embarcaram em 300 canoas das muitas que possuiam. Ao embarcar tiveram os 30 modo para tomarem aos abalados todos os arcos e frechas. Começam pois a navegar pelo dito rio acima, tomando todos os dias terra, onde descançar e dormirem. Entre as 3.000 almas vinha uma índia (que devia ser filha dalgum dos 7 franceses, dos quais aí não faltava geração), mulher de um filho de certo principal que seguia os nossos. Esta (da qual diz o informante que a natureza se esmerara em a dotar das partes requitas (sic) para a perfeição corporal) deu o capitão a um seu apaniguado, o qual por se ver livre ou mais cativo dos cuidados que lhe causava a presença do marido tornou a dar esta ao próprio capitão. Sentiu tanto o triste índio o esbulho do seu natural matrimônio, todos os mais o verem-se à poucas jornadas repartidos, que em certa hora e paragem entre si acordaram a se alevantaram contra os 30 dos quais mataram 16 e alguns índios dos que levaram de cá. E fazendo-se por satisfeitos com a morte dêstes fizeram volta para as suas aldeias nas mesmas canoas. Os 14 que escaparam, mas que puderam haver, continuaram pelo rio acima não trazendo mais que dous dos ditos Caatingas, que não quiseram ou não puderam seguir os mais. Chegaram estes à Villa de S. Paulo, donde tinham partido havia 19 meses..."

A identificação de seu idioma com a Língua-geral classifica os "Caatingas" como Tupi. Pelo que sei, não há notícia da existência de outros Tupi, além dos Tapirapé, na parte do Araguaia compreendida entre a sua confluência com o Tocantins e o norte da ilha do Bananal. Mas devemos considerar que, relativamente não muito longe dessa confluência, a saber, ao norte dela, moravam tribus tupi como os Anambé do baixo Tocantins mencionados por Couto de Magalhães (*2* 267) e Ehrenreich (*1* e *3* IV), os Marajó do rio Araranduba estudados por Nimuendajú (*2*) e os Urubú tratados por Rice e Raimundo Lopes (*2*).

O fato de os "Caetingas" possuírem muitas crenças nada prova contra a sua identidade com os Tapirapé. Entretanto, ainda que hoje não sejam navegantes como, por exemplo, os seus vizinhos Karajá ou os antigos Tupinambá, conservam a designação tupi do rio, isto é, pano na província tapirapé. Além disso, em 1935 vi no regato da aldeia Tanapitéma um tronco escavado em fórma de ubá. É verdade que foi assim preparado, aproveitamento, por mero passatempo, pois estava deitado com a abertura para baixo e nem sequer por brincadeira era usado como embarcação. Isso, porém, não torna impossível terem sido os Tapirapé, outrora, donos de canoas maiores para viajar.

Caetinga, palavra tupi composta de caá: mato, e tinga: branco, esbranquiçado, referre-se talvez à região então habitada pelos índios dessa nação, pois é sabido que as florestas de pequenas árvores caducas, a qual perde na estação seca quasi todas as folhas, florestas chamadas de "caetingas" ou "matas secas", estendem-se até a parte norte de Goiaz (cf. Bernardino José de Souza 120-121). Em todo caso, essa denominação não impede a identificação dos índios "Caetingas" com os Tapirapé ou com qualquer outra tribo de nome diferente.

Se nos basearmos em nomes que até certo ponto se assemelham, podemos considerar como referência aos Tapirapé a frase de um documento seiscentista para a qual Curt Nimuendajú chamou a minha atenção, qualificando-a como a mais antiga menção dos Tapirapé conhecida por ele (carta de 12 de outubro de 1935). O documento em questão é o "memorial" que acompanha uma petição dirigida pelo capitão-mor, Bento Maciel Parente ao rei de Portugal D. Filipe III. Nem esta petição (citada apud Mendes de Almeida II 35-37), nem o memorial (ibidem 338-43) tem data. Mas é de supor que foram escritos entre 1621 e 1626, época em que Bento Maciel Parente era capitão-mor do Pará. Entre "las cosas necessarias y convenientes para conservar y augmentar la conquista y tierras del Maranhon, y las indias que en ellas conquistó el capitan mayor, Bento Maciel Parente", menciona o "memorial", referindo-se ao estabelecimento de novas capitanias, o seguinte: "La segunda (capitania) se puede hacer de la Isla que está entre el brazo Pará, y el brazo Pacajá, quit tiene veinte leguas de ancho, e quarenta de largo, y comprehende las Provincias de los Andoras, y gente de Uguape, e Pirapés, con todas las Islas comarcas del Caminá". (Ibidem 40).

Esta capitania que, como me informou Nimuendajú (carta de 26 de abril de 1936), também no mapa novo do Teixeira é representada como ilha no delta do Amazonas, está situada, por conseguinte, no mapeam esquerdo do baixo Tocantins — (aquelle tam-

po chamado de "Pará") —, entre êste e o rio Pacajá, compreendendo "todas as pequenas ilhas de Camutá", isto é, Camutá.

A palavra "pirapé" pode ser interpretada como transposição dos vocábulos tupi pirá: peixe, e pe: caminho. Nesta explicação, ela seria bem diferente de "tapirapé". É possível que ela designe outra tribo que não os Tapirapé. Pode ser, também, que o nome da mesma tribo fosse modificado em consideração a características de hábitos diferentes, sendo que os Tapirapé mostrarem, antigamente, mais "caminho de peixe" e, depois, mais "caminho de anta". Mas provavelmente, no caso em questão, o som vale mais do que o significado. Pois, os Tapirapé aparecem, no século XVIII, como "Tapyrapé" e "Tapirasse", no século XIX como "Tappirapuna" e "Tapirapetiqua", e no século XX como "Itapirapés", havendo até na capital de São Paulo uma rua com êste nome (cf. Aires 2 1521. Isso deixa supor que a designação da mesma tribo se transformou através quatro séculos segundo variações de pronúncia. Em todo caso, adiro à opinião de Nimuendajú (ib.) de que é mais provável serem os "Pirapés" de Bento Maciel Parente idênticos aos Tapirapé, do que terem existido, na bacia do Tocantins, duas tribos diferentes com nomes tão semelhantes.

A hipótese a respeito dessa identidade fica apoiada pelo seguinte. Em 20 de abril de 1657, o padre Antonio Vieira (1 461-462) escreve do Maranhão ao rei Afonso VI de Portugal: "As minhas, Senhor, continuam, como tenho avisado, com mui conhecido proveito espiritual e salvação de muitas almas, assim de gentios novamente convertidos, como dos que já tinham nome de cristãos. Só a missão dos Pacajás, vulgarmente chamada a *Entrada do Ouro*, teve o fim que tão mau nome lhe prognosticava. Capitaram nela dos meus quarenta portugueses, que a ela foram com diversos índios. Dêstes morreram a maior parte pela fome e excessivo trabalho; e também morreu o Padre João de Sobremoir, tendo já reduzido à fé e à obediência de V. M. quinhentos índios, que eram tão que naquela paragem havia da nação Pacajá, e muitos outros da nação dos Pirapés, que também estavam abalados para se descerem com êle".

Desta última frase pode ser deduzido que os "Pirapés" viviam na vizinhança dos "Pacajás", isto é, dos habitantes do rio homônimo que limitava a "segunda capitania" de Bento Maciel Parente numa distância de "vinte léguas" do Tocantins; portanto, êles são idênticos aos "Pirapés" do capitão-mor.

Mas que, pelo menos em 1662, êles morassem mais ao sul do que as "quarenta léguas de largo" da "segunda capitania" fazem supor, a saber, que êles morreram naquele tempo já no próprio Amazonas, isto é, acima da confluência dêste rio com o Tocantins, evi-

época uma carta datada em Pará, 12 de fevereiro de 1661, e dirigida pelo mesmo padre à câmara desta localidade. Nela escreve Antônio Vieira (I 583): "E quanto à maneira em que se hajam de fazer os dita escravos, estimarei eu muito que seja a primeira que houver, que eu procurarei dispôr com a maior brevidade possível; por quanto neste ano está já intentado o descobrimento do rio Igaraú, em que há fama está a nação dos Tapinambás, o qual descobrimento se há-de fazer pelo rio dos Tocantins; e quando V. Mcês. no mesmo rio quisessem entrar pelo braço de Araguaia, onde estão vários nações que se dizem têm muitos escravos, e a dos Pirapés, que se podem trazer para o grêmio da Igreja e serviço da república, também se disporá a maneira nesta forma..."

Sendo os "Pirapés" mencionados por Vieira em 1657 indubitavelmente idênticos aos de Parente e determinados pelo mesmo jesuíta em 1661 como habitantes do Araguaia, é de supor que, até lá, na época entre a relação da notícia dada pelo capitão-mor e a da segunda carta do padre, estiveram no vale desse rio, ou a medida indicada como extensão da "segunda capitania", isto é, as "quarenta léguas de largo", deve ser considerada com certa "largueza", chegando talvez até as serras dos "Caiaúnas" encontradas, pelos paulistas e identificando assim essa tribo com os "Pirapés".

Supondo, agora, terem sido os "Caiaúnas" e "Pirapés" os antepassados mencionados dos Tapirapé — o que não é impossível com referência aos primeiros, sendo provável a respeito dos segundos — deve-se admitir que os Tapirapé chegaram do norte ao seu atual habitat.

A hipótese acerca desta procedência apoia-se, ainda, nas declarações que eles fizeram-os próprios Tapirapé. Disseram que moravam, antigamente, ao norte de Conceição e mais perto do Araguaia do que hoje, mas que se foram, pouco a pouco, mais para o sul, por medo dos Kayapó, e mais para o oeste, por medo dos Karaja. Acrescentam, porém, nunca terem morado ao sul do rio Tapirapé que representa o limite meridional de seu atual território. Interessante a esse respeito é o fato de terem mantido os habitantes de Tanpitéma relações contínuas com outra aldeia tapirapé situada "dez dias de marcha ao norte", portanto, em todo caso, numa distância considerável, ao passo que não tinham relação alguma com os seus supostos vizinhos do sudeste, os chamados Amanayé, aparentemente também Tupí e muito menos distantes de Tanpitéma do que aquela aldeia tapirapé setentrional. É possível que os Amanayé e Tapirapé chegassem aos seus atuais habitats de direções diferentes, ou que os primeiros chegassem, há muito antes de os Tapirapé terem-se tornado seus vizinhos.

Kissenberth (*2* 40-41, 75-78) acha possível serem produtos da cerâmica tapirapé os cacos encontrados por êle no Morro dos Cayapós, situado no "hinterland" ocidental de Conceição do Araguaia e quase na mesma latitude desta localidade (cf. ib. 37: mapa). Declarando não conhecer cerâmica tapirapé, afirma o mesmo autor (ib. 77): "Já uma comparação superficial dos cacos com produtos cerâmicos e restos de panelas de povos sul-americanos indica forçosamente os Tupí-Guarani". A respeito disso tenho de dizer que não encontrei na cerâmica atual dos Tapirapé a ornamentação dos cacos em questão.

Em apôio da suposição de terem vivido os Tapirapé, antigamente, ao norte do seu atual hábitat, Kissenberth (ib. 41) observa ainda: "Os primeiros afluentes direitos, mais importantes do Iririamas têm os legítimos nomes tupí *Kateté* e *Tapirapé*. Como os Mêkubenokré-Kayapó contam, nesta, em nossos dias, justamente naquela região de matas virgens das cabeceiras do Iririamas, um povo de antropófagos: os *Kabbaipre* (quer dizer: índios Morcêgos) que, segundo a descrição, deve pertencer aos Tupí". Êstes argumentos, embora interessantes, são, por enquanto, fracos.

Aliás, já Millet de Saint-Adolphe (II 674) menciona como habitante dêsse rio uma "tribu d'Indios Tupinambás" chamada "Tacanhiua", escrevendo da mesma forma também o nome do Iririamas ou Tacaiuna.

Outra informação que precisa ser discutida, é a dada por Monteiro Baena em 1847. Segundo ele, os Tapirapé moravam, naquele tempo, ao norte da ilha do Bananal, pois lemos (98): "Começam da décima-nona ilha para cima os sítios em que se acham estacionados os *Carajás*... A primeira cachoeira na subida do rio jaz vizinha da décima ilha apelidada Tamaxiê, e a entrada do Araguaia está entre leste e sueste: é larga, tem dentro barreiras bonitas, praia de areia e lagos. Daqui até a primeira habitação dos *Carajás* acha-se povoado o rio da gentilidade seguinte: *Apinagé, Tavinãra, Iporunã, Tapirapé, Carauaú, Carauahá, Arauerá, Uaruaú, Arauaçu, Tacuayuna, Iacuahá, Pinaré, Carajá, Carajahi*". A seguinte observação do mesmo autor (98) evidencia que o "rio" em questão é simplesmente o Araguaia até a confluência com o Tocantins e não também êste último: "Sabe-se que o Araguaia é melhor que o Tocantins, porque tem só quatro aluviamentos no *Rio*, isto é, quatro cachoeiras, e que destas apenas a que está junto à ilha Tamaxiê é semelhante ao Furo da Itá-uba por ser toda de pedra na largura inteira do rio..." Fica patente, por fim, a referida "décima-nona ilha" estar ao norte da ilha do Bananal (também chamada de Santa Ana), quando lemos em Monteiro Baena (98): "Entre a boca do Araguaia e a ilha de Santa Ana aparecem doze ilhas...".

Em oposição à informação dada por êste autor está, porém, o mapa do século XVIII publicado no presente capítulo, mostrando as aldeias dos Tapirapé como situadas mais ao sul do que a ponta norte da Ilha do Bananal, isto é, no "hinterland" setentrional de um rio sem nome que serpeia para leste, ao longo no mesmo grau de latitude, até desembocar no Braço Maior do Araguaia. Aliás, a enumeração de tribos dada por Monteiro Baena baseia-se, provavelmente, na seguinte lista que acompanha o diário da viagem feita em 1792/3 por Vila Real (431-432): "Carajá, Pinaré, Jacundá, Tacayuna, Arauque, Uacurubá, Arauaré, Carauahi, Carauná, Carajahi, Tapirasse, Iparaaim, Turiuara"". Mas o único dado geográfico ligado a esta lista está no seu título segundo o qual ela se refere a habitantes do Araguaia. Não menciona os limites abolidos por Monteiro Baena.

E' verdade que, ainda nos meados do século passado, a hidrografia dessa região era objeto de confusão, pois o "Dicionário Geográfico" de Milliet de Saint-Adolphe, publicado em 1845, diz (II 688): *Tapirape* ou *Tapirapé*. Tribu d'Indios da província de Mato-Grosso, que vivem nas margens do rio do mesmo nome, tributário do Araguaia, com o qual se incorpora abaixo da Ilha do Bananal".

No capítulo sôbre a "Província de Mato-Grosso" de sua "Corografia brasílica", edição de 1833 (I 258-260), escreve Ayres de Casal: "TAPPIRAQUIA. Esta cimarca, à qual se derivou o nome de uma das nações, que a ocupam, tem ao norte a Xingutânia; ao poente o rio Xingú, que a separa da dos Arinos; ao sul a Borôrônia; e ao oriente o rio Araguaia, que a dirige da Nova Beira... A exceção da rais oriental, ao longo do Araguaia, o resto do país é inexplorado, por falta das relações dos que nele entraram em outro tempo. Entr'outras nações, que o dominam, sobressaem os Gorpaiaiyra, os Tappiraquas ou Tappiraque, que lhe deram o nome, os Xinhiuás, os Aracys ou Arais... Um pouco ao norte da reunião dos dois braços do Araguaia, que formam a grande Ilha de Santa Ana, está a embocadura do rio da Pontes, que deem não ser considerável; o pouco mais abaixo a do rio dos Tappiraquas, assim chamado por se formar no território dos indios do seu nome".

Maior, porém, e, provavelmente, maior por causa dessa "falta das relações" aludida por Casal, era a confusão provocada pela seguinte informação escrita por Silva e Souza (496) em 1812, isto é, cinco anos antes de ter aparecido a primeira edição da "Corografia brasílica": "*Tapirapés*. Nação aldeada junto ao Rio Grande, antes de ter o nome de Araguaia; são pacíficos; pleiteam, fazem e trocam. Consta que vieram para êste lugar das serrinhas do Rio de Janeiro. No governo de Sr. Triaste de Castro vieram alguns dessa

nação de paz; afirmam serem suas terras abundantes de ouro; prometeram voltar trazendo tacuaras cheias do mesmo, mas não voltaram".

Esta informação é repetida não somente em outros trabalhos do século XIX, como também em estudos recentes. Milliet de Saint-Adolphe (l. c.) acrescenta ao verbete sôbre os Tapirapé: "Pretendem alguns autores que esta nação, que deu nome ao país onde vive, não é originária dele, e que viera das matas da província do Rio de Janeiro".

Kissenberth (2 38) deduz: "Por conseguinte, os Tapirapé devem ser considerados como um resto desvinculado das hordas tupi alogrupadas, em direção do norte para o interior da província do Rio de Janeiro, pelos conquistadores e, antes de tudo, provavelmente pelo português Mem de Sá e suas tropas. Lutando com diversas tribus inimigas, êles foram pouco a pouco até o alto Araguaia".

O mesmo autor (ibidem, nota 6) acrescenta: "O mapa de Matth. Seutter do ano de 1745 (Recens elaborata Mappa Geographica regni Brasiliae etc. per Matth. Seutterum, Augustae Vindel) indica *Tapia Inabo* numa região da margem esquerda do rio Paraná que atualmente corresponde mais ou menos à zona de Sta. Rita do Paranaíba no Estado de Minas Gerais. O alto Araguaia dista de lá aproximadamente cinco de 50 a 60 léguas (cêrca de 330-400 km.)".

Métraux (1 25-26) considerando o pequeno vocabulário obtido por Kissenberth (2 50-64) dessa Tapirapé cativa dos Karajá, como "une donnée de grande valeur" para a solução do problema da origem dos Tapirapé, escreve: "Les mots tapirapé comparés aux formes revêtues par les mêmes, mots dans les langues tupi-guarani d'époques et de régions différentes ont une tendance marquée à se rapprocher de l'ancien Guarani. Ce qui donne un certains poids à l'affirmation de Silva e Souza pour qui il est évident que les Tapirapé sont venus du sertão de Rio. Cette migration n'est pas invraisemblable; nous savons, en effet par Vasconcelos que, lors de la conquête de Rio en 1567, des Tamoyo s'en allèrent dans le plus profond des forêts. A cette hypothèse s'oppose un fait constaté par Nordenskiöld, le mot tapirapé pour la poule est "urubujapobiá" ou nous retrouvons le vieux mot guarani pour ce volatil. Par contre le mot qu'ils emploient pour désigner la banane est emprunté aux Karajá. Or en 1557, les Tupinambá de Rio avaient déjà rejeté des bananes, comme nous l'apprend Léry et ils l'appelaient 'Pacoire' comme la plupart des Tupi-Guarani, ce qui empêcherait la possibilité d'identifier les Tapirapé aux Tamoio. Quoi qu'il en soit, les Tapirapé semblent être les descendants des Tupi-Guarani transplantés venus du Sud".

A respeito do argumento linguístico convém citar a seguinte frase do grande conhecedor de idiomas tupi, Curt Nimuendajú (carta de 26 de abril de 1936): "Já a língua dos Tapirapé que difere consideravelmente do dialeto da região do Rio, mostra que êles não podem ter vindo de lá, como afirma Silva e Sousa".

No tocante à denominação tapirapé da galinha (que escrevo: *wyrauchowjohdóinis*) é interessante notar o parentesco com *owáre apowhuy*, termo correspondente do tupinambá do Maranhão (Abbeville fol. 242), e a diferença de *aripuan-miri* que significa galinha no tupinambá do Rio de Janeiro (Léri 148, Thévet, cf. Airosa 4, nota 282).

Com referência à denominação da banana posso dizer que os Tapirapé designam, genèricamente, as bananas cultivadas com o termo *chaná* ou *tatá* o que se parece com a palavra karajá indicativa das mesmas frutas; mas chamam a "banana brava" de *pawáwá*. Aliás, acerca da designação da banana como argumento no estudo da origem dos Tapirapé me escreve Nimuendajú (carta de 22 de novembro de 1937): "O problema não pode ser resolvido por meio da palavra *pakowa* e sim. para banana, pois, provàvelmente, entre todos os Tupi, como entre os seus Tapirapé, ela é originàriamente o nome para a 'banana brava' (*Heliconia* sp.), do qual derivaram então o nome da verdadeira banana, processo êste que, naturalmente, podia realizar-se entre diferentes tribos ao mesmo tempo, não dependendo a tal respeito uma tribo da outra. Mas se um povo que não fala tupi, chama a banana de *pakowa* e a Heliconia com outra palavra, é provável êle ter recebido aquela junto com o nome direta ou indiretamente de gente que falava tupi ou Língua-geral. Também na Língua-geral do norte e, por conseguinte, ainda hoje em toda a Amazônia chamam a Heliconia de (*pakwa-*) *ararúba*".

Interessante no tocante a todo isso é o mapa de Loukotka (397) publicado em 1929, portanto trinta anos depois do trabalho de Kissenberth e dois depois do de Métraux. Mostra as migrações dos Tupi segundo suposições linguísticas baseadas na comparação de vocábulos dos diversos idiomas tupi. O autor coloca o centro da irradiação na região das cabeceiras do Tapajós, deixando os Kawapuré e Aweté ir em linha reta de lá para o seu território atual, ao passo que os Tapirapé têm de fazer uma volta enorme pelo sudeste, subir, então, sob o nome de Tupinambá, o litoral até Maranhão, aproximar-se da foz do Tocantins e dirigir-se de lá, novamente, ao sul até chegarem às terras que ocupam hoje.

A questão é agora: descobrir os fatos pelos quais o padre Silva e Sousa foi levado a afirmar que os Tapirapé vieram dos sertões do Rio de Janeiro. Para isso é preciso estudar a primeira notícia sôbre um contacto dêsto entre os Tapirapé sob o seu nome atual e os

brancos. Na sua citada informação diz Silva e Souza (496): "No govêrno do Sr. Tristão da Cunha vieram alguns desta nação de paz". Segundo o mesmo autor (ib. 462-464), êsse govêrno durou de 1783 a 1800. Referindo-se, porém, a outro governador de Goiás, isto é, a Luiz de Mascarenhas que governou de 1739 a 1748 (ib. 445 e 448, cf. Alencastre 74), escreve Silva e Souza (447-448): "No seu tempo, a rôgo da câmara, veio de Cuiabá, acompanhado de quinhentos *Bororós*, o coronel Antonio Pires de Campos, a desinfestar do *Cayapó* êste terreno, pelo ajuste de uma arroba de ouro, que foi tirada do povo a meia patuca por cabeça de cada escravo, e renden a primeira e segunda matrícula desta contribuição voluntária, como consta do liv. 1.º do registro da câmara a fl. 74, 4.357 oitavas e 54 grãos de ouro, de que as sobras se aplicaram para a obra da matriz. Consta que fez barbaridades espantosas e grande mortandade, chegando até à aldeia grande do *Cayapó*, que dizem fica na vizinhança de Camapuan, em que não se atrevem a entrar por serem innumeriveis os seus habitantes; mas aliviou de alguma sorte o povo, e tornou mais praticável o caminho de S. Paulo, fundando as aldeias de Santa Ana, Rio das Pedras e Laranjeiras, que foram no princípio povoadas de *Bororós*, e recebeu por êste serviço, além do preço estipulado, a título de empréstimo da provedoria 800 oitavas, cuja despesa S. M. aprovou por ordem de 9 de Dezembro de 1750.

"O capitão-mor João de Godoi Pinto da Silveira ajuntou na mesma diligência com as mesmas provisões; porém não resultou das suas entradas mais utilidade que a perda de cem *Tapirapés*, que todos morreram, talvez à mingua, nesta vila". (Com as duas últimas palavras, o cronista se refere à Vila Boa de Goiás, antiga capital do Estado goiano, onde escrevera a sua "Memória" (cf. ib. 510).

Ora, é provável que os "Tapirapés" mencionados por êle tivessem outra sorte. Pois, Saint-Hilaire que viajou em Goiás no ano de 1819, isto é, sete anos depois da redação da "Memória" de Silva e Souza, relata (255): "... on donna à Antonio Pires, pour lui et pour sa troupe, le territoire qui s'étend du Rio Paranaïba au Rio Grande, avec la largeur de 1 lieue 1/2 portugaise de chaque côté de la route. Ce fut le lieu où est aujourd'hui l'Aldea do Rio das Pedras que Pires choisit pour s'y fixer. Le village fut construit, vers 1741, aux dépens du trésor royal (*fazenda real*), et Pires y eut une maison. Avant cette époque, les Jésuites avaient déjà fondé un aldea, composé d'Indiens de la côte, à l'endroit appelé S. Anna; ils voulurent s'immiscer dans le gouvernement de l'aldea d'Antonio Pires; celui-ci s'opposa à leurs entreprises, mais, par les médisances, il

leur amenait quelques Indiens du nord de Goyaz, que furent réunis à l'Aldea de S. Anna".

En autre lieux, a viajante francês revela quem eram estes "indios do norte de Goiaz" trazidos para a dita aldeia jesuítica no vale do rio dos Velhos, afluente do Paranaíba no triângulo mineiro. Escreve Saint-Hilaire (284-285): "Les traditions uniformes des Indiens Bororós attribuent aux jésuites la première fondation de l'Aldea de Santa Anna, et, suivant les mêmes traditions, ce village fut originairement habité par des Indiens de la côte. A ceux-ci Antonio Pires de Campos réunit, comme on l'a vu plus haut, quelques Indiens Carajás et Tapirapés, habitants des bords de l'Araguaya, au nord de la province. Cette population mélangée mourut, ou disparut ou se fondit parmi les descendants des Bororós, et, en 1775, on la remplaça par un certain nombre de Chiriabás, nation qui vivait dans les déserts du Paranaíba et s'était étendue jusque sur les rives du S. Francisco, dans la partie septentrionale de Minas".

A respeito dos mencionados "Carajás et Tapirapés" anota o célebre Ihering (ib.): "C'est Eschwege qui donne ces noms (*Brez.*, I, 82), et bien certainement il les tenait des Indiens; car il a imprimé son journal tel qu'il l'a écrit sur les lieux, et il est évident qu'il n'a fait aucune recherche historique. Ici, par conséquent, je trouve encore une preuve de la vérité des traditions du pays; car ces habitants n'auraient certainement pas connu l'existence des Carajás et des Tapirapés, si ceux-ci n'étaient venus parmi eux. Il ne faut pas, sans doute, adopter les traditions sans critique; mais il y a des cas, où elles méritent certainement plus de confiance que des récits écrits légèrement ou avec partialité. L'histoire de l'encyclopédie (révolte) de Minas, que j'ai tirée d'après les traditions des Mineiros les plus éclairés, doit, je crois, être considérée comme étant plus digne de foi (*Voyage dans les provinces de Rio de Janeiro*, etc., I, 202) que celle qu'a imprimée Southey en consultant des pièces officielles heureuses pour les juges des malheureux qui furent condamnés dans cette circonstance. Je dois faire observer, afin d'éviter toute confusion, que, en indiquant la patrie de ces deux tribus, Eschwege a écrit Uruguay pour Araguaya".

Il' paraîtrait que ce Tapirapé mentionné par Antonio Pires de Campos para a aldeia de Sant'Ana fosse um cativo de Pedro de Silveira, pois nos "Annais da província de Goiás" publicados em 1864 escreve Alencastre (78): "Em 12 de Outubro de 1742, parecia nos sertões junto que ter D. Luís convocar, mandou Campos o contínuo, por virtude do qual se dirigiu a fazer a guerra aos caiapós ocultos e pelo de uma aveia de cura, cuja que contribuíram os descobertos de Vila-Boa". E acrescenta (ib. 79): "João de Godoy Pinto, de Silveira continuou na obra da conquista, já tão adiantada

1: Baldus SP22 Tapirapé



por Antonio Pires de Campos, batendo os índios em outros pontos, onde este não tinha podido chegar com os seus bandeirás, e numa diversão que fez até o Araguaia deu um assalto às aldeias dos pacíficos tapirapés, fazendo algumas presas. As barbaridades praticadas por estes dois cabos chegaram ao último excesso. Aldeias inteiras foram devastadas e reduzidas a cinza... A notícia das atrocidades praticadas por estes dois conquistadores levou o terror às últimas guaridas dos caiapós; receiando, porém, D. Luiz, e com razão, que os índios viessem para o futuro a praticar novos insultos, do que muito se temiam os habitantes de Vila Boa e Meia-Ponte, criou companhias de aventureiros, compostas de bastardos e pretos forros, a quem incumbiu de policiar os pontos que pudessem para o futuro ser ameaçados, organizando-os em diversos destacamentos volantes. Todas estas medidas eram aprovadas pela carta régia de 26 de Março de 1743". Em outro lugar (ib. 160), o mesmo autor ainda observa: "Os caiapós, afugentados pelo coronel Campos em 1743 e 1744, e depois pelas partidas de Antonio Ferras de Araujo e João Bicudo de Brito, se foram refugiar pelos sertões da capitania de Mato Grosso".

Ora, é bem possível os Tapirapé mencionados por Eschwege e Saint-Hilaire terem voltado da aldeia de Sant'Ana para o Araguaia e, por esta ocasião, certos grupos terem chegado a supor que esses índios vindo de uma região situada ao sul da Vila Boa procediam dos sertões do Rio de Janeiro alcançáveis pela mesma estrada como o rio das Velhas, embora situados mais ao sudeste da antiga capital de Goiás e em maior distância dela do que o dito afluente do Paranaíba. E' possível, também, os Tapirapé em questão terem sido acompanhados, no seu regresso ao Araguaia, por alguns daqueles "índios da costa" que conviveram com eles na aldeia de Sant'Ana, segundo as acima citadas tradições recolhidas por Saint-Hilaire, e que talvez sejam idênticos com os mencionados "Tapiis Indios" do mapa de Soutelo do ano de 1745. Não é difícil imaginar que tais companheiros dos viajantes Tapirapé falassem, então, de sua terra natal aos guiaveis que encontraram no caminho do rio das Velhas ao Araguaia, dando assim, origem ao boato de que os próprios Tapirapé procediam da mesma terra. Além, também o fato de ter o alto São Francisco importante afluente direito igualmente chamado de rio das Velhas pode ter contribuído para a confusão.

Não tocante à afirmação de Silva e Souza (406) de serem os Tapirapé uma "nação situada junto ao Rio Grande, antes de ter o nome de Araguaia...", convém observar que, segundo o mesmo autor (407), isto deve ter sido acima da foz do rio Vermelho, pois na foz dos rios diz: "Rio Vermelho — sua barra: Araguaia". Já o diário de viagem de Souza Vila Real (412) chama de Ara-

guaia o rio em que desemboca o rio Vermelho, pois diz em 29 de dezembro de 1792: "Aqui finda a navegação do Rio Vermelho... Principia a navegação pelo rio chamado Araguaia". Segundo os "Apontamentos" de João Vito Vieira da Silva (426) datados em 1869, o Rio Grande, "da sua confluência com o rio Vermelho, toma o nome de Araguaia". Menos claro é Cunha Mattos. Na sua "Corografia histórica da província de Goiás" cuja dedicatória tem a data de 1824, escreve (2 261): "O Rio Grande toma o nome de Araguaia ao norte da foz do rio Crixás Grande", e na página anterior (ib. 260) observa que o "Rio de Crixás Uaxú fica três léguas ao norte do registro de Piedade sôbre o Rio Grande". O mesmo autor (1 II 107), porém, descrevendo o "Itinerário do Arraial do Pilar para o Registo das Salinas sôbre o Rio Grande ou Araguaia, passando pelo Arraial de Crixás", itinerário do qual foi incumbido, em 1824, o tenente Pacífico Antonio Xavier de Barros, refere-se ao "Porto da Piedade sôbre o Rio Araguaia, lugar do Registo das embarcações que descem e sobem do Pará, e também para observar os movimentos dos Indios Carajás, Carajahis e Tapirapés, que aparecem muito, vezes nestes lugares". O mencionado Porto da Piedade está situado ao sul da Ilha do Bananal. Aparecerem os Tapirapé naquela época nos arredores dêste "lugar do Registo", ou compreende a designação "nestes lugares" também lugares situados mais ao norte? Em tudo caso, a região indicada como habitat dos Tapirapé por Silva e Souza está consideravelmente ao sul de Piedade.

E', aliás, digno de nota Cunha Mattos (2 261) já mencionar: "Depois da união do Braço menor com a Mãe do Rio ou Araguaia ocidental corre o fazendo rio ao norte até a grande cachoeira de Santa Maria; ... pela margem esquerda recebe o Araguaia, antes de chegar à cachoeira de Santa Maria, os rios Tapirapé e o da Pontes". E, referindo-se a João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira, escreve o mesmo autor (ib. 262): "... encontro no quinto atribuído ao conquistador João de Godoy vários rios, que só existiram na cabeça do impostor que o escreveu. A mesma verdadeira, (devido que o sujeito) ao marchar dêste capitão-mor, foi ele certamente um dos mais distintos aventureiros, pois que além de seguir todo o curso do Paranaíba, encontrar até Meia Ponte, atravessar grande porção da província do Cuiabá, ou seja ao meu marchar seguida ao longo do Rio Grande ou Araguaia, o Rio das Mortes do Cuiabá até a confluência do Araguaia com o Tocantins, e daí seguindo para oeste por meio de sertões desconhecidos, andar procurando o célebre lugar das Mercês (não o do rio Araguaia) como quem procurava o velocino". Mas mesmo nota (ib.) acrescenta Cunha Mattos: "O capitão-mor João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira foi com efeito um dos gran-

dos aventureiros: Bandeiras contra os *Cayapós* no tempo do govêrno de D. Luiz Mascarenhas; entrou nas terras dos *Tapirapés*, e militou em outras expedições em que não adquiriu fortuna, nem fez bem à humanidade".

Porquê as "terras dos Tapirapés" mencionadas por Cunha Mattos não podem ter estado na mesma região onde elas estão hoje, isto é, no vale do rio Tapirapé? Dado algum contraditório a suposição de que Pinto da Silveira penetrou no atual hábitat daquela tribo tupi. Também a citada afirmação de "serem suas terras abundantes de ouro" (Silva e Souza 496) não prova que estas terras estivessem situadas "junto ao Rio Grande, antes de ter o nome de Araguaia". Pude verificar na minha viagem que a fama de terras muito ouro abrange não só os afluentes superiores do Araguaia, mas também o rio Tapirapé, ainda que, talvez, com pouca justificação.

Por outro lado, é preciso considerar as notícias acerca de uma outra expedição também realizada durante o govêrno de Luiz de Mascarenhas. Referindo-se à fase governador de Goiás, escreve Silva e Souza (446): "Fez uma expedição a descobrir o Rio Riso e os Araés... comandada por João da Veiga Bueno e Amaro Leite, que por informações dadas pelo descobridor da capitania marcharam ao sudoeste até o rio Cainpé, em que descobriram ouro, e aqui, não sei por que motivo, se desavieram os comandantes. João da Veiga se metera no sertão, e Amaro Leite desceu em canoas, que fez, pelo Rio Grande, guiado por dois índios *Araés* até a barra do rio, a que as muitas enfermidades, que sofreram na de outra expedição, fez dar o nome de Rio dos Mortos, e já destroçado, sabendo pela nos convenientes, descobriu ouro em pedreiras e se demorou, ainda que os guias lhe afirmavam serem os *Araés* muito mais abaixo".

Outros detalhes há nos seguintes trechos da "Informação" com a assinatura "João de Godoia Pinto da Silveira" e a data de 7 de setembro de 1761 (Alencastre 164-166): "... aquelas ordenanças conservaram sempre os usos de sua jurisdição pelo sertão além do Rio Grande, por donde desde o ano de 1736 entraram a correr bandeiras, dirigidas por descobrimentos de ouro, provindo de conselho para a arrecadação dos bens dos defuntos e ausentes, no coronel Amaro Leite, comandante de uma das expedições, que nesses sertões se tem conservado até o presente, ainda que já destroçado da bandeira que nas epoc principais se compunha de mais de duzentas armas, que se uniram com quasi outras tantas, que capitaneava João da Veiga Bueno, que acabou no mesmo exercício. Antes as bandeiras foram servidas e encorridas de alguns governadores, dentre os mais, como também pelo dito Bm. e Exm. governador que se mantém de palavra e bulo, afim de as animar a conquistar e descobrir sertões barbaros: e, tendo descoberto nesses sítios falsquiros nos

margens dos rios Bonito, Vermelho e Grande, além do rio Caiapó, e desceram o rumo de norte, até situaram-se na barra do Rio das Mortes, que desagua na grande ilha do rio Araguaia, formado daqueles todos já nomeados; e, passando uma ou duas invernadas de tempos na exploração das campanhas além dele, continuaram a derrota até o rio Farto, que desagua mais abaixo da mesma ilha, que se estende a setenta ou oitenta léguas, e situados outra vez com as suas bagagens, expediram várias esquadras de soldados na mesma diligência até chegar ao rio Paraupava, que denominaram de S. Pedro pelo descobrirem neste dia, e se presume que faz barra naquele sítio do Salto, que fez antes da do rio Tocantins em 5 ou 6 graus de linha ao sul; pelos bárbaros e fracos vestígios que acharam do gentio, não passaram adiante, antes voltaram sem investigar as campanhas dos Arues, donde batem todas as esperanças de haverem preciosos, para cujo fim tinha dado o Ilmo. e Exmo. governador aquelles socorros e guias que diziam ser de gentios confinantes. Neste meio tempo, em o ano de 1739, se abriu o caminho de Cuiabá para estas minas, atravessando o Rio Grande com a vinda de Anglês Preto com os seus barbeiros..... Pela vantagem das longitudes de uma e outra capitania pelos seus confins, e pela proximidade da distância do sertão que media desta Vila Boa da Senhora Sant'Ana até aquela do Senhor Bom Jesus do Cuiabá, tendo para mim que será muito conveniente — ambas as capitanias e suas repúblicas fazerem-se bailas, no pelo da demarcação, na lagoa donde verte o Rio das Mortes, e se correm no caminho, donde continuará a divisão a rumo do norte: fiável as mais vertentes dêle e do rio Araxaguary, que corre ao mesmo rumo, compreendendo o rio Farto, e outra do gentio tapayrapé, a campanha do gentio guapindaqui até o rio Paraboyaba, os confins da capitania do Pará em latitude, no contrário..."

Contemplando, agora, o mapa antropológico reproduzido à página ... do presente trabalho, encontramos nele não só a confirmação das referidas datas, como também, pontilhado, o caminho dos bandeirantes através das aldeias dos Tapirapé situadas, continuamente, no atual hábitat desta tribo e não na região indicada por Silva, nem em qualquer outra parte. Vemos nele "a derrota até o rio Farto" através da zona hoje denominada pelos chanadas "Chavante", caminho que, depois de passar pelas "aldeias do Gentio Tapirapé" ou, ao dizer de Pinto de Silveira, pela "terra do gentio tapayrapé", continua em direção ao "Gentio Guapindaqui" e ao rio Paraupava, cujo nome é escrito por Pinto de Silveira uma vez igualmente "Paraupava" e outra vez "Paraboyaba". No "Mapa do Brasil e dos Estados Limítrofes" organizado e editado pela Companhia Melhoramentos de S. Paulo

(s. a.) há um grande afluente meridional do Tocantins (Itacayunhas ou Tacayunas) com o nome de "Paraupeba". Mas referindo-se Cunha Mattos (2 263) a "um roteiro dado pelo capitão-mor do Coiatá Antonio Pires de Campos ao capitão-mor Antonio Rodrigues Villares, para a descoberta das terras dos índios *Arués*" (e reproduzido ibidem 141-144), escreve: "O grande interesse deste roteiro é mostrar que os *Arués* ficam muito mais ao norte do que se dizia; e que o rio Tocantins tinha o nome de Paraupeba, posto que uns antigos roteiros dos jesuítas é tratado por aquele, e não por este nome". Os "Guapindaçó" ou, como escreve Pinto da Silveira, "guapindaçó", parecem ser os "Apinaié" ou "Apinagé" de autores posteriores, tribo de dialeto timbira que habita, atualmente, o triângulo formado pelos rios Tocantins e Araguaia até cerca de 6º 30' de latitude sul, sendo recentemente estudado por Nimuendajú (8).

Outra identidade é a menção da morte do capitão João da Veiga Bueno tanto no mapa setecentista, como no roteiro de Pinto da Silveira. Não sei quando esta morte ocorreu. Os anos assinalados nessa "Informação" não permitem dedução exata a respeito. Mas ignoro também outras notícias acerca de João da Veiga Bueno, além das acima citadas.

Em todo caso há fortes razões para supor que Pinto da Silveira conhecera o caminho para as "aldeias do Gentio Tapirapé" marcado no dito mapa. A questão é se ele o conhecera já antes de ser-lhe. Mas é mais provável que lhe fosse "a prova de com *Tapirapes*" mencionada por Silva e Souza (448) no território atual desta tribo, do que no "Rio Grande, antes de ter o nome de Araguaia".

Aparentemente, Silva e Souza não conhecera a "Informação" de Pinto da Silveira datada em 1761 nem o mapa setecentista em questão, quando, em 1812, redigiu a sua "Memória". No tocante a esta declara ele mesmo (309): "Eis-aqui todo o que a respeito de Goiaz pude descobrir no curto espaço de pouco mais de dois meses, no meio de confusão em que estavam essas notícias; e nem devo duvidar que, a-pesar-da minha diligência, em alguns pontos me falte a exação. Mas quem reflitir que não só da capital, que não estivi na secretaria e teve arquivos que desejava, e que apenas recolhi notícias dos que viajaram com os olhos nessas brenhas, de livros em alguns cartórios, e papeis que nem critica existiam não diferentes sobre particulares, conhecerá o trabalho que tive...".

Convém lembrar que também para Ayres de Casal, contemporâneo de Silva e Souza, a "Tappirapés" era indígena "à ex-

ção da rpia oriental, ao longo do Araguaia". Por outro lado, em começo do século XIX, o curso superior do Araguaia, chamado de Rio Grande, era conhecido como parte do território dos Kayapó do sul. Pode ser que isso e o fato de Pinto da Silveira ter sido para fazer a guerra a estes índios tivessem levado Silva e Souza a supôr o hábitat tapirapé como pegado àquela parte e, portanto, "junto ao Rio Grande".

Seja como fôr, esta notícia não foi confirmada por outros autores. Na sua descrição de Goiaz publicada em 1822 anota Pizarro e Araujo (240) que no "rumo de Norte ao Poente ficam situados, junto ao Araguaia, os *Carajás*, os *Pinarés*, e os *Tapirapés*: e estes últimos, além de pacíficos, plantam, fiam e tecem". Assim confirma os dados de Silva e Souza acerca da índole e das atividades desta tribo, mas não a afirmação do mesmo autor a respeito do seu hábitat no "Rio Grande, antes de ter o nome de Araguaia", nem a no tocante à sua procedência dos sertões do Rio de Janeiro.

Concluindo, pode-se dizer que estas duas afirmações não merecem fé, à vista da citada declaração do próprio Silva e Souza (300) no tocante à "criação" de "algumas plantas" de sua "Memória", como também em consideração dos outros argumentos acima especificados.

Segundo o que os Tapirapé me afirmavam repetidamente, a sua tribo, se bem que outros antigamente eram perto do Araguaia do que hoje, nunca atravessou êste rio e nunca habitou ao este dêle. Isso, porém, não me faz duvidar da veracidade de Coudreau quando, a respeito da ilha do Bananal, escreve (2 392-393): "A ilha é povoada de índios *Javahés* e *Carajás*; e ocasionalmente por *Cantajahys*, *Xambioás*, *Tapirapés*, *Gradaés*, e outros bárbaros..." Pois, tendo a dedicatória da "Chorographia" dêste autor a data de 1896, é bem possível que, depois de terem passado algumas gerações, os Tapirapé perderam a lembrança dessas "povoações ocasionais".

Além disso, o dr. William Lipkind, etnólogo norte-americano que, em 1938 e 1939, trabalhou na ilha do Bananal, disse-me ter recebido dos Karajá de Santa Isabel, Fontoura e outros lugares as seguintes informações: Antigamente havia Tapirapé morando com os Javahé, isto é, no interior da ilha do Bananal. Incomodando um capitão, queimaram a aldeia dêsses índios. Os Javahé, então, se alegraram. Os Tapirapé atravessaram o Araguaia em ponto ao norte de Mato Verde, portanto não muito longe da foz do rio Tapirapé. Isso aconteceu há vinte ou trinta anos.

Depois de ter visitado os Tapirapé, em companhia de Wagley, o dr. Lipkind me escreveu (carta de 10 de setembro de 1939): "The Tapirapé themselves say that they lived for another dozen

— the most marked cultural similarity with the Carajá — from the "crewfish", who, I take it, are the Javaés, "jewfish" in Carajá. Near the Javaés village of Inubaci I was shown a Tapirapé cemetery. The Javaés tradition there is that they lived in the same village with the Tapirapé, and I was shown the site".

Considerando que os habitantes de Tanquinho enterram o morto dentro da casa habitada por ele antes de falecer, cumpre perguntar se os Tapirapé em similhança com os Javaés sepultavam também dêste modo, sendo, então, o "quimbiro" visto por Lipkind as ruínas duma aldeia, ou se esses representantes da tribo tapi procederam de maneira completamente diferente, praticando como os Karajá a chamada "sepultura secundária", isto é, enterrando o cadáver num cemitério, exumando os ossos depois da putrefação da carne e deitando-os em grandes urnas colocadas em lugar coberto no solo.

Na mesma carta, Lipkind acrescenta: "You may be interested to know that in the isolated Javaés villages there are some distinctly Tapirapé types, short stature, lighter coloring, face-cast. My comrade Antonio Pereira, who was not aware of my preoccupation with Tapirapé relations, noticed it and pointed out the resemblance".

A respeito do problema da escada dos Tapirapé na Ilha do Bananal e de sua controvérsia com os Javaés são interessantes as informações do alferes José Pinto da Fonseca. A cópia de uma carta datada na "Ilha de Santa Anna, 2 de Agosto de 1775" (cf. Fonseca *I* 388) e publicada, primeiro, em 1946, diz (ib.), referindo-se a essa Ilha (isto é, à Ilha do Bananal): "... o que sois tenho descoberto de gentio são as duas nações de Carajás *E* Javaés; a primeira consiste de seis aldeias, a segunda de três, e ambas fazem o número de 9.000 almas: essas duas nações sou dão notícia dos Avaés, Tapirapés e Canoeiros, com os quais tive paz".

A cópia da carta do mesmo autor datada dois dias depois, isto é, em 4 de agôsto de 1775, e publicada em 1920, contém, num trecho transcrito no Brazo Menor do Araguaia (cf. *I* 116), as seguintes observações (*I* 124-125): "A nação dos Javaés consta só de uma grande aldeia, a qual demora rio abaixo três dias de viagem de canoa, e abaixo desta aonde fica rio fica barra no Araguaia, fica a nação dos Tapirapés, e defronte dela da outra parte do Araguaia, um grande rolete do Araguaia, sendo suposto é nome de uma nação, a que chamavam Carabaxé, a qual nunca houve, mas sim, isto de nome de um índio Carajá que levou Antonio Pires, a qual chamava Carabaxé".

Segundo esta comunicação, portanto, os Tapirapé não moravam, em 1775, com os Javaés na mesma aldeia, mas perto dêles

na ponta setentrional da Ilha do Bananal. Com referência aos "Arequis" convém mencionar o "Noticiário Maranhense" que parece ter escrito em fins do século XVII ou começo do século XVIII (João de Souza Ferreira 253) e segundo o qual (fl. 351) (no sertão dos Arequis" um tal Antonio Arruas Vilella "foram morto com dez bancos brancos e outro e outros Indios nossos companheiros por uma traição que nos armou o gentio". Uma "Ordem sobre os Indios do Estado do Maranhão em 29 de Maio de 1649", reproduzida na mesma obra (fl. 312) fala da "guerra com a nação Arequis". Entre as tribos enumeradas por Monteiro Baena (98) em 1847 como habitantes do Araguaia entre o Tocantins e a Ilha do Bananal figura o nome "Arauqui". Ele está também na lista das "nações" do Araguaia que acompanha o diário da viagem feita em 1792/3 por Vila Real (432). Enquanto não há notícias mais minuciosas a respeito, seria precipitado supor qualquer parentesco entre daqueles índios e os Aruak da Goiás ou os "Arauqui" mencionados por Bruzzi (282), governador da praça de Macapá em 1788, como sendo habitantes da "vila de Silves" no Amazonas, portanto igualmente muito longe do Araguaia. Mesmo considerando a expansão da família linguística aruak até o sul de Mato Grosso, é preciso lembrar os diferentes exemplos entre os índios do Brasil em que a semelhança de nomes de tribos não indica parentesco de espécie alguma.

No tocante aos "Coriabaré" da carta de José Pinto da Fonseca quero chamar a atenção para o mapa setecentista reproduzido no presente trabalho, mapa que mostra na parte meridional da Ilha do Bananal o "Gentio Coroabaré". Além disso é digna de nota a carta de José d'Almeida Vasconcellos, datada em Vila Boa, 10 de Dezembro de 1774, portanto no mês anterior do da data da carta do alferes. No dizer de Almeida Vasconcellos (108), o "sertão desconhecido" do que "só se sabe ser junto às vertentes desta Capitania" (de Goiás) "que desaguam no rio Grande ou Araguaia" ("que todos se encorporam no Tocantins"), é "Habitado dos Indios Silvestres, Gorpas, Carajás, Tapirapé, Coroaabaré e Xavante".

Concluindo pode-se dizer com Curtis Mattos que os Tapirapé estiveram "pequenininhos" na Ilha do Bananal, isto é, que certo grupo de uma tribo estiveram permanentemente lá, e, provavelmente, há mais de cem anos. A existência de "tipos tapirapé" entre os Javaés pode ser explicada, também, pelos numerosos casamentos Tapirapé "importados" pelos Karajá.

Em todo caso, os habitantes de Tapirapéua não estiveram sujeitos a migrações de cera amplitude em direção ao oriente, à exemplo, por exemplo, daqueles Gaviões que andaram em procura do "verde-

seu-mal" (cf. Nimuendajú *1* e Métraux *1* e *3*). Pelo que percebi, os Tapirapé ignoravam a existência do mar. Nem se lembravam de que algum branco ou Karajá lhes tinha falado disso. Aparentemente, também nas tradições tribais não havia referência ao oceano.

Mas os Tapirapé sabiam dum grande rio no oeste, rio que chamavam de *pawaná-chinaphó* ou *chinaphó*. E' possível que ouvissem esta palavra de brancos em conversa sôbre o Xingú. Como me disseram em Tanapitáwa, Tapirapé algum tinha visto êsse rio *chinaphó*, escuto um único rapaz "que esteve uma vez lá, há cêrca de vinte anos". Não obtive outras notícias sôbre a vida ou a morte dêsse viajante. Pode ser que êle acompanhou Valadar, o Karajá imigrado pelas suas viagens de exploração, que, como o conversar Alfredo de Oliveira, esteve entre os Tapirapé em 1911. Pois o Tapirapé Kamaiwabó me contou que Valadár levou consigo alguns dêles quando, por esse ocasião, fez uma excursão ao Xingú. Talvez só um dêsses Tapirapé tivesse chegado a ver o grande rio, talvez aquêle único rapaz do qual me falaram na aldeia. Seja como fôr: pelo que se conhece das culturas das tribus do alto Xingú e da cultura dos Tapirapé, é fora de dúvida que êstes não vieram do oeste para o seu hábitat atual.

Tudo indica, aliás, que êles moram desde o século XVIII no "hinterland" da margem esquerda do Tapirapé ou, com outras palavras, na parte setentrional da bacia dêste rio. Mais uma prova de que êles vivem já há muito tempo nessa região, é o seguinte: Os Tapirapé são chamados, em karajá, *ówé* pelos homens e *ówé* pelas mulheres, sendo na mesma língua *ówéwé* o termo daquele sexo e *ówéwéwéwéy* a palavra usada pelas mulheres para designar o Chavantinho que desemboca no rio Tapirapé na distância de três léguas da confluência com o Araguaia. Os Karajá da aldeia Berowanówé me explicaram que dão a êsse tributário do Tapirapé o mencionado nome por êrro cometido ou indico *ówé*, isto é, ao Tapirapé, antigamente em frente de sua foz. Como denominação karajá dêsses Tupí apontaram Ehrenreich (Krause *2* 456) *wéhó* e Krause (ib.) *wéhé*. Segundo Krause, êste vocábulo significa flecha. Talvez seja alusão à qualidade dos Tapirapé como fornecedores de tais projéteis. Quando parti da ilha do Bananal para Tanapitáwa, velho Karajá me pediu para trazer-lhe, na volta, outro de todo flechas de lá. Além, Frei Luiz Pallas (6 II), mencionando que os Karajá apelidam os Tapirapé de *wéé*, declara que esta palavra significa guerra. Tal vocábulo me parece menos aceitável do que o de flecha.

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# OS TAPIRAPÉ

## TRIBU TUPI DO BRASIL CENTRAL

(Especial para a "REVISTA DO ARQUIVO")

HERBERT BALDUS

### III. O contacto com os brancos

(Continuação)

Tapirapé e Karajá chamam os brancos de *kari*. Deve ser palavra karajá, pois, pelo que sei, não existe com dois significados em outras línguas tupí. Na tradução de Montoya (*2* II 357v./ 391v.) e Stradelli (*68*) *i*: alegre, alegre, satisfeito. Klumbeth(*2* 58) apresenta o têrmo tapirapé *mbiir* (*a*), *mabiira* com a tradução: branco, cristão, dedicando disso (ib. 36, nota 3) que os Tapirapé estiveram temporariamente sob influência de catequese cristã, por corresponder aquele vocábulo à palavra *tapuyuyra* com que, segundo Martius (*2* II 91) e outros autores, os Tupí catequizados designaram o cristão. Devemos observar, porém, que, como também Martius (ib.) mencionou, *tapuyuyra* referia-se ao cristão no sentido de católico e não no de "civilizado" ou branco em contraste com o índio. Significa literalmente: filho de Deus, tendo o têrmo *uyra*: filho, nada que ver com *uyra*, como Klumbeth escreve, *mbiir* (*a*) e *mabiira*. Verifiquei, além, que os Tapirapé denominam com a palavra *uyra* (algum pronunciam *uyape*) outros índios vizinhos dos brancos, quando querem distingui-los, pela sua proximidade, dos próprios parentes. Assim, por exemplo, *uyra* era em Tanpinikim a mis-

sanga ou qualquer medicamento obtido dos "civilizados". Objetos, porém, que não tinham equivalentes na cultura tapirapé, receberam outros nomes. Papel, livro e lapis, por exemplo, tinham o nome genérico *yeyrawpé* com que é designada, também, a folha central ainda comprimida e não desenvolvida da palmeira buriti, e que, segundo Montoya (2 II 266), significa: "palo chato, tabla", ao passo que Stradelli (594) aponta para *pé* a significação "espique".

Mas nunca ouvi os Tapirapé empregarem o têrmo *mayra* para denominar os próprios brancos. A-pesar-disso pode ser que o usassem na minha ausência, pois Anchieta o menciona como designação hostil dada pelos Tupinambá aos portugueses. Escreve o ilustre jesuita (2 332), com referência a estes indios: "Também lhe ficou dos antigos noticias de uns dois homens que andavam entre eles, um bom e outro mau, ao bom chamavam *Çumé*, que deve de ser o apóstolo S. Tomé.... O outro homem chamavam *Maira*, que dizem que lhes fazia mal e era contrário de *Çumé*; e por esta causa os que estão de guerra com os Portugueses, lhes chamam *Maira*".

Em Montoya (2 II 212) encontramos a seguinte explicação pitoresca: Mbai, *Dieron a los Españoles, secado deste nombre* Mbaipyra: *maçamorra, porque dicen que antiguamente mataron a un Español, y se le comieron cocido, y del caldo hicieron maçamorra; y asi abiá in proverbium, por averles sabido bien, y hazen carcadilla mbai, de mbai pyra*".

O mesmo autor (fl. 90 v.) informa: "Carai..... *Asnio, mulato. Vocablo con que honraron a sus hechizeros universalmente: y asi le aplicaron a los Españoles, y usai improprimente al nombre Christiano, y a cosas benditas, y asi no usamos dél en estas ocasiones*".

Na Amazônia aparece a forma *karina*. O vocabulário nheengatú de Stradelli (403) diz: "Caryua — O branco, o dono, o senhor, aquelle que pode mandar. O nome de *caryua* é dado indifferentemente a branco, mulato, preto ou tapúio, contanto que esteja pela sua posição social em condições de mandar, ao menos de frente da pessoa que fala. "Segundo Hurley (328), os Tembé do Gurupi e Guamá chamam o "branco (civilizado)" de "*carina*". Em Tuapitiúna não ouvi semelhante designação.

Mas tanto Stradelli (510) como Hurley (330) apresentam a voz *mairi* com o significado de "cidade". Martius (2 II 61) a escreve *mairy*, e o "Dicionario portugues-brasileiro" não emprega o sinal discritico, grafando simplesmente *mairy*. Karl von den Steinen (1 2) dá a versão: "*mairú azú*: cidade grande".

Recalde (*2* 68) deriva o têrmo *mairi*: cidade, da palavra francesa *mairie*. No tocante a isto convém objetar, pelo menos, que se pronuncia *ai* no vocábulo tupí exatamente como é escrito e não como o *e* aberto do *ai* francês. Aliás, Mendes de Almeida (*2*) ventila as etimologias indias propostas por diversos autores a respeito de *mairi* (que êle escreve: *maíry*) e de *maír*, denominação dada pelos Tupinambá aos franceses. Relacionando os dois têrmos com o nome de *Maire-Monan*, herói-civilizador desses índios, o mesmo autor (*2* 97) admite a explicação de Thevet segundo a qual os Tupinambá "vendo que os franceses faziam obras raras e admiráveis os denominaram *Maíras* por supô-los verdadeiros filhos do celebrado *Maire-Monan*. "Na mitologia tembé, a palavra *Maíra* também aparece como nome do herói-civilizador, ainda que êste ente se distinga consideravelmente do *Maire-Monan* dos Tupinambá (cf. Nimuendajú *3*, 281-288). Completamente improvável parece qualquer relação entre essas duas figuras e *Imaraí*, personagem feminina da mitologia tapirapé, que estudarei no capítulo correspondente.

Naturalmente, o uso do têrmo *mayra* para designar certas coisas recebidas de nós não permite deduções ao modo de Kissenberth, pois há palavras com imensas possibilidades de migrar de tribu a tribu e mesmo por intermédio de tribus com línguas completamente diferentes, sendo múltiplas as espécies de contactos indiretos. Por outro lado, o emprego duma palavra karajá para denominar-nos não indica falta de contacto direto com os brancos. E nada a respeito da época, duração e espécie de contactos anteriores é revelado pelo fato de o fuzil ser chamado de *mahéua*, têrmo que aparece no tembé (Hurley 345) e no nheêngatú de Stradelli (536) como "*macúa*", no dicionário tupí de Martius (*2* II 66) como "*macúbe*", no tupinambá de Léry (309) como "*mocap*", no "Vocabulario na Lingua Brasilica" (221) como "*jbirápocaba*" (sendo "*jbirá*" ou "*igbigrá*": "*pau*"), no guarayo (Hoeller 118), guaraní antigo (Montoya *2* II 215) e paraguaio moderno (Recalde *2* 68) como "*mbohá*" significando, segundo êste último autor (ib.), "fazedor de barulho, o que faz barulho, o fuzil". O têrmo *mahéua* pode tanto provir de outra tribu, como ter-se originado entre os próprios Tapirapé ao verem e ouvirem tal arma de fogo.

O contacto dos Tapirapé com os brancos no século XVII é nem mais nem menos problemático do que a identidade desses Tupí com os "Cantingas" e "Pirapés". Deve-se supor, porém, que no século seguinte, os brancos tenham visitado os Tapirapé no seu atual habitat. Isto é indicado não só pelo caminho dos

bandeirantes pontilhado no mapa setecentista, como também por uma alusão referida por Ehrenreich (2 88) segundo a qual esses índios, no século XVIII, tiveram, no rio Tapirapé, relações com colonos. Aliás, como já expliquei, é provável que o assalto de Pinto da Silveira "às aldeias dos pacíficos tapirapés" (Alencastre 79) tenha ocorrido no vale dêsse rio. Por outro lado, as citadas cartas de José d'Almeida Vasconcellos e José Pinto da Fonseca, de 1774 e 1775, não mencionam relações entre brancos e Tapirapé. Tanto mais surpreende Souza Villa Real (432) apontar, na lista de "nomes dos principaes que habitam em o rio Araguaya", os seguintes da "Nação Tapirasse": "Macaráseu, Camaira, Uarinim, Canerena, Itaira, Iborahi, Anacatu e Yaurayu". São, de fato, bem tapirapé êsses oito nomes da lista anexa ao diário da viagem feita naquêle rio pelo mesmo autor, nos anos de 1792 e 1793. Ainda hoje há um "principal" chamado Kamairá. Infelizmente, o viajante não indica se ouviu os oito nomes da boca dos Karajá ou, diretamente, dos Tapirapé, não fazendo referência alguma a relações que êle ou outros brancos tivessem tido com estes últimos.

Numerosos são os autores do século XIX que falam dos Tapirapé. Já citei o que disse Silva e Souza em 1812, Pizarro e Araujo em 1822, Cunha Mattos em 1824, Eschwege em 1830, Ayres de Casal em 1833, Milliet de Saint-Adolphe em 1845, Monteiro Baena em 1847, Saint-Hilaire em 1848 e Alencastre em 1864. Há, ainda, as seguintes informações: O "Roteiro da viagem que fez o capitão Francisco de Paula Ribeiro às fronteiras da capitania do Maranhão e da de Goyaz no anno de 1815", em que menciona (37) os Tapirapé como uma das "nações bárbaras e intratáveis" que habitam as "vertentes do Tocantins".

Acerca de dois mapas daquela época, escreve Kissenberth (2 41): "O mapa do Brasil de C. E. Klöden, aparecido em 1817, assinala índios *Tapirapeques* ao norte dum afluente do Araguaia que corresponde ao atual rio Tapirapé. Também no mapa de A. Brué, do ano de 1826, encontram-se *Tapirapeques* ao norte do tributário do Araguaia agora chamado de rio Farto. Nêste mapa há um Rio Tapirapes ao norte da ilha de Bananal, sob o sono grau, mais ou menos. Vivendas de índios Tapirapé acham-se ao sul dêste tributário esquerdo do Araguaia".

Na bábua XXVIII do "Atlas ethnographique" de Balbi (Paris 1826) na qual Ferdinand Denis trata de "Langues de la région Guarani-Brésilienne", indicando o estado da etnografia brasileira na primeira metade do século passado, o tapirapé não está incluído na "Famille Guarani" da qual faz parte o "Est-Gua-

rasl, ou Brésilienne, dite aussi Tupi et Lingua-Geral". Lemos observa que é falado "Tappirapuna, par les Tappirapuna ou Tappirapes. Ils occupent dans la province de Matto-Grosso une grande partie du district de Tappirapuia, auquel ils donnent le nom, et où ils sont les plus nombreux de tous les sauvages qui l'habitent". Nos vocabulários da tábua XLI ("Tableau polyglotte des langues américaines") do mesmo "Atlas" falta o tapirapé. Aliás, o fato do tapirapé não estar incluído na família guarani-tupi terá provável ter sido ignorado, naquela época, não só pelos estudiosos, mas talvez até pelos próprios sertanejos brasileiros. É de supor que estes o tivessem reconhecido como parente da Lingua-geral que, há mais de cem anos, era muito mais divulgada entre os "civilizados" ou "cristãos" do que atualmente. A falta de contacto que se deixa inferir da aludida ignorância, é compreensível pela acima citada observação do coevo Casal, segundo a qual a "Tappirapuia" é incógnita "à exceção da raia oriental, ao longo do Araguaia".

No primeiro tomo da obra de Pohl (I 341), aparecido em 1832, lê-se a notícia também contida na "Memoria" escrita por Silva e Souza em 1812, segundo a qual o capitão-mor João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira aprisionou cem "Tapirapés", que morreram, todos, na Vila-Boa.

Castelnau (II 114) diz que, em 1844, quando desceu o Araguaia, foi informado da existência de uma aldeia "des Tapirapés qui se trouve dans la province de Matto-Grosso, à peu près à la latitude de la pointe nord de l'Ile Bananal, sur un ribeirão qui se jette dans le Furo de gauche".

Na sua clássica sinopse das tribus do Brasil publicada em 1867, Martius (2 I 205) já inclui os Tapirapé junto aos "Tupi Centrais", sem dar, porém, um vocabulário deles nos seus "Glossarios de diversas linguas e dialectos, que fallão os Indios no imperio do Brazil" (2 II). Além disso, citando como fonte o "Diccionario" de Milliet de Saint-Adolphe, menciona (2 I 205) os Tapirapé "que uma tradição deixa proceder do Rio de Janeiro", como habitantes do "Rio Tapirapés (confluente ocidental do Araguaia"). Como Martius não indica a razão de classificar os Tapirapé como Tupi, é de supor que êle conhecesse a informação de Souza Villa Real concernente aos nomes de oito "principais" tapirapé, informação essa aparentemente não considerada no estudo linguístico de Ferdinand Denis, por ter sido publicada 22 anos depois dêste, isto é, em 1848.

Moraes Jardim (24) que, em 1879, explorou o Araguaia, escreve a respeito do rio Tapirapé: "Já o vapor *Araguaya*, sob o

comando do falecido capitão-tenente Baldoino, por ele subiu até 10 léguas, mais ou menos, de sua foz, em um pôrto dos índios Tapirapés, sem encontrar obstáculo algum, e dende chegando enviou o comandante alguns exploradores ao aldeamento, que ficava à alguma distância do rio; pressentindo, porém, os índios a aproximação dos exploradores, fugiram, não tendo conseguido o comandante mais do que um reconhecimento dessa seção do rio".

A essa viagem no rio Tapirapé se refere João Severiano da Fonseca (1 90) do modo seguinte: "O benemérito capitão de fragata Baldoino de Aguiar, tão conhecido por seus heróicos feitos nos combates do forte de Coimbra e outros no rio Paraguai e S. Lourenço, subiu-o em 1868 cerca de cincoenta quilômetros, num pequeno vapor, o Araguaya, que o Sr. Couto de Magalhães fizera transportar de Coiabá para as explorações do rio, cujo nome tomou".

Naquele tempo, pois, os Tapirapé moravam mais perto do Araguaia, do que hoje.

Escreve ainda Moraes Jardim (34): "Têm os Tapirapés seus aldeamentos nas margens do rio do mesmo nome; consta que são índios dóceis e mais industriosos do que os outros, porém ainda nenhuma relação temos com eles".

Deve ter havido, porém, naquele tempo, relações indiretas entre os Tapirapé e os brancos, e essas, provavelmente, por intermédio dos Karajá, pois além da mencionada notícia de serem dóceis e industriosos aqueles índios, lemos num artigo sôbre os Karajá escrito por Aristides de Souza Spinola e inserto no folheto de Moraes Jardim (40), no tocante aos cofrinhos labiais fabricados de quartzo: "Durante minha viagem vi apenas um índio comum desta qualidade. Possuo dois em meu pequeno gabinete indígena, recebidos dos Tapirapés, que habitam as margens do rio dêste nome, confluente do Araguaia".

Ehrenreich que, em 1888, desceu o Araguaia, diz em 1891 (2 88): "Na região do rio Araguaia vivem os Tapirapé que, é verdade, ainda não foram visitados por viajante algum, mas que já no século passado tiveram relações com os colonos". Como Martius, êle incorpora estes índios aos "Tupí Centrais" (ibidem). Acerca da expansão dos chamados "Tupí puros", opina Ehrenreich (2 89): "Um olhar ao mapa mostra que a maneira mais simples de explicar a ampla distribuição destes povos é supor uma irradiação. Já d'Orbigny reconheceu acertadamente que a corrente principal dos Tupí ia do sul ao norte. Tudo indica o ponto-de-partida ter sido lá onde ainda hoje existe a aglomeração mais compacta desses povos, isto é, no Paraguai e nas suas

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vizinhanças, como também nas partes orientais da Bolívia. Daqui partem três grandes linhas de difusão. A primeira passa através do Brasil meridional e ao longo da costa até o Pará onde uma ramificação sobe o baixo Amazonas, enquanto outra atravessa êste rio e se espalha na Guiana oriental sendo representada pelos Ovampi e outros numerosos elementos tupí. A segunda linha vai do centro diretamente para o nordeste e é representada pelos Apinaká, Kamayurá, Tapirapé e Guajajara, realizando estas últimas a ligação com os Tupí da costa. A surpreendente semelhança das línguas dessas tribos muito espalhadas, semelhança não só entre si, mas também com o idioma dos antigos povos da costa faz supor as abaixadas migrações jovens não bastante simplíssimas. A migração Araguaia ou Xingú abaixo, admitida por Martius, não se deixa demonstrar, sendo improvável tal descida pelo Tapajós. Por fim, o Madeira ou o Ucayali pode ter sido o caminho para o norte tomado pelos Tupí ocidentais cujos representantes são os Guarayo, Kokama e Omagua".

Henri Coudreau (174, 176, 185 e 186), a-pesar-de ter estado, em 1897, na foz do Tapirapé, apresenta, acerca dos índios homónimos, só dados aparentemente baseados em informações mal entendidas, pois considera os Tapirapé como Karajá que, por habitarem aquêle rio, são chamados de "Carajás-Tapirapés ou simplesmente Tapirapés", estando à sua aldeia ("1 barraque" com "20 habitants") a cinco dias de ubá subindo da confluência com o Araguaia. "Ce serait cette maloca qui verrait, de temps à autre, les Cayapós-Gorotirés défiler dans de campo en longues théories guerrières, arc en main, partant en expédition dans le sud où ils vont, disent les Carajás-Tapirapés, attaquer, de temps à autre, sur la route de Cayabá, les sertões où ils ont pour alliés les Chavantes et les Coroados..." (ibidem 176).

Com referência ao contacto dos Tapirapé com os brancos no século passado convém mencionar, ainda, o colégio Isabel do qual Couto de Magalhães (2 132) disse poucos anos depois da sua criação, realizada em 1871: "... estão aí representadas hoje todas as tribus do Araguaia, nos cincoenta e dois alunos que conta". No dizer do prefácio da segunda edição da "Viagem ao Araguaya" do mesmo autor (1 pág. XXV), para aquêle colégio "entraram logo uns 20 meninos de ambos os sexos das tribus dos *Chavantes, Gorotirés, Cayapós, Carajás, Tapirapés* e 3 da extinta tribu dos *Guajajaras*".

A respeito disso é preciso anotar que, ao passo que os Guajajara não foram extintos até hoje, o mesmo não se deu com o colégio Isabel. Sua vida durou pouco. Ehrenreich (3 4), na des-

crição de sua viagem de 1888, publicada em 1892, observa o seguinte: "Em 14 de agôsto chegou a Leopoldina um bom número de Kayapó. Vieram do chamado colégio Isabel situado, aproximadamente, a duas léguas rio abaixo na margem esquerda, perto de Dumbabinho. Estiveram em companhia de seu diretor. Forneceram-me material linguístico e antropológico. Ao mesmo tempo ficaram, sabendo algumas coisas das condições em que está aquela colônia e que caracterizam bem a maneira pela qual, frequentemente, realiza-se a obra civilizadora neste país. O instituto tinha sido fundado por Couto de Magalhães, no ano de 1871, com o objetivo de cristianizar crianças índias, torná-las cultivadas submissas e atrair, simultaneamente, os índios selvagens de sua tribo. O governo deu roupa e outros artigos de importação, principalmente instrumentos agrícolas. Forneceu quantidade considerável de gado do qual cada índio, ao casar-se, recebeu certo número de cabeças. Além disso deu cinco contos de subvenção anual. No tempo de Couto de Magalhães e, especialmente, durante a administração de Sebastião, o colégio prosperava e gozava de estima geral mesmo entre as tribos selvagens mais afastadas. Kayapó e Tapirapé entravam. Contavam-me que um Tapirapé educado lá e regressado, mais tarde, para a sua tribo, apareceu depois de alguns anos novamente na margem do rio esperando com acompanhamento kayapó durante dois meses a chegada do vapor, a fim de expedir o seu filho para o mesmo estabelecimento. Visitante os Kayapó que por preço algum se separam dos filhos, não queriam saber nada do colégio. Infelizmente cometeu-se uma vez o êrro de levar à fôrça crianças destes índios. Em consequência disso, êles afastam agora todas as crianças cada vez que se aproxima um navio. Na época da nossa presença, o instituto estava completamente negligenciado. O diretor tratava os índios como escravos, mandando-os trabalhar para si mesmo. Desamparados, eles estavam entregues às brutalidades dêle e dos amigos dêle. As moças tinham de fazer o gosto a todos êsses aproveitadores. A maioria delas já tinha dado à luz ou esperava fazê-lo. Havia muito tempo que não chegavam índios novos pois as violências dos civilizadores brancos afugentavam os selvagens cada vez mais. A maior parte dos índios do colégio já tinha chegado aos trinta anos. Mas nenhum deles pensava em ir-se. De todo o tempo acostumados à servidão e tutela, continuavam a fazer os seus serviços, com indolência estúpida. Naturalmente, não se tratava mais do ensino. O gado estava roubado ou fugido. O que, além disso, era dado pelo govêrno, desapareceu na bolsa do diretor. Mais

tarde, o dr. Baggi que, como sólido republicano, procurou descobrir e perseguir todos os abusos do regime reinante, conseguiu a supressão do "instituto".

Se bem que, no século XIX, alguns indivíduos Tapirapé tivessem se encontrado com os brancos, não temos notícia de que entre índios, naquela época, tenham estado em contacto direto com o grupo da tribo. Ehrenreich (5) que, na sua classificação publicada em 1891 e acima citada, incorporava os Tapirapé aos "Tupí centrais", confessa, ainda em 1905, serem eles conhecidos só por informações que não permitiam dizer se estão em relação com os Tupí orientais ou com os do centro. Acrescenta ser provável que sejam oriundos, provavelmente do Pará ou Maranhão.

Os poucos Tapirapé que, no primeiro decênio do nosso século, foram vistos pelos brancos, eram, na maior parte, mulheres e crianças capturadas pelos Karajá. Krause (2 320 e 404) conta que estes índios prenderam os raptos quando os homens da tribo tupí se afastaram da família para ir comerciar com eles num banco de areia do rio Tapirapé. As mulheres cativas serviam-lhes como trabalhadoras e concubinas, sendo as crianças incorporadas à tribo. Algumas dessas mulheres e crianças foram aprisionadas por ocasião de um assalto em que os Karajá mataram varios homens. Com referência a isso menciona Glaze (139), que em 1909 esteve nas aldeias dos apacanãs: "...the women and children were carried away captive to the Bananal Island, and they either became part of the Carajá tribe we had seen or else were sold to any bidder sometimes to white men in exchange for an ox or other thing, their equivalent for money".

Krause, que explorou o Araguaia em 1908, escreve (2 405): "Nas aldeias dos Karajá vi, ao todo, duas mulheres, três moças e dois meninos dos Tapirapé". Kissenberth que, no mesmo ano e no seguinte, esteve na mesma região, observa (2 47): "Vi, ao todo, só sete indivíduos dos índios Tapirapé: o quase sexagenário Ngrouti (figs. 4 e 5) que encontrei numa aldeia dos Mbakengukré-Kayapó situada no ribeirão Salobro, afluente do Peixe, e chamada Ororgdjakankikré; dois meninos dos quais um estive em poder dum negociante de borracha que descia o Araguaia, enquanto o outro menino era escravo de Tamanako, chefe da aldeia karajá Woudó; além disso, três mulheres e uma menina, escravas do chefe Crisóstomo, na aldeia Weberiadé, do chefe Tamanako e do chefe Iwaná, na aldeia Doashiká".

Dona Delfina de Arruda Correia contou-me por ocasião da minha passagem pela cidade de Goiaz, em 5 de setembro de 1935,

que, quando ela era professora da escola de Leopoldina, estiveram entre as alunas três ou quatro meninas tapirapé trazidas pelos Karajá. "Estas últimas os tinham raptado e as vendiam", disse a senhora, sem precisar, porém, a época desses acontecimentos.

Menção especial merece um apontamento de Krause (*2* 29) segundo o qual, pouco antes deste viajante ter chegado ao Araguaia, um italiano reparou com os seus companheiros uma moça dos Tapirapé, vendendo-a, depois, aos Karajá. Se isso tivesse acontecido de fato, o italiano teria sido, absolutamente, o primeiro branco que, em nosso século, a ter contacto com os Tapirapé dentro do território desta tribo. Quando escrevi isso ao professor Krause, ele me respondeu (carta de 9 de julho de 1937): "Não acredito que o italiano esteve realmente entre os Tapirapé. Raptou ou quis raptar, talvez, uma moça tapirapé que estava entre os Karajá. Isso se deixa deduzir, pelo menos, da inimizade que, como se disse, os Karajá mostraram contra ele. Mas também tal suposição é mais do que incerta. Eu não ligo importância daquele branco".

Aceita esta explicação, o próprio Fritz Krause figura, pelo que sabemos, como o primeiro branco que no século XX, procurou sistematicamente manter um contacto com a tribo tapi. Subiu, em agosto e setembro de 1908, permanente o rio Tapirapé até o extremo de sua navegabilidade, percorrendo, depois, as terras situadas ao norte do curso superior. O que achou eram pegadas na areia, tapagens na água, maquetas no mato e ruínas de habitações estavam no campo.

Em abril do ano seguinte, Wilhelm Kissenberth, outro etnógrafo alemão, foi ainda menos feliz. Desistiu já no segundo dia da viagem pelo rio Tapirapé, chegando à conclusão de que "o único acesso conveniente às aldeias tapirapé é por via terrestre, pois tanto na época da estiagem como na da enchente, as dificuldades de subir o rio Tapirapé devem ser as mesmas". (Kissenberth *1* 4).

Por fim, durante uma expedição em procura de seringais, realizada no ano de 1911, alguns caravanes chefiados pelo seu conterrâneo Alfredo Olímpio de Oliveira, depois de terem subido o rio Tapirapé e atravessado os campos, encontraram os índios Tapirapé e conviveram com eles por algum tempo nas suas aldeias. As primeiras informações a êsse respeito me foram dadas pelo snr. coronel João Cristóvão de Oliveira, irmão do snr. Alfredo. Quando estive, depois, em Tampitãua, o índio Kamaiabó

lembrava-se ainda frequentemente e com elogios do sr. Alfredo e de seus companheiros. Aliás, aquela viagem dos cavaleiros foi descrita por Augusto Costa (221-224), que já no dia 29 de julho de 1912 publicara um artigo sôbre ela na "Folha do Norte" de Belém do Pará. Além disso, no relatório da expedição dominicana de 1914, intitulado "Entre os Tapirapés e Inserto no "Mensageiro do Santo Rosario", há o seguinte trecho (316-317): "Em 1911, um grupo de caucheiros pensou que as margens do igarapé (rio Tapirapé [H. B.]) seriam ricas de caucho. O chefe da expedição era um sr. Alfredo. O ponto de partida foi Conceição. As explorações duraram meses, de maio até novembro: em vez de caucho foram descobertas aldeias índias, as três aldeias dos Tapirapés: era a primeira vez que estes selvagens viam civilizados ou, no dizer do povo, cristãos. Quis Deus que selvagens e cristãos confraternizassem. Alfredo tornou-se amigo dos Tapirapés e trouxe em Conceição um grupo que se compunha de uma mulher já velha, de uma neta que tinha de 11 para 12 anos, e de alguns homens. Na viagem os homens fugiram. A menina foi vestida quando chegou na missão".

No dia 9 de outubro de 1912, o jornal "O País" do Rio de Janeiro transcreveu do quinzenário goiano "O Estado de Goyaz", de 15 de setembro do mesmo ano, um artigo intitulado "Proteção aos Indios" segundo o qual o dr. Francisco Mondacarú visitara uma aldeia dos Tapirapé situada numa distância de 6 jd. léguas do rio homônimo, restituindo "uma mulher tapirapé e o seu filhinho de doze anos" que "resgatara" em Conceição, onde se achavam "em escravidão" (Kissenberth 2 36, 43). Provavelmente eram a avó e a neta trazidas pelo sr. Alfredo e mencionadas no relatório dos dominicanos acima citado.

Tratando das tribos do Araguaia, Glass (139) refere que, em 1913, "the Government Inspector of the Indians of this region ascended the Tapirapé River and discovered about 1000 or 1500 of this tribe still existing, but living forty miles away from the river for fear of the Carajás. He estimates that the Carajás, Tapirapés, Javahés, Cherentes, Chavantes, and one or two other tribes around that district, number over 20,000 Indians".

Em junho de 1914, os dominicanos franceses Domingos Carrerot, Sebastião Thomas e Francisco Bigorre visitaram a aldeia tapirapé situada a cinquenta quilômetros do rio. Foram guiados pelo índio Valadar, filho de pai karajá e mãe tapirapé. Êste guia tomara parte na expedição do sr. Alfredo.

Dez anos mais tarde teve, no dizer do "Mensageiro do Santo Rosario" de abril de 1934, pág. 207, "definitivo início" a "re-

1: Baldus SP22 Tapirapé



gular catequização" dos Tapirapé pelos dominicanos. Isto é, desde 1924 sobem os padres da Conceição do Araguaia cada dois anos, mais ou menos, o rio Tapirapé até o porto S. Domingos onde esperam a chegada dos índios avisados de sua presença pela fumaça de campo incendiado. As vêzes marcham até as habitações estivais da tribo situadas no lago Tucunaré ou em outro ponto não muito distante do rio. Demoram-se um ou alguns dias em companhia dos Tapirapé, distribuindo machados, facões, facas, tesouras, fumo e outros presentes e cumprindo os seus deveres religiosos.

Além dêles, missionários de outras crenças quiseram e querem salvar a alma dos habitantes de Tampitíxua. Em 1923, o ministro batista Benedito Prophetta esteve em ligeiro contato com esses índios, não tendo chegado, porém, à sua aldeia. O pouco que êle, com grande verbosidade, comunica a respeito dêles no seu livro, é confuso e errado demais, para ter valor científico.

Em agôsto de 1930, o missionário inglês Josiah Wilding, da Evangelical Union of South America, acompanhado pela viajante norte-americana Miss Elizabeth Stone, visitou rapidamente Tampitíxua. No ano seguinte, adventistas norte-americanos passaram uma noite na aldeia. Em 1932, a expedição inglesa em procura do desaparecido coronel Fawcett da qual conta tão gradamente o livro de Peter Fleming, encontrou-se com os Tapirapé no pôrto São Domingos. Foi um ligeiro contacto tal como esses índios tiveram, ainda, com uma turma de garimpeiros, com caçadores, e com um oficial da Comissão de Proteção aos Índios. A expedição cinematográfica paulista a que se referem as notas de Pompílio (301-304), passou com eles uma noite de agôsto de 1934 no lago Tucunaré, não tendo ido a Tampitíxua. Em fins de agôsto de 1935, Mme. Raylisse de la Falaise e o seu marido demoraram-se dois dias nessa aldeia. As afirmações acerca dos Tapirapé, feita pela simpática e elegante escritora, são, em grande parte, meras fantasias.

O primeiro branco que depois da expedição do ser. Alfredo, isto é, desde 1911, viveu com os Tapirapé não só um ou alguns dias, mas semanas e mêses a fio, foi o missionário inglês F. C. Kegel, da Evangelical Union of South America, instalada em Macaúba na ilha do Bananal. Esteve com eles em agôsto, setembro e outubro de 1932, de julho até novembro de 1933, de agôsto até novembro de 1934 e de junho até agôsto de 1935. Esta última estada passamos juntos, êle e eu.

O etnólogo norte-americano dr. Charles Wagley esteve com esses índios de abril até outubro de 1939 e de dezembro do mesmo ano até maio de 1940.

Alguns Tapirapé acompanharam os dominicanos e o snr. Kegel até o Araguaia, ficando pacificamente nos estabelecimentos dos padres e do ministério evangélico.

Considerando todos os múltiplos contactos que os Tapirapé tiveram com os brancos, evidencia-se a impossibilidade de especificar a influência de cada um deste últimos. É verdade que ainda pode identificar certas miçangas com as importadas pelo Rev. Kegel e conhecer a origem de algumas miçangas, roupas e ferramentas. Mas já a procedência das vagas alusões a Jesús Cristo fica indecifrável por causa da quantidade e variedade de catequistas e outros visitantes que poderiam ter falado a respeito. Ferramentas já haviam sido trazidas pelos Karajá muito antes da chegada dos seringueiros cearenses. E plantas não autóctones como, por exemplo, certas variedades de bananas, foram cultivadas pelos Tapirapé desde tempos immemoriais. Também as doenças vindas da Europa já haviam alcançado a tribo tupi, provavelmente por contacto indireto com os brancos, isto é, por intermédio de outros índios.

Estudando a influência direta e indireta dos brancos em sua totalidade, pode-se dizer que ela empobreceu a cultura tapirapé. As ferramentas facilitam roçar e a fabricação de vários objetos, mas os índios acostumados a usá-las ficam dependentes da nossa civilização pela necessidade de substituí-las continuamente. Semelhante consequência não resultou da introdução da cana de açúcar e de outras plantas. Essas, porém, continuam sendo dispensáveis à vista do cultivo bem sucedido de numerosos vegetais autóctones. É digno de nota, aliás, que as ferramentas substituem instrumentos de outro material usado antes, mas que elas não alteram a tradicional divisão de trabalho entre os sexos. Também nos restantes aspectos da cultura, seja nos adornos, na construção da casa, na alimentação, na indústria, seja na concepção do sobrenatural, não aparecem traços de origem européia na qualidade de componentes fertilizantes. Colheres de metal ao lado de conchas e cálas; miçangas ao lado de sementes enfiadas; uma peça da nossa roupa junto da pintura do corpo; cachimbo com fornilho oreto à moda dos brancos ao lado do simples tubo de fumar; Jesús Cristo identificado com um personagem que, na mitologia, aparece como dono de grandes porcos e objetos de ferro, como "capitão", esposo e pai; — todas essas importações nossas em síntese com os tradicionais traços não passam de curiosidades,

na consideração dos Tapirapé, curiosidades cuja importância para a função de sua cultura dificilmente supera a importância que uma flecha ou lenda desses índios possa ter para os europeus em geral.

Pelo que pude ver, o Rev. Kugel conseguiu limitar-se a eximir causas e dar remédios. Por causa da esporadicidade, curta duração e, especialmente, da dificuldade de entendimento por meio de palavras, os encontros com os dominicanos e outros visitantes estrangeiros, ainda menos, a cultura tapirapé. Pouco frutíferas foram também as tentativas de influenciar por meio de indivíduos que, levados pelos missionários ao Araguaia, ficaram conhecendo melhor a vida dos brancos do que a conheceram aqueles que nunca deixaram o território da tribo. É notória a facilidade da re-aculturação e re-aculturação ao meio originário de numerosos índios brasileiros educados em centros da nossa civilização (cf. Baldus *7* 165, e Araujo Lima 134-135). Aliás, não vi nenhum Tapirapé que convivera com os brancos o suficiente para chegar a sofrer os conflitos do "homem marginal" de Park, Stonequist e outros sociólogos americanos.

O empobrecimento da cultura tapirapé foi causado, principalmente, pelas doenças dos brancos cuja introdução, porém, só em parte resultou de contactos diretos com estes últimos. Provavelmente os vizinhos Karajá que, como habitantes do Araguaia, estavam continuamente expostos ao contágio, eram com frequência os transmissores. Pelo menos pode-se supor isso acerca das moléstias estranhas cuja introdução antecedeu os contactos diretos com os brancos. Como Wagley (*2*) constatou magistralmente, o despovoamento catastrófico causado tanto por estas epidemias grassadas por volta de 1895 e 1900, como pelas posteriores, afetou a organização social de tal maneira que importantes traços da cultura tapirapé iam-se modificando e perdendo.

Muitas vêzes os Tapirapé me disseram que os antigos sabiam tudo e os bodoquenos sabem quase nada acerca de fenômenos celestes como, por exemplo, os eclipses, e a respeito de muitas outras coisas mitológicas. Talvez isso não seja unicamente consequência da mortandade originada por epidemias e pelos assaltos belicosos dos vizinhos Karajá e Kayapó. Havia velhos que sobreviveram. Posso imaginar a pressão que a presença da nossa cultura exerce sôbre o espírito dos habitantes de Tampitãna. Essa presença é perceptível mediante o complexo formado de doenças, das narrações fantásticas de membros da tribo que estiveram no Araguaia, do comportamento dominador dos visitantes brancos e da ostentação de suas "riquezas". Os efeitos de tal espécie de

prendo inter-étnico valores de cultura a cultura. Podem despertar em pessoa de grande vitalidade, forças criativas insuspeitas, por exemplo, pela criação de novas estratagemas mágicas entre adversários ou por enfraquecimento de ânimo, tempora e propagando entre aqueles que se consideram mais "civilizados". Mas podem, em outros, provocar a resignação em vez da resistência, de modo que se dá por assim dizer, um "esvaziamento cultural", isto é, um esmorecer das coisas próprias não acompanhado pela ventada de substituí-las por novas: nem por novas criações próprias, nem por importações. Assim me parece possível que a atitude prendo tenha levado os Tapirapé a desinteressar-se por certas tradições que não se lhes afiguravam como sendo de valor imediato na luta pela vida.

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# OS TAPIRAPÉ

## TRIBO TUPI DO BRASIL CENTRAL

(Especial para a "REVISTA DO ARQUIVO")

(Continuação)

HERBERT BALDUS

### *IV — O contacto com outros índios*

Enquanto se podem perceber, até certo ponto, os efeitos de contactos diretos e indiretos com os brancos, é mais difícil distinguir as influências procedentes de outras tribos indias. Já aludi às matanças feitas pelos Kayapó e Karajá e ao papel dêstes últimos como transmissores de epidemias e importadores de ferramentas. E' preciso dizer que os Karajá, além de terem sido intermediários, deram também produtos de sua própria cultura, por exemplo, cantos. Mas já não me atrevo a formar hipóteses acêrca da origem do complexo das danças de máscaras em sua totalidade, complexo ao qual pertencem aquêles cantos e que representa um dos aspectos mais característicos tanto da cultura tapirapé como da cultura karajá. Os Tapirapé dão importância especial às danças de máscaras do *chanhai* isto é, "jacuí" ou "jacuzinho", e do *iwaché*, um peixe. Realizam-nas diàriamente durante semanas a fio. Karl von den Steinen (*2* 313), tratando das danças de máscaras dos índios das cabeceiras do Xingú, escreve que a dança do jacuí ("yakui") é a "dança original" dos Auetö e Kamayurá, isto é, das tribos tupí da bacia do Culuene, portanto da parte oriental daquela região separada do território tapirapé pelo divisor das águas do Xingú e Araguaia. Ainda

mais: tanto os Asurini como os Kararaô distinguem duas espécies de danças de máscaras: a dança do jacaré e a de um peixe que era, entre os primeiros, "*kaabiba*" e, entre os últimos, "*kabadi*" (Baldus 310-317). E' verdade que as máscaras usadas por essas tribos (ib., figuras 107-114) diferem completamente das máscaras feitas pelos Tapirapé. Além disso, o pouco que se pode deduzir das figuras referidas à maneira de dançar e aos cantos daqueles índios xinguanos (ib. 313-315) não indica semelhança com a representação do *chondoi* e *ewachá*. Mas por outro lado, os Tapirapé distinguem-se também dos Karajá pelo feitio das máscaras, pelos cantos e pelos movimentos de dança.

Assim, o complexo das danças de máscaras difundido entre o Xingú e o Araguaia teria formas especiais em cada uma das mencionadas tribos, formas que, a-pesar-de deixarem supor o parentesco entre si, não revelam qual dessas tribos foi a primeira a usar máscaras e de onde lhe veio a idéia de fazer isso. Só se pode dizer que não há dados históricos acêrca de encontros dos Tapirapé com as tribos da bacia do Cuiaúna, ao passo que as relações seculares entre os primeiros e os Karajá são perfeitamente documentadas.

E' verdade que certas notícias falam também em "Karajá do Xingú". Segundo o relatório da comissão que explorou êste rio em 1872, "o grosso da tribo Carajá-pucú está aldeado nas margens do Araguaia, e daí é que de tempos a tempos destacam partidas, que vão habitar as terras orientais do rio Xingú e fazer guerra de morte às outras tribos" (Francisco Bernardino de Souza, III, 6). Mais de cem anos antes, o jesuíta Roque Hundertpfundt já fêra informado no Xingú de que "os índios da nação Carajaucú, que algumas vezes se tem visto no Tocantins, têm vindo à dar guerras aos Juruna...." (José de Moraes, 505). Nas narrativas das viagens de Karl von den Steinen, realizadas em 1884 e 1887, há diversas alusões à existência de Karajá no Xingú e até no seu curso superior, índios que o autor considera sem delongas como Karajá do Araguaia (*1* 180, 220, 233, 236 e *2* 155). Ainda E. Snethlage (*2* 400), viajando em nosso século pela região do Xingú, identifica os "Karajá" de lá com os do Araguaia. Foi Nimuendajú (*7* 552-555) quem revelou serem os Górotire e outras sub-tribos kayapó aquêles índios que, no Xingú, desde tempos remotos, são chamados "Karajá".

A sua explicação é confirmada pelo fato de darem os Tapirapé o nome de *Kanamchahá* aos Kayapó e o de *Kanamchanachá* aos seus vizinhos do oeste que, talvez, sejam os Górotire. *Kanamchá* são os Karajá do Araguaia na língua dos habitantes de Tanpïitána.

O sufixo *ko* é sucedâneo com o significado de "grande" que corresponde ao *pucú* em "Carajá-pucú" e ao *uçu* em "Carajaçú" (cf. Montoya 2 II 323/317 e 406/400). Os "Carajás-pucús", segundo Francisco Bernardino de Souza (III 65), "são de estatura muito alta". Mas o professor Fritz Krause, quando eu lhe tinha comunicado o nome dado pelos Tapirapé aos Kayapó e o significado dêste nome, escreveu-me (em carta de 6 de março de 1937) que uma designação com tal sentido dificilmente pode referir-se ao tamanho do corpo, "pois os Kayapó têm estatura menor do que os Karajá". É possível porém que entre as sub-tribos kayapó da bacia do Xingú tenha havido indivíduos maiores do que os Kayapó do hinterland de Conceição do Araguaia, visitados por Krause em 1908. D. Sebastião Thomas encontrou em 1934 um Gorotire "alto e respeitável... de sessenta para setenta anos", que lhe ofereceu "o seu arco de 2 metros e meio de comprimento, o maior que conhecemos. (Mensageiro do Santo Rosário, janeiro de 1935 p. 199). Além disso, o sufixo *ko* pode significar, também, "poderoso" e "feroz", sendo, assim, facilmente aplicável a vizinhos tão temidos como os Kayapó. Não sei se em certas circunstâncias, *pucú* e *uçú* também ampliam desta forma o seu sentido. No dizer de Francisco Bernardino de Souza (l c.) os "Carajás-pucús" não só "são de estatura muito alta", mas também "são de todos os índios do Xingú os mais temidos". A "nação Carajáuçú" era conhecida como hostil aos Juruna. Seja como for: — é bem possível que a palavra *Kanachakó* indique relações muito antigas dos Tapirapé com o Xingú.

Acêrca de suas relações modernas com esta região, já mencionei o rapaz que esteve lá e a excursão de Valadar. Além dessas notícias extremamente escassas obtive algumas informações no tocante a uma tribo que, talvez, represente uma ponte entre o Cuiaberá e o rio Tapirapé. É a referida tribo dos Anpaneá. Ouvi êste nome pela primeira vez da boca de Kamairabó quando, em Tampitéua, no dia 15 de julho, mostrou-me colunas de fumaça a sudoeste. Designou os causadores dessa fumaça por *chaná*, isto é, "nós", "os nossos", ao contrário dos outros vizinhos que são os Karajá, Kayapó e os chamado "Chavante". Explicou que êsses "Chaná" são "outros Tapirapé", sendo Anpaneá o nome de seus homens e Tainchovó o de suas mulheres. Consegui averiguar serem Anpaneá apenas o nome de um único homem e Tainchovó o de sua mulher. Além dêsses dois, os Tapirapé conheciam ainda os nomes de dois outros indivíduos dos habitantes do sudoeste, a saber, Kamorivá e Chandlantirá, ambos de sexo masculino. Mas o nome Anpaneá tornou-se, na minha presença, designação genérica dêsses vizinhos, de modo que Frei Luiz Pulha, referindo-se ao seu encontro com os

Tapirapé no porto São Domingos ocorrido logo depois da minha partida de Tampilétoa, pôde escrever: "Instalaram-se entre os exibicia de índios ainda não conhecidos, os *Ajuaruan*, amigos dos Tapirapé, e disseram que habitam da mesma água do rio Tapirapé. Habitam para o Sudoeste". (Mensageiro de Santo Rosário, março de 1906, pp. 275-276).

Como ainda Kamairabó me contou, foi Valadar quem, na sua mencionada expedição ao Xingú, visitou os Ampaiwá, relatando depois ser grande a sua aldeia e tudo entre êles exatamente igual ao que existe entre os Tapirapé: línguas, cantos e danças, pinturas do corpo e *tamanduwá*, isto é, os cabides de algodão para pôr nos antebraços. Cultivavam as mesmas plantas, mas desconheciam o ferro, usando pequenos machados de pedra.

Segundo outras informações que recebi em Tampilétoa, os Ampaiwá trabalham muito, cultivando amendoim, mandioca e bananas. No seu território há muitas jaboutis, aves vermelhas e, nas praias, cabeceiras. Sua aldeia situa-se no meio de um campo grande, não podendo ser alcançada por canoa, mas apenas a pé. Não dista tanto da margem direita do Tapirapé quanto da margem esquerda, a aldeia dos próprios Tapirapé. A-pesar-disso, os Tapirapé declararam desconhecer o caminho, dizendo que nunca haviam chegado à meio de uma jornada na direção do sul. "Os Ampaiwá são muito pacíficos e têm grande medo de nós", contaram-me. Mas todos os Tapirapé a quem pedi para me acompanhar até aos Ampaiwá disseram ter medo dêles.

Declararam, ainda, que em agosto, setembro e outubro os Ampaiwá chegam até ao rio Tapirapé à procura de ovos de tartaruga. Um dia, Taipá, mulher tapirapé que conheci em Tampilétoa, encontrou-se na margem com alguns Ampaiwá e estes lhe roubaram um cão novo. Ela esteve na companhia de Kachanampi, seu marido, hoje morto. Chaerovi, a mulher de Vuatanamy, passou uma aventura semelhante. Por isso, os Ampaiwá, no dizer dos Tapirapé, são grandes ladrões. Ambos os casos aconteceram por volta de 1927.

Não garanto a veracidade das informações acêrca dos Ampaiwá. A fantasia dos habitantes de Tampilétoa é fértil e entre êles há mentirosos excelentes. E ainda que Kamairabó fôsse um dos meus "íntimos", nunca confiei ilimitadamente nele. Mas admitindo a existência duma tribo tupi na região indicada, torna-se possível ser ela a dos Aravine, mencionada por Hermann Meyer nas notas sôbre a sua primeira viagem ao Xingú, em 1896, editadas por Krause (4 41-44).

De acôrdo com as informações recebidas por Meyer, o território dos Aravine e dos seus vizinhos karaib, os Yarumá, parece

situar-se ou no curso médio do Peixoto-Azevedo, ou no rio Aravive (rio 7 de Setembro), afluente direito da parte média do Cuiaveno. A última hipótese é mais provável. Em todo caso, os Aravive moram perto dos Yavaná, a leste ou sudeste dêles. Os Aweté informaram a Meyer que os brasileiros alcançaram com certeza os Aravive pelo lado oriental, o que indica que o território dêstes se estende até a bacia do Araguaia. Disso resulta uma ligação entre a região do Cuiaveno e a do Araguaia, por meio dos Yavaná e Aravive, ligação essa de importância (cf. fls. 42). Pode ser que entre os companheiros de Valadar, que tomaram parte na excursão ao Xingú, houvesse estringuéiros conhecedores do sr. Alfredo, e talvez o outro abalisam os Aweté ao se referirem aos visitantes brasileiros dos Aravive. Seja como for: a situação geográfica desta tribo é mais ou menos idêntica à dos referidos Aweté".

Para determinar o parentesco linguístico, comparamos o vocabulário aravive, levantado por Meyer entre os Yavaná (fls. 43), com as palavras correspondentes dos Kamayurá, recolhidas por Karl von den Steinen (2 537) e dos Tapirapé coleccionadas por mim. São, adaptados à grafia usada no presente trabalho, os seguintes termos:

*filho*: A. — *ierod*; K. — *ierou*; T. — *che-rod* (meu filho).

*nariz*: A. — *ietoi*; K. — *ietoi* (ponta de nariz); T. — *che-tõ* (meu nariz).

*orelha*: A. — *nieu:ary* (Krause, l. c., acaba ser possível que Meyer tivesse escrito erradamente esta palavra em vez de *nieuaui*, por falta de clareza na grafia); K. — *ierauai*; T. — *che-auai* (minha orelha).

*testa*: A. — *uaupykang*; K. — *uripykáng*; T. — *charr-aupykyngu* (minha testa).

*boca*: A. — *ieturi*; K. — *ierurui* (esta palavra indubitàvelmente, significa "meu lábio inferior"); T. — *che-churi* (minha boca).

*cabelo*: A. — *iuép*; K. — *iuép*; T. — *che-eu* (meu cabelo).

*mão*: A. — *iupé*; K. — *iupé*; T. — *che-pa* (minha mão).

*perna*: A. — *iuép*; K. — *uép* (parte superior da coxa); T. — *che-eu* (minha parte superior-da-coxa). (Não há dúvida que a palavra aravive, que Meyer traduziu como "perna", corresponde à denominação da parte *superior* da coxa em kamayurá e tapirapé, como também em outras línguas tupi).

*faca*: A. — *itáiu*; T. — *kiché* (*itachos*: ferro, vidro; literalmente: pedra amarela).

1: Baldus SP22 Tapirapé



bom: A. — *aiietété* (Meyer não recolheu esta palavra na mesma fonte que as outras, quer dizer, de um outro informante Yamarikumá. Se é realmente tupi, pode ser talvez composta de *aié*: ainda, e *até*: muito, palavras essas referidas por Stradelli 384, 444. Krause *4* 43 anota que em karajá a palavra hau (i) teté significa "lindo").

A julgar pelo que se pode inferir destas poucas palavras, os Aravine, linguisticamente, parecem estar mais perto dos Kamayurá que dos Tapirapé, como também Krause (ib. 44) já observara. Reforçam esta hipótese o prefixo pronominal possessivo da primeira pessoa singular *ie*, a terminação *kenp* e as palavras *ap* e *up* no aravine e kamaiurá, às quais correspondem no tapirapé *che*, *kyngu* ("osso"), *ane* e *ene*. Seria ousado demais tirarmos conclusões mais extensas dêsse diminuto material.

A tatuagem facial aravine, reproduzida em desenho por um Yamarikumá (ib. fig. 10), se parece, vagamente, com a tatuagem nas bochechas das mulheres tapirapé. Segundo a informação de um Auetö, pequeno adôrno labial ("kleiner Lippenflock") é usado pelos Aravine (ib. 42). O botão de madeira no beiço inferior dos Tapirapé também não é grande. Por outro lado, os Kamayurá e Auetö não tatuam o rosto nem enfiam coisa alguma no lábio (cf. von den Steinen *2* 189 e figuras 5, 10, 14; Métraux 296, 299).

No dizer dos informantes de Meyer, os Aravine recebem dos brasileiros roupas, facas, machados e cães. Reproduzindo esta informação e considerando não se ter, até agora, conhecimento de tais relações comerciais entre brasileiros e tribos que vivem ao oeste do Araguaia, Krause (*4* 42) põe em dúvida seja o tráfico dos Aravine com os brancos tão direto como dizem os Auetö. Tem muita razão. Parece mais provável que os Aravine ainda usam machados de pedra, como os "Ampanerá" descritos por Kamairabó.

Dizem os Tapirapé que estes últimos não são amigos dos *Kyrydjá*, seus vizinhos orientais, chamados "Chavantes" pelos brasileiros. A denominação usada pelos Tapirapé provém, aparentemente, da língua dos Karajá, como mostram as variantes citadas por Krause (*2* 456). Estes índios tinham e continuam a ter contactos diretos com os vizinhos da margem esquerda do Araguaia, designados *Yrwaré* no idioma dos homens e *Kyroyrá* no das mulheres de Berorowadá, aldeia karajá situada perto de Santa Terezinha.

Mas os Tapirapé nunca puderam avistar-me colunas de fumaça produzidas pelos Kyrydjá, cujo território no hinterland da margem direita do Tapirapé localizaram precisamente no sudeste de Tampiítãna. Não sabiam dizer nada mais acêrca dêles, nem se

lembravam de algum encontro com êles. Os remadores brasileiros, porém, pensavam às vezes nos Chavantes ao subirmos o mencionario rio, e o fato de terem dois afluentes meridionais dêle o nome de Chavantinho talvez se refira não só a uma possível, como também a uma realizada identificação de seus habitantes.

Como foi acima citado, Almeida Vasconcelos (108), em 1724, enumera os "Xavante" entre as tribos do sertão desconhecido "junto" à bacia do Araguaia. No ano seguinte, o alferes José Pinto da Fonseca (*1* 382) chama o "Chavante" de "capital inimigo" dos Karajá, acrescentando (ib. 385): "... e com o temor do Chavante, a quem êles chamavam Acroá, não se atreviam ir às roças, sobejando-lhe nelas mantimentos; pois o Chavante no tempo da sêca costumava passar o rio a nado, e iam arranchar-se nas róças, bastando para fazer fugir aos Carajás o tocarem as suas bozinas".

Couto de Magalhães (*1* 134), viajando pelo Araguaia, visitou em 1863 o aldeamento da Estiva que, naquele tempo, tinha "uma população de 200 almas, composta de índios Chavantes, Carajás, dois Canoeiros e de alguns brasileiros". Na descrição dessa viagem foi inserta (ib. 193 e 194) a seguinte notícia de uma expedição ao rio das Mortes, feita por ordem do govêrno da província de Goiaz, em 1854, "com o fim de chamar à civilização os índios Chavantes, que têm por aí numerosas aldeias".

"A expedição, guiada pelo missionário capuchinho Fr. Segismundo de Taggia, e composta de 10 praças de linha, seis índios Chavantes e o frade, embarcou no porto da Piedade e gastou 4 dias, Araguaia abaixo, para chegar à foz do rio das Mortes, que é, segundo dizem, quase tão grande como o Araguaia, e com o mesmo aspecto dêste, cheio de praias, muito peixe e caça de tôda a qualidade. Subiu 10 dias o rio, que não tem nem cachoeiras, nem corredeiras, nem baixios (a expedição foi feita em março), em tôda a extensão percorrida por ela. Ao cabo dêste tempo, tendo percorrido o mesmo espaço, segundo calculam, que há até Leopoldina, isto é, o de 40 léguas, avistou, à distância de uma légua, a cachoeira que há logo abaixo dos Arués e a serra que se encosta ao rio, segundo atrás o descrevemos. Vendo-se faltos de alimentação, voltaram os expedicionários para trás e desceram em quatro dias o espaço que haviam subido em dez, gastando 11 dias para subir da foz do rio das Mortes até ao porto da Piedade".

Já citei a informação (ib. XXV) segundo a qual entre os "meninos de ambos os sexos" do colégio Isabel figuravam, logo depois de sua criação, em 1871, além de Tapirapé também Chavante. Pelo que sei é isto a única notícia acêrca de um contacto entre essas duas tribos.

1: Baldus SP22 Tapirapé



Em nosso século, os contactos que os habitantes da região compreendida entre o rio das Mortes, o Araguaia, o Tapirapé e a chamada "Serra do Roncador" tiveram com os seus vizinhos ao leste e sul, isto é, com os Karajá, os Boróro e os brancos, foram hostis e de tal espécie que ficou em dúvida se se trata de uma tribo só ou de tribos diferentes. Os Boróro chamam os índios da margem esquerda do rio das Mortes de *Kaiamo*, e há quem considere esta palavra como variante do nome da tribo *Kaiapó* (Kayapó). A diferença da acentuação não importa, pois as palavras boróro são geralmente paroxítonas.

Colbacchini e Albisetti (150) escrevem em sua obra, aparecida em 1942, no tocante àqueles inimigos dos Boróro: "... provàvelmente correspondem aos Chavantes de Acuã: talvez pertençam à grande família Caiapós". Mas o primeiro dêsses autores, em livro anterior, observa (125) acêrca dos Kaiamo: "... probabilmente corrispondono ai Caiapós", acrescentando numa nota: "Con minor probabilità altri suppongono che corrispondano all' Indi Chavantes o Acuã".

A suposição de existirem naquela região tanto Chavante como também Kayapó baseia-se, a respeito dos primeiros, em Couto de Magalhães (*1* 193) e algumas outras fontes, e acêrca dos últimos na tradição de que restos de Kayapó meridionais atacados por António Pires de Campos e João de Godois Pinto da Silveira se retiraram para o rio das Mortes. E' preciso considerar, aliás, o parentesco entre essas duas tribos gê, que pode levar a confundi-las.

Os Chavante em questão não são parentes linguísticos de índios homónimos como os "Chavante" do Ivinhema e rio Verde no sudeste matogrossense, também chamados Opaié, e os extintos "Chavante" de Campos Novos no Estado de São Paulo, também chamados Otí.

Por fim, convém ponderar a possibilidade de tribos desconhecidas das cabeceiras do Xingú terem-se estabelecido na zona compreendida entre o rio das Mortes e o rio Tapirapé.

Enquanto, pelo que pude averiguar, não havia, neste último, encontros entre os Kyrydjá ou "Chavante", por um lado, e os Tapirapé, Karajá e brancos, por outro lado, o mesmo não se deu no Araguaia e no hinterland de ambas as margens do rio das Mortes. Por isso há homens — tanto índios como outros — que viajam com algum receio pelo braço maior do Araguaia, ao longo da ilha do Bananal, e no trecho de Sangradouro a Registro (Araguaiana), da secular estrada de Cuiabá a Goiaz.

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# OS TAPIRAPÉ

**TRIBO TUPI NO BRASIL CENTRAL**

**(Especial para a "REVISTA DO ARQUIVO")**

(Continuação) HERBERT BALDUS

## *IV — O contacto com outros índios*

Quando, em fins de agôsto de 1935, subi o Araguaia numa canoa karajá, três garimpeiros que encontrei em outra embarcação naquele trecho do rio queriam acompanhar a minha ubá de medo do "Chavante".

Uma das razões de muitos Karajá dessa região gostarem de ficar perto das casas dos brancos é o temor do vizinho perigoso do oeste. Frontoura — alguns dizem e escrevem Fontoura — é o nome duma missão de adventistas fundada em 1935 ao lado duma aldeia karajá na ilha do Bananal. Originalmente, Frontoura tinha sido o nome dado pelos brancos a um homem dêsse agrupamento de Karajá, homem que, por parecer-lhes o mais representativo, era considerado por êles como "capitão". Informaram-me que o índio Frontoura foi morto pelo "Chavante", em 1928, ao regressar da roça com um grande cesto nas costas. Antigamente, êle e sua gente tinham na margem esquerda não só as suas roças, mas também, na época das chuvas, as suas casas. (O tempo sêco é para passar num banco de areia no meio do rio). Durante as chuvas de 1934/35,

porém, os companheiros do assassinado Frontoura estabeleceram-se na margem da ilha do Bananal e não se atreveram a atravessar o rio quando perceberam a proximidade do "Chavante" pela fumaça de seu fogo.

Aliás, o fogo do Chavante parece desempenhar papel especial também nas relações que êste índio tem com os brancos. Pelo menos, um velho sertanejo do Araguaia, o sr. Pedro Ferreira, com quem conversei em Leopoldina, no dia 4 de setembro de 1935, contou-me terem os "Chavantes" o costume de "levantar fogo" na proximidade dos "cristãos", para "insultá-los". Êle mesmo tinha recebido tal "insulto" várias vezes no rio das Mortes. Com referência a isso quero mencionar que, ao subir o Araguaia, vi duas vezes levantar-se fogo em lugares da "margem do Chavante", nos quais um dos camaradas fizera as suas necessidades. Tínhamos parado a ubá só por causa disso, e logo que umas centenas de metros nos separaram novamente da beira do largo rio, subiu dela a misteriosa fumaça. Ninguem de nós tinha deixado lá elemento igugeno qualquer.

O sr. Pedro Ferreira contou-me ainda que, por ocasião de um encontro com os "Chavantes" em 1911, êle e os seus companheiros atiraram neles para "assustá-los". Debandaram os índios dessa maneira. Êle viu várias vezes "Chavantes". Disse que são muito tímidos, tendo a estatura dos Karajá e não, como certas pessoas afirmam, a de gigantes. Homens e mulheres andam completamente nus, usando os primeiros arco, flecha e cacete. Duas dessas maças — os sertanejos do Araguaia chamam-nas "borduna" — foram encontradas depois de os "Chavantes" terem morto à flechada e cacetada uma vaca na fazenda do sr. Pedro Ferreira, situada a três léguas de Cocalinho. A vaca tinha um sino por ser prenhe, e os índios a mataram só para tirar êsse instrumento de metal. Provàvelmente os "Chavante" não comem a carne dos nossos animais domésticos. Também os Karajá geralmente a desprezam (cf. Baldus 7 282). O costume de deixar, depois de terem realizado o assalto, os próprios cacetes no lugar onde roubaram ou mataram, foi verificado, igualmente, entre os Kayapó do norte.

Informou-nos, ainda, o sr. Pedro Ferreira que os "Chavantes" têm uma aldeia entre o rio das Mortes e um lugar do Araguaia, chamado "Barreira dos Chavantes", portanto no triângulo formado por êsses dois rios. Velho Karajá lhe disse que a situação dessa aldeia é denunciada pela multidão de urubus. Duvido que ela exista ainda. A "Barreira dos Chavantes", situada a cêrca de uma légua acima da foz do rio Cristalino, é famigerada entre a gente daqueles sertões. O seu nome provém do fato de terem os "Chavante" morto

nela, há anos, dois viajantes, um homem e uma mulher, que procuravam mel enquanto os companheiros ficavam na margem direita. Os cadaveres foram enterrados, depois, numa barreira dessa margem, um pouco rio abaixo do lugar da desgraça.

A procura de mel em território "chavante" custou também a vida de um Karajá, segundo me comunicou o sr. Mário Baldi (carta de 20 de setembro de 1936). Referindo-se à sua estada em Mato Verde, em agosto de 1936, escreve: "O capitão José (Tiaurati) e sua mulher Terezina me contaram que no ano passado o irmão dêle e alguns outros Karajá moraram em duas cabanas na foz do rio das Mortes. Um belo dia, o irmão tomou o machado e foi procurar mel, enquanto o companheiro ficou pescando na ubá perto da praia. De repente, os Chavantes assaltaram o irmão. Êle matou um dêles com o machado, mas outros o atacaram pelas costas derrubando-o e ferindo-o gravemente no pescoço com o próprio machado. Ainda alcançou a canoa e as cabanas, mas tinha perdido a fala e morreu alguns dias depois. O capitão José quer vingá-lo, mas não sabe onde fica a aldeia dos Chavantes. Achou sòmente muitos rastos e buracos-de-chupar no solo, isto é, buracos dos quais os Chavantes chupam água por meio de taquaras".

Numerosas são as notícias acêrca de ataques de índios nas margens do rio das Mortes e no seu hinterland. Pela impossibilidade de identificar o agressor, em certos casos também os Boróro que vivem ao sul dêsse rio foram suspeitados.

Com referência aos índios que o cercaram e assaltaram nesta região, no ano de 1887, escreve António Tupí Ferreira Caldas: "Não podemos saber ao certo a que nação pertencem êsses índios, podemos porém garantir que são êles de côr clara, estatura mediana, cabelos pretos e finos, olhos gatiados, pés e mãos pequenas e bem feitos, unhas compridas e côr de rosa, usando no baixo ventre um quadro pintado de côr amarela, assim como de um cinto de umbira de buriti, com a mesma côr amarela caindo pelas nádegas em forma de banda e de cordas finas em forma de pulseira, trazendo também no pescoço uma volta feita de algodão. Têm as orelhas bastante pequenas e a esquerda, sôbre a parte inferior, um tubo de pau. Achavam-se armados os que vieram na vanguarda de cacetes de cerne de uma madeira denominada "Roncador", com um metro e dez centímetros de comprimento e em forma de mão de pilão e bastantes pesados, nos parecendo ser as suas armas prediletas e de confiança, por isso que os armados de flechas, e estas mal feitas, ficaram na retaguarda como de proteção... Julgámos não só pelas armas em nosso poder como por não termos encontrado nenhum vestígio, que êsses índios não possuem ferramenta alguma. A

única palavra que podemos compreender foi a — "Corió" — pronunciada por ocasião de receberem os tiros". (Tupí Caldas 163).

Colbacchini (125-127) menciona várias incursões dos "Kaiamo" na região das missões salesianas situadas na estrada entre Cuiabá e o Araguaia. Quando, em janeiro de 1934, visitei êsses postos avançados da nossa civilização, fiquei sabendo que êsses índios mataram lá, desde 1908, três mulheres e cinco homens. Mataram todos à cacete, com exceção de um que foi morto por flecha. Entre as vítimas havia Boróro que foram cercados por êles quando caçavam isoladamente. Uma figura no livro de Colbacchini (*209*) mostra as "bordunas" deixadas pelos "Kaiamo", depois de vários de seus assaltos. São simples varapaus ligeiramente fortos na extremidade mais grossa, aparentemente arrancados à mão e não trabalhados com machado e instrumentos de ferro, mas com plãina (talvez feita da concha do grande caracol terrestre *Bulimus*, à moda dos Boróro; veja von den Steinen *2* figura 140, Colbacchini 55, Colbacchini e Albisetti 70).

No tempo da sêca vê-se também nessa região frequentemente a fumaça de campos incendiados pelos "Kaiamo". Uma vez estes deitaram tal fogo num campo situado a três léguas de distância da missão de Sangradouro.

Na fazenda do brasileiro Franklin, situada a cêrca de quatro léguas ao norte da missão de Meruri, êsses índios atacaram, em fevereiro de 1933, dois homens que cortaram burití para construir uma casa. Um dos dois foi ferido e escapou, ao passo que o outro foi morto à cacetada e escalpado. E' êste o único caso de escalpamento praticado pelos "Kaiamo" de que tenho notícia. O costume de escalpar é referido a várias tribos do Chaco (cf. Krickeberg 302 fig. 121; Krieg *2* fig. 45; Rydén 26-33).

Em meiados de outubro de 1934, os "Kaiamo" atacaram um casal que viajáva em carro de boi de Meruri para a mesma fazenda. Mataram o homem (de nome Sebastião) e saquearam o carro. A mulher chegou a Meruri, despida e com o crânio fraturado.

Pouco depois, no dia primeiro de novembro do mesmo ano, foram mortos os salesianos padre João Fuchs e padre Pedro Sacilotti, à margem direita do rio das Mortes, numa barreira situada a 55 léguas acima da foz. O padre J. Duroure, no seu livro sôbre os encontros hostis entre os brancos e os índios perigosos daquela região, descreve êsse acontecimento. Os camaradas dos dois missionários mortos declararam numa carta publicada no "Mensageiro do Santo Rosário", março de 1935, pág. 254: "Estando nós na lancha avistamos dois chavantes bebendo água e fomos para encontrá-los, e seguimos com êstes até onde estavam os outros índios.

O padre João mandou-nos para buscar facões, a fim de agradá-los. Quando voltamos ouvimos as pancadas dos cacetes, e, ouvimos o padre Pedro dizer "ai"! Era impossível acudir, porque estávamos desarmados; e êles eram muitos. Voltamos correndo, a fim de escaparmos. No dia seguinte fomos armados para ver o acontecido. Oh! é triste pensar. Achamos os padres mortos e sem os seus trajes. Carregamos os cadáveres e os enterramos na beira do rio".

Interessante é o seguinte trecho da última carta do padre Fuchs dirigida ao padre inspetor das missões salesianas de Mato Grosso e datada em 24 de outubro de 1934, no rancho dos missionários situado num lugar do rio das Mortes chamado Santa Teresinha: "... Padre Pedro com os quatro camaradas foram à procura dos Chavantes. Encontraram o batedor, muitos acampamentos e pousos. Dez léguas além, uma aldeia com 120 casas e cinco léguas mais adiante, outra aldeia com 147 casas. Mas os Chavantes não estavam. Pelo número das casas e tamanho delas calcula-se que aí devia haver nada menos de 1.000 índios. Regressaram todos cansadíssimos no 5º dia, tendo feito a pé para mais de 30 léguas. O lugar é bonito, com córregos e morraria, na direção poente, isto é, rumo do rio Xingú. E' tempo da sêca e os índios estão em contínua viagem. Vinte léguas rio acima, só num pequeno trecho encontramos 54 jangadas. Chegaram êles pertinho de Santa Teresinha, isto é, a duas léguas".

Acêrca dos acontecimentos do ano seguinte, escreveu-me o sr. Mário Baldi na sua carta atrás citada: "Em Meruri, no dia 26 de julho de 1936, o mestre Aparicia da missão salesiana (um espanhol) me contou o seguinte: Em junho de 1935, os Chavantes assaltaram perto de Tachos (onde antigamente funcionara a atual colônia de Meruri) o filho de onze anos de Raimundo, empregado dos salesianos que toma conta daquele lugar. O menino não queria ficar mais lá, por já terem sido encontrados indícios da presença dos Chavantes. Queria justamente pela última vez trazer a comida para a gente da roça. Foi assaltado ao atravessar um córrego. Acharam dez cacetes junto do cadáver. A mula do menino escapou e também escapou o seu cão, ainda que com flecha no pescoço. A criança estava completamente despida com exceção duma calça de couro. Acreditam aqui que os bois são "tabú" para os Chavantes. Viu-se bem que os índios se tinham esforçado para tirar as cuecas sem "tocar" na calça de couro. Mas não o conseguiram. Também não levaram a bainha de couro do facão. (Lembro-me agora que, por ocasião de assaltarem o carro de boi, também não levaram o estojo de couro do revólver do homem e não fizeram mal aos bois). Os dez cacetes estavam com esmêro colocados um em cima do

1: Baldus SP22 Tapirapé



outro. Em julho de 1935, Raimundo e um tal Bento organizavam uma expedição punitiva. Entre os 18 homens reunidos e em parte montados estavam Luiz, o capataz preto de Merurí, e dois Boróros de lá. Seguindo os rastos dos Chavantes, encontraram uma jangada com a qual estes atravessaram o rio das Mortes, e, a cêrca de oitenta léguas de lá, uma grande aldeia. Tinha forma de ferradura. Havia casas inacabadas, razão pela qual alguns dos expedicionários pensam ter sido ainda em construção essa aldeia, devendo sua forma definitiva ser um círculo. As casas são redondas em forma de cupim, bem construidas e limpas. Havia ao todo duzentas, dispostas em três fileiras. Os agressores ficaram com medo, mas atacaram na madrugada por serem denunciados. Pois um grupo de Chavantes andando fora da aldeia, tinha encontrado quatro expedicionários que guardavam as cavalgaduras. Os índios tinham matado alguns cavalos e mulas. Com gritaria e tiroteio a aldeia foi atacada tão ràpidamente que os Chavantes nem sequer podiam pegar em armas. Fugiam precipitadamente. Os expedicionários encontraram uma criança chavante de dez anos que tinha recebido tiros através dos dois pés. Perguntaram-na pelo nome e ela respondeu: Pedro Gariba. Mataram-na. Tambem foram mortas "por engano" várias outras crianças que estiveram escondidas em baixo de esteiras. Na casa-dos-moços havia quarenta cacetes e quarenta arcos. De longe, os Chavantes gritaram injúrias em português cuiabano, pronunciando, por exemplo, "catchorro" em vez de "cachorro". Ameaçavam vingar-se. Os agressores queimaram a grande aldeia para que os Chavantes não pudessem recuperar as armas e tentar a perseguição. Foram achadas na aldeia algumas enxadas roubadas em Tachos cuja parte férrea era quase totalmente gasta, e a rede de dormir do filho de Raimundo transformada pelos índios em bolsa de guardar côco".

Em 16 de novembro de 1937, "O Estado de S. Paulo" publicou a seguinte informação acêrca da expedição chefiada por Hermano Ribeiro da Silva: "No dia 1.º de outubro findo, a "Bandeira Anhanguera" atravessou o rio das Mortes, de cuja margem esquerda partiu nesse mesmo dia, penetrando afinal no centro do território indevassado dos fabulosos Chavantes. Depois de alguns dias de marcha, alcançou os primeiros contra-fortes da serra que divide as águas dos rios Xingú, das Mortes e Araguaia, e estacionou aí, num lugar a que deu o nome de "Acampamento da Serra Divisora". Seu grupo avançado, sob a chefia de Chicão, localizou logo, a duas léguas do acampamento, uma das aldeias principais daqueles índios, destinada à sua permanência durante tôda esta época do ano, que é a das chuvas. Feita a localização, Hermano

Ribeiro da Silva se pôz em marcha, na tarde do dia seguinte, acompanhado de vinte dos seus companheiros, entre os quais o missionário salesiano, padre José Nunes. Iam tentar ainda uma vez a aproximação pacífica dos Chavantes. Fizeram todo o caminho debaixo de uma chuva incessante, tendo de atravessar três córregos desmedidamente engrossados pelas águas, e, à noitinha, chegaram inapercebidos às proximidades da aldeia. Passaram aí a noite, ao relento, sem fogo que os denunciaria, e enxugando no corpo as roupas encharcadas. Ao alvorecer surgiram em frente aos índios. Estavam em campo aberto, e diante dêles as 19 casas da aldeia, com a maloca do capitão no centro, estendiam-se dispostas em semi-círculo, no terreiro de chão limpo e batido. Deu-se o alarme. Fogem espavoridas as mulheres e as crianças, enveredando por uns trilhos que se dirigiam aos morros vizinhos, e desaparecem. No meio do terreiro, saltam aos gritos os índios ameaçadores, e atacam a flechadas os rapazes da Bandeira. Êstes, numa calma e sangue-frio admiráveis, não respondem ao ataque, limitando-se apenas a evitar as flechas e a estender-se em linha de atiradores, prevenindo-se contra uma ação mais direta dos bugres. Enquanto isso, o chefe da bandeira e o padre Nunes acenam aos índios com os presentes que lhes traziam, e o operador cinematográfico inicia a filmagem dos trechos dramáticos da cena. Nem a atitude pacífica dos rapazes e nem o oferecimento tentador dos presentes conseguiram, entretanto, acalmar o ímpeto agressivo dos Chavantes, que procuraram envolvê-los em seu ataque. Pressentido êsse movimento pela direção das flechas, já disparadas de flanco, resolvem os rapazes romper o cêrco que se estava iniciando, dando por terminada a quase incrível aventura. Soltam, pois, rojões de bombas possantes contra os índios, que fogem, permitindo-lhes a retirada e o regresso, sem maiores perigos. Antes, porém, aproveitando-se da fuga dos índios, entraram na aldeia e penetraram nos ranchos, filmando e recolhendo tudo quanto encontraram de interêsse para o conhecimento dessa tribo de selvagens...".

O padre José Nunes, mencionado nesse comunicado, mostrou-me uma fotografia na qual as casas dos Kaiamo-Chavante são hemisféricas, parecendo-se com a cabana colmeiaforme dos Bakairí (von den Steinen *1* 124 e *2* 60), seus vizinhos ocidentais, e distinguindo-se completamente das malocas dos vizinhos Boróro, Karajá e Tapirapé. Entre os objetos etnográficos recolhidos pela "Bandeira Anhanguera" no território kaiamo-chavante e expostos na capital de São Paulo vi cestos grosseiramente trançados de uma única folha de palmeira e que se assemelham com as bolsas improvisadas durante a caça pelos Boróro (cf. Colbacchini 114, figura "Sporta

tessuta con una foglia di palma") e com as bolsas de folha de buriti dos Bakairi (Max Schmidt 2, figuras 182 e 183). Com exceção dos trançados não havia artefato que indicasse parentesco com as tribos vizinhas conhecidas. Vi algodão cru, mas nem um tecido nem um fio torcido dêsse material. Vi grãos de milho. As "bordunas" eram do tipo já descrito que aparece na figura do livro de Colbacchini (209) e se distingue completamente dos cacetes daqueles vizinhos. A cerâmica era extremamente tosca. Em resumo: não foram encontrados traços caraterísticos das culturas karajá e tapirapé, ao passo que as bolsas trançadas de uma única folha de palmeira lembram os Boróro e Bakairi, e as casas hemisféricas se parecem com a colmeiaforme dêstes últimos.

Em 1938, uma expedição denominada "Bandeira Piratininga" saiu de São Paulo para a mesma parte do território kaiamo-chavante. O seu chefe, o jornalista sr. Willy Aureli, escreveu um livro a respeito. O dr. Tihamér Szaffka (172, nota 1), que acompanhou a expedição como etnógrafo, observa acêrca dessa publicação: "Impressões, dados, etc., que achamos neste livro, não são exatos, e o título duma fotografia incorreta, o que torna o livro inaproveitável". Aliás, as balsas dos Kaiamo-Chavante descritas pelo mesmo autor são outro traço cultural que distingue estes índios dos seus vizinhos. Mas não posso concordar com várias das conclusões do dr. Szaffka e, principalmente, com a sua maneira de demonstrar que "a civilização de hoje dos Chavantes é uma civilização pre-Sambaquí e pre-Lagoa Santa" (181). Pois, por não termos convivido com essa tribo, não podemos saber o que ela conhece e ignora.

A revista "Sociologia", publicada em São Paulo, deu no número 1 de 1942 (vol. IV, 68-69) a seguinte informação: "Em meados de novembro do ano passado começaram a circular notícias sôbre um ataque que os índios Chavantes empreenderam contra uma expedição do Serviço Nacional de Proteção aos Índios. O fato ter-se-ia passado da seguinte forma, segundo conta um jornal desta capital: Depois de receberem a delegação da expedição que partiu de Leopoldina em agosto último, descendo o rio Araguaia, convencidos os seus membros de que seriam felizes em sua missão, os Chavantes iniciaram os entendimentos com o chefe da expedição, sr. Genésio Pimentel Barbosa. Nada deixava transparecer a intenção dos perigosos índios. Os expedicionários, que tinham instalado o seu acampamento na serra do Roncador, entregaram aos selvícolas numerosos presentes, fazendo-os exultar de contentamento. Retribuindo a gentileza — e aí é que revelaram a sua traição — os Chavantes ofereceram frutas aos funcionários do Serviço de Proteção. Essas frutas, porém, estavam envenenadas e os seus efeitos come-

ram a se fazer sentir entre os expedicionários que as comeram. esse instante, os rebeldes selvícolas atacaram o acampamento. expedicionários viram logo que, envenenados, não poderiam istir por muito tempo, como realmente aconteceu. No entanto, funcionário de nome Feliciano Oldra e três índios Cherentes que ompanhavam a expedição como guias, a-pesar-de envenenados, nseguiram fugir e chegar a Goiania, onde narraram os fatos e ão sendo tratados. Os demais foram massacrados. Segundo as clarações de Feliciano Oldra, foram mortos pelos Chavantes o efe da expedição, sr. Genésio Pimentel Barbosa, o rádio-telegra- ta Oscar Grecivuegu, Luiz Américo Moreira, Joaquim Guedes endes, Domingos Freitas de Carvalho e Fredolino Torres. Os avantes apoderaram-se de todo o material da expedição, como iam o aparelho radio-telegráfico, provisões, armas e documentos. n entrevista concedida à imprensa, o general Cândido Rondon, nfirmando declarações anteriores, atribue à violência de certos ploradores a atitude agora assumida pelos selvícolas".

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# OS TAPIRAPÉ

## Tribos Tupi no Brasil Central

(Especial para a "Revista do Arquivo")

HERBERT BALDUS

(Continuação)

Enquanto em Tampiitáua ninguém se preocupava com os vizinhos Kyrydjá, no sul, falava-se frequentemente e com emoção dos vizinhos Kayapó do norte, chamados de Kananchahó. Ao tratar dos "Karajá do Xingú" já me referi a êles e ao temor que inspiram. Fui informado que destruiram, em 1932, uma grande aldeia tarirapé situada a "dez dias de marcha" ao norte de Tampiitáua, matando a maior parte dos habitantes. Segundo outras notícias, uma epidemia despovoou aquela aldeia e obrigou os sobreviventes a abandoná-la. Seja qual for a causa da mortandade: o medo dos Kananchahó contribuiu, indubitàvelmente, para que os remanecentes se afastassem, o mais possível, dêsses vizinhos, indo refugiar-se na aldeia mais meridional de sua tribo, isto é, a Tampiitáua. O mesmo sentimento, o mesmo medo do Kananchahó, levou até os habitantes dêste lugar a querer deixá-lo e a estabelecer-se sob a proteção dos brancos na ilha do Bananal. O Reverendo Kegel me contou que, ao chegar, em 1934, a Porto Salvação, recebeu a visita de Kamairahó que veio especialmente à margem do rio pedir-lhe para voltar e mandar construir embarcações grandes para levar a tribo inteira a Macauba. O motivo do pedido era o medo dos Kayapó. Supunha-se terem êles matado vinte homens e mulheres de Tampiitáua que não voltaram duma caçada. O snr. Kegel respondeu àquele Tarirapé mais influente, ser impossível a alimentação de toda a tribo por não haver mais tempo para fazer roça nas terras da Evangelical Union.

Quando, em 23 de junho de 1935, ouvimos, à noite, o dilacerante canto do urutau, os Tapirapé tomaram isso por sinal da vinda dos Kayapó. Quatro dias depois, à noite, ao deitar-me na rede ao lado da rede de Kamairahó, disse o "figurão" índio: "Estou com medo": Declarei-lhe, com a arrogância amável que competia a um "capitão" da minha categoria: "Estou aqui e por isso não precisas ter medo." Um pouco mais tarde,

porém, Kamairahó quer saber, por causa dos Kayapó, se estou com o "mata-pequeno", como convencionamos chamar o revólver para diferenciá-lo do "mata-grande" que é a espingarda. Digo-lhe que sempre durmo bem armado, e êle ri-se contente.

Nas danças noturnas em massa, os homens têm o pesado cacete ou o facão na mão, e isso não só por causa do compasso, pois de dia basta-lhes para êste fim uma flecha ou a vara do arco.

Quando, na noite de 8 de julho, estive ainda conversando com o snr. Kegel em frente da casinha que, ao lado da aldeia, tinha sido construido para êle e o camarada Daniel, chegaram correndo homens e mulheres, um com o facão e outro com cacete, e disseram agitadamente que havia Kananchahó na mata vizinha. Seguido por um indio, dirigi-me imediatamente para o lugar indicado. Não achamos nada e tranquilizei os Tapirapé dizendo que Kananchahó está dormindo à grande distância. Voltaram silenciosamente para as redes e só uma mulher meio idosa observou: "Quando a lua vae dormir, eles virão."

Ao deitar-me na minha rede, Kamairahó que já está com a mulher na sua, sorri para mim como de costume, comprimentando-me cortezmente com o habitual papaneká, "chegaste". Não menos correto, afirmo eu: "*Hm, hm, ẽ, ẽ.* Êle, sem acabar de sorrir: "Kananchahó há. Kananchahó para cá. Tenho medo." Ainda que, a-pesar-desta declaração, êle não parece pròpriamente atemorizado, acalmo-o com poucas palavras do mesmo modo como aos outros e êle ri imediatamente, mudando de assunto e gracejando com a mulher.

Mais tarde evidencia-se que a presença dos Kayapó na mata vizinha foi invencionice de Anavaní, rapazola meio trouxa de cêrca de dezessete anos. Na manhã seguinte, êle confessou ter mentido. Provàvelmente queria dar-se alguma importância. A maneira como todos acreditaram, caracteriza o estado de espírito dos Tapirapé em relação àqueles temidos vizinhos. Aliás, no dia em que Kamairahó me mostrou as colunas de fumaça dos "Ampaneá" no sudoeste, indicou produção semelhante dos Kayapó no norte.

A defesa espiritual revela ser o Kananchahó considerado como inimigo número 1. Ainda que também os Karajá sejam temidos, só aquêle vizinho setentrional, pelo que observei é tratado por meio de paródias, cantos violentamente injuriosos e pantomimas ridicularizantes. No dia 24 de junho, cantaram uma cantiga aparentemente coprológica em tom choroso, referente ao Kananchahó, que despertou as maiores risadas. Era cantada na casa-dos-homens onde outros moços imitaram burlescamente êsse inimigo, dando o pretenso grito tribal dêle, correndo e pulando loucamente por aqui e por ali, gesticulando com excitação raivosa e batendo com os cacetes contra os pilares do edifício. Ao mesmo tempo dansavam e cantavam outros homens, acompanhados pelas mulheres e crianças, em frente desta casa, o *kaó*, o canto dansante ao qual não só as armas na mão dos guerreiros e o ar grave dêstes, como também o forte ritmo do bate-pé e o caráter ameaçante dos sons guturais davam aparência marcial.

Enquanto tudo isso constitui o espetáculo noturno, realizou-se dois dias depois um outro bem diferente a luz do sol. Era a representação do suposto ataque dos Kayapó aos vinte Tapirapé que, no ano anterior, não voltaram de uma caçada. Seis moços abraçados dois a dois e formando uma parelha atrás da outra, passeavam pacificamente de casa a casa. Cantarolaram uma melodia. Nas costas, cada uma das duas primeiras parelhas levava um cobertor, e a última uma esteira. Um mascarado, inclinado para frente, segue, dançando e atirando flechas na esteira. Passado algum tempo, as parelhas colocam-se uma ao lado da outra e ficam paradas cantarolando a sua melodia, enquanto o mascarado dá o grito tribal kayapó e dança em atitude ameaçadora pisando sempre no mesmo lugar. Um pouco depois, continua o passeio. Esta cena se repete várias vezes. De repente porém, estando as parelhas novamente paradas e em frente duma cabana, saem de arremêsso por detrás dela dois mascarados kayapó e por detrás da casa vizinha quatro outros. Todos estes "Kayapó" têm arcos ou cacetes na mão e disfarçaram-se completamente, tanto com as suas redes-de-dormir como também com cobertores e outras coisas dos hóspedes brancos. Os rostos estão cobertos de penteiras, e também o meu chapeu de palha encontrou emprêgo. Enquanto as três parelhas tapirapé continuam o seu passeio tão pacificamente como antes, os mascarados realizam alternadamente corridas furiosas para cá e para lá, acompanhados pelo grito típico, e uma dança circular. Nesta dança, uns olham as costas do parceiro na sua frente, ao passo que outros se viram para aquêle que os segue. Todos pulam de uma perna para a outra, estrebuchando e gesticulando com as armas (fot. 73). Depois de repetirem tudo isso diversas vezes durante meia hora, os "Kayapó" atacam-se reciprocamente e brigam entre si. Então as parelhas tapirapé separam-se calmamente e desaparecem.

Essa representação, portanto, confronta a brandura que, de fato, é padrão de comportamento tribal dos Tapirapé, com a nervosa agressividade dos Kayapó. Parece um símbolo de alcance universal, se pensamos nos pacifistas e militaristas de outras partes do mundo.

E até miúdamente parece manifestar-se a opinião da tribo tupi acêrca da natureza daqueles vizinhos. Pois enquanto se considera o Karajá como descendente de serpente aquática, o progenitor do Kayapó é *tuntepogu*, o carrapato. Uma das provas do parentesco com tais ácaros é, no dizer dos meus informantes, o grito tribal em falsete que os Tapirapé atribuem ao inimigo do norte. Esta prova, ainda que talvez não satisfaça os biológos, basta para o etnólogo. Aliás, ninguém ignora ser o carrapato um dos bichos mais incômodos.

Mas os Kayapó que nos últimos anos amedrontaram os Tapirapé, não pertencem às hordas visitadas por Krause em 1908 e por Kissenberth no mesmo ano e no seguinte, isto é, aos índios tratados sob o nome de Kayapó-Mêkubengokré por êste autor. Kissenberth (2 40) ouviu os velhos Mêkubengokré contar que os últimos encontros hostis entre os seus e os Tapirapé se deram, mais ou menos, aos meiados do século passado. O viajante não

explica, porém, como o quase sexagenário Tapirapé visto por êle numa aldeia mêkubengokré (lh. 47 e figuras 4 e 5; *1* figuras 18 e 19) chegou até lá e a ser incorporado à tribo.

Mostrarei adiante que os Tapirapé têm alguns traços culturais semelhantes aos dêsses Kayapó, mas não tantos como os que revelam o seu parentesco com os Karajá.

No tocante ao último capítulo da vida dos Kayapó visitados por Krause e Kissenberth escreveu-me Curt Nimuendajú em 1 de dezembro de 1940: "De 22 de julho a 24 de setembro estive no Araguáia, exclusivamente para averiguar o que ainda resta dos Kayapó no ribeirão das Arraias. Achei só dois homens! Além dêles há ainda duas mulheres e uma moça que, porém, são inaproveitáveis para estudos. Conversei durante quinze dias com os homens. Naturalmente, o resultado é miseràvelmente escasso e de valor duvidoso; mas, a-pesar-disso, interessante para ser comparado com os dados que obtive dos Górotire-Kayapó e dos outros Gé.... Posso compreender muito bem que, para os missionários, é desagradável a pergunta: que se fez dos 1.500 Kayapó encontrados por Frei Gil há quarenta anos? — e o fato de um sujeito como eu não contentar-se com a resposta: "estão no céu".

Aparentemente, entre os Kayapó hoje temidos pelos Tapirapé figuram os Górotire mencionados por Nimuendajú, também chamados de Gorotíré por outros autores. A descrição da visita feita a êstes índios por D. Sebastião Thomas em 1934 contém a seguinte observação: "No meio dos moços notamos um adolescente de 15 para 18 anos, cuja fisionomia se parecia um pouco com os Tapirapés. Era um prêso de guerra, arrebatado em criança a inimigos que, pelas indicações dadas por um dos capitães, deviam ser êsses aborígenes, nossos bons amigos e catequizandos, cuja aldeia deve ficar daqui a cêrca de 35 ou 40 léguas, rumo do sul sulcste". (Mensageiro do Santo Rosário, fevereiro de 1935, pág. 226; e em francês na revista "Les Missions Dominicaines" XIV, Paris 1935, págs. 164-165).

Nimuendajú (7 554-555) escreve: "...os Kayapó do Araguáia deram notícia de uma de suas sub-tribos no oeste, nos afluentes do Xingú: dos Górotire. Já Couto de Magalhães menciona que êles pertencem, junto com os Gradaús e Coroás, aos Caiapós. Diziam que no colégio Santa Isabel fundado por êle no Araguáia havia crianças dessa tribo. Os Górotire viveram em paz com os parentes de tribo do Araguáia até se desavirem com êles por causa das maquinações do chefe Wanaó (informações de Kayapó do Araguaia; veja também H. Coudreau 201, 205). Então se hostilizaram ocasionalmente (Krause 2 98). Segundo Coudreau (204, 205) viviam 1.500 Górotire no oeste da Serra da Mata, na região do rio Fresco, numa distância de 150 quilômetros do Araguáia, em meio caminho à Pedra Sêca do Xingú, sendo vizinhos dos Sayá e provàvelmente idênticos com estes. O engenheiro F. Schmidt, do Pará, informa que, em 1908, quando foi estabelecida a ligação entre Conceição do Araguáia e o Xingú, os Górotire tinham a sua aldeia nesta estrada, no ribeirão das Antas (hoje ribeirão da Ponte?), afluente direito do rio Fresco. Eram pacíficos, parecendo-se completamente em língua e aparência com os Kayapó da região do Araguáia. Mas já ao tempo da viagem

de Kissenberth estiveram em guerra com os seringueiros, não mais permitindo aproximação alguma. Este viajante viu alguns Górotíre entre os Kayapó do Arraias (Kissenberth 1 38, 54). Em 1918, a aldeia dos Górotíre que, entretanto, tinha sido trasladada para o oeste, entre o Riozinho (afluente esquerdo do baixo rio Fresco) e o ribeirão Vermelho, seu tributário esquerdo — (direito, segundo o mapa publicado pelos missionários dominicanos 2 12 — nota de H. B.) —, foi atacada duas vezes pelos seringueiros chefiados por António Firmino. O primeiro ataque fracassou. No segundo ataque foi destruída a aldeia e queimadas as provisões que, segundo dizem, eram muito grandes. Então, essa horda que, aliás, é chamada também pelos seringueiros sòmente de Kayapó ou Gápó, retirou-se para o sul. De lá empreende ainda todos os anos raízas sangrentas contra os seringueiros do rio Fresco, do médio Xingú, do alto Iriri, e últimamente também do Curuá onde antes tinha sido desconhecida. Os Yuruna relatam que, quando êles se retiraram pela primeira vez até acima da cachoeira do Xingú para evitar de serem maltratados pelos seringueiros, havia fora dessa aldeia dos Górotíre ainda quatro outros povoados kayapó, três ao lado direito e um ao lado esquerdo do Xingú, entre 8° e 10° de latitude sul, com cujos habitantes tinham de lutar muito. No alto Curuá, um Kayapó me informou, em 1918, que o território dos Górotíre estende-se para o oeste até as cabeceiras dêste rio ou ainda mais além.

"Os Kayapó costumam realizar as incursões no tempo da sêca. Mas em 1917, um bando atravessou o Xingú já em março quando a inundação extraordinàriamente grande estava no ponto mais alto. Os índios traspassaram o rio em duas canoas, perto da cocheira da Onça, e assaltaram os seringueiros no igarapé Porto Seguro. Disem que outros entraram ao mesmo tempo mais abaixo do Xingú no igarapé Triunfo. Em junho de 1918 deu-se nova invasão no Triunfo e alto Iriri, tendo sido mortos um homem e uma mulher. No mesmo ano apareceram os índios pela primeira vez no rio Curuá matando uma mulher. Além disso saquearam numerosas cabanas de seringueiros na região do rio Caiété (afluente esquerdo do alto Iriri), região essa que não abandonaram durante todo o tempo da sêca. Em abril de 1919 assaltaram novamente um seringueiro no igarapé Baú (afluente direito do rio Curuá), ferindo-o gravemente e saqueando a sua cabana. Algumas armas deixadas nestes assaltos vieram ao museu de Gotemburgo e evidenciam que se trata de Kayapó. Dràsticamente foi isso comprovado por um seringueiro do Xingú: matou à bala um dos inimigos e tomou-lhe o escalpo tosquiado à moda kayapó e com as orelhas perfuradas, conservando-o em alcool. Aliás, os seringueiros que só conhecem os Kayapó mansos de Conceição, acreditam quase geralmente na calúnia segundo a qual os assaltos são feitos não por índios bravos, mas por mansos. Então concluem sempre: "os Kayapó mansos do Arraias devem ser mortos à bala".

O original alemão destas notas de Nimuendajú, traduzidas por mim, foi publicado em 1932. Em carta de 19 de abril de 1948, o mesmo autor deu-me notícias mais recentes sôbre os Górotíre. Dos três grupos dêsses índios que acabou de visitar,

um se tinha entregado a um tal Constantino Vianna em Serra Encontrada, conhecido como campeão dos matadores de índios no Xingú. O segundo grupo morava numa fábrica de aguardente e o terceiro e maior, consistindo em 400 cabeças, estava no Riozinho, perto de Nova Olinda, com o missionário inglês Horace Banner que, sem compreensão etnológica, procura precipitar ainda mais a aculturação. Um outro bando tinha ido até o rio Jaruçú, portanto quase até o Amazonas. De volta para o Xingú, os seus últimos remanescentes foram mortos a tiros na povoação Vitória na qual tinham entrado pacificamente. A matança se deu poucos dias antes da chegada de Nimuendajú a êste lugar. Outras hordas kayapó como os Dyáre, Krúatire e os que vagueam entre o Xingú e o Tapajos, continuam até hoje a ser completamente inacessíveis e hostis em relação aos Brancos.

O folheto "Gorotirés" publicado pelos missionários dominicanos indica como vizinhos orientais dos Górotire e setentrionais dos Tapirapé os "Djorés" (12: mapa). Considera estes "selvagens das vertentes orientais do alto rio Fresco, inimigos dos Gorotirés e dos cristãos dos campos de Conceição", como "tribo cayapó, distinta de tôdas as outras" (65). Observa (63) que os "Djorés", atacando, "sem motivo nenhum", gente de Conceição, mataram, "de quatro anos para cá", isto é, até 1935, "dez cristãos e roubaram outras tantas crianças".

O "Mensageiro do Santo Rosário" de dezembro de 1937 (268) dá a seguinte notícia: "Comunicam-nos de Conceição em data de 29 de Junho que o Exmo. Sr. D. Sebastião realizou sua projetada expedição pela mata geral, atrás dos selvagens que êle denomina Djorés, e que os alcançou reunidos e momentâneamente aldeiados em número de mil, em tôrno do povoado cristão de Nova Olinda, situado à margem do Rio Fresco, a cem léguas de Conceição".

A mesma revista dominicana, no número 9 de janeiro de 1940 (ano XLII, 218) publica a seguinte informação de Conceição com data de 31 de agosto de 1939: "Um "comboio" do Sr. Jacinto Mota que se dirigia para o Rio Fresco, desapareceu na mata geral, à distância de três dias de marcha. Viajantes vindos de Novo Horizonte encontraram na mata quatro animais mortos. Dentro em pouco, chegaram no *Sítio do Tibúrcio*, já falecido, cêrca de trezentos Gorotirés, entre homens e mulheres e crianças, dizendo a quem encontravam: "Vamos até Conceição". Notou-se que êsses selvagens possuíam três rifles, levavam facão na cintura, e que estavam vestidos com a roupa dos camaradas do Sr. Jacinto Mota. Este, chegado no local no dia seguinte, reconheceu tudo. Com 40 homens armados que reunira atacou os selvícolas, matando dez dêles e ferindo diversos. Uma mulher gorotiré ferida explicou ao caiapó Sanjana, que os índios deixaram passar a tropa, que as mulheres prosseguiram a marcha para diante, mas que os guerreiros voltaram para trás. Aproveitaram-se das trevas da noite para matar os três camaradas que dormiam, parece, nas suas redes".

O número 8 de dezembro de 1940 do mesmo periódico dominicano (ano XLIII, 187) diz no seu noticiário de Conceição: "Com a chegada de muita gente do Xingú veio a triste notícia

que os índios atacaram a ilha do Beija-flor, por cima do Porto Seguro, matando dez pessoas. Desapareceram três, que se supõe terem sido carregadas pelos atacantes: uma menina, um homem e um rapazinho. A repulsa armada a êsses ataques não se fez demorar. O snr. António Coelho, proprietário do Porto Seguro, estava em Belém. Quando subiu, foi ajuntando gente e munições, muito indignado. E infelizmente os atritos entre civilizados e índios ainda pagãos continuam com muito pesar dos missionários. Êsses aborígenes são os mesmos Gorotirés que, domiciliados na bacia das águas do Rio Fresco, ora avançam para os Campos de Conceição do Araguáia, no nascente, ora espreitam e atacam os índios Tapirapés para o sul, penetrando até ocasionalmente nos vastos campos do Estado de Mato Grosso, e ora alcançam e vadeam, como é frequente, o caudaloso rio Xingú, numa escala de cinquenta a oitenta léguas. Seu número presumível é de dois mil a três mil índios".

Por fim, uma enumeração das tribos da prelazia de Conceição do Araguáia, publicada em abril de 1941 no "Mensageiro do Santo Rosário" (ano XLIII, 280), dizia: "...encontram-se na prelazia os Gorotirés que, julgamos, são os índios que de quando em vez levam o desassossêgo e a morte pelos Campos cristãos de Conceição, em incursões sangrentas. Ensaiaram já bem vezes, nestes últimos tempos, muitas famílias da prelazia. Contam-se já, de 10 anos para cá, por 50 assassinatos de homens, mulheres e crianças cristãs, dentre os moradores dêsses Campos. Eleva-se a 50 o número de crianças roubadas pelos atacantes".

Considerando juntamente tôdas essas notícias dadas pelos dominicanos, não fica claro quando os chamados "Djorés" e quando os "Gorotirés" foram os atacantes dos "cristãos" de Conceição. Curt Nimuendajú, autoridade no assunto, me escreveu em 23 de fevereiro de 1945: "O mapa de D. Fr. Sebastião Thomas a que o Snr. se refere (isto é, o mapa publicado no acima citado folheto "Gorotirés": H. B.), é muito deficiente. Que os saiba, nunca estiveram os Dyóre localizados entre o alto Rio Fresco e as cabeceiras dos afluentes do Araguaia que desembocam acima de Sant'Ana. Tão pouco podia haver ali "Purucarés" (p. 19). Os Purukarót, uma horda que Coudreau (isto é: Frei Gil) localizou com acêrto na região das cabeceiras do Tocantins, foi extinta pelos caucheiros. Os vestígios que o bispo encontrou no alto Rio Fresco, a-pesar-de êle não querer acreditá-lo, eram provàvelmente dos Gorotire que ocasionalmente têm estendido nessa latitude as suas excursões até a margem do Araguaia." O mesmo autor (ibidem) observa que a horda dos "Dyóre" ou "Dyóre" (chamada de "Chicri" por Coudreau e de "Pokrekré-re" pelos Kayapó do Arraias, "habita e sempre habitou na região das cabeceiras dos rios Vermelho e Branco, afluente da margem direita do baixo tocantins".

Ao tratar dos "Karajá do Xingú" identificados por Nimuendajú como sub-tribos kayapó, citei uma informação do século XVIII segundo a qual estes índios fizeram guerra aos Yuruna. O seguinte trecho duma carta que Nimuendajú me escreveu em 12 de julho de 1938, alude ao fim ao qual essas relações hostis conduziram depois de cêrca de duzentos anos: "Parece-me quase que

os "Yurúna-de-baixo" mencionados por Steinen foram Xipáia; o xipáia é dialeto yurúna. Dos Yurúna-de-baixo pròpriamente ditos restava, já ha mais de quarenta anos, só uma única família que morava na cachoeira do Jurucuá, na grande volta do Xingú. Talvez viva ainda um ou outro membro dela. Os Yurúna-de-cima, quando consistiram em cêrca de cinquenta cabeças, fugiram com o chefe Máma para a cachoeira de Martina, em 10° de latitude sul, a fim de não serem escravisados pelos seringueiros. Lá sofreram muito dos assaltos dos Kayapó. Em 1916 voltaram para a Pedra Seca onde viveu o morador mais meridional do Xangú. Este tripulou logo uma embarcação de carga com 15 homens yurúna e foi com ela para Altamira. Lá morreram 14. Eu mesmo assisti isso, tomando naquele tempo as notas do dialeto dêles. Quando a notícia do sucesso funesto chegou a Pedra Seca, Máma fugiu com o resto de sua gente novamente água-arriba. Desde então, os Yurúna não foram mais vistos. Provàvelmente, há muito tempo foram exterminados pelos Kayapó. Quando, no ano passado, os Górotire-Kayapó fizeram a paz no rio Fresco, estave entre êles um Yurúna que tinha sido raptado quando menino".

Os dados de Adalbert Prinz von Preussen, Karl von den Steinen (1), Coudreau e Nimuendajú (7) acêrca dos Yurúna e seu idioma indicam tão pouco parentesco com os Tapirapé que é improvável terem havido contactos diretos e prolongados entre as duas tribos. Isso, porém, não contradiz a classificação dos Yurúna como Tupí, pois êles aproveitam bastante elementos desta família lingüística.

[85]

# OS TAPIRAPÉ

## TRIBO TUPI NO BRASIL CENTRAL

(Especial para a *"Revista do Arquivo"*)

(Continuação)

*Herbert Baldus*

### V — O número das aldeias e dos membros da tribo.

Já autores quinhentistas como Pero de Magalhães de Gandavo (45) e Gabriel Soares de Sousa (362) frisaram a tendência dos Tupi para se dividirem em bandos por certas desavenças. Segundo o primeiro dêsses cronistas, tais dissenções surgiram por causa de qualquer assassinato. Às vezes, o motivo parece ter sido menos sangrento. Assim, referindo-se à Baía, Soares de Sousa (363) conta o seguinte: "Entre os Tupinambás moradores da banda da cidade armaram desavenças uns com os outros sôbre uma moça que um tomou a seu pai por força, sem lh'a querer tornar; com a qual desavença se apartou toda a parentela do pai da moça, que eram índios principais, com a gente de suas aldeias, e passaram-se à ilha de Taparica, que está no meio da Baía, com os quais se lançou outra muita gente, e encorporaram-se com os vizinhos do rio Paraguaçú, e fizeram guerra aos da cidade...."

Indubitàvelmente, nem sempre a necessidade puramente econômica foi fator decisivo da separação intra-tribal entre os índios do leste da América do Sul, sobretudo entre aquêles cuja pesca e lavoura davam abundância de víveres. Frequentemente, as fôrças diruptivas foram, em grande parte, de ordem psíquica. Foram elas as que, restringindo o tamanho da comunidade, impediram a formação de qualquer rudimento de Estado e o desenvolvimento maior da cultura material, facilitando a uma nação pequena como Portugal o domínio de um país tão extenso como o Brasil.

No caso dos Tapirapé, as fôrças desagregantes, além de serem combatidas pela autoridade de Kamairabó em Tampiltáma, foram repelidas por fôrças destrutivas de poder maior, isto é, por epidemias catastróficas. A autoridade de Kamairabó se mostrou quando procurei averiguar de qual das diferentes aldeias, hoje extintas, provieram os indivíduos que compõem a atual população de Tampiltáma. Aquêles que me tinham dito o lugar onde nasce-

ram, não ousaram repetir a informação em presença dêsse líder mais influente. A ação homogeneizante de Kamairabó era justificada pelo fato de antigos antagonismos entre as aldeias não serem ainda completamente esquecidos, se bem que raras vezes lembrados.

A êsse respeito convem mencionar, antes de tudo, os sobreviventes da aldeia abandonada em 1932. Distinguem-se dos outros habitantes de Tampiitáua por uma carranca, pela disposição contínua para mofar a meia voz, e pela falta de hospitalidade. Sua aldeia, situada a "dez dias de marcha" ao norte, tinha a fama de odiar os brancos. Por meio do comércio e de alguns casamentos, ela ficou em relações com Tampiitáua. Encontrei ainda cêrca de vinte daqueles "inimigos", entre homens, mulheres e crianças. Me dei bem com êles. Um dêles, Maninohó, tornou-se meu íntimo e uma exceção entre os seus pelo comportamento cada vez mais hospitaleiro a meu respeito. Isso não impedia que muita gente de Tampiitáua o detestasse. Talvez aumentasse ainda a antipatia.

Pouco a pouco fiquei sabendo que os vinte indivíduos desaparecidos em 1934 tinham sido, na maior parte, antigos habitantes da aldeia extinta em 1932. O snr. Kegel lembrava-se que já em 1933 correu o boato em Tampiitáua de que êles iriam mudar para longe. Eram, geralmente, malquistos e continuavam inimigos dos brancos. Quando foram embora, levaram tudo que tinham. Marcharam em direção do norte. Um médico-feiticeiro, acusado de ter causado a morte da mulher de Kamairá, homem influente e vigoroso, juntou-se a êles, tornando-se o seu líder. Nunca mais foram vistos até 1935 e supunha-se tanto que foram mortos pelos Kayapó que, como já mencionei, a tribo inteira queria fugir para Macauba, lembrando, depois, o assalto por meio da pantomima acima descrita. Mas não havia certeza absoluta a respeito do fim dos vinte. Dizia-se, como também já mencionei, que êles não voltaram duma caçada. Todos os Tapirapé que perguntei falaram nesta caçada coletiva. Mas é provável que os vinte foram expulsos da comunidade. Convem observar, porém, que esta hipótese não fica corroborada pelo fato de êles terem levado consigo todos os seus bens. Pois, partiram justamente por ocasião de a aldeia inteira ser transferida para outro lugar. Além disso, afastando-se a gente, por vários dias, da aldeia, em companhia da família, a fim de caçar ou pescar coletivamente, costuma levar consigo todos os trastes — aliás geralmente bem portáteis por serem leves e poucos.

Pode ser que, ao partirem sob a pressão da opinião pública, os emigrantes declararam querer empreender sòmente uma caçada. Tal declaração podia ser motivada pelo desejo de não destruir por um despedida definitiva e hostil tôdas as possibilidades de regresso. Parece realmente que voltaram alguns anos depois, não tendo sido mortos pelos Kayapó. Pois Wagley me contou que, quando esteve em Tampiitáua no ano de 1939, ouviu falar de uma aldeia tapirapé de nome Chichutáua, situada numa distância de seis jornadas em direção ao norte e habitada por 45 pessoas. Um belo dia, os habitantes desta aldeia apareceram e juntaram-se aos de Tampiitáua, perfazendo com êles então o número de 147 in-

divíduos (cf. Wagley 2 409). Em 1935 contei 130 habitantes de Tampiitáua. A diferença de 17 pode muito bem corresponder ao número "20" dos emigrados, admitindo-se ter sido, na totalidade dos Tapirapé, o número de óbitos superior ao de nascimentos e considerando-se a deficiente familiaridade dessa tribo com problemas numéricos. O mencionado número "45" designando a quantidade dos habitantes de Chichutáua é explicado pelo fato de a população desta aldeia, desde 1935, ter aumentada pela vinda de outros emigrados de Tampiitáua. Vendo as fotografias tiradas por mim, Wagley constatou que grande parte dos habitantes de Chichutáua esteve em Tampiitáua na época de minha visita. Isso é um bom exemplo de "mobilidade social em sentido horizontal" (cf. Baldus e Willems 153).

A respeito da tendência dêsses Tupi para segregarem-se convém referir ainda o caso seguinte. Em setembro de 1932, o jóvem e enérgico "capitão" Ikaranchó, desavindo-se com Kamairahó, fundou numa distância de uma légua ao leste da Tampiitáua uma nova aldeia. O Rev. Kegel a quem devo esta informação, visitou ambas as aldeias. Ikaranchó tinha tanta energia que conseguiu colocar de noite sentinelas bem disciplinadas ao redor de sua fundação. Tal providência, provàvelmente tomada por causa dos Kayapó, era inaudita entre os Tapirapé. A têrça parte dos habitantes de Tampiitáua mudou-se para a aldeia nova. Era quase só gente moça, fato que lembra a separação hostil das gerações entre Chamakoko do Chaco pela qual se constituiu a tribo dos Tumerehá, também chamada de "Chamacocos bravos" para distingui-la dos restantes, apelidados de "mansos" (Baldus 1 11, 199-200). Na época da fundação da aldeia de Ikaranchó, camaradas dos dominicanos de Conceição transmitiram aos Tapirapé com os quais estiveram em contacto no rio homônimo, uma gripe que se complicou, aparentemente, com pneumonia. Na seguinte estação das chuvas, esta epidemia causou grande mortandade em em tôda a tribo vitimando também Ikaranchó e a sua mulher. Então os separatistas voltaram para Tampiitáua.

O mapa setecentista publicado na presente obra indica com três triângulos as "Aldeas do Gentio Tapirapé". Narrando a expedição de Alfredo Olímpio de Oliveira realizada em 1911 escreve Angyone Costa (222-223) com referência aos Tapirapé daquela época: "Estes índios ocupam três aldeias, distando a primeira da margem do rio dois dias de viagem e a segunda três, não tendo o explorador visitado a terceira".

Ainda no relatório da expedição dominicana de 1914, publicado no "Mensageiro do Santo Rosário", lê-se )317): "Os Tapirapé formam três grupos, ou melhor três malocas, separadas por cinco dias de viagem. Pode o índio percorrer cincoenta quilômetros por dia. Daí vê-se que região imensa ocupa uma tribo relativamente pouco numerosa. A aldeia visitada tinha dezesseis choupanas, cada uma abrigando diversas famílias. Bem verdade é que, no aproximar-se dos padres, esvaziaram-se alguns ranchos, e, arrastadas por um chefe desconfiado, famílias correram a esconder-se na floresta. O pessoal encontrado não excedia a 160 almas: disto é fácil inferir que a tribo não vai além de uns mil habitantes".

A notícia sôbre a viagem do dr. Francisco Mandacarú publicada em 1912 diz que a aldeia tapirapé visitada por êste explorador tinha 268 habitantes, observando que "uma aldeia consiste quase sempre apenas numa única família numerosa". Mas não menciona o número das aldeias (cf. Kissenberth 2 43-44).

O mesmo se dá com a acima citada informação acêrca da viagem do inspetor dos índios que só declara terem sido descobertos "cêrca de 1000 ou 1500" Tapirapé ainda existentes (Glass 139).

O Rev. Kegel me contou que, em agosto de 1932, encontrou em Tampiitáua cêrca de quatorze casas com um pouco mais de 220 habitantes os quais, como já foi dito, se separaram em setembro, estando, porém, reunidos quando os visitou no ano seguinte. 50 a 60 dêles faleceram no tempo das chuvas de 1932 a 1933 e só 3 a 4 crianças nascidas na mesma época foram vistas por êsse missionário. Havia então um único casal com três filhos, tendo os outros casais com prole só um ou dois. Quando, em 1934, o snr. Kegel esteve em Tampiitáua, depois da partida dos várias vezes aludidos "vinte" que em 1935 ainda não tinham voltado, viu só sete casas com 113 habitantes. E' de supor que mais algumas famílias ficaram ausentes durante a visita do missionário naquele ano. Pois em 1935 contei 130 Tapirapé. Moravam nas sete casas vistas pelo snr. Kegel no ano anterior e, além disso, na chamada takana e em mais uma cabana (marcada com a letra g na planta da aldeia) que não tinha o acabamento das outras. A distribuição dêsses 130 indivíduos nas casas é indicada na planta da aldeia (fig. 8).

A seguinte estatística mostra as proporções das idades, sexos, casados e filhos:

| | SEXO MASCULINO | | | | SEXO FEMININO | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Indivíduos* | *casados* | *filhos* | *filhas* | *Indivíduos* | *casados* | *filhos* | *filhas* |
| menos de 1 ano . . | — | — | — | — | 2 | — | — | — |
| 1-2 anos | 1 | — | — | — | 2 | — | — | — |
| 3-5 anos | 9 | — | — | — | 7 | — | — | — |
| 6-10 anos | 7 | — | — | — | 11 | — | — | — |
| 11-14 anos | 9 | — | — | — | 7 | 6 | — | — |
| 15-17 anos | 5 | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 18-20 anos | 9 | 8 | — | 2 | 6 | 6 | — | — |
| 21-25 anos | 11 | 10 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 2 |
| 26-30 anos | 5 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 9 | 4 | 10 |
| 31-35 anos | 8 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 2 |
| 36-40 anos | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 41-45 anos | 2 | 2 | 1 | — | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| 46-50 anos | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| 56-60 anos | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | 2 | — |
| Total . . | 69 | 35 | 6 | 14 | 61 | [illegible] | 16 | 16 |

Resulta, portanto, que havia em Tampiltáua, por ocasião dêsse recenseamento feito em 1935, 70 pessoas casadas e 60 não casadas.

Entre os 38 homens de 18 a 45 anos estavam os pais de 20 filhos. Entre as 26 mulheres de 21 a 60 anos estavam as mães de 32 filhos. Portanto, entre aquêles 64 homens e mulheres estavam os pais e mães de 52 filhos.

Entre estes 52 filhos não são incluidos os que foram declarados enteados ou adotivos. E' possível que haja entre êles, além disso, enteados ou adotivos não declarados. Neste caso, o número relativamente já pequeno de filhos com pai vivo ou mãe viva seria ainda menor.

Entre os casais com filhos procedentes do atual matrimônio havia 1 casal com 3 filhos, 2 casais com 2 e 5 casais com 1 filho cada um.

Havia um avô de 45 anos com uma neta de 3 anos, e uma avó de 60 anos com uma neta de igualmente 3 anos. Um homem de 33 anos dizia-se avô duma menina de 5 que não tinha nem pai nem mãe. Êle era, talvez, irmão do avô da pequena.

Não menos impressionantes do que êsses números são os seguintes:

Na idade de menos de 1 ano até 14 anos havia 26 individuos masculinos e 29 femininos, isto é 55 de ambos os sexos.

Na idade 15 a 30 anos estavam 30 individuos masculinos e 20 femininos, isto é, 50 de ambos os sexos.

Na idade de 31 a 60 anos estavam 13 individuos masculinos e 12 femininos, isto é, 25 de ambos os sexos, tendo só dois dêles mais de 45 anos, a saber, uma mulher de 48 e outra de 60 anos.

Não havia ninguém acima de 60 anos.

O que impressiona é, principalmente, o número reduzido das pessoas de mais de 30 anos. Por outro lado, o número dos individuos de menos de 15 anos é proporcionalmente não tão pequeno como o correspondente em certos povos "civilizados". A êsse respeito é interessante uma comparação com os seguintes dados de Kasura Lexikon, calculados por milhar:

| | menos de 15 anos | 15-30 anos | 30-60 anos | mais de 60 anos |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Áustria (1934) | 237 | 234 | 407 | 122 |
| Dinamarca (1935) | 275 | 264 | 353 | 108 |
| Est. Unidos da América (1933) | 294 | 263 | 358 | 85 |
| França (1936) | 225 | 250 | 387 | 138 |
| Holanda (1935) | 307 | 265 | 334 | 94 |
| Itália (1936) | 297 | 289 | 326 | 108 |
| Japão (1935) | 367 | 257 | 299 | 77 |
| Rússia Soviética (1934) | 372 | 291 | 271 | 66 |
| Suiça (1935) | 245 | 289 | 377 | 108 |
| Tcheco-Eslováquia (1934) | 263 | 285 | 350 | 102 |
| Tapirapé de Tampiltáua (1935) | 423 | 385 | 192 | 0 |

Na citada enciclopédia, as proporções dos grupos de idade são considerados "insalubres" na Áustria, Dinamarca, França, Suiça e Tcheco-Eslováquia, e "sãs" no Japão.

Entre os 35 casais de Tampiitáua havia 20 em que o marido parecia mais velho do que a mulher, 12 em que se deu o contrario, e 3 em que ambos os esposos apresentavam a mesma idade. Digo: "*parecia* mais velho", pois admito pequenas inexatidões no cálculo de idade, a-pesar-de não tê-lo feito sosinho, mas em colaboração com o snr. Kegel que, por ter observado esses índios durante vários anos, possuia mais dados para avaliação do que eu.

A seguinte lista indica número, sexo e idade dos habitantes de cada casa que figura na planta da aldeia:

| | SEXO MASCULINO | | | SEXO FEMININO | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *menos de 15 anos* | *de 15 anos para cima* | *total* | *menos de 15 anos* | *de 15 anos para cima* | *total* | *total dos habitantes* |
| casa a . . . | 2 | 12 | 14 | 8 | 9 | 17 | 31 |
| casa b . . . | 2 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 13 |
| casa c . . . | 2 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 8 |
| casa d . . . | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| casa e . . . | 5 | 9 | 14 | 7 | 6 | 13 | 27 |
| casa f . . . | 3 | 4 | 7 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 12 |
| casa g . . . | 4 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 9 |
| casa h . . . | 2 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 2 | 8 | 14 |
| takana . . . | 5 | 3 | 8 | — | — | — | 8 |
| TOTAL . . | 26 | 43 | 69 | 29 | 32 | 61 | 130 |

Em 1935 ouvi e em 1937 publiquei que os Tapirapé tinham antigamente, cinco aldeias cujos descendentes constituem a atual população de Tampiitáua (*cf.* Baldus *17* 86). Wagley (2 408-409) confirmou isso, acrescentando (§ 5) que essas cinco aldeias "provàvelmente existiram até o limiar do século e que, dizem, tiveram população de aproximadamente duzentos indivíduos cada uma". Indica (ibidem) como causa do abandono das aldeias ùnicamente as epidemias. Já mencionei que, no caso da aldeia abandonada em 1932, também o medo dos Kayapó deve ter contribuído. Digna de nota é a explicação segundo a qual os habitantes de três outras aldeias mudaram-se para Tampiitáua por não existirem mais médicos-feiticeiros entre êles. Isso pode ter sido, naturalmente, consequência de epidemia. Mas o interessante é que os Taipirapé não me indicaram doença como causa do abandono das aldeias e sim a falta de pagés. Nada mostra melhor a importância dêstes últimos.

A aldeia abandonada em 1932 tinha o nome de Meytáua, composição de *meyu*: taquari, e *táua*: aldeia. As outras três extintas chamam-se 1) Kuruantáua, sendo *kurui ou korui* a abóbora (cucurbitáceo do Brasil) que entrou como "crui" no vernáculo; 2) Mankotáua, sendo Manko nome dum Karajá que era líder da aldeia; 3) Chechotáua, sendo *chechó*, provàvelmente, o jejú (*Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus*), peixe parecido com a traíra, ou uma contração de *chechoó*, "o grande chechó", isto é, o pirarucú (*Arapaima gigas*). Pode ser que Chechotáua seja a "Chichutáua" da qual Wagley ouviu falar, tendo os emigrados de Tampiitáua se

mudado para as terras da antiga aldeia dêsse nome por causa do alimento que crescia, indubitàvelmente, ainda nas roças ao redor.

Tampiiténa, a "aldeia da anta", não está mais no lugar em que estava no tempo da minha visita. Foi transferida para mais longe do rio. Isto representa um afastamento dos brancos realizado, de certa maneira, em "direção dos Kayapó". Tal afastamento me parece "politica sã". Foram e continuam sendo feitas tentativas de aldear os Tapirapé num "Posto de Proteção" situado perto do Araguaia. O contacto imediato e contínuo dêsses índios com os mais variados representantes da nossa civilização, contacto êsse inevitavel ao realizar-se o mencionado projeto, traria o exterminio certo da pacifica tribo tupi cujos membros, no momento em que escrevo (1944), provàvelmente não chegam a ser cento-e-cinquenta.

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# OS TAPIRAPE'

(Especial para a "Revista do Arquivo")

Tribo tupí no Brasil Central

*Herbert Baldus*

(*Continuação*)

Entre tôdas as tribos conhecidas é a do Karajá que mais se assemelha culturalmente aos Tarirapé. E' a única — se considerarmos os Javahé como parte dela —, que teve contacto íntimo com êsses Tupí.

Atrás já foram citadas as notícias dadas pelo alferes Pinto da Fonseca em 175, por Cunha Mattos em 1824 e pelo dr. Lipkind em em 1939 acêrca da estada dos Tapirapé na ilha do Bananal. Também demonstrei que desde o século XVIII há Tapirape no hinterland da margem esquerda do rio de seu nome, morando êles, antigamente, mais perto da foz do que hoje, portanto mais perto dos Karajá. O habito dêstes, o Araguaia, chamado na lingua da aldeia Beroromandú simplesmente de *berú*, "rio", e *berookó* no idioma dos homens e *berakyká* no das mulheres quando querem distingui-lo de outros rios. Os termos especificadores significam "rio grande". Correspondem neste sentido às variantes *ponanoó* e *ponanyhó* com que os habitantes de Tampiltána designam o mesmo curso d'água. Pois, também na geografia tapirapé, o Araguaia é "o rio grande".

Falei dos Karajá como importadores de cantos, ferramentas e epidemias. Quero mostrá-los, agora, como recebedores de um produto dos Tapirapé, pois a seguinte notícia acêrca da existência dêsse produto entre êles contribue para evidenciar que já no século XVIII tiveram relações com aquela tribo tupí. Em 1799 diz o diário da viagem do governador João Manuel de Meneses (183) que os Karajá têm "... as orelhas furadas em cujas (*sic*) metem um cilindro de duas linhas de diâmetro, e comprido de duas polegadas, também têm batoque, mas de pedra mármore do mesmo comprimento que os cilindros das orelhas, na parte exterior uma porção de circulo de maior raio, que o do cilindro e na interior duas pegas para não sair com facilidade, outros metem o que bem lhes agrada; nas faces têm dois circulos cujas circunferências são notadas por linhas pretas da tinta do suco de genipapo, nos pulsos trazem certos massaguitos, que usavam os nosso antigos de Isaia, e ainda hoje se vem aos Franceses, servem êles para defen-

der o pulso quando frecham." — Observa também que as mulheres karajá usam "tanga d'algodão".

O produto tapirapé em questão é o mencionado "batoque de pedra-mármore", melhor dito, um tembetá de quarzo. Já o trecho acima citado dum artigo sôbre os Karajá escrito por Aristides de Souza Spinola alude à proveniência tapirapé dêsses enfeites labiais. Mais tarde, Krause (2 224) diz a respeito: "Não são fabricados pelos Karajá, mas pelos Tapirapé dos quais os Karajá da horda setentrional os obtem por permuta." E Kissenberth (2 72) conta do tembetá de "quarzo lácteo" que um Karajá lhe vendeu, ter êste o tirado do beiço dum gueirreiro inimigo morto por êle durante a última campanha contra os Tapirapé. As informações recolhidas por mim confirmam que os adornos em questão, encontrados entre os Karajá, foram fabricados pelos tapirapé.

Outro aspecto interessante das observações do diário da viagem de Menezes é o de mostrarem que os Karajá tiveram já naquele tempo os mesmos traços culturais pelos quais hoje se assemelham aos Tapirapé ou se distinguem dêles. Os "massaguitos" — palavra que não encontrei nos dicionários portugueses — são, indubitàvelmente, os canhões de algodão usados pela tribo tupí sob o nome de *tamankurá*. E desta tribo diferem os Karajá hodiernos pelos círculos tatuados nas faces e pela tanga das mulheres. Aliás o fato de já em 1799 as mulheres karajá cobrirem as partes genitais parece indicar que seu trajar não pode ser atribuido à influência dos brancos, pois esta era, então, mínima, tendo sido os contactos só passageiros até a segunda metade do século XIX.

O hábitat dos Karajá estende-se de Leopoldina até Conceição. Antigamente costumavam subir o rio Tapirapé até o atual Porto de São Domingos, mais ou menos, como indica o mapa de Krause (2). Não sendo, porém, as relações entre os índios Tapirapé e os Karajá tão boas hoje quanto no começo do nosso século, estes se contentam, geralmente, em entrar naquele afluente do Araguaia até uma distância de dois dias de sua foz, e só os mais ousados dêles penetram até o "lago" situado na margem direita, umas três léguas abaixo do mencionado porto, para apanhar tartarugas, ou com as mãos ou com anzol que leva como isca um pedacinho de cana de açúcar.

Os Karajá passam o tempo da sêca nas enormes praias e bancos de areia de seu grande rio ou viajando em ubás. Refiraram-se na estação das chuvas para aldeias situadas nas margens mais altas. Sua intimidade com a água justifica serem êles tidos pelos Tapirapé como descendentes de serpente aquática. Vivem principalmente da pesca que para êles tem muito mais importância do que a caça de animais terrestres e aves e a lavoura. Contribuições consideráveis para a sua alimentação são os ovos da tartaruga e da ema, o mel e as frutas do mato.

Ainda que se assemelhem aos Tapirapé em numerosos traços culturais, distinguem-se dêles consideràvelmente por outros. Também física e psiquicamente diferem muito da tribo tupí.

Formam com os Javahé, habitantes da parte oriental da ilha do Bananal, uma família linguística isolada. Os Karajá de Santa Isabel, quando, em maio de 1935, estive entre êles, me disseram a respeito dêsses índios: são exatamente como nós, têm as

mesmas coisas como nós, o mesmo distintivo tribal nas faces, nós entendemos o que falam, e foi o *tori* (isto é o branco) quem lhes deu outro nome. — Mas o dr. Lipkind que estudou tanto os Karajá como também os Javahé, escreveu-me em 26 de maio de 1939 que estes últimos são "very much differentiated culturally from the Caraja":

Os primeiros trabalhos dignos de nota que tratam dos Karajá são de Paul Ehrenreich (*1* e *4*). Mais importantes são os de Fritz Krause (*1*, *2*, *3*). Em 1937 publiquei algumas observações minhas (cf. Baldus 7). De William Lipkind que, em 1938 e 1939, conviveu com êsses índios, espero grandes coisas.

Os Karajá de Beroromandú e do outras aldeias situadas ao norte da foz do Tapirapé não eram sempre agradáveis nas frequentes visitas que me fizeram em Macauba. Já revelavam lamentável influência da nossa civilização. Mudança de alimentação manifestava-se em alguns indivíduos por falta de dentes. Os moços já não mais se depilavam. Todos cuspiam ininterruptamente à moda *tori*. Apresentavam surpreendente ausência de desconfiança que logo se mostrava como importunidade. Penetravam sem licença em qualquer quarto. Alguns cometiam pequenos furtos. Um menino me vendeu o seu adôrno labial por preço bem alto, alegando a dificuldade do fabrico por ser a concha muito dura. Dei-lhe o que êle pedira, e ocupei-me depois com outros visitantes. Passados alguns minutos, o menino, o meu pagamento e o adôrno labial tinham sumido. Dois dias mais tarde encontrei o pequeno comerciante com o enfeite no beiço inferior. "Êste é o meu. Me dá! Primeiro, você m'o vende carissimamente e depois o leva embora. Disse-lhe: Êle riu, tirou sem delongas o adôrno da boca, entregou-o e respondeu: "Estava no chão. Então o levei". Pude entender os seus sentimentos. Era de fato uma peça bonita e caprichosamente trabalhada.

Outros furtos eram menos ingênuos, mas, em geral, raros, se se considerar o grande número de índios que deixei mexer nas minhas coisas sem controlá-los. Conhecedores do Araguaia disseram-me, porém, que certos Karajá, de 1926 a 1935, mataram vários brancos para os roubar. Especialmente os habitantes de Santa Isabel têm má fama.

Pedi a opinião de muitos brasileiros e estrangeiros que durante anos estiveram em contacto com os Karajá e mostraram interêsse e afeição em relação aos índios em geral. Todos consideraram essa tribo de remeiros como mais oumenos traiçoeira e manhosa, preferindo evitá-la. Encontrando qualquer branco, o Karajá tem o padrão de comportamento do mendigo que, no começo, se mostra cortez, mas logo depois arrogante. Muitos chamam estes índios de preguiçosos e, realmente, as suas roças são tão miseráveis que, frequentemente, sofrem fome. Até os utensílios e adornos fabricados por êle começam a rarear, tornando-se difícil encontrar uma peça etnogràficamente valiosa. E' verdade que alguns indivíduos fazem certos objetos por encomenda. Mas os produtos desta indústria para turistas nem sempre agradam o etnógrafo.

Escambando comigo muitos Karajá não se contentaram com coisa alguma, chegando a xingar e a chamar de "porcaria" os artigos muito apreciados por outros índios. E' significativo que

o mais malcriado foi "criado" em Conceição, sendo, portanto, produto de educação "cristã". Chamava-se Isidoro. Sua avó lhe tinha chamado Djatamá ou Iiád-damá, e o avô lhe tinha dado o nome de Dauauri. Por êsse nomes eram conhecidos em Beroromandú. Gozavam de estima geral nesta sua aldeia. Êsse homem de trinta a quarenta anos, baixo e membrudo, com traços grosseiros e inexpressivos, apresentou-se a mim imediatamente como sendo "o capitão", não tendo porém, nada do aspecto nobre, digno e reservado que vi nos chefes de outras tribos.

Mas, ainda que as atitudes dos Karajá que desagradam os brancos, devam ser atribuidas, em grande parte, à influência dos próprios brancos — se bem que nem sempre à influência daqueles que sofrem agora as consequências — é preciso reconhecer que elas não seja motivadas unicamente por essa influência. Pois, pelo que vi, os Kaingang de Palmas e os Tereno de Miranda, por exemplo, a-pesar-de sua aculturação muito progredida, não se comportam de maneira semelhante. Uma das razões disso pode ser que êsses índios paranaenses e sul-mato-grossenses sejam esencialmente lavradores sedentários, ao passo que a vida karajá é, antes de tudo, determinada pela canoa em que os homens ou a família inteira vão à pesca levando junto com o tição aceso o indispensável para comer e dormir. E' compreensível que esta vida ambualnte desenvolva o espirito mercantil tão caracteristico de muitos Karajá. Aliás, como antigamente empreenderam viagens para vender aos Tapirapé os artigos que adquiriram dos brancos, compram hoje, às vezes, certas coisas entre os brancos de determinado lugar para levá-las e vendê-las aos brancos de outro lugar, sabendo exatamente os preços que regulam e procurando ganhar o máximo.

Adquirindo de mim alguns espelhos, um rapaz de Santa Isabel disse sorrindo e com voz sentimentalista: "São para dar aos pobres "Savahé" (Javahé) que não têm nada." Perguntei se êle queria dar-lhes de graça os espelhos. Refutou esta idéia como um absurdo. Além disso, não queria limitar-se ao comércio com os índios vizinhos. Queria também intervir nos negócios da geinte de sua própria aldeia. Quando alguns dela vieram ao meu encontro, o rapaz me disse de voz baixa e confidencialmente: "Trazem coisas boas. Deixe-me falar com êles! Vou arranjar tudo".

O pendor de procurar contacto com os brancos, pendor que leva o Karajá a aproximar-se das embarcações dos viajantes e estabelecer-se perto de povoados como Santa Terezinha, Mato Verde Fontoura, São Pedro, iPedade, São José e, às vezes, mesmo em frente de Leopoldina, é, quando não compelido pelo medo do "Chavante", geralmente a expressão da mentalidade mercantil. Esta vontade de aproximação não tem nada do desejo de acomodação e até de assimilação que encontrei em certos Tapirapé. Todos os missionários se queixam da falta de interêsse que o Karajá mostra em relação à religião cristã, à escola e a outras tentativas de transmitir "cultura espiritual".

A esperteza karajá, proclamada pelos brancos como caraterística da tribo, parece ter-se revelado também nas guerras com outros índios. Um velho Karajá contou ao Frei Luiz Palha que, no tempo em que uma aldeia de sua tribo estava situada perto de Saranzal, na praia da margem direita do Araguaia, os Kayapó

atravessaram o rio, em horas caladas da noite, e atacaram o povoado na madrugada. Alguns dos habitantes cairam mortos sob o cacete dos assaltantes. Os homens que conseguiram escapar, correram para as ubás, fugiram com elas para a margem oposta e, desembarcando lá, continuaram a precipitada fuga. Quando porém, os Kayapó, gente sem canoa, estavam no caminho de volta e nadando justamente, no meio mais profundo do rio, reapareceram sùbitamente os fugitivos, saltaram nas ubás, foram ao encontro dos nadadores indefesos e fraturaram crâneos com cacetadas. Na interpretação do Karajá, a fuga dos seus fez parte de um estratagema. (Cf. Mensageiro do Santo Rosário, ano XLI, n. 7, novembro de 1938, págs. 186-187).

Pelo que dizem as diferentes versões, astúcia também foi empgada pelos Karajá no seu acima aludido assalto contra os Tapirapé Segundo Krause (2 120), aquêles índios, comerciando coma tribo tupí, deram-lhes facões inutilizados em troca de víveres, tembetás de quarzo, arcos e araras raptando-lhes, por fim ainda as mulheres e crianças. Fizeram isso secretamente até algumas dessas mulheres conseguirem fugir e levar para casa a notícias de serem êles os raptores. Então os Tarirapé mataram três dos Karajá quando estes apareceram de novo.

Reproduzindo o que o Karajá Odidi lhe contou, escreve Glass (137-138): "Until a few years ago, he said, there lived on the Tapirapé River a tribe of wild Indians,-from whom the river took its name. They very rarely left their haunts on the banks of this strange river (concerning which curious facts are related), and were hardly known except by rumour. For some unexplained reason four Carajás had been slain by the Tapirapés under provoking circumstances, and one of the murdered men was Odidi's brother. The Carajás, who are naturally a pacific tribe, were roused to fury, and determined on a dreadful revenge. Many hundreds of Indians joined in the raid, and crossing the Araguaya in their canoes — for they only dwell on the eastern bank of that river — they travelled for several days up the Tapirapé. Reaching the neighbourhood of the villages of their enemies by nigert they silently made preparations to attack them, and soon had formed a complete and extended circle, hemming them in on all sides. As the earliest morning rays shone out the Carajás stealthily advenced, almost at a crawl, each warrior holding in front of him a leaf of the buriti palm, or a tree branch, to hide his presence from the unsuspecting Tapirapés. Slowly that fatal circle closed in on the doomed villages, till at last, further disguise being impossible, they uttered a fearful yell, and throwing aside the palm leaves they palm leaves rushed into the huts; and in probably less time than it takes me to write this had butchered the unprepared and miserable inhabitants to the last man, sparing only the women and children."

Baseando-se, aparentemente, também em informação karajá, o citado relatório da expedição dominicana de 1914 diz: "Um Tapirapé arreliou-se com uma família carajá e assassinou, traiçoeiramente, o casal e um filho. Terríveis foram as represálias. Três ou quatro anos depois os Carajá surpreenderam numero-

so grupo de Tapirapés, mataram os homens e prenderam as mulheres e as crianças que não puderam escapar. Era em 1905".

Os Karajá contaram a Kissenberth (2 40) que êles mataram todos os homens da chamada "Aldeia Pequena", "uma das três aldeias tapirapé", deixando vivo só um menino e levando mulheres para as suas aldeias no Araguaia. Segundo o mesmo autor (ib.), a êsse acontecimento referiu-se uma cerimônia de dansa de máscara celebrada pelos Karajá na aldeia Kureháua e denominada "defunto dos Tapirapé".

Ambas as tribos não esquecem. Ainda hoje os Karajá contam que se vingaram dos Tapirapé por terem estes assassinados alguns dos seus durante uma visita na aldeia tupi. No tocante à realização dessa vingança, porém, os Tapirapé referem que os Karajá chegaram rindo como amigos, arremessando-se de repente, contra êles, matando homens e raptando mulheres e crianças. Belo exemplo da astúcia karajá!

Ainda hoje mostra-se o lugar pegado ao porto São Domingos onde desembarcaram os assaltantes. E quando na noite do 15 de julho de 1935, havia, eclipse da lua, ficando o astro escuro como sangue recem-coalhado, muita gente em Tampiitáua começava a falar do grande ataque karajá em que morreu, dizia-se, a "maior parte" dos Tapirapé. Como a desgraça se tinha dado cinco dias depois dum eclipse da lua, pensava-se à vista do astro ensanguentado que dentro de cinco dias os vizinhos do Araguaia deviam agredir de novo. "O sangue esta gotejando da lua", observavam alguns, como para justificar o mau prognóstico. As relações amistosas com os Karajá que recomeçaram com a visita de Valadar em 1911, desenvolvendo-se, porém, só ùltimamente e só pouco a pouco, pelos contactos passageiros de indivíduos isolados da nova geração de ambas as tribos fazem a maioria dos bondosos Tapirapé considerar aquêles índios, em outras ocasiões, como "bons". Mas agora, vendo essa lua sangrenta, todos sentem que o Karajá é "mau". Kamairahó, pacifista convencido, que costuma chamá-lo de "amigo", lembra-se novamente dos parentes mortos por êle e passa a tê-lo por inimigo. E' verdade que, no fundo, não gosta nunca dêsse vizinho. Um belo dia me disse: "Quando vêm os brancos, dou-lhes bananas; quando vem Karajá, não dou bananas. "E ao explicar-lhe eu, num outro dia, que os Karajá não dormem em rede como os Tapirapé, mas no chão como "os cães", repetiu satisfeito inúmeras vezes esta comparação usada por mim sòmente para ser mais inteligível.

Kamairahó me mostrou, também, no dia que antecedeu a noite da eclipse, as nuvens de fumaça produzidas pelos fogos dos Karajá no leste de Tampiitáua. Nunca percebi, porém, que os Tapirapé têm medo real dos Karajá, medo de qualquer modo comparável àquele que sentem e manifestam em relação aos Kayapó. Aparentemente, os Karajá ou, pelos menos, certos indivíduos dêles, temem mais a tribo tupi pois os remadores karajá que subiram comigo o rio Tapirapé, tinham a maior pressa para voltar e isso, indubitàvelmente, para evitar um encontro com os vizinhos outrora traiçoeiramente agredidos.

Ainda que seu território não confine com o dos Tapirapé, convém mencionar, no presente capitulo, os chamados "Canoei-

ros", pois são não só vizinhos dos Karajá, mas também considerados como tribo tupí. O material mais importante a seu respeito foi trazido por Couto de Magalhães (1 104-111 e 134). Comparando os vocábulos recolhidos por êste autor (ib. 110-111) com o "guaraní" de Baptista Caetano de Almeida Nogueira, com o "tupí" do padre Ta(s)tevin e com o "chiriguano" dos padres Romano e Cattunar, Rivet (174) chega à conclusão de ser exata a tradição que faz os Canoeiros descender dos Karijó vindos de São Paulo. Couto de Magalhães (1 109) refere-se do modo seguinte a essa tradição: "...aí (em Goiaz) se diz que, na ocasião de uma desavença havida em S. Felix, entre João Leite Ortiz e Bartolomeu Bueno da Silva descobridores da província, Ortiz tomou para o norte com os indios Carijós que havia trazido de S. Pualo; que estes, chegada a oportunidade, fugiram para os matos, voltando ao estado selvagem, e fundaram a tribo dos Canoeiros; de sorte que, segundo esta tradição, os Canoeiros são os mesmos Carijós".

Rivet (175) supõe que a expansão dos Canoeiros para oeste até o Araguaia se deu entre 1844 e 1865. O mapa de seu território (ib. 171) não os assinala, porém, ao norte da foz do rio das Mortes, deixando-os, portanto, afastados do hábitat tapirapé. Acêrca disso é digno de nota que ainda Kissenberth (1 44) encontrou um "Canoeiro" como escravo de Valadar, "chefe" da "mais setentrional" das aldeias karajá (ib. 43). Valadar, ao ter sido perseguido por um bando de Canoeiros, o tinha raptado do meio dêles. O escravo chama-se a si mesmo de Awa (Auá), sendo designado pelo senhor de "índio Kaniwerú". Kissenberth (ib. 44) acha provável que os portugueses transformaram êste nome em "Canoeiro", como o nome da ilha do Bananal é corruptela do nome karajá Abananá "cujo portador era, aos meiados do século XVIII, chefe duma aldeia situada no braço do Araguaia que corre ao leste da ilha".

Segundo o mesmo autor (ib.) e Krause (2 194, 320, 342), os "Canoeiros" são inimigos dos Karajá. O pouco que se conhece da sua cultura distingue-os dêstes últimos e também dos Tapirapé. A sua língua se assemelha mais aos dialetos meridionais da família tupí, isto é, ao "guaraní", do que ao dialeto "nortista" de Tampiitáua? Além disso é improvável ter havido contacto direto entre os "Canoeiros" e os Tapirapé.

Com a devida vênia transcrevo as interessantes considerações feitas pelo snr. Curt Nimuendajú numa carta que me dirigiu de Belém do Pará em 21 de março de 1944: "O primeiro que reconheceu no vocabulário canoeiro publicado por Couto de Magahães um dialeto, guaraní fui eu em 1914 (Religion der Apapocúva-Guaraní, p. 299-300), dez anos antes de Rivet. Nesta ocasião exemplifiquei a particularidade dêste dialeto de mudar o acento tônico para o -á final e atônico dos outros dialetos: ará = sol. ocá = casa, aobá = roupa. Rivet acha que y-oc-á seja e gerúndio-supino do verbo oc = cobrir, mas eu tenho as minhas dúvidas. O mesmo autor considera Can: koe-mum gerúndio supino do verbo koẽ enquanto ao meu ver se trata de uma contração de koõ-ramẽ. Semicato de fato parece composto de temi-, mas é-me completamente incompreensível como êste participio possa ser ligado a um adjetivo. Para mim isto não corresponde a "ce qui

é beau", o que se traduziria por i-katú-vae. Tiguéra = capoeira é um trmo que só me lembro ter ouvido em São Paulo. Desconheço o sentido de ti nesta composição, mas não creio que se trate de uma corrupção de taguéra que aliás seria uma forma errada. A-pesar-da inexatidão de muitos elementos citados por Rivet para provar que a língua dos Canoeiros é um dialeto guaní e não tupí setentrional eu nunca duvidei disto desde que lancei o primeiro olhar sobre êste vocabulário. — A opinião de Cunha Mattos (Rev. Inst. Hist. XXXVIII, Rio, p. 19) que os Canoeiros que êle chama francamente "Carijós" procedam de indios auxiliares que Bartolomeu Bueno, filho do Ananguera, trouxe de São Paulo para Goiaz me parece muito plausivel. Acho que a história dos Canoeiros abrange provàvelmente três fases: a) Da sua retirada do convívio com os paulistas até o seu reaparecimento como tribo hostil em fins do século XVIII. Talvez que vivessem durante êsse tempo "engarrafados" pelos Savánte-Akwẽ' em algum lugar então desconhecido. — b) Depois da paz feita pelos Savante-Akwẽ' em 1784 e a sua subsequente localização em Carretão, os Canoeiros apareceram como verdadeiros indios de canoa no Alto Tocantins e seus afluentes; esta fase durou, ao que parece, apenas uns trinta e tantos anos. — c) Repelidos das margens do Tocantins e afluentes maiores, os Canoeiros abandonaram a navegação e se transformaram em indios campeiros dos sertões centrais, recuando aos poucos para o Oeste. Alí um resto dêles se conserva até hoje em atitude francamente hostil a todos, mas os seus ataques têm-se tornado raros, e suponho que o seu número, talvez em consequência dos repetidos massacres, seja diminuto. Uma das razões principais que em 1940 me fez procurar a D. Fr. Sebastião Tomaz em Conceição do Araguaia foi para obter dados precisos sôbre a localização atual da tribo, pois poucos anos antes êle tinha feito uma tentativa frustrada de aproximação pacífica, atirando-lhe os Canoeiros algumas flechas. Como o Snr. sabe não me pude entender com êle. Parece-me que o último reduto da tribo é mais ou menos lá onde eu os localizei no meu croquis anexo a "The Serénte". As relações entre os Canoeiros e os Karajá parecem ter sido muito raras e sempre francamente hostis, deixando pouca margem para trocas culturais. Os Tapirapé e os Canoeiros provàvelmente nem de nome sequer se conhecem".

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# OS TAPIRAPÉ

## TRIBO TUPI NO BRASIL CENTRAL

(Especial para a "REVISTA DO ARQUIVO")

HERBERT BALDUS

(Continuação)

### VI. *Aparência física e adôrno*

Vindo dos Karajá e chegando aos Tapirapé, nota-se logo serem estes, termo médio, muito menores e menos robustos, menores especialmente do que os Karajá que vi em Santa Isabel, e menos robustos do que os habitantes de Beroromandú e de outras aldeias situadas ao norte da foz do rio Tapirapé. Fritz Krause (*2*, 405) observou as mesmas diferenças nas mulheres e meninos tapirapé que encontrou entre os Karajá. Êle indica (ibidem, 180) como altura média dos Karajá 166 cm. para o grupo meridional e 160-162 cm. para o grupo setentrional. A altura dos Tapirapé varia, em geral, de 150 a 160 cm. Kamairá, o maior dêles, tinha apenas 170 cm., sobressaindo consideràvelmente a todos os outros. Também os Kayapó têm 1.65,7 cm. de altura média (Krause: ibidem, 370) maiores do que os Tapirapé.

Em tôdas as tribos mencionadas, as mulheres são consideràvelmente menores do que os homens.

A aparência física dos Tapirapé apresenta, como a de muitas tribos do Brasil, dois tipos que, é verdade, mostram-se, pela maior parte, mais ou menos misturados, mas que, a-pesar-disso, deixam-se distinguir claramente: um tipo grácil com traços finos, representado, por exemplo, por Kamairahó (fot. 51 e 52), Urukumy (fot. 53) e Mareromyó (fot. 3), e um tipo achaparrado com cara mais grosseira ao qual pertencem, por exemplo, Vuanomanchi

(fot. 63) e Ipayva (fot. 32 e 60). Se êsses tipos tivessem sido originados por uma estratificação étnica, então o primeiro teria formado a camada superior, pois não sòmente supera numèricamente, mas também é próprio de chefes e de seus parentes chegados. Indubitàvelmente, êste tipo têm caracteres dos Tupí, ao passo que o outro, talvez, esteja aparentado com os Kayapó, como êles são descritos por Krause (ibidem), ou com outros Gê.

Chamo de caracteres somáticos dos Tupí e próprios dos Tapirapé, o talhe baixo e delgado, o nariz aquilino e a semelhança maior com o europeu nas feições do rosto e na aparência total, do que observamos em outros índios.

Segundo Azara (II, 34) os Guaraní têm, termo médio, duas polegadas menos do que os espanhois e, com isso, altura muito menor do que os outros índios descritos por êle. Os paraguáios com muito sangue guaraní têm, pela maior parte, talhe tão pequeno e pueril que quase acreditei em ver seus parentes mais chegados, quando encontrei, pela primeira vez, rapazes tapirapé. Menores ainda do que os Guaraní paraguáios pareciam-me os seus parentes linguísticos e vizinhos no vale do Alto Paraná: os Guayakí. Schulz-Kampfhenkel (200) designa as mulheres da tribo tupí dos Oayapí que moram no divisor das águas do Jarí e Oyapock, como "mulherzinhas pequeninas, como de um povo de anões, tendo 1 m. 35 de altura". E. Snethlage (*1*, 621) escreve: "Os Chipaya e Curuahé vistos por mim eram antes pequenos do que grandes; só poucos dêles podiam ser designados como de altura mediana. E, para falar em parentes linguísticos e raciais mais chegados dos Tapirapé: os seis homens guajajara estudados por Fróes Abreu (149), tinham 1 m. 47 a 1 m. 61 de altura, por conseguinte, termo médio, 1 m. 53.

Aqui surge o problema da relação entre altura do corpo e a natureza ao redor, o ambiente geográfico. As mencionadas tribos como a maior parte dos Tupí são típicos índios do mato e sustentam-se, com exceção dos Guayakí, principalmente dos produtos de suas plantações. Os Karajá, porém, ou navegam no Araguáia ou andam pelos bancos de areia dêste rio, e campos cerrados de seu hinterland, mostrando muito mais qualidades de pescador e caçador do que de lavrador. Os Kayapó são designados por F. Krause (*2* 372) como "verdadeiros índios do campo", isto é, também êles vagueam de preferência nas planícies cobertas de grama e, às vêzes, de arvorezinhas solitárias. O mesmo pode ser dito, por exemplo, dos Canela (Ramkókamekra), parentes linguísticos dos Kayapó e vizinhos dos Guajajara. São consideràvelmente maiores do que estes, distinguindo-se dêles também por serem típicos captores. Aos índios mais altos da América do Sul pertencem os

Boróro da chapada mato-grossense como também as tribos do Chaco e dos Pampas, por conseguinte habitantes de savanas e estepes cujos territórios convidam para pouca ou nenhuma lavoura. Com essas considerações não se concluam, porém, argumentos favoráveis a uma teoria unilateral do meio-ambiente. De certo, os pigmeus africanos vivem nas matas; mas os bochimanos que também eram de talhe pequeno e ainda de côr clara, vagueavam pelos desertos de areia e estepes da Kalahari. Tão pouco aproximar-nos-emos da compreensão da relação entre o tamanho do corpo e o ambiente geográfico, se formularmos a alternativa: ou a mata reduz a altura dos homens, ou estes, por serem pequenos, procuram nela a sua proteção. Pois se trata, nesse caso, de interações, e não sòmente de relações recíprocas entre a disposição racial e o ambiente físico, mas também entre estes e o meio histórico com tôdas suas mudanças sociais e culturais. Tateando cautelosamente os fatos, talvez percebamos e compreendamos tais processos depois de conseguirmos coligir, em todo o mundo, o material geográfico, somatológico e etnológico necessário para isso.

O chamado nariz aquilino que aparece em muitas tribos tupí, é encontrado também entre os Tapirapé (fot. 1). Tenivuaháua é um bom exemplo para isso (fot. 55). Êste nariz tupí distingue-se do tipo gê não sòmente pela cana convexa, mas, às vêzes, também pela largura menor. Na curvatura ela se assemelha ao tipo judáico que Karl von Steinen encontrou na tribo karaíb dos Bakairí, reproduzindo-o fotogràficamente (2, prancha XIII). Mas, no restante, a cara dêste índio das cabeceiras do Xingú difere muito das fisionomias dos Tapirapé, diferença para à qual contribuem tanto o grosso beiço inferior como tôda a expressão. Quanto se pode falar, com referência aos Tapirapé, de "tipo judáico", é o gordo Mangambí (fot. 65) aquêle que mais se aproxima dêle. Mas contrastando ao mencionado Bakairí, Mangambí tem cabelo bastante liso e não crespo como êsse, um olhar agudo e, em suma, um ar mais enérgico e astuto o que, seguramente, fica ainda acentuado por seu nariz representar a forma do chamado "nariz adunco" e por não ter o prognatismo daquele karaíb.

Provàvelmente foi o "nariz tupí" o que Rice (312) encontrou entre os Urubú do Gurupí quando relata dêsses índios: "O nariz conforme mais ao tipo aquilino do que ao achatado que se vê em muitas tribos".

"O nariz é curvo", diz Karl von den Steinen (*1*, 238) com referência aos Yuruna, e Adalberto Príncipe da Prússia (635) menciona dos mesmos habitantes do Baixo Xingú que suas faces se dinstinguem "vantajosamente já pelo bonito nariz curvo" das outras tribos índias que conheceu, isto é, dos "Coroados",

Puri e de outros não-Tupí do rio Paraíba do Sul, etc. (cf., por exemplo, pág. 419 do "Tagebuch").

Dos Curuahé e Chipaya, vizinhos dos Yuruna, escreve E. Snethlage (*1*, 621): "Não pude distinguir imediatamente os membros de ambas as tribos; mas um tipo mais ou menos crespo com nariz grande e curvo parecia-me ser mais freqüente entre os Curuahé, especialmente entre os homens, do que entre os Chipaya".

Sôbre os Mundurukú que também são vizinhos dêsses índios, lemos em von Martius (*2*, I, 388): "O nariz é forte, freqüentemente algum tanto curvo, e não tão curto e chato com ventas para fora, como o observamos entre os índios do Brasil oriental".

Os Cayuá (Kainguá) do nordeste paraguáio e da região limítrofe do Brasil têm, no dizer de Gustav von Koenigswald (378), "nariz bem formado, direito ou levemente curvo".

Não raramente vi entre os paraguáios de sangue guaraní um fino nariz aquilino.

Também entre os Guayakí achei como caraterístico o nariz curvo o qual, porém, é extraordinàriamente aberto nesses índios.

Muitos Tapirapé têm maior semelhança com o europeu na face e na aparência total, do que outros índios. Com isso não seja dito que os "caracteres europeus" predominem os caracteres índios. Quem encara, por exemplo, Iravuy (fot. 62), compreenderá o que quero dizer. Há Tapirapé com lábios finos, há outros que quase não têm nenhum traço mongolóide, e alguns têm cútis clara. Pela falta de pigmento demos à menina Eirovytyngaho (fot. 67) o nome Torí, nome êsse com que os Karajá designam nós, os brancos.

Também outros Tupí têm êsses caracteres. Hans Staden (q 1, f. 1) escreve dos Tupinambá: "São bonitos, tendo mulher e homem o mesmo corpo como a gente daqui, só que são queimados do sol, pois andam todos nus, os jôvens e os velhos".

O diário de Pero Lopes de Sousa (143) que, em 1531, visitou os Tupí da Bahia, descreve-os como segue: "A gente desta terra he toda alva. os homẽes mui bẽ dispostos e as molheres muj fermosas q nõ há nenhũ enveja as da Rua nova de lixbõa".

Achando o Príncipe Adalberto (l.c.) que as feições dos Yuruna distinguiam-se vantajosamente das das tribos não-tupí, êle queria dizer com isso que elas se assemelham mais do que as dos outros índios, aos traços europeus.

Comparando a tribo tupí dos Kamayurá com os Trumai observa Herrmann Meyer (*1*, 66) da primeira: "A inteligência superior exprime-se já pelas fisionomias muito mais desenvolvidas e nobres que, em parte, parecem completamente europeias, em contraste ao tipo muito mongolóide dos Trumai".

Hercules Florence (166) refere da tribo tupi dos Apiaká: "Êsses índios são muito mansos, de porte regular e bem feitos de talhe. A expressão da fisionomia é menos selvática; algumas mulheres moças parecem-se até com as mulheres do meiodia da Europa. A tez é menos cobreada, porisso que moram em grandes florestas e constroem casas espaçosas".

Na revista dominicana "Mensageiro do Santo Rosário" de janeiro de 1938, página 239, lemos de uma família de "Ararandenas" que, indubitàvelmente, são a tribo tupí dos Ararandeuara (Manaié ou Amanagé) mencionada por Métraux (*2*, 21): "A côr da tez dêsses aborígenes é sensivelmente mais alva do que a dos cayapós, carajás e cherentes, e as suas feições são bastante diferentes das dêles parecendo-se não pouco com as feições da raça branca".

G. von Koenigswald (378) escreve que os Cayuá (Kainguá) têm "estatura média e talhe bonito, destacando-se de outros índios pela côr da cútis clara, parda-amarelada. O rosto algum tanto redondo apresenta traços regulares".

A diferença entre Tapirapé e Karajá tão manifesta no talhe, não aparece na forma do cabelo. Êste, em contraste ao conhecido cabelo liso do índio, é em ambas as tribos às vêzes um pouco anelado e não raro levemente ondulado (v. Kamairá: fot. 57, e o grupo: fot. 28), o que se vê, principalmente, quando êle é despenteado ou cumprido e sôlto (cf. fot. 2).

Também o cabelo dos Urubú do Gurupí é, segundo Rice (312), "encrespado". E. Snethlage viu, como citamos, "um tipo mais ou menos crespo" especialmente entre os homens curuahé. Dos Bakairí relata von den Steinen (*1*, 175): "Muitos tinham cabelo ondulado", e isso vemos também na fotografia do mencionado Bakairí de "tipo judáico" reproduzida pelo mesmo autor (*2*, prancha XIII).

Não vi cabelo branco entre os Tapirapé. Geralmente, êle é raro entre índios, aparecendo só em idade muito avançada. Nem entre os Tapirapé nem entre as outras tribos sul-americanas visitadas por mim encontrei cabeça calva. Koch-Grünberg (*2*, III, 25), porém, viu entre os Karaíb do Roraima "vários homens com carecas notáveis, se bem que a cabeça não era tão brilhante como em muitas carecas europeias. Mesmo uma reduzida clareira parece ser desconhecida entre os Tapirapé, se podemos concluir de sua admiração sôbre os começos de calva na minha cabeça designados por eles com delicadeza como "cabelo pequeno".

F. Krause (*2*, 185) escreve dos Karajá: "Um cheiro especial do corpo é próprio dos índios; êle é bastante forte e desagradável para nós. Mas não se pode dizer em que medida é devido ao óleo

que está ficando rançoso sôbre a cútis e no cabelo". — A respeito disso tenho de dizer que, a-pesar-de meu ótimo olfato, nunca pude perceber, entre as numerosas tribos índias que visitei, um característico odor racial, como aquêle que observei, pôr exemplo, em muitos negros africanos, mas não em todos, aquêle fedor chamado de "catinga" no Brasil que lembra sabão rançoso. Kock-Grünberg (2, III, 26) escreve dos Tauípáng e de seus vizinhos: "Um odor natural do corpo existe, mas nunca o achei tão desagradável como o do negro". — Se bem que o explorador alemão não fale, aqui, de um cheiro típicamente índio, há para meu olfato uma sensação chamada de "índio" e consistente na mistura dos cheiros de lenha queimada e de urucú gordurento. Muitos objetos índios e o próprio índio me dão essa sensação.

Alguns Tapirapé, é verdade, têm cútis bastante clara. A êsse respeito, porém, a maioria não corresponde ao próprio ideal de beleza o qual é branco, tão branco como a pele quase sempre coberta do europeu do norte. As mulheres apalpavam incansàvelmente os meus braços quando arregacei as mangas. Dêste modo, elas exprimiam sua admiração pela alvura da cútis e não de sua maciez, pois no tocante a esta última ficaram insuperadas. Meu camarada Daniel, brasileiro nortista que era quase tão escuro como elas, não chamou tanta atenção. Mas a distância daquilo que lhes parece mais linda côr da pele, não pode ser tão grande para os Tapirapé como ela é para nós, pois êles designavam sua própria cútis exatamente como a minha com os termos *chinga* e *typídnia* que ambos significam "branco". Seja que êsses vocábulos tapirapé diferem da nossa palavra "branco" no tamanho da significação, seja que a fôrça do ideal faça parecer os índios a si mesmos como mais claros do que são na realidade, em todo caso com isso temos um exemplo magistral da possibilidade de grandes diferenças na concepção de um fenômeno tão aparentemente concreto, exemplo êsse que mostra ao pesquisador a conveniência de comparar, sempre que possível fôr, suas próprias observações com os informes dados pelos índios.

Também outros povos naturais da América do Sul preferem a cútis branca. Fritz Krause (2 185) escreve: "Ideal dos Karajá é a pele mais alva possível; êles estimavam extremamente a minha cútis branca, querendo êles próprios ser bem brancos (cf. o papel do branco nos mitos)".

Já em 1663 relata Simão de Vasconcellos (LX) que os índios do Brasil contaram aos portugueses, seus antepassados terem sido "gente de côr branca", e quando foram perguntados porquê êles mesmos não se conservaram brancos, responderam (LXI): "Façamos uma experiência: trocai vós outros conosco os trajos, e andai nus ao sol, e à chuva, quais nós andamos; e vereis logo, que

de brancos vos heis de tornar da nossa côr". — Por conseguinte: como, segundo as palavras dos Tapirapé, não há diferença entre a sua côr e a minha assim também os índios a que Vasconcellos se refere, exprimiram claramente ao considerar, no substancial, a sua pele como igual à dos portugueses.

Não sòmente índios da mata como os Tapirapé e índios do rio como os Karajá, mas também índios da savana como os Toba dão a preferência à pele branca. No mito do incêndio universal desta tribo do Chaco, um único homem sobreviveu ao fogo que destruiu tôda a terra. "Mas não havia mulher. Então baixaram do céu uma mulher atada numa corda e cortaram a corda do lado de cima, quando a mulher estava perto da terra. E como a cortaram muito perto da terra, saiu feia, mas se tivessem cortado a corda mais acima, a mulher teria saído linda, e assim todos os índios seriam brancos e lindos". (Lehmann-Nitsche 6, 195, 196). — Como se vê, "branco" e "lindo" são expressamente igualados nêsse mito.

Como a maioria dos Tapirapé não corresponde ao seu ideal de beleza no tocante à côr da pele, assim tão pouco no que diz respeito ao tamanho do corpo, pois êles que, quase todos, são pequenos, gostam de homens grandes.

E êles querem ter um corpo em que nada daquilo que foi dado pela natureza, falte, com exceção daquele cabelo cortado por determinadas ocasiões, e de todos os outros pêlos que são cuidadosamente arrancados. Por isso, quer dizer, por razões estéticas, o chefe Kamairabó não permitiu que tirassem um dente incisivo que já estava bastante solto, provocando freqüentes queixas de seu dono.

Como na maioria dos índios do Brasil que ainda não vivem em contacto estreito e contínuo com os brancos, também entre os Tapirapé homem e mulher andam completamente nus. Não se distinguem a êsse respeito dos Tupí do século XVI descritos por Pero Vaz de Caminha (88), Hans Staden (l.c.), Jean de Lery (96, 108), Anchieta (426), Gabriel Soares de Sousa (388) e outros autores dessa época. E como quase todos os índios dêste país, também os Tapirapé andam sempre descalços. Os homens usam só o estojo peniano e, às vêzes, o cordel da cintura.

Quando perguntei aos Tapirapé pelo nome de seu estojo peniano, alguém me disse, primeiro, a palavra sohó. Assim o pênis é chamado pelos Karajá. Mas estes índios não usam estojo; êles atam o prepício diante da glande com uma corda de algodão que chamam *soolohóo* (Krause 2, 204). Mais tarde ouvi entre os Tapirapé o vocábulo *cherahuichinahóu* como designação de "meu estojo peniano", significando *cherahui* "meu pênis" e *ichinahóu* em relação com a mesma palavra que significa "folha".

Este caso mostra o perigo que pode haver para o pesquisador quando, estudando a difusão dum dado cultural, confia exclusivamente na semelhança de nomes que, às vêzes, resulta de vocabulários coligidos mais ou menos ligeiramente, vocabulários êsses que, talvez, não sòmente reproduzam um termo errado na língua indígena, como teria sido no presente caso a palavra *sohó*, mas também não exprimam com bastante exatidão o que na nossa língua corresponde ao conceito em questão, limitando-se, por exemplo, a dizer "proteção do pênis" em vez de "estojo peniano", "corda peniana".

O estojo peniano dos Tapirapé é fabricado de uma tira de entrecasca de 1,5 a 2 cm. de largura, tomada do talo da folha central duma palmeira denominada *pinawé* por estes índios e simplesmente "palmeira" pela população não-índia do Araguaia. Cada homem possue, em geral, certa quantidade destas tiras que, em rolos e aos molhos, pendura na parede de sua cabana.

Para fabricar o estojo, a tira é dobrada de modo que suas extremidades quase se toquem. Estas são juntamente metidas no laço assim produzido. Assim forma-se um funil com bordas oblíquas que, às vêzes, é adornado por algumas queimaduras produzidas por ligeiros toques com brasa (fot. 20). Um aprêste especial impede que o funil se abra fàcilmente demais: antes de dobrar a tira no meio, dobram um pedacinho dela obliqüamente e, depois, dobram mais uma vez a tira, de modo que o triângulo se coloca exatamente sôbre ela. A tira não é dobrada rigidamente, conservando, graças à sua dureza natural, a tendência de escachar-se. Em conseqüência desta tendência, a extremidade assim dobrada fica, junto com a outra extremidade, apertada e segura no laço.

Geralmente, o homem prepara um novo estojo, ao levantar-se de manhã. O prepúcio é puxado pelo funil de tal maneira que sobressai na abertura menor, sendo atado ao redor como um cabo de chouriço e ficando erguido. Assim, o funil é invertido, isto é, posto com a abertura menor para cima, ficando na frente a ponta da borda maior (cf. 5, 63 e 68).

Como se vê nestes retratos, a côr amarela da tira de entrecasca destaca-se claramente da côr do corpo. Pode ser, por isso, que o desejo de chamar a atenção do outro sexo contribua para a introdução do estojo. Ao mesmo tempo é possível, também, que atribuam ao estojo a mesma finalidade que, segundo Krause (2 204), o Karajá atribue à sua corda peniana, isto é, de ocultar a glande perante os olhares das mulheres. Não há dúvida, porém, que tanto o estojo como a corda servem para proteger contra insetos e crustáceos como, por exemplo, carrapatos. Conhecemos casos em que estes parasitos escavaram sua tromba, para sugar,

exatamente na abertura da uretra. Os Tapirapé não distinguem as espécies destes ácaros, chamando-as tôdas de *tamevoga*.

Para o evolucionista Karl von den Steinen (*2*, 193) o estojo representa um progresso em relação à corda, tendo a vantagem de não entrar tanto na carne como esta. O fato de vizinhos tão próximos dos Tapirapé como os Karajá ainda não terem aproveitado essa vantagem mostra que um melhoramento aparente nem sempre leva a aceitar um traço cultural estranho.

Meninos pequenos não protegem o membro. Como o adolescente karajá não usa a corda peniana antes de ter o cabelo cortado para a iniciação, assim também só por ocasião dêste corte de cabelo, o jôvem Tapirapé usa o estojo pela primeira vez.

A importância do estojo peniano para os Tapirapé é, talvez, evidenciada pelo fato de até os bonecos fabricados por simples brincadeira serem munidos de tal estojo (fot. *77*).

Encontramos esta espécie de estojo num território mais ou menos coeso, isto é, numa série de tribos vizinhas. Os Kayapó (Krause *2*, 376 e fig. 217) usam estojo que se assemelha ao dos Tapirapé e é chamado *ipudjé* (*bowa* pênis). Semelhante é o estojo dos Yuruna (von den Steinen *1*, 239, *2*, 192, e Adalbert Prinz von Preussen 656) cocio também o dos Chipaya e Curuahé (E. Snethlage *1*, figs. 1-4). Dos Mundurukú disse von Martius (*2*, I, 388) que os homens usam "um suspensório de algodão ou a fazendo-o", descrevendo esta como um "pedaço de folha de palmeira cilindricamente enrolado" (ibidem, 211), enquanto afirma dela em outro lugar (ibidem, II, 87): "Entre diversos povos índios diferente em forma e matéria. Os Tupí usam um simples pedaço de folha de palmeira enrolado". Dos Apiaká relata José da Silva Guimarães (311): "Os homens cobrem as partes genitais com folhas verdes", o que Florence (*5* 165) exprime mais exatamente quando escreve: "Os homens amarram ao prepício um cartuchinho de folha de pacova, cuja ligadura faz entrar o membro que desaparece de todo". Numa distância dos Apiaká a qual, a-pesar-de grande, não exclue completamente a possibilidade de contacto temporário, vivem os Huari cujo estojo peniano representado por Nordenskiöld (*7*, prancha 42) assemelha-se aos dos Tapirapé. Também os Bororo possuem estojo semelhante. Este, porém, de acôrdo com o talhe desta tribo separada dos Tapirapé somente pelo território chavante, é maior do que o estojo tapirapé, distinguindo-se dêle, às vêzes, também pela particularidade de que, ao acabar sua fabricação, a extremidade sobressalente da tira não é cortada, mas transformada numa bandeirazinha pintada de diferentes desenhos que se destaca ostensivamente do tecido (cf. Crocchini 31, e von den Steinen *2*, fig. 17).

A citada afirmação de von Martius (*2*, II, 87), uma observação de Krickeberg (251) e o mapa de distribuição em Nordenskiöld (*6*, mapa 19) podem levar à suposição de ser o estojo peniano usado pelos Tapirapé e por tôdas as outras tribos mencionadas um caraterístico dos Tupí. Mas isto é errado pelas razões seguintes:

1) Os Yuruna, Chipaya, Curuahé, Mundurukú e Apiaká que, segundo Krickeberg (mapa da América do Sul) e Métraux (*2*, 23-26) são Tupí, devem ser considerados como tais sòmente com reservas.

2) Os Huari são vizinhos da tribo tupí dos Pauserna-Guarayo distinguindo-se dela, porém, na língua e na cultura material (cf. Nordenskiöld *7*).

3) Os Boróro não têm parentesco algum com os Tupí, nem são vizinhos duma tribo desta família.

4) O "*penis cover*" atribuído por Nordenskiöld (l.c.) tanto à tribo tupí dos Parintintin como aos Tapirapé consiste entre aquêles índios do vale da Madeira numa bainha que pende para baixo e dá nas vista especialmente pelo seu comprimento, (cf. Métraux *2*, 172, prancha VIc, e 269, fig. 28), sendo bem diferente do estojo tapirapé.

5) Segundo a literatura dos séculos XVI e XVII, os Tupinambá do Rio de Janeiro evidentemente não possuíam estojo como os Tapirapé, sendo pelo menos duvidoso o seu uso entre os Tupí da Bahia e do Maranhão. Segundo Lery (97), entre os primeiros algumas anciães, mas não todos e também nem os moços nem os meninos costumavam envolver o pênis com fios de algodão em duas folhas ou num pano europeu. Êste francês supõe que êles fizessem isso apenas para ocultar alguma doença que na velhice lhes atacava o membro. — Dos Tupí encontrados por Cabral em Pôrto Seguro disse Pero Vaz de Caminha (91 sòmente): "Nenhum dêles era fanado, mas (antes) todos assim como nós". Um observador e relator tão exato como êle teria mencionado, seguramente, objeto tão notável como o estojo peniano, se êste tivesse existido, pois as citadas palavras mostram o autor ter prestado atenção especial ao membro dos homens estranhos, o que, aliás, era importante, naquele tempo, para os cristãos que estavam em guerra com os infiéis circuncisos (ou, como diz o escrivão da frota portuguesa: "fanados"). — Gabriel Soares de Sousa (369) limita-se a relatar dos "mancebos Tupinambás" da Bahia: "... cobrem os membros genitais com alguma coisa por galantaria, e não pelo cobrir". Esta frase não esclarece se usaram o prepício com uma corda, se enterram a glande num estojo ou se usavam tanga. — Sôbre os Tupinambá do Maranhão, informação a respeito foi dada por Clau-

de d'Abbeville (276, f. 2, 277, f. 1), informação que está de acôrdo com a de seu confrade Yves d'Evreux. Segundo o padre Claude, todos os homens casados e, especialmente, os anciões costumavam cobrir suas vergonhas com um trapo vermelho ou azul chamado *cavieuse* que estava seguro num fio de algodão e chegava até os joelhos. Os meninos e solteiros não usavam e contentavam-se, especialmente os adolescentes, com atarem o prepúcio por meio dum fio de algodão ou "qualquer pequena folha de palmeira" (quelque petitte feuille de *Pinão*). Não sabemos se esta pequena folha tomou a forma do estojo tapirapé.

6) Também os Tembé, Ararandeuara (Manaié) e Urubú, tribos essas entre as quais há, talvez, descendentes diretos daqueles Tupí do Maranhão, não usam estojo peniano. Os Tembé (Barbosa Rodrigues apud Métraux 2, 126) e os Ararandeuara (Lange apud Métraux, ibidem) atam o prepúcio, e os Urubú, "escondem o membro viril dentro do escroto, amarrando-o com um fio de algodão". (Rice, 313).

7) Pelo que sabemos até agora, o estojo peniano é desconhecido na região das cabeceiras do Xingú, por conseguinte também entre as tribos tupí dos Auetö e Kamayurá. Segundo Karl von den Steinen (2, 192), entre os índios do rio Kuliseho com exceção dos Trumai, o cordel de cintura serve para alongar o prepúcio o qual é metido debaixo dêle de modo que sua parte extrema fique apertada pela corda. Os Trumai atavam o prepúcio diante da glande com fio de algodão.

8) Os Botocudos que, até há pouco, foram considerados membros da grande família linguística gê à qual pertencem, também, os Kayapó, e cujo território se estende do este do Estado de Minas Gerais até o Estado do Espírito Santo, deixando-os antigamente, talvez, de quando em quando, entrar em contacto com os Tupinambá, possuíram, segundo a figura 4 da prancha 14 do atlas do primeiro tomo da descrição de viagem do príncipe Maximiliano de Wied-Neuwied, um estojo peniano semelhante ao daqueles vizinhos setentrionais dos Tapirapé e, com isso, semelhante também ao estojo dos próprios Tapirapé.

O cordel da cintura é chamado em tapirapé *aichéwaéwa* ou *ahikuwgbéwa*. Consiste em fios de algodão e é torcido pela mulher na coxa, mas usado somente pelo homem. Este o coloca de maneira que fique um bom pedaço debaixo do umbigo, (cf. fot. 5, 25 69). Pode ser que isso confirme a suposição do evolucionista von den Steinen (lc.1.) de o cordel da cintura ter tido, antigamente, a função do estojo peniano. Entre os Tapirapé atuais, êsse cordel pode ser considerado, ao lado do tembetá, como distintivo do sexo masculino. Raramente serve como meio de transpor-

te. Acontece que penduram um pente nele ou, modernamente, também uma tesoura.

O dr. Charles Wagley me contou ter encontrado, em 1939, charpas de carregar crianças que as mulheres tapirapé levavam a tiracolo. Em 1937, missionários dominicanos tinham subido o rio Tapirapé trazendo muita fazenda. As charpas eram feitas desta fazenda. E' notável que, em 1935, não existissem objetos semelhantes. E' notável, pois teria sido possível transportar as crianças em pequena rede de dormir. Além disso, eu tinha distribuído muitos panos que tivessem podido servir de charpas para carregar crianças. Tais charpas não sòmente são usadas pelos vizinhos Kayapó (Krause *2*, 394), mas também aparecem como traço cultural típico dos Tupí. E' verdade que as mulheres kamayurá representadas por von den Steinen (*2*, prancha IX) não usam essas charpas. Mas tal meio de transporte foi encontrado entre os antigos Tupinambá desde o sul até o norte (literatura em Métraux *2*, 204) e entre muitos Tupí modernos, assim segundo Nordenskiöld (*2*, 156) entre os Guajajara, Chipaya e Curuaya (Curuahé), Ararandeuara, Pauserna e Guarayo, segundo Barbosa Rodrigues (*1*, 42) entre os Tembé, segundo Raimundo Lopes (*2*, 149) entre os Urubú, e segundo Nimuendajú (*3*, 257) e Gondim (31) entre os Parintintin. E' digno de nota, porém, a charpa de carregar crianças não ser usada entre os vizinhos orientais dos Tapirapé, isto é, entre os Karajá (Krause *2*, 276 e pranchas 12, 37 e 42).

No caso dos Tapirapé foi, aparentemente, a abundância da fazenda trazida pelos dominicanos em 1937, o que cooperou de maneira decisiva na introdução da charpa de carregar crianças. Em 1935, todos panos e objetos de pano procedentes das nossas fábricas tinham, entre êsses índios, sòmente função decorativa. Eram apenas os homens que os usavam, isto é, aquêle sexo ao qual pertence a maior parte do adôrno, cabendo-lhe exclusivamente enfeites tão imponentes como os de penas e unhas. Kamairabé, o líder mais importante, andava de preferência num vestido vermelho que sua mulher tinha recebido de presente. Assim, a finalidade desejada pelo doador e inspirada, provàvelmente, por sentimentos de catequista, não foi alcançada de forma alguma. Pois a senhora continuava completamente nua, ao passo que o marido estava coberto até em baixo dos joelhos. E' digno de nota, porém, o fato de Kamairabé, à noite, antes de ir dormir, despir-se e dobrar cuidadosamente o vestido. Pois na hora em que qualquer proteção contra os mosquitos e o frio se parecia sumamente conveniente, estava êsse homem principal deitado na sua redezinha sem a menor intenção de esconder a pele que, de vez em quando, foi iluminada pelas chamas inquietas da fogueira.

O mesmo deu-se com tôda a outra roupa de igual origem. Kamairabé possuia, ainda, um grande pedaço de estôlo que usava como uma espécie de capa, mas só durante o dia e não com tanta frequência como o mencionado vestido. Vuatamany, outro líder influente, envolvia-se durante as horas mais quentes do dia num pesado poncho, num poncho tão bom que tentei averiguar o nome do distribuidor de brindes dessa qualidade (cf. fot. 58). Então as máslinguas me contaram que êsse traje gaucho tinha pertencido a um missionário que o perdeu contra a própria vontade, mas com tôda a vontade de Vuatamany. Talvez fique o antigo dono um pouquinho consolado ao saber que o usufrutário indesejado do poncho continuava dormindo nu no meio de anófeles e friagens.

Também o uso das camisas, coletes e calças que dei a alguns rapazes, era restrito às horas do dia. E foi só durante poucos dias que durou o entusiasmo por esta espécie de enfeites. Depois venceu o comodismo, e as peças ficaram guardadas num canto da casa. Aliás, de todos os meus presentes eram os coletes os menos estimados. Com visível desagrado, seus novos donos notaram neles vestígios de velhice, talvez os considerando, também, pela ausência de mangas, como simples fragmentos de casaco e, por isso, coisa desprezada pelo branco.

A intenção dêsses índios, porém, era justamente fazerem-se apreciados pelos brancos, aparecendo conforme ao comportamento dêles. Não quero dizer que isso era a intenção de todos os Tapirapé. Mas havia alguns que mostraram-na claramente. Havia, por exemplo, Kamairá, o homem mais alto e mais forte de Tampitíua e um líder em certas ocasiões. Kamairá comprazia-se, às vêzes, em usar de tanga um trapo aliás bastante sujo. Era a única tanga que vi na tribo, e seu uso foi inspirado, provàvelmente, pelo desejo de alcançar o ideal proclamado por algum missionário com sentimentos super-pudicos.

As tendências para a acomodação não impediram, porém, o uso de adornos fornecidos por nós, mesmo semelhantes objetos nunca foram vistos em nosso próprio corpo. Assim, Vuatamany andava com um gorro multicor, (cf. fot. 68); Kamamaré, o chefe do canto, gostava de ter na cabeça um pano também em côres vivas; a embalagem de papelão vermelho e preto do meu sabonete tornou-se um dos componentes do mosáico de penas de aves que adornava uma máscara-de-danças; e as miçangas eram o enfeite predileto de ambos os sexos, dos adultos e das crianças (cf. fots. 3, 4, 5, 8, e muitas outras).

A respeito dessas miçangas, os Tapirapé mostraram o mesmo gôsto como os Karajá, querendo sempre as contas mais pequenas e brancas (cf. 2), e detestando as de outras côres e de vidro

transparente. Os índios descritos por von den Steinen (2 185) estimavam, porém, as contas brancas menos do que as vermelhas, preferindo a ambas estas espécies as de côr azul. Segundo Adalbert Prinz von Preussen (636), os homens yuruna levavam no pescoço missangas, em geral azues e, às vêzes, pretas, tendo-as também ao redor do quadril em tão grande quantidade que formavam uma cinta de três a quatro polegadas de largura. Escreve o mesmo autor (637) que as crianças dessa tribo do Baixo Xingú têm mesmo o cabelo enfeitado de contas.

Entre os Tapirapé vi as missangas usadas sòmente como colares. E' verdade que estes índios também gostam muito de enfeitar seus filhos com tal adôrno, e quanto maior a quantidade de contas no pescoço duma menina, tanto mais linda ela aparece a todos. Muitas vêzes, a gente empresta missangas de outros, para aumentar esta espécie de beleza, e não só no matrimônio homem e mulher usam alternadamente as suas contas, como também tal auxílio mútuo se dá entre pais e filhos e entre amigos pertencentes a famílias diferentes.

Missangas foram objeto do único roubo de um Tapirapé a outro, cometido na época da minha presença em Tampiitáua. Quando Maryma fôra abandonado por sua mulher e tinha colocado sua rede de dormir perto da rede de Taipé, viuva matronal, esta apareceu na manhã seguinte com missangas no pescoço. Também os Karajá estimam sobremodo êste adôrno, pois um rapaz desta tribo que conheceu bem o nosso dinheiro, vendeu em Mato Verde suas flexas por 200 réis cada uma, mas quando lhe pedi o colar de contas brancas, exigiu 25 mil reis com a esperança de que por preço tão alto o negócio não se efetuasse.

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# OS TAPIRAPÉ

## TRIBO TUPI NO BRASIL CENTRAL

(Especial para a "Revista do Arquivo")

HERBERT BALDUS

(*Continuação*)

Os Tapirapé de ambos os sexos têm, em geral, o cabelo cortado em linha reta, imediatamente em cima dos olhos, de maneira que êle não possa cobrir a cara (fots. 3 e 28). Deixam-no, porém, crescer aos lados e nas costas. Certos homens, mulheres e crianças separam, às vezes, o cabelo em qualquer ponto da testa a qual, então, fica parcialmente descoberta (fots. 59, 61 e 63). O cabelo alcança os ombros nas costas e é, entre as mulheres, mais freqüente do que entre os homens (fots. 4, 67 e 69). Estes o seguram, às vezes, por uma tira de entrecasca atada ao redor da cabeça (fots. 4 e 5) ou reunem-no num rabicho (fots. 1, 4, 7), ao passo que as mulheres e crianças sempre o tem sôlto. O cabelo de certas moças parece ter sido cortado em degraus (fots. 2 e 8), como descreve Krause (2 209 e fig. 37) dos meninos karajá. Pode-se dizer que, em geral, há muitas semelhanças entre as compostuas do cabelo entre Tapirapé e Karajá. Também, estes e aquêles rapam aos meninos de cêrca de dez anos todo o cabelo até ½ cm., deixando-no com 3 cm. de comprimento apenas numa faixa estreita que circunda o couro cabeludo como uma coroa (*cf.* Krause, *ibidem*, e prancha 43, fig. 2).

Outra ocasião de raspar o cabelo é a morte dum parente próximo, sendo nêste caso não só o sexo masculino obrigado a sofrer êste corte (*cf.* fots. 51 e 52), como também o outro sexo (fot. 64). Êste costume é muito difundido na América do Sul. Mencionei-o dos Chamakoko do Chaco (Baldus *1* 67), von den Steinen (*1* 268) encontrou-o entre os Yuruna e já Frei Vicente de Salvador (40) fala dêle, em 1627, com referência aos Tupinambá. Já Gabriel Soares de Sousa (403) refere que, entre estes antigos habitantes do litoral, a viúva cortava o cabelo "por dó".

Entre os Tapirapé, o cabelo é cortado, atualmente, por meio de tesouras recebidas dos brancos.

As gravuras reproduzidas nas obras de Hans Staden e Jean de Léry mostram os Tupi do litoral de São Paulo e Rio de Janeiro tendo os homens a parte anterior da cabeça completamente rapada e no occipício cabelos não muito compridos, ao passo que as mulheres deixam crescer todo o cabelo e cair sôbre as costas onde chega, em algumas, até a cintura. No século seguinte, a sa-

ber, em 1614, o padre Claude d'Abbeville (267) escreve dos cabelos dos Tupinambá do Maranhão: "Qyant aux homens ils les coupent mediocrement pres sur le deuant de la teste, & les tousent en quarré sur le front, estans fort soigneux de les releuer: & sur le derriere, ils les laissent croistre assez long comme aussi sur les aureilles & leurs temples, ne tondans que les extremitez d'iceux tout en rondeur ainsi que l'on faisoit par cy deuant à la maniere antique. Povr le regard des femmes elles les laissent croistre longs iusques à la ceinture ou enuiron & les portent ordinairement pendans, si ce n'est quelquefois qu'elles les retroussent & attiffent autour de leur teste auec vn cordon ou fillet de cotton, principalement lors qu'elles veulent trauailler. Elles sont fort curieuses de se peigner & ne manquent guere tous les matins de se lauer les cheueux les frottant d'huille & de *Roucou*".

Em 1930 escreve Rice (312) de Tupí hodiernos do Maranhão, a saber, dos Urubú: "O cabelo dos homens, encrespado e abundante, é cortado numa linha direita na testa, alcança porém aos ombros nas costas".

Segundo Hintermann (209, 235-237), entre os Kamayurá e as outras tribos do Culuene e Culisevu, os homens "têm o cabelo cortado em forma de *calotte* que alcança quase as sobrancelhas e cobre parcialmente as orelhas. O vértice é tonsurado à maneira de clérigos católicos". A tesoura dêsses índios é tosquiada, pela primeira vez, por ocasião da puberdade, tendo os meninos mais jóvens o cabelo cortado em vários círculos concêntricos. Usam para o corte a dentadura da piranha. Os Kamayurá pintam o cabelo com listras de urucú que partem como raios da tonsura. As mulheres dessas tribos da parte superior da bacia do Xingú não usam tonsura e deixam cair o cabelo sôbre as costas, aparando-o sòmente em cima das sobrancelhas.

No tocante aos Kayapó lemos em Krause (2 385) que ambos os sexos, moços e velhos, têm, da mesma maneira, a parte dianteira da cabeça rapada de uma orelha à outra, caindo o cabelo do occipício às costas onde alguns homens o tem atado, às vezes, em rabicho.

Certos Tapirapé têm muito cuidado ao se pentearem, ainda que não lavem tanto o cabelo como o fazem as mulheres tupinambá vistas pelo padre Claude, nem o friccionem tanto com óleo e urucú. Indubitàvelmente, o untariam com mais freqüência, se não lhes faltasse a matéria-prima para isso. Esta consiste em coquinhos que há só em determinada época do ano. A carência do cosmético levou uma honesta mãe-de-família a roubar-nos a única garrafa de óleo destinado a cobrir a ausência de gordura na alimentação. Em vez de penetrar no nosso estômago, o litro inteiro do líquido nutritivo foi parar na cabeça daquela interessante senhora.

Já no século XVI, Gabriel Soares de Sousa (369-370) escreve das Tupinambás da Bahia: "Estas indias também curam os cabelos para que sejam compridos, grossos e pretos, os quais para terem isto os untam muitas vezes com óleo de cocos bravos". No século seguinte Frei Vicente de Salvador (38) confirma isso com mais ou menos as mesmas palavras. Os Karajá, no dizer de Krause (2 211), untam o cabelo de manhã e à noite.

Os Tapirapé põem também urucú no cabelo. Mas só em ocasiões especiais. Aplicam-no ao rapaz no dia festivo da iniciação, à moça no dia em que acaba a primeira menstruação, e ao morto. Talvez tenha significado religioso. Não sei.

Além da penteadura, a cata de piolhos é expressão de amor. O bichinho achado termina a vida entre os dentes do caçador ou da apanhadora que, dêste modo, engole o sangue do ente querido. O serviço carinhoso é feito mùtuamente por pais e filhos, e pelos esposos amorosos. As moças têm o maior entusiasmo por esta espécie de pesquisas. Mas acontece também que um velho cata ainda os piolhos de seu filho já casado (cf. fot. 55).

Não sòmente evitam perder o sangue roubado pelo piolho e mosquito, devorando êsses chupadores quando apanhados em flagrante. Também se engole os pêlos arrancados do próprio corpo. Pois, os Tapirapé, como a maior parte dos índios sul-americanos, têm o costume de depilar cuidadosamente o rosto e o corpo. Falando dêsse processo dizem: *ekopad*. Tiram os pêlos do corpo, cobrindo-os, primeiro, com cinza quente e extraindo-os, depois, com os dedos. Sòmente com os dedos arrancam também os pêlos da barba. Para a extração das sobrancelhas e pestanas, porém, empregam um instrumento especial que consiste simplesmente na cariopse duma determinada gramínea provida de dentes que constituem ganchos em forma de ângulo agudo. O índio, tendo entre o polegar e o indicador da mão direita o fruto do capim, segura com o polegar e o indicador da mão esquerda a sobrancelha ou os cílios da pessoa a ser embelezada. Então encosta o ganchinho do vegetal nos pêlos esticados e puxa-os para baixo. Infalìvelmente, alguns pêlos ficam presos nesse instrumento natural, saindo com êle.

Entre os dados quinhentistas e seiscentistas acêrca de depilação dos Tupinambá é particularmente interessante a seguinte informação de André Thevet (*I* 152): "Et si le poil leur croist par succession de temps en aucune partie de leurs corps, comme il auiet à nous autres, en quelque partie que ce soit, ils l'arranchent auecques les ongles, reserué celuy de la teste seulement, tant ils ont cela en grand horreur, autant les hommes que les femmes. Et du poil des sourcils, qui croist aux hommes par mesure, les femmes le tondent et rasent auec une certaine herbe trenchante comme un rasoir. Ceste herbe ressenble au ionc qui vien pres des eaux. Et quant au poil amatoire et barbe du visage ils se l'arrachent comme au rest du corps. Depuis quelque temps ença, ils ont trouvé le moyen de faire ie ne sçay quelles pinsettes, dont ils arrachent le poil brusquemẽt".

O vegetal mencionado pelo frade francês foi identificado por F. C. Hoehne (3) com o instrumento de depilação dos Tapirapé que é, segundo êste botânico, a cariopse da *Streptogyne crinita* BEAUV. No seu trabalho sôbre a gramínea em questão, bem ilustrado com desenhos e fotografias, o mesmo autor (ib. 523), referindo-se a um detalhe dos frutos maduros, "que aos índios não escapara", escreve: "E justamente êste pequeno detalhe, — a continuação do eixo da espícula, que em forma de dente alongado e rijo nasce sôbre o curto pedúnculo floral e depois se justapõe à pálea externa de tal modo que ocupa, com a sua parte inferior uma escavação deixada na mesma e em tôda a cariopse, e se afas-

ta com a superior formando um ângulo agudo com o corpo desta, que no seu vértice prende e fixa de modo definitivo qualquer fio ou filamento que nele penetra, — é a parte de tôda a planta que motivou o emprêgo do material pelos índios e que confundiu os escritores do século XVI. O "Arranca-Pêlo" dos aborígenes citado também para a América Central e Antilhas, é portanto o fruto ou cariopse de uma gramínea a que os botânicos deram o nome de *Streptogyne crinita...*".

E o mesmo eminente sistematizador da flora brasílica acrescenta (ibidem 524-527): "O porte da *Streptogyne crinita* BEAUV. não é arborescente, como afirmaram citados autores; é, ao contrário, perfeitamente herbaciforme como o é o da maioria dos capins. Em altura raramente ultrapassa a um metro. As folhas tem-nas linear-lanceoladas, para a base atenuadas e envaginadas em pseudo-caule de cujo centro emerge, mais tarde a haste floral, para o ápice são acuminadas de longe e em sentido longitudinal recurvadas e atravessadas por nervura central mais espessa e levemente amarelada, além de muitas nervuras paralelas menos distinguíveis, nas margens e dorso da parte terminal apresentam uma delicada mas rija serrilha que as torna cortantes como o são muitas das Ciperáceas, todavia o seu encrustamento de sílica não é o bastante para lhes dar o caráter de cortantes como o são as do "Capim Navalha de Macaco", com que devem ter sido confundidas por THEVET. A inflorescência é do comprimento das folhas distendidas e mais ou menos esguia, tem ramos ou espículas laterais, cada uma com três, cinco flores, na raquis e eixo destas espículas é revestida de pêlos curtos e ásperos muito bastos e adornadas brácteas rijas e agudas que abrigam a base das flores; estas aparentemente sésseis, têm um curto pedúnculo rijo e levemente curvado na base e são envoltas por duas glumas enroladas e agudas de que a inferior é a metade mais curta que a superior: duas são as páleas, a inferior destas é maior, enrolada, roliça, compressa, com sete nervuras longitudinais e termina em uma aresta linear assovelada que atinge a metade do comprimento dos longos pistilos e tem a nervura central no dorso e as margens armadas de serrilha finíssima e rija, como se pode constatar examinando-a com a lente de aumento 30 diam.; a pálea superior é também enrolada e do comprimento do corpo da inferior, mas o seu ápice se bifurca em duas pontas agudas que ocupam mais tarde a parte anterior da base do pistilo, nesta região é revestida de serrilha ou dentes ásperos idênticos aos referidos para a primeira. As escâmulas são três de forma lanceolar e agudas. Estames há três e o ovário é séssil e glabro, encimado pelo longo pistilo que torcido em sentido longitudinal, e depois tripartido em ramos linear-achatados, finos e rijos, glabros por fora e ásperos por dentro, atinge ao todo 4 cms. de comp.; quando o fruto está maduro os ramos dêle formam espirais gavinhiformes e se enroscam uns nos outros e na haste e brácteas referidas, como dissemos mais acima. Então as cariopses ficam dependuradas tal qual como aquelas da *Streptochaeta* e o primeiro animal de pêlo que esbarra na haste frutificada sai com algumas delas prêsas aos mesmos. Isto devido ao dispositivo já referido. O pêlo que passar entre o dente lateral junto à base da cariopse e ela, é imediata e irre-

mediàvelmente prêso no vértice interno do ângulo, que, como mostra o desenho, tem a estrutura necessária para tanto. Mas também as cariopses que caem de partes mais superiores da haste, passando com os seus tentáculos ali se prendem e formam correntes com as outras. Para o animal se ver livre dessas sementes é indispensável que dispense um ou mais pêlos que as tenham prendido nele, porque sem isto as cariopses irão com êle onde for. Elas não largam e só o deixam com o pêlo que seguraram. Ora, justamente esta particularidade não escapou ao índio.

Sem dúvida êle a reparou muitas vezes quando abatia animais com as suas flechas ou os apanhava nos mondeus. E' possível que também nos seus próprios cabelos da cabeça tenha tido muitas ocasiões para sentir o leve empuxo e imediata fixação dos singulares frutos e como era indivíduo que aprendia da natureza e que se utilizava daquilo que ela lhe fornecia, aceitou também esta lição e aplicou-a na prática da depilação, dizendo de si para si: "Se estes frutos não largam o pêlo que apanham e tão fàcilmente os prendem, certamente poderei arrancar muitos com êles, passando-os sôbre a pele". E assim pensando e agindo, ficaram os mesmos sendo as primitivas pinças, os "Arranca-Pêlos" de que êle carecia para fazer a sua toilette. Experiências feitas por nós demonstraram-nos que efetivamente não existe nada mais eficaz para pegar e fixar um pêlo, por mais fino ou espesso que seja, do que estas cariopses da *Streptogyne crinita* BEAUV.

"Referido isto, desta-nos abordar ainda a dispersão geográfica desta interessante gramínea. HACKEL diz que ela vegeta na América tanto abaixo como acima do Equador em tôda a zona cálida e temperada, mas não indica com exatidão as áreas onde foi encontrada. O material que examinamos e que nos serviu para as ilustrações, provém do Pará e do Amazonas. Aquêle que foi trazido pelo Dr. BALDUS, veio do Rio Tapirapé... Demonstrado está, portanto, que a espécie deve ser efetivamente do norte, mas sabemos que também na zona litorânea do Rio de Janeiro e S. Vicente ela existiu no século XVI. Provável é, pois, que ela efetivamente acompanhe o selvícola que dela se utiliza para mister tão importante. Talvez êle mesmo concorra para disseminá-la pondo ao lixo as cariopses depois que não prestam mais e quando por um descuido as perde nas suas peregrinações. Mas o principal disseminador, é sem dúvida, o animal de pêlo: a capivara, a onça, o veado, o cervo, a paca, a cotia, o quati, etc. que passam ao pé das gramíneas frutificadas e nos seus pêlos prendem as sementes delas".

Transcrevi êste grande trecho por se tratar dum objeto que, ao meu saber, ainda não foi estudado pelos etnógrafos. As notícias acêrca dos vizinhos dos Tapirapé não mencionam semelhante instrumento de depilação. Digna de nota talvez seja, porém, uma referência à depilação duma outra tribo tupi moderna, a saber, dos Chipaya. No dizer de Emilie Snethlage (2 408), estes índios extraem as sobrancelhas e pelos da barba e do corpo por meio das finas, tenazes e um pouco ásperas fibras das folhas duma "certa palmeira". "Duas fibras são torcidas nas extremidades de tal maneira que no meio fica aberto um pequeno laço no qual prendem o pêlo e o arrancam com segurança e sem dor, esticando repentinamente as extremidades".

Segundo Hintermann (238), entre os índios do Culuene e Culisevu, nem os homens, nem as mulheres arrancam as sobrancelhas, ao passo que extraem as pestanas, afirmando que estas impedem a vista, principalmente para longe. Ambos os sexos destas tribos tiram os pelos das partes pudendas.

Krause (2 211-212) refere dos Karajá: "Dizem que não lhes nasce a barba nas faces e no queixo; alguns têm, entretanto, curtos e fracos pelos de bigode". Estes são arrancados. Segundo o mesmo autor (ib. 212), as sobrancelhas e pestanas desses índios são extraídas com os dedos cobertos de cinza, "provàvelmente para que os lisos pelos não lhes escapem". O pêlo das partes pudendas, no dizer de Krause (ibidem), era bem desenvolvido nesta tribo do Araguáia, mas, quanto o viajante podia observar, os homens, pelo menos, não o extraíam.

Acêrca dos Kayapó refere o mesmo autor (ib. 385): "Provàvelmente, o pêlo do corpo é removido em parte. Os pelos do rosto não são extraídos. As sobrancelhas, em todo caso, são conservadas. Muitos rapazes têm buço e alguns homens usam bigode e barba no queixo".

Estudando a aparência física dos Tapirapé deparamos com sinais de incisões na pele. Referindo-se aos índios da parte superior da bacia do Xingú, escreve von den Steinen (2 188-190): "As sarjaduras na pele constituem uma espécie de remédio universal. Aplicam-se sem distinção, em tôdas as tribos, nos velhos e nos moços. Arranha-se a pele com o sarjador, um pedaço triangular de cúia próximo de uma série de agudos dentinhos de peixe (*traíra*) ou unhas de roedores (*aguti*), e deixa-se escorrer o sangue por algum tempo, o que é facilitado, esfregando com um osso a ferida que em seguida é friccionada com barro amarelo, com fuligem ou com o sumo de uma fruta (*natuntsán* entre os Auetõ). Em tôdas as tribos veem-se sarjaduras, principalmente no braço. As cicatrizes ornamentais pròpriamente ditas faltam por completo, o que concorda com a afirmação de Joest, segundo o qual estas cicatrizes se limitam aos povos de pigmentação escura. Afim de adquirir uma boa vista e um braço forte para o manêjo do arco e da flecha, sarjam-se o rosto e o braço dos meninos. Observei bons resultados com a aplicação do sarjador num pé muito inchado. O processo é baunscheidtismo puro, sendo também qualificado expressamente como tratamento médico. E' evidente que em muitos casos diminue a tensão e a inflamação realmente é aliviada. Não é menos evidente a origem do tratamento, pois ao ser picado por algum inseto, se coçam até o sangue escorrer e parar a dôr ou a comichão; trata-se de eliminar o que de nocivo tenha penetrado debaixo da pele. Não é tão pouco duvidoso o motivo por que se fricciona a sarjadura com fuligem ou barro; não há intenção de embelezamento, visa-se apenas elevar ou atenuar convenientemente a excitação, e estancar o sangue. Para êste último fim empregava-se também cinza.

"Foi assim que o aborígene dessas paragens chegou à tatuagem sem inventá-la. Observei freqüentemente sarjaduras coloridas, constituindo verdadeira, se bem que involuntária, tatuagem, em tribos que absolutamente não se dedicavam a tal arte. Entretanto, não se pode ver nisso um simples produto do acaso, pois o hábito da sarjadura medical necessàriamente devia provocar o

fenômeno secundário da coloração. A idéia de sua utilização para êsse fim determinado nasceu mais tarde. Também a tatuagem constitue finalmente um método de expansão artistica e um meio de caracterização aplicado na pele isenta de indumento. E' muito natural a tatuagem desaparecer na medida em que aparece a vestimenta, que fornece maiores facilidades para os mesmos fins. Felipe, Bakairi manso da aldeia do Paranatinga, tenente da milícia brasileira e possuidor de uma patente e de um velho uniforme agaloado, visitara com António, depois da nossa primeira expedição, os irmãos de tribo reencontrados. Contou-me que o aconselharam a procurar os Kustenaú para que o tatuassem. "Mas não quiz", disse-me êle, "pois tenho os meus galões".

"A tatuagem limita-se às tribos de Nu-Aruak, portanto aos Mehinakú, Kustenaú, Waurá e Yaulapiti, — tribos em que se salienta o hábito de enegrecerem a pele, e que, por conseguinte, puderam melhor observar a coloração das sarjaduras, — e ocorre às vezes também entre os Bakairi vizinhos. E' executada, já na primeira infância, com o espinho de uma bromélia, gravatá, ou com o dente do peixe-cachorro. Como tinta emprega-se a fuligem ou o suco da fruta do tarumã.

"Uma única vez vimos uma tatuagem artistica; era a de um cacique mehinakú que ostentava em cada lado do peito o losango do peixe merechú; do ângulo superior e exterior do losango subia ainda uma linha dupla até ao ombro. Ao enumerar orgulhoso as tribos que o conheciam, apontava cada vez para um canto do losango. Sirvo-me também dêste pequeno traço humoristico a favor da minha opinião de que aquilo que os povos naturais fazem com a pele, corresponde, mutatis mutandis, ao que nós fazemos com o indumento. O Mehinakú conta pelos cantos de sua tatuagem; nós, pelos botões de nosso colete. A tatuagem dos homens era constituida por linhas simples ou duplas, acompanhando os contornos internos das homoplatas, ora em forma de ângulos obtusos ou quase retos, com o vértice dirigido para a coluna vertebral, ora em forma de arcos — um desenho que passou para a arte dos Mehinakú e que aparece externamente sôbre o fundo dos vasos grandes (v. prancha 15). As mulheres tinham no braço, em tôrno do pulso ou na coxa, duas ou três linhas horizontais em arco, que circundavam a parte anterior do membro, representando, por conseguinte, semi-circulos.

"Em geral a tatuagem não ultrapassou o limite das linhas simples, traindo ainda a sua origem como sarjaduras tôscas feitas com dentes de peixe. Neste sentido também é notavel a fig. 16 de uma mulher kamayurá que embora só sarjada para fins medicais, parece estar tatuada. Os kamayurá não se tatuavam; entretanto as mãos e os braços eram muitas vezes cerradamente pautados com sarjaduras.

"Mas a tatuagem já se empregava como sinal distintivo. Servia para caracterizar homens e mulheres das famílias dos caciques, que não tinham, como o Bakairi Felipe, a possibilidade de usar galões. Já as crianças de pouca idade ostentavam o sinal. Nesses casos a tatuagem constitue, portanto, um caráter distintivo interior da tribo, o qual, porém, com o decorrer do tempo sofre a generalização a que está sujeito todo distintivo de graduação. Alguns aristocratas bakairi e nahuquá já manifestavam o desejo de

se candidatarem ao distintivo de outra tribo". (Tradução de Egon Schaden).

Os Tapirapé aplicam as sarjaduras só ao sexo masculino. Começam com isso na época de cortar o cabelo do iniciando isto é, um ano antes da festa da iniciação, repetindo o tratamento várias vezes até o tempo do casamento e não raramente também depois. Arranham verticalmente a pele do braço entre o ombro e o cotovelo, e na frente da perna, tanto da coxa como da parte entre o joelho e o pé. A operação é feita por um homem maduro. Logo depois dela, o sangrado entra na água para lavar-se. Inflamação em conseqüência disso é extremamente rara. A finalidade do tratamento é "dar fôrça". Segundo Wagley (4 17), o matador de um médico-feiticeiro, para proteger-se e ao resto da tribo contra perigo possível, deve, além de tomar outras medidas de precaução, "escarificar o peito, braços, coxas e costas, com dentes de peixe-cachorro, tal como procedeu, quando era jóvem, na cerimônia para tornar-se um forte adulto". — Não recebi informação desta espécie quando estive em Tampiitáua.

O instrumento de escarificação tem o mesmo nome como os riscos produzidos por êle a saber: *chainiáua*. E' um pedaço triangular de cúia provido de uma fila de dentes encravados cujas pontas aparecem na face que fazia parte do lado exterior e convexo do cabaço. O lado oposto é completamente revestido de grossa e preta camada de cera de abelha. Os dentes são do chamado peixe-cachorro, *aikyngapeva* em tapirapé, um peixe de escama, da água doce, da família Caracideos, subfamília Hidrocionineos, cujo nome no vernáculo alude à dentição canina (cf. Rodolfo von Ihering, 165). No sarjador ou, melhor, escarificador que adquiri em Tampiitáua (fot. 23), os 17 dentes sobressaem de 3 a 6 centímetros. Este exemplar tem 8 centímetros de comprimento e, na parte mais larga, 5½ centímetros.

Segundo informações dos Tapirapé, as suas moças são tatuadas na época pluviosa que segue a primeira menstruação. A operação é feita ao anoitecer, entre janeiro e março quando há "milho grande", muita caça aglomerada pela enchente e muita festa por causa de tudo isso. Tatuam o mento e as faces (fig. 1). A tatuagem da bochecha se estende até em baixo da orelha, de modo que um pedacinho fica coberto pelo cabelo. As encruzadas incisões verticais e horizontais parecem rede com malhas pequenas. Este desenho chama-se *kohova*. As feridas são, primeiro, esfregadas com folha de *kaauna* (*káa*: planta, *una*: preta, azul-escura). Essa folha, por ter sido espremida, antes, numa casca de tartaruga (*chauvati-ampekuera*) cheia de água, está molhada de seu sumo misturado com água. E', o sumo da *kaauna* que produz a côr azul-escura indelével da tatuagem. Por algum tempo, a folha fica apertada nas feridas. Depois sopram nestas as folhas de algodão (*amynichó-ha(u)va*) amassadas com o cachimbo. Talvez tencionem com isso um aliviamento, pois as moças choram muito du-

Fig. n. 1

rante tôda a operação e as partes tatuadas tornam-se horrivelmente inchadas (*ivavará*). Como por ocasião da primeira menstruação, as moças têm tanto urucú no cabelo que êste junto com a massa gordurenta parece uma espécie de *gôrro*. Mas não são pintados de genipapo. Abandonaram para sempre os *tamankará*, os enfeites de algodão que usavam quando criança. Algumas mudam de nome, se não o fizeram já por ocasião da primeira menstruação. Só tomam caui de milho verde. Homens e mulheres cantam *kaó*, espécie de hino nacional. Acabada tôda a festividade, a moça é pintada com os traços de genipapo que caracterizam as mulheres.

A tatuagem é feita por certos homens maduros. Estes não precisam ser médicos-feiticeiros, mas alguns dêles o são, por exemplo Urukumy (fot. 53). A finalidade da tatuagem é distinguir a mulher da menina. A faquinha para fazer as incisões (fot. 22) chama-se *voamé*. Consiste num fragmento de incisivo de roedor fincado num pedacinho de fino tacuari envolto de estreita tira de entrecasca de filodendro. Esta tira fortalece a varinha que, para segurá-la, é, antes, coberta de resina. O fragmento de dente, na faquinha representada (fot. 22), consiste naquela parte do incisivo da paca (*kanoanó*) que estava mais próxima da gengiva, portanto não na parte cortante. Produziram o gume, raspando com faca o fragmento. Este consiste, às vezes, também num pedaço de dente do aguti (*akuti ankuchi*), outro roedor que, como a paca, pertence à família Caviideos.

Krause (2 404) escreve a respeito da tatuagem tapirapé: "Tatuagem existe entre as mulheres casadas; elas se cortam linhas verticais no mento e uma linha que desce obliqüamente de ambos os cantos da boca". Como se vê, isso não corresponde exatamente à tatuagem observada por mim. E os desenhos publicados por Krause (ib. fig. 262), ainda que estejam de desacôrdo com a citada descrição do mesmo autor por mostrarem vários traços obliquos partindo dos ângulos dos lábios e não só um, nem por isso se assemelham com os horizontais e verticais encruzados que vi nos rostos das mulheres tapirapé.

O escarificador tapirapé se parece tanto com o das tribos da parte superior da bacia do Xingú representado por von de Steinen (2 fig. 15) como também com o dos Karajá e Javahé, fato êsse que indica uma conexão cuja importância aumenta por êsse instrumento não ser usado pelos vizinhos no sul e norte, a saber, pelos Boróro e Kayapó. E' verdade que há pequenas variações de material e forma. Assim, o escarificador xinguano é provido de dentes de traíra ou unhas de aguti, ao passo que o dos Karajá, chamado de *ladji* por estes índios, tinha uma fila de dentes de um peixe que foi indicado a Krause como sendo o peixe-cachorro, portanto o mesmo que fornece os entes do escarificador tapirapé. O número dos dentes, porém, sendo neste último 17, é 12 no instrumento karajá representado por Krause (2 fig. 51), 17 no dos Javahé (ib. fig. 189) e 12 no da figura publicada por von den Steinen. Outra semelhança do escarificador javahé com o dos Tapirapé consiste em estar a face posterior completamente revestida de uma camada de cera, ao passo que o instrumento karajá apresentado por Krause possue nessa face apenas um estreito rolete de cera para segurar os dentes, não sendo nada a êsse respeito

revelado pela figura e descrição do sarjador xinguano. Aliás, porém, entre os três escarificadores que Ehrenreich obteve dos Karajá em 1888, há um com rolete de cera como o exemplar trazido por Krause, e dois revestidos de camada inteira como o exemplar javahé (cf. Krause 2 217, 355). Na forma, os pedaços de cúia representados nas citadas figuras de Krause aproximam-se mais de um quadrângulo do que triângulo a modo do escarificador xinguano e tapirapé.

Bem longe da "província etnográfica" que se estende da parte superior da bacia do Xingú até a ilha do Bananal, fica o rio Apaporis que desemboca no Japurá, afluente setentrional do Solimões. Vem da Colômbia para tornar-se, no curso inferior, fronteira com o Brasil. No Apaporis visitou Koch-Grünberg os Yahuna, índios da família linguística Betoya, modernamente chamada de Tukano. Viu entre êles "um escarificador que se encontra na mesma forma também no Brasil central. Uma fila de finos e agudos dentinhos do peixe traíra encravados num traço arranhado antes num caco triângular da cabaça e, na face posterior, para maior solidez, espessamente revestidos de breu. Em tôdas as doenças possíveis e também para fortificar os músculos arranham com êste aparêlho de escarificação a pele até o sangue correr abundantemente". (Koch-Grünberg *1* II 289). A figura (ibidem fig. 195) que acompanha essa descrição, mostra de fato um escarificador do mesmo tipo como o de Tampiitáua e vizinhanças.

Maiores do que as referidas diferenças entre os escarificadores dos Karajá, Javahé, Tapirapé e índios da bacia do Xingú são as na escarificação. Krause (2 217) não menciona se a escarificação entre os Karajá se restringe, principalmente, aos moços do sexo masculino, como entre os Tapirapé, ou se é aplicada, como entre os índios visitados por von den Steinen, em tôdas as idades e também nas mulheres. Mas êle diz (ib.) que aquela tribo do Araguáia sarja braços e coxas, ao passo que eu observei, em 1935, sarjaduras no peito pelas quais os Karajá se distinguiam dos Tapirapé. Por outro lado, porém, Krause (ib. 217-218) fala do adôrno-de-cicatriz de seu remador karajá que, aliás, foi a única pessoa com tais cicatrizes. Os inchaços produzidos pela incisão com dente de peixe-cachorro e esfregadura das feridas com fuligem e água corriam transversalmente sôbre o peito. O pesquisador foi informado que só o matador de um inimigo pode usar esse adôrno no peito e nas costas, sendo então chamado *wolí*. Os Tapirapé como as tribos do Xingú e os índios em geral não têm adôrno-de-cicatriz pròpriamente dito, o que, como já von den Steinen observou, concorda com a afirmação de Joest de serem tais cicatrizes ornamentais limitadas aos povos de côr escura. Esta afirmação, porém, não precisa estar em desacôrdo com o caso mencionado por Krause, pois os Karajá, expondo como povo de remadores continuamente o corpo nu aos raios do sol, ficam muitas vezes com a pele tão escura que nela dificilmente se enxergaria traços duma côr azulada como os da tatuagem nos rostos relativamente claros das mulheres tapirapé.

Dos Javahé e Kayapó do norte menciona Krause (ib. 355, 386) o costume da escarificação, sem dar pormenores a respeito. Estes Kayapó usam para isso simplesmente a dentadura de um

peixe (ib. 388). Krause não viu adôrno-de-cicatriz entre êles (ib.).

Segundo Nimuendajú (§ 72), os Apinayé, parentes linguísticos e quase vizinhos dos Kayapó do norte, empregam um caco de cabaça munido duma série de dentes de rato para fazer compridas incisões verticais na parte posterior das coxas e panturrilhas do rapaz iniciando cujos joelhos tremem depois da corrida de toro. E' significativo que explicam esta fraqueza dizendo: "Êle tem sangue demais".

Dos Taulipáng e seus vizinhos na região que se estende do rio Branco até o Roroima, refere Koch-Grünberg (2 III 122) que um velho aplica ao rapaz pôbre incisões sôbre ambos os braços, sôbre o peito até o ventre e, por fim, vertical e paralelamente no mento, esfregando as feridas com diferentes possangas mágicas para dar boa sorte na caça e pesca. Há possanga especial para cada animal de caça e cada peixe. São folhas, cascas e raízes amassadas e misturadas com água fresca. O objetivo dos cortes nos braços e no peito é dar ao jóvem eficácia com arco e flecha, e a finalidade das incisões no queixo é fornecer-lhe êxito com a sarabatana. Também caçadores conscienciosos que querem conservar a boa sorte na caça e na pesca, arranham-se de quando em quando numerosos riscos compridos nos braços e nas pernas, cobrindo as feridas com barro do rio.

Koch-Grünberg (ib.) menciona, ainda, a sarjação de outras tribos da Guiana, a saber, a dos Purukotó referida por Barbosa Rodrigues, a dos Warraú referida por Richard Schomburgk, a dos Ojana e Trio referida por de Goeje, e a dos Vapixana (Vapidiana) referida por Farabee. Segundo êle (ib. 127), a razão principal desta e de outras práticas mais ou menos dolorosas do mesmo gênero não é a educação para suportar grandes sofrimentos, como supõem certos autores, mas o efeito mágico.

F. C. Mayntzhusen, explorador alemão que dedicou uma longa existência ao estudo dos Guayaki, me deu as seguintes informações acêrca dêstes índios do hinterland da margem paraguaia do Alto Paraná cuja língua é considerada por êle como uma espécie de "guaraní primitivo". Tôdas as incisões no corpo são feitas durante o noviciado, mas de dia, e, como o arranhar em geral, chamadas de *bobé*. Antes da primeira menstrução, quando uma menina casa — pois muitas casam impúberes — um homem maduro, mas nunca o marido, aplica-lhe quatro cortes verticais numa das panturrilhas. Isso é feito se ela quer, e ela costuma querê-lo para assim figurar como mulher em vez de criança. Os cortes são executados com *ímbé* (contração de *ítá*: pedra, e *imbé*: cortante), lasca de seixo, ou, modernamente, às vezes com faca de metal. A ferida é esfregada com carvão pulverizado de madeira mole o que deixa para tôda a vida um traço azul-escuro. Se a incisão era profunda o que, aliás, não acontece de propósito, conserva-se algumas vezes uma saliência. Como me disse em Guayaki, menina com cortes na panturrilha, deve, até estarem curadas as feridas, coçar-se somente por meio duma verinha, pois de contrário ela ficará com abcessos.

Segundo Mayntzhusen a moça, depois da primeira menstruação, acosta-se no tronco liso duma palmeira, em que se agarra com os braços estendidos para trás e por cima da cabeça. Outra mu-

lher a segura por trás no peito, e os braços e pernas são seguradas também. Então o marido aplica-lhe com o *tumbé* duas incisões verticais à direita e duas à esquerda do umbigo, que começam em baixo dos seios e vão até a região inguinal. O *tumbé* é segurado com o polegar e indicador de tal maneira que não entre fundo demais. Isso, a-pesar-da precaução tomada, acontece às vezes. As partes a serem cortadas são, antes, esfregadas com folha de palmeira a fim de limpá-las. As feridas são esfregadas com carvão. O objetivo dessas incisões é aliviar a gravidez e o parto. Sem elas, a criança no ventre fica inquieta. Não repetem os cortes mais tarde, pois disem que então a pele já esta cortáces demais.

De acôrdo com as comunicações orais que recebi do mesmo pesquisador, os homens, depois do primeiro côito e depois de ser cortada a sua mulher, deixam-se, por própria vontade, aplicar incisões com o *tumbé*, cujas feridas são esfregadas com carvão. O operador é um velho. Em cada lado da espinha dorsal uma ou duas incisões descendo os ombros até as coxas são feitas cada vez. Alguns acrescentam ainda cortes horizontais nas coxas. Geralmente fazem as incisões para que o homem possa carregar bem. Mas quando o homem mata algum ser humano, também recebe tais cortes. Assim, quando Anó-gui, o cabeça dum bando guayaki, matava uma criança raquítica e incapaz de marchar, mandava fazer incisões no seu ombro prolongando aquelas que já tinha. Outro Guayaki explicou a respeito que o ombro encarangaria, se a gente não o incisasse em tal caso. Há, porém, a possibilidade de uma coincidência casual da varjação com o homicídio.

Por outro lado, convem lembrar aqui que também os Tupinambá, nas cerimônias de antropofagia, aplicaram ao matador incisões depois de êle ter exercido a sua função. Hans Staden (I 4) conta que o "rei das cabanas" arranhou-lhe a parte superior dos braços com o dente de um animal selvagem, tendo sido honrosas as marcas que subsistiram disso. Thevet (f 204), outro quinhentista, escreve do executor tupinambá: "...il fera avec une petite sie, faite de dens d'une beste, nômée Agoutin, plusieurs incisions et pertuis au corps, à la poitrine, et autres parties, tellement qu'il apparoistra tout deschiqueté. Et la raison, ainsi que le m'il suis informé à quelques uns, est qu'il fait cela par plaisir, reputant à grande gloire ce meurtre par luy cômis en la personne de son ennemy".

Léry (221), outro cuevo, refere a respeito: "Quant à celuy ou ceux qui ont commis ces meurtres, reputans cela à grand gloire & honneur, dès le mesme iour qu'ils auront faict le coup, se retirans à part, ils se feront non seulement inciser iusques au sang, la poictrine, les bras, les cuisses, le gras des iambes, & autre parties du corps: mais aussi à fin que cela paroisse toute leur vie, ils frotteront ces taillades de certaines ordinaires & poudre noire, qui ne se peut iamais effacer: tellement que tant plus qu'ils font ainsi deschiquetez, tant plus cognoist-on qu'ils ont beaucoup tué de prisonniers, & par consequent sont estimez plus vailliants par les autres. Ce que, pour vous mieux faire entendre, ie vous ay icy deschiqueté representé par la figure du sauvage deschiqueté...". A mencionada figura (fls. XII) mostra um Tupinambá com incisões verticais no peito, nos braços e nas coxas.

Na sua pitoresca descrição das cerimônias que êsses índios faziam ao matador, diz o jesuíta Fernão Cardim (192-193): "Dali a certos dias lhe dão o hábito, não no peito do peloto, que êle não tem, senão na própria pele, serrafaçando-o por todo o corpo com um dente de cutia que se parece com dente de coelho, o qual, assim por sua pouca sutileza, como por êles terem a pele dura, parece que rasgam algum pergaminho, e se êles são animosos não lhe dão as riscas direitas, senão cruzadas, de maneira que ficam uns lavores muito primos, e alguns gemem e gritam com as dores. Acabado isto, tem carvão moído e sumo de erva moura com que êles esfregam as riscas ao través, fazendo-as arreganhar e inchar, que é ainda maior tormento, e enquanto lhe saram as feridas que duram alguns dias, está êle deitado na rêde sem falar nem pedir nada, e para não quebrar o silêncio tem a par de si água e farinha e certa fruta como amêndoas, que chamam *mendobés*, porque não prova peixe nem carne aquêles dias".

E Gabriel Soares de Sousa (394-396) conta que "todo o Tupinambá que matou na guerra ou em outra qualquer parte algum contrário... se risca em algumas partes do corpo com o dente de cutia, em lavores; e dão por estas sarjaduras uma tinta com que ficam vivas, e enquanto o riscado vive, o tem por grande bizarria; e há alguns índios que... se riscaram tantas vezes que não tem parte onde não esteja o corpo riscado. Costumam também as irmãs dos matadores fazerem as mesmas cerimônias que fizeram seus irmãos, tosquiando-se, e tingindo-se de genipapo, e dando alguns riscos em si; e fazem o mesmo pelos primos, a que também chamam *irmãos*, e fazem também suas festas com seus vinhos como êles; e para se não sentir a dor do riscar, se lavam primeiro muito espaço com água muito quente, com que lhe enteza a carne e não sentem as sarjaduras; mas muitos ficam deles tão mal tratados que se põem em perigo de morte".

Também autores da primeira metade do século XVII, como os capuchinhos Claude d'Abbeville (272) e Yves d'Evreux (43), o franciscano Vicente do Salvador (41) e o anônimo que escreveu os "Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil" (277), tratam das incisões transformadas em tatuagens que os Tupi do litoral se aplicavam. Nesta última obra (lb. 276) há, ainda, a informação que os guerreiros, "para poderem melhor correr, serrefaçam as pernas com facas até derramarem muito sangue, tendo para si que ficam por esta via mais ágeis para caminharem com mais prestesa".

Staden (v. I) conta que viu um principal tupinambá visitar, de manhã cedo, tôdas as cabanas, arranhando com dente de peixe as pernas das crianças para intimidá-las o para, quando importunas, poderem ser ameaçadas pelos pais com a volta do sarjador. Parece-me bem possível que almeide na imaginação etnocêntrica do arcabuzeiro alemão existia essa finalidade pedagógica, pois ela está alheia da mentalidade com que, em geral, são tratados os filhos entre os índios no Brasil.

Segundo o mesmo autor (lb.), as moças tupinambá, "quando crescem e lhes vem o costume", recebem nas coxas certas especiais que, depois de cicatrizadas, deixam sinais, pois "alguma coisa" é introduzida na ferida para que a marca, considerada uma honra, permaneça preta. Também Thevet (I 264-266) se refere

às incisões no corpo dessas moças "apres avoir eu la premiere purgation des femmes".

Tatuagem do rosto na época da primeira menstruação é mencionada duma outra tribo da mesma família linguística tupi, a saber, dos Kaingué, também chamados de Kayuá ou, como escreve Azara, cayguás. Segundo o mesmo autor (II 36-37), as moças dêsses índios da parte oriental do Paraguai e de regiões brasileiras adjacentes "se trazan en la piel varias lineas azules indelebles que parten del nascimiento de los cabellos hasta una linea horizontal em que se termina la parte inferior de la nariz". Dos Tauripáng e vizinhos escreve Koch-Grünberg (2 III 128): "Pouco antes da primeira menstruação, a menina é tatuada nos cantos da boca com os costumeiros "desenhos de anzol". De matéria corante serve a cinza de abelhas de mel queimadas, "para que toda o caxiri preparado pela virgem (isto é, para o qual ela mastiga o ingrediente) torne-se doce como mel".

Entre os Karajá, todos os homens e tôdas as mulheres têm em cada uma das bochechas um pequeno círculo que, segundo Krause (2 219), é tatuado "no início da puberdade, portanto entre 12 e 14 anos, aproximadamente". Além dêsse distintivo tribal é mencionada pelo mesmo autor (ib.) uma tatuagem karajá "peculiar aos chefes e às mulheres dêstes que consiste em riscos verticais e pretos entre o beiço inferior e a borda inferior do rosto, riscos êsses dispostos, um ao lado do outro, numa fila e, às vezes, em duas sobrepostas (fig. 53 a b). No dizer de Kurixi, esta tatuagem é própria das mulheres. Já as meninas teriam no queixo tais filas de pontos azues, considerados como muito lindos. Eu nunca observei isso".

Na obra de Krause não há referência à tatuagem entre os Javahé e Kayapó. Métraux (2 192-194) trata da tatuagem de diversas tribos tupi e chega à conclusão de que êste costume "parece ter na América do Sul uma distribuição setentrional e ocidental".

Resumindo podemos dizer que os Tapirapé, pelo feitio especial da tatuagem feminina, se distinguem de tôdas as tribos vizinhas conhecidas a êsse respeito. Os dados de Herrmann Meyer acêrca dos Aravine e sua tatuagem, reproduzidos no capítulo IV da presente obra, não bastam para poderem ser tomados em consideração no estudo dêsse assunto. Convém destacar, ainda, que a tatuagem como distintivo de moça casadoura encontra-se, na América do Sul, não só em regiões tão distantes uma da outra como a Guiana do Paraguai, mas também em tribos de famílias linguísticas tão diversas com os Karaib e os Tupí.

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# OS TAPIRAPÉ

## TRIBO TUPI NO BRASIL CENTRAL

(Especial para a "REVISTA DO ARQUIVO")

HERBERT BALDUS

(Continuação)

A pintura do corpo é muito usada entre os Tapirapé. Há, porém, a seu respeito diferenças determinadas pelo sexo, pela idade e pelo indivíduo. As côres são o preto obtido do suco de genipapo (*chenipáas* em tapirapé), fruto duma árvore da família Rubiáceas (*Genipa americana, Lin.*), e o vermelho extraído da polpa do urucú, fruto dum arbusto da família Bixáceas (*Bixa orellana*, Lin.). Também os Tapirapé o chamam de *urukú*, tendo as vogais um som entre u e o fechado. O fabrico da pasta proveniente dêste fruto não é tão fácil como a obtenção do suco do genipapo e será descrito no capítulo X.

O genipapo é simplesmente mastigado, como também Staden (v. 3) relata dos Tupinambá, e o suco é posto numa cuia. Entre os Tapirapé, homens e mulheres fazem êsse trabalho; deixando correr o suco diretamente da bôca para a vasilha. O líquido é claro como água, tornando-se preto quando enxuto. De tinta serve o suco do fruto só pouco antes de maduro, isto é, quando não cresce mais, pois o efeito corante desaparece ao fazer-se pardacenta a casca e mole a polpa. Essa tinta, no dizer de Staden (ib.) e

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Soares de Souza (215), dura nove dias na pele, não saindo antes, a-pesar-de lavá-la. Tenho de dizer, porém, que na minha cutis não permaneceu mais de dois a três dias.

Entre as mulheres, o genipapo no corpo era tão comum que a ausência dessa pintura causou-me uma impressão quase semelhante àquela que tenho quando vejo, em hora imprópria, o *negligée* de senhora "civilizada". O desenho usado uniformemente por todo o sexo feminino com exceção das crianças e velhas distingue-se completa-

Fig. 1 — Pintura do corpo masculino vazaghaná.

mente das diversas formas de pintura aplicadas no corpo dos homens. Chamam-no *iokipoi*, sendo *kuanisiwa* o nome genérico de todos os desenhos, também dos desenhos de trançados, cilas etc.. Linhas retas partem entre os seios, descendo obliqüamente pelo ventre e pelas coxas. Estas são, além disso, cobertas de muitos traços irregulares, dando-se o mesmo com tôda a perna desde o joelho até o tornozelo e, às vêzes, com o braço e antebraço (fots. 3, 4, 7, 8, 48, 67). Durante a menstruação, a mulher não é pintada.

Fot. 3 — Mareremjó (2) com a pintura feminina, meninas com tembetá e menina com tamankurá.

Fot. 4 — Masinohó (111), Kaunevanvynhó (3), Techipy (51), Inamoreo (28). A mulher é Toru-Maneaia (100).

Mas logo que o fluxo de sangue acaba, os traços típicos no ventre e na coxa são renovados. A fotografia 67 mostra uma menina de cêrca de treze anos que ainda não chegou a menstruar-se, usando, a-pesar-disso, a pintura das mulheres. É que ela compartilha a rêde-de-dormir com um rapaz de vinte anos.

As principais pinturas de genipapo usadas pelos homens são, com ligeiras variações: 1) *tuanghaná* (fig. 2), nome duma ave

Fig. 2 — Pintura do corpo masculino ipihondas.

aquática, talvez um martim-pescador (*Ceryle* spec.); 2) *ipihondas* (fig. 3), nome dum peixe; 3) *chonhonhs* (fig. 4), nome dum *anchinga*, espírito visto por médico-feiticeiro; 4) *hanimchahá* (fig. 5), designação dos Kayapó do norte (cf. capítulo IV). É problemático se o nome desta última pintura representa alusão a sua procedência. Krause (2 386) não viu nada de semelhante entre os Kayapó. Aliás, também as pinturas do corpo dos Karajá re-

produzidas por êste autor (ib. figs. 43 a-b e 44 a) distinguem-se das dos Tapirapé, se bem que não muito. Dos Javahé escreve Krause (ib. 355) sòmente: "A pintura do corpo é idêntica a dos Karajá". Ehrenreich (*1* 10 fig. 1), porém, que esteve vinte anos antes de Krause entre os Karajá, isto é, em 1888, reproduz uma pintura dêstes índios que, pela sua forma de *cul-ensey*, parece-se com a *chankoaka* (fig. 4) dos Tapirapé.

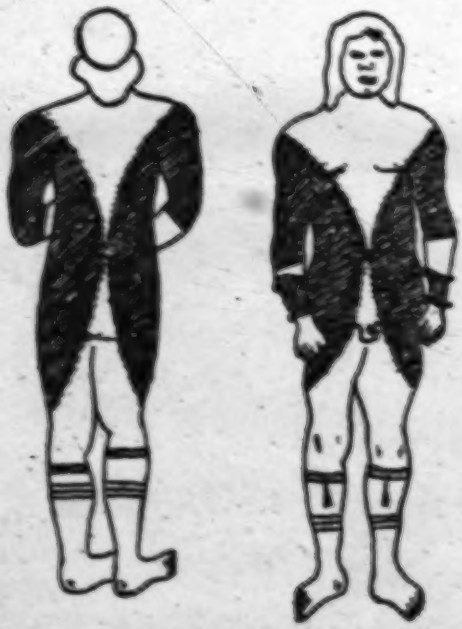

**Fig. 4 — Pintura do corpo masculino chankoaka.**

Algumas vêzes vi um Tapirapé cuja pintura consistia simplesmente em impressões da mão estendida distribuidas pelo corpo. Chamavam isso de *vuipapé*, palavra essa talvez composta de *vuitepe*: muito, e *pa*: mão.

Freqüentemente, os Tapirapé enegrecem as mãos de genipapo e orlam a boca com o mesmo material. Também na pintura *vuanghané* (fig. 2), o homem tem uma orla preta em tôrno da boca. Êste adôrno é igualmente usado pelos Karajá (cf. Krause *2* fig. 48 a).

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Fot. 5 — Os dançarinos do foto 4, estando à direita do Inamoreo (22) Pancheavi (75) e Manupauvynghoi (13).

Fot. 6 — Manavanghá (87) com tembetá de osso, e à sua esquerda Amayani (98).

O desenho de genipapo no lado interno da coxa dum homem (fig. 6) foi feito pela namorada no início das relações. Chamam-no *anampaí*, afirmando ser "peixe". Aplicam-no também nos braços.

Enquanto as mencionadas pinturas masculinas são usadas pelos homens depois da iniciação até o tempo em que deixam de participar das danças diurnas, o rapaz anda o ano inteiro que antecede o dia da festa da iniciação, com todo o corpo enegrecido

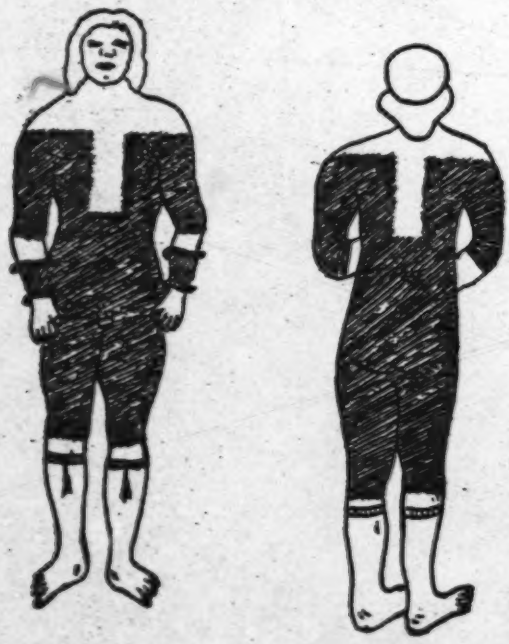

**Fig. 5 — Pintura do corpo masculino kananchahó.**

de genipapo. Observei o mesmo costume entre os Karajá. De acôrdo com o que viu o Rev. Kegel, o iniciando tapirapé, no dia da festa, tem um desenho de genipapo consistente em duas paralelas com pontos no meio e indo dos cantos da boca até as orelhas, da raiz do nariz até a sua ponta, da covinha da barba até o pomo de Adão, do ombro até o cotovelo tanto na parte anterior como na parte traseira de cada braço, dobradamente de ambas as metades do peito até pouco acima dos joelhos e, em simetria com isso, nas

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costas, sendo as extremidades dêstes últimos oito pares de paralelas com pontos no meio ligadas por um par de tais parelelas que passa no meio dos ombros e em tôrno da coxa.

A pasta de urucú foi aplicada, por esta ocasião, não só no cabelo do rapaz e nas suas pulseiras e joelheiras de algodão, como também na parte inferior de suas pernas e nos seus pés. Tais "meias" vermelhas são adôrno característico dos homens (fot. 68). Nunca vi mulher tapirapé pintada de urucú. Sòmente certas meninas tinham, às vêzes, desenhos de urucú no corpo, por exemplo Kanuana, menina mimada de oito anos (fot. 9). Os enfeites de algodão das meninas são também tingidos com esta matéria corante com a qual, aliás, é empastado o cabelo no dia em que acaba a primeira menstruação.

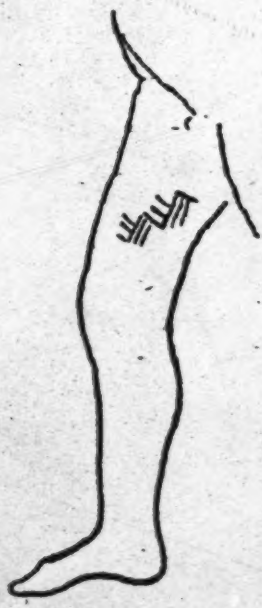

Fig. 6 — Desenho na coxa dum homem

Em geral são as mulheres as que pintam tanto as companheiras do próprio sexo como os filhos masculinos, namorados e maridos. Vi, porém, também um homem pintando uma menina.

As pinturas de genipapo assim como as de urucú são feitas simplesmente com as mãos, isto é, sem qualquer instrumento (fots. 7 e 8).

Autores há que consideram a aplicação do urucú sôbre a epiderme como proteção contra a ação actínica do sol e contra as picaduras dos insetos. Foi provado por experiências que uma das propriedades do urucú consiste em não absorver senão muito moderadamente o calor solar. Os pés e a parte inferior das pernas, isto é, os lugares onde, muitas vêzes, são postas as "meias" de urucú, representam, uma das regiões do nosso corpo mais expostas aos ataques de diversos insetos molestos. Convém, porém, fazer as seguintes objeções: 1). O urucú como pintura do corpo, apesar de ter vasta distribuição na América do Sul, é em pouquíssimas tribos usado para untar o corpo inteiro, sendo geralmente só aplicado em determinadas partes da pele; 2). Nas tribos que conhecemos, esta matéria corante não é usada todos os dias, mas sòmente por certas ocasiões; 3). Nestas ocasiões não untam de urucú todos os membros da tribo, mas sòmente determinadas pessoas; 4). Há

Fot. 7 — Mulher pintando o marido. O edifício é uma casa de verão. (fot. Frei Pedro Secondy, O. P.)

Fot. 8 — Mulher untando com urucú o pé do marido. (fot. Frei Pedro Secondy O. P.)

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tribos que preferem enegrecer a epiderme com o suco de genipapo em vez de untá-la com o oleoso urucú, apesar de terem abundância de ambas estas matérias corantes. E tal preferência não se explica pela seguinte frase de Gabriel Soares de Sousa (215) acêrca de genipapo: "Tem virtude esta tinta para fazer secar as bustelas das boubas aos índios, e a quem se cura com ela".

Melhor do que qualquer explicação racionalista dada por europeus etnocêntricos parece-me a suposição de ter tido a pintura do corpo, originalmente, finalidade mágica, finalidade essa que foi, em muitas tribos, esquecida no decorrer dos tempos. Entre as medidas de precaução tomadas pelo matador do pagé tapirapé e enumeradas por Wagley (4 16-17) figura também a pintura de todo o corpo com genipapo e a dos cabelos com urucú. Segundo o mesmo autor (ib. 11), certo pagé tapirapé pintava o peito e o queixo com urucú que representava o cauí de sangue saido da boca de espíritos da florestas. Razões mágicas explicarão, freqüentemente, também a preferência dada a determinada côr, preferência essa que, naturalmente, em muitos outros casos, é motivada por uma tradição de origem desconhecida, pela moda ou pelo gôsto individual.

Ao uso de urucú e genipapo entre os Tupi da costa aludem já as seguintes observações da carta de Pero Vaz de Caminha escrita em 1500: "E andavam lá outros, quartejados de côres, a saber metade dêles da sua própria côr, e metade de tintura preta, um tanto azulada; e (ainda) outros quartejados d'escaques". (p. 91). "Estava tinto de tintura vermelha pelos peitos e costas e pelos quadris, coxas e pernas até baixo, mas os vazios com a barriga e estômago eram de sua própria côr. E a tintura era tão vermelha que a água lha não comia nem desfazia". (p. 92). "Ali verieis galantes, pintados de preto e vermelho, e quartejados, assim pelos corpos como pelas pernas, que, certo, assim pareciam bem. Também andavam entre êles quatro ou cinco mulheres, novas, que assim nuas não pareciam mal. Entre elas andava uma, com uma coxa, do joelho até o quadril e a nádega, tôda tingida daquela tintura preta; e todo o resto da sua côr natural. Outra trazia ambos os joelhos com as curvas assim tintas, e também os colos dos pés". (p. 93).

Que a "tintura vermelha" era de urucú, evidenciam as seguintes frases do escrivão da frota de Cabral (ib. 95): "Alguns traziam uns ouriços verdes, d'árvores, que na côr queriam parecer de castanheiros, embora fossem muito mais pequenos. E estavam cheios de uns grãos vermelhos, pequeninos que, esmagando-os en-

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tre os dedos, se desfaziam na tinta muito vermelha de que andavam tingidos. E quanto mais se molhavam, tanto mais vermelhos ficavam".

O emprêgo de genipapo fica provável pelas palavras que seguem (ib.): "Trazem todos as testas, de fonte a fonte, tintas de tintura preta, que parece uma fita preta da largura de dous dedos". Comentando esta frase, diz Carolina Michãelis de Vasconcelos (ib. nota 44): "nesse caso é curioso que tam tarde o diga o Escrivão". Acho que o fato de Vaz de Caminha não ter feito tal observação ao descrever os primeiros encontros com os índios faz supôr a mencionada "fita preta" não ter sido tatuada, mas simplesmente pintada naquela ocasião. Esta suposição é corroborada pela informação de que a fita tinha "largura de dous dedos". Aparentemente, pois, tratava-se de pintura de genipapo, a "tinta" habitualmente usada pelos Tupi para tais fins.

Léry (99) acentua a importância do genipapo com as palavras seguintes: "Av surplus, nos Bresiliens se bigarrent souuent le corps de diuerses peintures & couleurs: mais sur tout ils se noircissent ordinairement si biẽ les cuisses & les iambes, du ius d'vn certain fruict qu'ils nomment *Genipat,* que vous iugeriez à les voir vn peu de loin de ceste façõ, qu'ils ont chaussez des chausses de prestre". Mais adiante (ib. 111) observa o mesmo autor quinhentista que as mulheres tupinambá não se pintam "si souuent les corps, les bras, les cuisses & les iambes que font les hommes".

Dos "mancebos" tupinambá da Bahia escreve Gabriel Soares de Sousa (369): "... pintam-se de lavores pretos que fazem com tinta de genipapo, e se tem damas, elas têm cuidado de os pintar". E acrescenta (ib.): "As moças também se pintam de tinta de genipapo, com muitos lavores, a seu modo, mui louçãos". No capítulo "em que se declara o com que se os Tupinambás fazem bizarros" (ib. 372) refere ainda o cronista português: "... para se fazerem mais feios se tingem todos de genipapo que parecem negros da Guiné, e tingem os pés de uma tinta vermelha muito fina, e as faces". E antes de matarem o cativo para comê-lo festivamente, "pintam-no a lugares de genipapo, e os pés com uma tinta vermelha ..." (ib. 397).

Alguns decênios mais tarde, isto é, em 1614, podia-se ler no livro de Claude d'Abbeville (257) que os Tupinambá do Maranhão, para defender-se do "ton" (bicho-de-pé, *Tunga penetrans,* L., em tapirapé *tongá*), "se seruet d'huille de Palme & de *Roucou* ou *Ouroucou* qui est vne teinture rouge (ainsi que nous auons dit) dont ils s'en frottent les orteils & autres parties où cette vermine s'adresse comunemet".

Yves d'Évreux (112), confrade e coevo dêste capuchinho, escreve acêrca dos mesmos índios: "Ils se frottent d'huyles de *Palmes*, de *Rocon* & de *Iunipape*, qui sont choses qui les tiennent en bone disposition".

Frei Vicente de Salvador (38) observa a respeito das mulheres tupinambá: "Nas festas se tingem tôdas de janipapo, de modo que, se não é no cabelo, parecem negras de Guiné, e da mesma tinta pintam os maridos". No dizer dêste franciscano (ib. 40), a viuva, por dó, "tinge-se tôda de janipapo" e torna "a tingir-se de janipapo, pera tirar o dó" e "o marido, quando lhe morre a mulher, também se tinge de janipapo, e quando tira o dó se torna a tingir".

Krause (*2* 214) recebeu a informação de que também os Karajá, estando de luto, pintam de genipapo o rosto e o corpo inteiro. Não viu, porém, êste costume. Segundo o mesmo autor (ib.), na pintura destes índios não há diferenças entre os sexos, a não ser, talvez, que os homens usam mais do que as mulheres as pinturas que enchem inteiramente grandes partes da pele. Krause indica como razão desta diferença o fato de os homens estarem mais ao ar livre do que as mulheres com sua vida essencialmente caseira. Tal motivação não me parece satisfatória. Extremamente importantes, porém, são os dados acêrca da igualdade da pintura em ambos os sexos, pois nisso os Karajá se distinguem radicalmente dos Tapirapé apesar de certas semelhanças de suas pinturas com as dêstes últimos, representadas nas figuras 2, 4 e 5, e não obstante ambas as tribos terem o costume de aplicar desenhos no lado interior da coxa (cf. Krause *2* 215). Aliás, também os três dêstes desenhos representados por Krause (ib. fig. 45) diferem do desenho tapirapé que encontrei (fig. 6).

Digno de nota é, além disso, êsse autor não mencionar dos Karajá o uso das "meias" de urucú tão características dos homens tapirapé. Por outro lado, êle o refere dos Kayapó (ib. 386). Karl von den Steinen (*1* 172) encontrou numa aldeia bakairí do rio Batovi um Kustenaú com o pé e a metade da parte da perna entre a coxa e o pé pintadas de vermelho "à guisa de meias". Mas "meias" desta espécie, ainda que mais "curtas", são usadas, também, por tribos karaib que moram bem longe da bacia do Xingú, pois Koch-Grünberg (*2* III 40) diz com referência aos Taulipáng e seus vizinhos: "Em geral, os pés até os tornozelos são pintados sòmente de vermelho".

Escreve Krause (*2* 214) que os Karajá, pintando o corpo, reservam geralmente a côr vermelha aos homens e adolescentes, e a preta aos meninos e raparigas. Acrescenta (ib.): "Só uma única vez foi vista u'a mulher pintada inteiramente de vermelho". Quero

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observar a êsse respeito, porém, que no tocante às nossas fazendas como artigos de permuta, os Karajá, em 1935, destinavam as de côr vermelha exclusivamente para serem usadas pelas mulheres, vestindo-se os homens com as de outras côres, por exemplo, brancas e verdes. Talvez já tivessem aprendido dos brancos que homem não se veste de vermelho. Uma pessoa como o Tapirapé Kamairahó que tinha menos convivência com os chamados civilizados do que os Karajá, trajava, naquele tempo, escondendo os seus encantos sob um vestido de mulher, uma fazenda originalmente vermelha e, pode-se dizer, ainda vermelha apesar do uso diário durante semanas a fio.

Considerando ainda o que Krause (ib. 386) refere dos Kayapó do norte, e o que von den Steinen (*2* 184-188) menciona dos índios da parte superior da bacia do Xingú, pode-se dizer em resumo que os Tapirapé, acêrca da pintura do rosto e do corpo, distinguem-se consideràvelmente dos vizinhos, embora tenham certas semelhanças em pinturas do tronco com os Karajá e em "meias" vermelhas com os Kaiapó e xinguanos. Digno de nota é o fato de tais "meias" terem sido usadas também pelos Tupinambá.

Pelo que vi, os Tapirapé colam penugem (*ovió, oviú*) principalmente nos braços e pernas de crianças. A menina Ampitánia estava freqüentemente enfeitada desta maneira. Mas também adultos em certa máscara usam frouxel branco colado no braço (fot. 70). Na festa da iniciação, o adolescente tem frouxel branco colado na testa, nos braços, no tronco e nas coxas com exceção das nádegas. Para colar serve uma resina (*ykyryve* em tapirapé) usada por ambos os sexos na unção do corpo e cabelo. Depois de pilada, é misturada com óleo (*chonŷ*) de amendoim.

Métraux (*2* 156) apresenta cartogràficamente a distribuição do costume de se colar penas na cabeça e no corpo entre os índios sul-americanos, observando a respeito (ib. 129): "... cette carte a été dressée pour prouver la vaste diffusion de ce mode d'ornementation qui n'appartient en propre à aucune couche de civilisation déterminée". Faltam, nesse mapa, não sòmente os Tapirapé, como também os Guayaki e os Karajá. Krause (*2* 239) escreve acêrca dêstes últimos: "De vez em quando, crianças pequenas têm o tronco, do mesmo modo como os braços e as pernas, coberto de frouxel branco e fixado mediante resina clara. Uma criança usava tal penugem no braço e nas barrigas-da-perna". Os mesmos índios colam frouxel branco também nos cadáveres (cf. ib. 330).

Referindo-se aos Kayapó do norte, Krause (ib. 385) observa: "Por ocasião de certas dansas colam com resina frouxel branco no corpo inteiro..." Kissenberth (*1* 51 fig. 12) representa um dançador

Fot. 11 — O começo do fabrico da **tamankurá**.
(fot. Frei Pedro Secondy, O. P.).

Fot. 12 — Pondo a **tamankurá** no tornozelo da menina.
(fot. Frei Pedro Secondy, O. P. ).

da aldeia dos mesmos índios situada no ribeirão do Pau d'arco. Colaram-lhe na cabeça frouxéis duma espécie de abutre, e nas faces caxcas enniçadas de ovos de jaú.

Tribos xinguanas não figuram no mapa de Métraux, mas sim os Boróro visitados em 1888 por von den Steinen. Ainda os padres Colbacchini e Albisetti, na sua monografia sôbre os Boróro Orientais, observam a respeito (62): "Um .... modo de se enfeitarem consiste em cobrir o corpo com uma resina viscosa — *kiddogure*. Sôbre o *kiddogure*, assim espalhado no corpo, aplicam penas de periquitos, de patos e de passarinhos. As crianças, jovens e homens cobrem dêsse modo todo o corpo, exceto a face; outras vêzes cobrem sòmente as partes simétricas, ou zonas tão pequenas que parecem manchas; muitas vêzes emplumam só as espáduas, os quadris e os braços. Talvez representem, assim enfeitados, uma alma, ou melhor, um antepassado". (Cf. ibidem as figuras nas páginas 108, 162, 163, 344, 352 e 392).

Dos Tupi indicados no citado mapa convém mencionar os Tembé descritos por Barbosa Rodrigues (*I* 43) no seu "Relatório sôbre o rio Capim", os Oyampi da Guiana e os antigos Tupinambá. No dizer de Gabriel Soares de Sousa (397), êstes últimos, preparando a cerimônia da antropofagia, "untam o cative todo com mel de abelhas, e por cima dêste mel o empenam todo com penas de côres". Simão de Vasconcellos (pág. LXXX), descrevendo o matador em função na mesma festa, observa: "Vem vestidos a mil maravilhas, de penas assentadas em bálsamo, todo em contôrno, desde a cabeça até os pés". O snr. F. C. Mayntzhusen me contou que o Guayaki, no duelo, tem frouxel colado no rosto e no corpo (cf. Baldus 9 149 e Métraux and Baldus). Segundo Soares de Sousa (402), antes de enterrarem "algum principal da aldeia", os Tupinambá "o untam com mel todo, e por cima do mel o empenam com penas de pássaros de côres". Esta informação é repetida com as mesmas palavras por Vicente de Salvador (39).

Ornamentos de penas maiores são usados pelos Tapirapé geralmente só em festividades. Mas o Tapirapé Kanchuvani, quando o convidei para ir comigo ao Araguaia, mostrou-me as grandes penas de arara vermelha que êle queria pôr na cabeça ao chegarmos às aldeias dos Karajá. São as mais estimadas tanto na sua própria tribo como na dêsses habitantes do grande rio. Nunca as vi usadas pelos Tapirapé fora de tais ocasiões. Entre os Karajá e Boróro, porém, observei, às vêzes, um ou outro indivíduo que tinha na cabeça algum ornato de penas, sem que isso significasse a preparação para uma dança ou qualquer outra solenidade. É verdade que não eram as magestosas rodas do occipício daqueles remeiros do Araguaia.

nem o *porão* dos caçadores da Chapada mato-grossense, mas enfeites bem menores. Entre os Bororo, a diversidade de penas distingue associações por parentesco. No tocante aos Karajá explica Krause (*2* 231): "Os casados não têm adornos de plumas, ao passo que a mocidade os possue abundantemente, ainda que os usa raramente". Os adornos mais usados são toucas de plumas (meninos), colares de miçangas, anéis digitais e cintos de algodão com penas pendentes. Parece que todos os outros enfeites são empregados sòmente em danças festas, etc., ficando fora destas ocasiões guardados cuidadosamente nos elegantes e alongados cestos de tampa. A mocidade feminina só usa colares e anéis digitais, tendo as meninas também touca de penas e braceletes emplumados. Uma menina de nove a onze anos usava touca de penas, rosetas auriculares de côr vermelha, borlas pretas para a nuca guarnecidas de conchas de caracóis, braceletes emplumados e atados atrás dos canhões vermelhos do pulso, tanga cinzenta de entrecasca em cima da cinta preta e, além disso, longa saia de cordas pretas e ligas de panturrilha (prancha 18)".

Com referência aos índios da parte superior da bacia do Xingú escreve von den Steinen (*2* 329): "Com exceção de pluma ocasionalmente posta na orelha, — sobretudo entre os Bakairí, — todo o adôrno de penas é só para ocasiões solenes, inclusive para a recepção festiva do hóspede".

Máxima importância para os Tapirapé tem a roda cefálica de penas. Referindo-se a seu emprêgo na cerimônia do Trovão, escreve Wagley (*4* 33-34): "... cada homem, ao realizar o circuito cerimonial, usou um ornamento de cabeça bem elaborado — o *ahuagitéua*. Êsse ornamento enfurece o Trovão e atrae suas criaturas sôbre o portador. Sem exceção, todos aquêles que usaram o *ahuagitéua*, mesmo Panteri e Urukumã, demonstraram verdadeiro medo e caíram inconscientes ante as fôrças do Trovão. Antes de um homem usar o ornamento de cabeça, um pagé movia-o lentamente diante de seus olhos. Colocava-lhe o ornamento sôbre a cabeça, soprando fumaça por entre as penas, para aliviar um pouco do terrível "calor". Quando usou o *ahuagitéua*, Urukumã já estava cambaleando, vacilante, ao deixar a primeira casa do círculo. Teve então que ser guiado e amparado por dois jóvens. Antes de completar o circuito da aldeia, foi possuído por um transe, que me pareceu mais violento que os comuns aos mais jóvens. Seu corpo estava rígido quando foi carregado para completar o círculo de casas que faltavam, até a casa do sudoeste, onde foi tratado por Panteri. Do mesmo modo, êste foi derrotado e derrubado ao usar o ornamento. Durante seu transe cantou trechos de uma canção, e, ao voltar a si, disse ter viajado à casa do Trovão. Mais tarde, Pan-

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Fot. 9 — Kanuana (6), pintada de urucú, tendo **tamankurá** de menina nos tornozelos.

Fot. 10 — **Tamankurá** nos antebraços dum moço.

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Fot. 14-a — Tamaskwá - Jurretaiwa.

Fot. 15 — Tamaskwá para o filho futuro.

Fot. 14-b — Tamaskwá para os antebraços.

teri relatou-me suas experiências durante o transe. Traduzida livremente, sua história é a seguinte: "Comi muita fumaça e tornei a fumar ainda. Cantei, vi um grande sol que se aproximou de mim e desapareceu. Vi muitos sóis pequenos. Êles aproximaram-se e distanciaram-se. Eu vi o Trovão. Era pequeno e veio numa pequena canoa. Era um filho do Trovão (*Topi*). Usava um pequeno ornamento de cabeça, feito de penas de arara vermelha. Tinha um pequeno tembetá. Tentei arrancar-lhe o tembetá (dêste modo Panteri vencerá o *Topi*), mas êle deixou a casa. Então, tudo escureceu (Panteri não derrotara o *Topi*, e conseqüentemente êste o havia atingido com uma flecha). Vi muitos sóis. Viajei, cantando enquanto andava. Andei três dias e subi num grande morro, no outro lado do Araguaia. É de lá que o sol se levanta. Vi o Trovão; é grande; o seu corpo é coberto de cabelo branco. Tem muitas penas de arara vermelha. Vi muitas almas de pagés e *Topi* próximo dêle. Não falei, e voltei depressa". Mais tarde, acrescentou que se tivesse tocado o maracá do Trovão, ficaria no além-mundo: teria morrido. Alguns noviços, e raríssimos leigos, usaram o *ambaapitéwa*, maravilhando o povo com sua coragem. Contudo a maioria dos homens tapirapé não teve a coragem de usá-lo. O ornamento da cabeça também aumenta o perigo nas fases vesperais da cerimônia, durante o terceiro e quarto dia. No auge da excitação, quando era aparente que os dois poderosos pagés tinham avistado criaturas do Trovão, Panteri apanhou o *ambaapitéwa* que estava pendente de um esteio, e agitou-o no ar, ameaçando e desafiando aquêles inimigos. Foi imediatamente alcançado por um *pancká-téwawa*. Urukumá tomou o *ambaapitéwa*, caindo também inconsciente, e com êle todos os participantes".

Já mencionei serem as penas de arara vermelha as mais estimadas pelos Tapirapé. Elas formam a parte essencial da roda do occipício. Wagley (ib. nota 30) observa a respeito: "Penas de arara vermelha são quentes como fogo, disseram os Tapirapé; o sol é quente porque usa um grande ornamento de cabeça feito de penas vermelhas. Êsse calor atrai sempre o sobrenatural. Os Tapirapé disseram-me que um ataque de malária que eu sofrera, fôra causado por eu ter deixado um ornamento de cabeça, feito de penas de arara vermelha, pendurado em minha casa".

O ornato de penas usado na cerimônia do Trovão não toca diretamente na cabeça, quando atado nela, mas fica afastado por meio dum cavilete muito especial (cf. ib. fig. 1). As reproduções no citado trabalho (ib. figs. 1-9) não revelam detalhes da construção da roda e fixação das penas. A armação (fot. 15) que adquiri em Tampinima, era da roda cerílica chamada *angkyapkrenahé*,

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isto é, com o mesmo nome que Wagley escreve *ashangitéu* e o acréscimo do sufixo aumentativo *ko*. Tiras de 1 a 1,5 cm. de largura, obtidas do talo de folha de buriti, são dobradas transversalmente de tal maneira que uma extremidade sobressai por cêrca de 3 a 4 cm. (cf. fig. 19). A parte sobressalente de tôdas as tiras está ao mesmo lado ao serem estas enfiadas com a dobra numa corda torcida para a direita e composta de quatro fios de fibra vegetal torcidos para a esquerda. A posição semicircular da corda coloca as tiras em forma irradiante. No exemplar em questão (fot. 15), as dobras são tão apertadas uma contra a outra e até uma em cima da outra, que a periferia do semicírculo circundado por elas tem 27 cm. Para conservá-las assim, a corda tem, nas extremidades do semicírculo, nós que não deixam escapar as tiras. Na distância de 13 a 15 cm. das dobras começa a envoltura das tiras por cordéis torcidos para a esquerda e compostos de dois fios de algodão fiados para a direita, estando os cordéis em paralelismo, bem juntos e tingidos de pardo-escuro. A envoltura ocupa 7,5 a 9 cm. das partes mais compridas das tiras, partes essas cujo comprimento varia entre 28 e 30 cm. Ao lado das partes mais curtas das tiras, ela é revestida de barro cinzento claro. As tiras são presas por ela de maneira que suas extremidades ficam numa distância de alguns milímetros uma da outra, o que, junto com o aperto das dobras já mencionado, produz a forma semicircular lembrando a figura na qual os Tapirapé imaginam e representam certos *ewchinga*, isto é, "sombras" ou espíritos. A periferia da armação tem 135 cm. e a largura total é de 70 cm. A envoltura consiste em 112 cordéis dos quais cada quatro formam unidade. Esta unidade é o resultado de dois pares de cordéis envolverem alternadamente as tiras em ambos os lados, envolvendo-se a si mesmos alternadamente depois de cada um dêsses envolvimentos comuns duma tira. Esta penetração recíproca e alternada de ambos os pares de cordéis, ficando cada par sempre composto dos mesmos dois cordéis, é produzida pelo sin dos cordéis de um par se cruzarem ao serem envolvidos pelos cordéis do outro par. Como irregularidade ocorre o cruzamento duplo dos cordéis de um par entre dois pontos de cruzamento normais dos cordéis do outro par. Ambos os pares são unidos num nó, depois de terem envolvido uma vez cada uma das tiras. O seu ponto-de-partida na outra extremidade da envoltura era também um nó, de modo que a envoltura tem, portanto, 28 nós em cada uma de suas extremidades. Os cordéis têm ainda 3 a 4 cm. além dêsses nós, com exceção dos cordéis unidos nos quatro nós extremos de cada lado. Este últimos cordéis vão, numa das extremidades da envoltura, uma trinta

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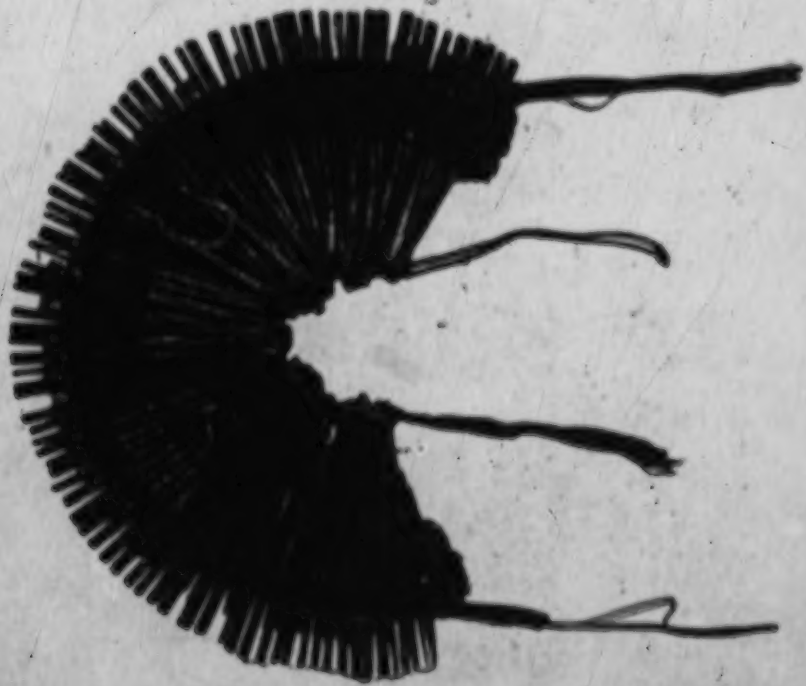
Pl. 10 — Coroa de cabas de cipó.



Pl. 11 — Armação de sólido cabelo de pesar pacigas.

cm. além dos nós, e na outra um pouco mais de 11 cm. Cada unidade de quatro dêles é torcida para formar uma corda, ao passo que os outros cordéis não estão unidos nos 3 a 4 cm. além dos nós. As tiras, quando conservam sua curvatura natural, formam, dobradas, um vácuo em cuja abertura é metida a grande pena caudal da arara vermelha. As penas que, assim, perfazem o imponente ornato, são guardadas num entremó de taguaraçi enquanto não usadas. O exemplar da armação descrita e representada aqui era o único que encontrei em Tampiitáua. Estava em poder de Maninohó. Não conheço, pela literatura, objéto semelhante, nem dos Karajá e Kayapó, nem de outros índios. E ignoro se coisa parecida com o "cavalete" cefálico dos Tapirapé representado por Wagley exista em qualquer tribo.

O Rev. Kegel descreveu-me a roda do occipício que viu usada na festa da iniciação, como sendo um disco de madeira enegrecida de genipapo, de cêrca de 15 cm. de diâmetro e 2 cm. de grossura, levando três círculos concêntricos de penas dispostas em forma irradiante. O círculo interior consistia em penas de pato verde-pretas e recortadas, o médio em penas brancas de jaburú, e o extremo em penas caudais de arara vermelha. O cabelo do iniciando, reunido em rabicho, passava por um buraco no meio do disco.

Segundo Krause (*2* 234), a roda do occipício karajá (*lahidó*) é enfeite festivo freqüentemente usado pela mocidade masculina. Seus cinco componentes são a roda de penas, o anel de entrecasca, a fita testeira, as penas frontais e a chapa em forma de ferradura. Esta última consiste ou em tiras de taquara reunidas por cordéis de algodão, ou em madeira, como o exemplar procedente da aldeia da foz do Tapirapé (ib. 236 e prancha 49, fig. 5), que, por êste material e pela sua proveniência, talvez indique algum parentesco com o disco descrito pelo Rev. Kegel. Na sua totalidade, porém, tanto as rodas do occipício dos Karajá como os dos Javahé e Kayapó, descritas e representadas por Krause (ib. 234-237, 356-357, 379-380 *y* pranchas 49, 50, 59, 60, 64) distinguem-se pela armação e composição de penas, de tudo que conhecemos dos Tapirapé a êsse respeito. O mesmo se dá com os ornamentos irradiantes de cabeça usados pelos habitantes da parte superior da bacia do Xingú (cf. von den Steinen *2* prancha VII: Danças da rede-de-pescar dos Nahuquá), pelos Bororo (ib. prancha I e fig. 133; Colbacchini e Albisetti 63 e 65), pela tribo tupi dos Parintintin do Madeira (*Métraux 2* fig. 20) e pelos Tupinambá (ib. fig. 12; Staden f 4, o 4; Léry 214, 246).

No dizer de Simão de Vasconcellos (pág. LXXX), o matador do cativo na cerimônia de antropofagia tupinambá "vem a cabeça coroada com um diadema vermelho acesso, cór de guerra",

o que parece estar de acôrdo com a representação dessa cerimônia numa xilogravura de Léry (214) e, no tocante à côr, com as seguintes palavras do mesmo autor (ib. 101): "...ils lient & arrengèt des plumes d'aisles d'oiseaux incarnates, rouges, & d'autres couleurs, desquelles ils font des fronteaux, assez resemblans quant à la façon, aux cheueux vrais ou faux, qu'on appelle raquettes ou ratepenades: dont les dames & damoiselles de France, & d'autres pays de deçà depuis quelque temps se sont si bien accõmodees: & diroit on qu'elles on eu ceste inuẽtion de nos sauuages, lesquels appellent cest engin *Yrempremb*".

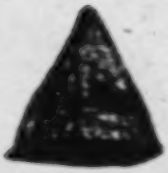
Vi, pendurado na parede da casa-dos-homens em Tampiitáua, um grande disco semi-circular de madeira com pequenos buracos no meio. Os Tapirapé mostraram-me que estes buracos eram para os olhos, servindo o disco, provido dum mosáico de plumas e duma roda de penas de arara, como máscara de dança (fot. 70). Infelizmente, porém, não tive ensejo de observar a função peculiar desta máscara que se distingue tanto das outras máscaras tapirapé como das dos Karajá (cf. Krause 2 prancha 20), não se assemelhando tão pouco às máscaras de madeira, trançado e tecido encontradas por von den Steinen (2 figs. 94-118) entre as tribos xinguanas.

Munidas de penas são também as máscaras cilíndricas dos Tapirapé (fot. 72). Nas danças diurnas dêstes índios, certos participantes masculinos têm uma ou algumas penas caudais de arara amarradas verticalmente no occipício (fot. 5). Em tais ocasiões foi usado também o adôrno auricular (fot. 21) que adquiri em Tampiitáua e passo a descrever: Numa corda de algodão torcida para a direita e consistente em dois cordéis torcidos para a esquerda que, por sua vez, são formados de dois fios fiados para a direita, atam-se dois cordéis torcidos para a esquerda e consistentes em dois fios fiados para a direita. Dobram cada um dêstes dois cordéis no meio e colocam-no de tal maneira na corda que fica a um lado um laço, havendo ao outro lado as duas extremidades soltas. Estas, estão, são passadas pelo laço e esticadas, produzindo assim o nó da atadura. Cada uma delas, depois de ter passado por um coquinho perfurado, serve para atar três ou quatro penas caudais do japú verde (Ostinops viridis) que são amarelas com manchas pretas, tendo até 9 cm. de comprimento. Se gura-as na parte inferior e sua do canhão, parte cuja ponta é dobrada para êsse fim. Quando colocam a corda sôbre a testa, enrolando-a no occipício, as penas cobrem as orelhas. Os fios todos são tingidos de genipapo.

Segundo von den Steinen (2 328), os Bakairí usam como adôrno auricular as penas amarelas do "*Cazirwa*", isto é, do ja-

Fot. 17 Fot. 18

Fot. 19-a



Fot. 19-b

Fot. 20

Fot. 21

Fot. 23

Fot. 22

Fot. 17 — Tembetá de osso de veado. Fot. 18 — Tembetá de osso de porco-do-mato. Fot. 19-a — Tembetás de madeira. Fot. 19-b — Matéria prima de tembetás de madeira. Fot. 20 — Batajos pequenos. Fot. 21 — Adôrno auricular. Fot. 22 — Faquinha de latão. Fot. 23 — Escarificador.

pim ou checheu que, como o japú, pertence à família *Icterídeos*. A madeira de segurar estas penas difere, porém, completamente da dos Tapirapé. Por outro lado, os Karajá e Kayapó amarram freqüentemente algumas penas, com a parte inferior do canhão dobrada, em fios passados por um fruto (cf. Krause *2* 301, 399 e figs. 158 e 257), mas, pelo que se pode deduzir do livro de Krause (ib.), não tem adôrno auricular parecido com a espécie do enfeite tapirapé acima descrita.

Segundo me contou o Rev. Kegel, o adolescente tapirapé, na festa da iniciação, tem ao redor do pescoço duas fitas de algodão, de três centímetros de largura, que na frente pendem até em baixo dos joelhos e, nas costas, até em baixo dos jarretes. Acabam em borlas sob as quais está uma casca de coquinho com a abertura para baixo e rodeada de pequenas penas peitorais da arara vermelha. Em cada braço tem uma corda de algodão na qual estão penduradas cinco destas cascas com tais pluminhas vermelhas.

Em resumo: os adornos de penas dos Tapirapé são não só diferentes daqueles dos Karajá, Javahé e Kayapó visitados por Krause (*2* passim), dos habitantes da parte superior da bacia do Xingú (von den Steinen *2* 328), dos Boróro (Colbacchini e Albisetti passim), da tribo tupi dos Urubú (Lopes *2* passim) e dos Tupinambá (Métraux *2* 130-148), mas também muito menos numerosos em exemplares e espécies do que os produtos da arte plumária de todos êsses outros índios. Talvez seja esta escassês uma das conseqüências das grandes epidemias, pois o morto é enterrado com todos os seus enfeites de penas. Além disso, os Tapirapé, pelo modo de vida de lavradores e índios da mata, têm menos oportunidade de prover-se da matéria prima para tais adornos do que tribos de índole mais venatória que habitam rios e outras paisagens de avifauna abundante.

Ao modo dos antigos Tupinambá (Léry 159, os Tapirapé guardam as grandes penas de arara em entrenós de taquaruçú (*ewananá*). Krause (*2* 299 e 373) não menciona dos Karajá e Kayapó canudos usados para êsse fim, nem eu os vi entre os primeiros.

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# OS TAPIRAPE

## Tribo tupi no Brasil Central

(Especial para a "REVISTA DO ARQUIVO")

HERBERT BALDUS

(Continuação)

Encontrei um único exemplar de uma coroa de unhas de onça em Tampilítãna (fot. 16). Pertencia a Maninohó que o usava apenas por ocasião de determinadas dansas diurnas (fot. 4). Seu nome era simplesmente *champumnohó ppempé*, "unha de onça". Consistia num anel de madeira de até 1 cm. de largura e 20 cm. de diâmetro, envôlto em fio de algodão, enegrecido de genipapo e carvão. Êsse fio não sòmente conserva fechado o anel, mas também prende 14 unhas de onça colocadas tôdas com as pontas na mesma direção. Não conhecemos semelhante adôrno entre os vizinhos imediatos. Mas os Boróro Orientais possuem coroas de unhas de onça que diferem da de Maninohó só por formarem em vez de um círculo completo uma espécie de semicírculo cujas extremidades são ligadas por cordéis fáceis de atar e desatar (cf. von den Steinen 2 479 e fig. 136; Colbacchini e Albisetti 58). Colares de unhas de onça foram encontrados por von den Steinen (1, quadro etnológico I, 10; 2 198 e fig. 5) entre os Bakairi e Anetô.

O emprêgo de flores como adôrno de cabeça é raro entre os índios sul-americanos. Observei-o uma única vez em Tampilítãna. Iravuy, homem casado de 26 anos, voltou, certa vez, da mata com um ramalhete na mão; ao entrar na aldeia, encontrou Ampitânia no caminho e deu-lhe as flores; esta, uma menina de 4 a 5 anos, amarrou-as imediatamente no cabelo. Karl von den Steinen (2 184) estranha que ninguém entre as tribos da bacia do Xingú, em contraste com os polinesianos, se enfeite de flores. Mas doze anos depois, isto é, em 1899, Meyer (2 127) fica surpreendido na mesma região, mais exatamente, no rio Culiseu, quando depara alguns Anetô com flores no cabelo. Eu mesmo observei entre os Chamakoko do Chaco o costume de colocar flores, em geral vermelhas, no cabelo e no lóbulo da orelha perfurada (cf. Baldus 1 29).

Também os Tapirapé do sexo masculino têm os lóbulos da orelha perfurados. Fui informado que entre êles, a mãe, na ma-

drugada seguinte ao parto, faz êsses orifícios com a agulha óssea usada para o fabrico dos adornos de algodão chamados *tamankurá*. Introduzem nos orifícios pedacinhos de madeira de tucum ou de taquari que alcançam no iniciando 2 cm de comprimento. Enquanto entre os Tupinamba, segundo os antigos cronistas, também as mulheres tinham perfuradas as orelhas (cf. Métraux 2 170), tal fato não foi visto por von den Stein em nenhuma das tribos do Culiseu (2 180). Lá, como entre os Tapirapé, êsse costume restringia-se aos homens, constituindo o adôrno, porém, exclusivamente em penas. O mesmo autor (ib.) acrescenta: "Perfuram a orelha do menino na época em que começa a exercitar-se com arco e flecha de pequeno formato".

Entre os Karajá e Kayapó do norte, porém, a orelha é perfurada, segundo Krause (2 224 e 378), "logo depois do nascimento", sendo a operação executada, entre os primeiros, pela mãe ou "pelo parente (tio)" com um osso de macaco ou uma lasca de tucum. Mas ambas estas tribos diferem dos Tapirapé e das tribos do Culiseu pelo fato do uso de adôrno auricular não se limitar a um sexo só. Além disso, tais enfeites entre os Karajá variam com a idade, ao passo que, entre os Kayapó, não são mais usados pelos adultos. O adôrno auricular dos Karajá composto de dentes de capivara rodeados de penas, em rosetas de finas plumas e em compridas varetas (ib. 224-226, figs. 63-67), distingue-se tanto do dos Tapirapé como o dos Kayapó que consiste em roletes e cilindros de madeira e em varetas com discos de concha e enfeites de penas (ib. 378-379 e fig. 3). E' verdade, porém, que vi, entre os Karajá, homens com pedacinhos de taquari nas orelhas à moda dos Tapirapé, pedacinhos êsses que não eram tão compridos como as varetas mostradas por Krause (ib., prancha 42, fig. 1; prancha 43, fig. 1; prancha 44, fig. 2). Mas também êste autor observa (ib 226) que os jóvens Karajá preferem varetas compridas, ao passo que os velhos só usam mais curtas.

Em resumo pode-se dizer que, no tocante ao adôrno auricular e aos traços culturais com êle relacionados, os Tapirapé diferem consideràvelmente tanto de todos os vizinhos conhecidos a êsse respeito, como também dos antigos Tupinambá.

Como a perfuração das orelhas, também a do beiço inferior se restringe, entre os habitantes de Tampiitáma, ao sexo masculino, sendo, no dizer dêles, igualmente feita pela mãe, com agulha óssea, na madrugada seguinte ao parto. O Tapirapé não possue um têrmo para designar genèricamente os objetos introduzidos no orifício artificial do lábio, que variam conforme a idade. Quando que se referir ao adôrno labial sem especificá-lo, diz simplesmente *emekuanã* (*emeguana*, *temekuana*) ou, no tocante a meninos pequenos, *emekuanã* sendo *emé* o lábio inferior (*cheremé*: meu lábio inferior), *kuana* o buraco, e *ã* o diminutivo (*kuanã*: buraquinho). De fato, o orifício no beiço duma criança é bem menor do que o de um adulto como Kamairá (fot. 57). Introduzem nele um osso até a época de cortar o cabelo do iniciando, crescendo com a idade do portador (fot. 3, 6, 25, 28, 61). Assim, um menino de cêrca de cinco anos usou um osso de porco-do-mato, de 9,5 cm de comprimento e 2 a 4 mm de largura, tendo a peça transversal 8 mm de largura (fot. 18). Um rapazinho de 8 a 10 anos tinha um osso de veado, de 25 cm de comprimento e 3 a

5 de diâmetro, com uma peça transversal de 1 cm de largura (fot. 17). Também ossos de ema serviam aos meninos de adôrno labial. O osso é introduzido passando a ponta do lado interior do lábio para fora, de modo que a peça transversal fica dentro da boca para segurar o pingente.

Quando, um ano antes da festa da iniciação, cortam o cabelo do rapaz, o osso de veado é substituido pelo botão de madeira usado pelos homens (fot. 19 a). Alguns dêsses botões trazem embutido um dente de tapiti (*Sylvilagus minensis*, em tapirapé: *tampichi*) (fot. 55). O botão com dente, da fotografia 19-a tem 8 a 10 mm de diâmetro e 6 mm de comprimento total, isto é, 4 mm na parte de madeira e 2 mm pela parte sobressalente do dente; a peça para segurar o botão tem 2 cm de largura. Os botões são feitos das excrescências pontudas do tronco duma árvore chamada de *tanchimoyva* em tapirapé, tendo o material representado (fot. 19-b) 25 mm de comprimento e 15 a 25 mm de largura.

Na própria festa da iniciação, porém, e só neste grande dia, o rapaz usa um adôrno ao qual caberia com direito o nome tupi de *tembetá*, formado de *tembé*: lábio inferior, e *itá*: pedra. Com êste nome se costuma designar todo o objeto duro e inflexível que os índios do Brasil introduzem no furo artificial do beiço inferior, com excéção do botoque que se distingue do tembetá,

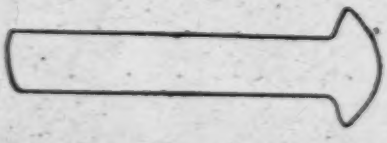

Figura 7

pela forma e pelo tamanho (cf. Baldus e Willems 33-34 e 218). E' verdade que os Tapirapé ignoram também essa denominação, falando só em *itachinga*, "pedra branca", quando mostram aquêle enfeite de quartzo. Fui informado por êles que a matéria prima é encontrada, "em grande número", num regato que chamam *Tochypiá* e que dista muitas jornadas para o noroeste de Tamplitáua, estando perto de Moytáua, aldeia tapirapé abandonada em 1932. O exemplar visto por mim (fig. 7) tinha 9,5 cm. de comprimento total e 4,5 cm de circunferência na parte delgada, tendo a parte grossa 10,5 cm de circunferência e 3,5 cm. de diâmetro. Era o único exemplar existente em Tamplitáua, e Kamairabé em cujo poder êle se achava, não o queria dar-me por preço algum, fato êste que bem revela a importância dêste adôrno na vida da tribo. Como o tembetá já não estava mais completo, pedi ao índio Kanió que me demonstrasse a maneira de usá-lo. Evidenciou-se, então, que a parte mais grossa fica fora da boca, pois Kanió revestiu a outra extremidade com cera, introduzindo êste anexo mole no orifício do beiço (fot. 2).

No capítulo IV mencionei as notícias dadas por João Manuel de Menezes, Aristides de Souza Spinola, Fritz Krause e Wilhelm Kissenberth acêrca da existência de tembetás tapirapé entre os

Karajá. O exemplar que Kissenberth (2 72 e fig. 15) obteve dêstes índios e representa em tamanho natural, tem quase o mesmo comprimento do fragmento visto por mim em Tampiitáua, isto é, 8,6 cm., sendo também incompleto. Distingue-se dêle, porém, por faltar-lhe a extremidade convexa e alargada em forma de botão, e não a parte que segura. Esta parte tem o formato de um T, isto é, uma peça transversal como o têm os enfeites de osso acima mencionados. Sua largura é de 27 mm. A parte delgada do tembetá tem no ponto em que começa a engrossar-se para formar a peça transversal, uma largura de 14 mm.

Ehrenreich (1 10-11 e fig. 2-a), na sua monografia sôbre os Karajá, representa um exemplar completo, observando a respeito: "O adôrno labial mais precioso, só usado em ocasiões festivas e em outro tempo guardado cuidadosamente envolto em algodão, é um comprido e pesado tembetá (*manutere*) de hialita ou quartzo rosado cujo cabo em forma de T é introduzido no beiço inferior, pendendo para baixo o botão cônico. O maior dos quatro exemplares da coleção tem 17,5 cm. de comprimento. Os karajá não fabricam essas pedras labiais, mas obtem-nas dos Tapirapé por meio da troca. As serras da margem esquerda do rio (Araguaia), como a Serra dos Caiapós, abundam neste material".

O exemplar representado por Krause, (2 fig. 62) parece-se com o da figura de Ehrenreich. A seu respeito escreve aquêle autor (ibidem 223-224): "Só os homens solteiros têm tais tembetás, usando-os ùnicamente por ocasião de festas especiais. Casando presenteiam com êles algum rapaz seu parente. O tembetá de pedra é muito grosso, sendo por isso necessário aumentar primeiro o furo labial. Para êsse fim introduzem tembetás de madeira cada vez mais grossos. Na horda setentrional vi um único exemplar de tembetá de pedra. Não pude adquiri-lo. Só depois de, há muito tempo, termos deixado a aldeia, tive notícias de um exemplar existente na horda meridional. Esses tembetás não são feitos pelos Karajá, mas pelos Tapirapé dos quais os Karajá da horda setentrional os adquirem mediante escambo. Os da horda meridional, por sua vez, compram-nos dêstes. Dizem ser o preço, então, uma ubá, um machado, um pote e um facão, por conseguinte, muito alto..."

Entre os Javahé, Krause (2 355) não viu tais adornos de pedra. Dos Kayapó do norte, porém, refere o mesmo autor (ib. 378 e fig. 222): "Em ocasiões especiais usam tembetás de cristal-de-rocha (*kiuduió*) cuja peça bucal se destaca em forma de muleta, da parte cilíndrica. Os tembetás colecionados por mim têm 7,7 e 9 cm. de comprimento. Ignoro o comprimento dum terceiro exemplar que está quebrado. Havia, porém, ainda tembetás desta espécie que eram muito mais compridos e mais grossos. A matéria prima trazida da região dos seringais pelos moços é, na aldeia, lavrada com pedras pelos homens velhos. Os que usam êsses tembetás, cansam-se fàcilmente de seu pêso e, não podendo mais segurá-los, os retiram, até a metade, para dentro da boca onde os seguram com os dentes".

Ehrenreich (1 11 e fig. 2 e) descreve e representa um dêsses tembetás kayapó adquirido em Santa Maria, lugarejo situado perto

de Conceição do Araguaia. Informa Kissenberth (1 55-56) que tembetás de quartzo eram ainda geralmente usados pelos Kayapó visitados por êle. Foram fabricados amolando-os com granito na água, processo êsse conhecido só por poucos indivíduos masculinos da tribo.

Baseando-se em notícias dadas pelos antigos cronistas afirma Métraux (2 163) com referência aos Tupinambá: "Os tembetás dos adultos eram sempre de pedra... Os verdes eram os mais apreciados e os mais geralmente usados. Segundo Staden, os tembetás de cristal-de-rocha eram também freqüentes". Interessante a respeito da forma é a seguinte informação de Fernão Cardim (174): "Usam êstes índios ordinàriamente, principalmente nas festas que fazem, de colares de búzios, de diademas de penas e de umas *metaras* (pedras que metem no beiço de baixo) verdes, brancas, azues, muito finas e que parecem esmeraldas ou cristal, são redondas e algumas tão compridas que lhes dão pelos peitos, e ordinário é em os grandes principais terem um palmo e mais de comprimento..." Referindo-se aos mesmos Tupi orientais observa Pero de Magalhães de Gandavo (47): "As invenções e galantarias de que usam, são trazerem alguns o beiço de baixo furado, e uma pedra comprida metida dentro do buraco". Segundo Métraux (2 165), tembetás cilíndricos ou cônicos, de cêrca de um dedo de largura e de mais de 5 cm de comprimento foram achados nos Estados da Bahia, do Rio de Janeiro, de São Paulo, do Rio Grande do Sul e na ilha de Santa Catarina.

Afirma o mesmo autor (ib. 167-168): "Os Tapirapé são os únicos entre os Tupi-Guarani modernos em terem tembetás comparáveis pela forma e pelo material com os dos Tupinambá". Êste fato seria significativo para o parentesco cultural dos habitantes de Tampiitáua, se houvesse certeza de que os Kayapó aprenderam dos Tapirapé o fabrico do tembetá mineral. O aspecto mais rudimentar do tembetá kayapó por lhe faltar o "botão" do tembetá tapirapé não permite tirar conclusões a respeito. Mas devemos considerar a seguinte informação de Nimuendajú (8 42) acêrca dos Apinayé, outra tribo gê do norte e quase vizinha dos Kayapó: "Antigamente havia também delgados e cônicos cilindros de alabastro, de cêrca de dez cm de comprimento, cuja extremidade mais fina era inserta no cilindro labial de madeira. Ainda pude ver os últimos exemplares existentes".

Em resumo: O fabrico do tembetá de quartzo é um traço de cultura tapirapé. Não conhecemos traço semelhante nas outras culturas tupi modernas e nas culturas vizinhas dos Tapirapé, com exceção da dos Kayapó do norte. Mas do tembetá mineral dêstes últimos, o dos Tapirapé difere pelo acréscimo do "botão". Ignoro a existência de tal "botão" nos cilindros labiais de pedra dos antigos Tupinambá. Os achados no litoral paulista e nos arredores da Bahia, representados por H. von Ihering (apud Wegner 3 34 fig. 5) não o têm.

Como entre os Tapirapé, também entre os Karajá, Javahé e Kayapó, os objetos introduzidos no orifício artificial do beiço inferior variam conforme a idade, tendo-se dado o mesmo entre os Tupinambá. Segundo Krause (2 221), "homens especiais" perfuram o lábio de menino karajá quando êste tem 6 a 7 anos. Os

tembetás dos pequeninos são ossos de bugio (*Alonatta spec.*), tendo 4 a 11 cm de comprimento e assemelhando-se na forma aos tembetás ósseos dos Tapirapé (cf. ib. e fig. 54). Meninos mais crescidos usam tembetás de concha (*idjé* em karajá) (cf. ib. figs. 55 e 56). Um exemplar colecionado por mim tem 55 mm de comprimento e 5 mm de largura com uma transversal de 12 mm de largura. Os adolescentes e homens usam no lábio lamelas de madeira (*oduhó* segundo Krause ib. 222 e *oluvó* segundo os meus apontamentos). O maior exemplar da coleção de Krause tem 25 cm de comprimento e 2 cm de largura (ib. e fig. 58 a); um exemplar adquirido por mim mede 43 cm de comprimento e 2,5 cm de largura, sendo pintado de urucú. Certos indivíduos substituem estas lamelas de madeira por palha-de-milho. Avançando em idade, o Karajá diminue o comprimento do tembetá de madeira. Vi homens com um pedacinho cilíndrico (*rauvó*) que quase não sobressaía, distinguindo-se do botão labial tapirapé por não ser oval nem ter uma peça transversal para segurá-lo na boca. Parecia-se com o exemplar representado por Krause (ib. fig. 60 d), diferindo dêle, porém, por não continuar em forma de dente na extremidade inferior.

Também entre os Javahé, os meninos usam tambetá de concha e os adolescentes comprido tembetá de madeira (ib. 355).

Na vida cotidiana os Kayapó usam adornos labiais de madeira (*hakokakú*) que têm nos pequeninos forma de prego com 19 a 42 mm de comprimento e 2 a 8 mm de grossura, sendo nos rapazes discos de 3 cm de diâmetro e 1 cm de comprimento que, às vêzes, apresentam apêndices em forma de corno com a ponta introduzida na peça bucal (ib. 376-378 e figs. 218, 219, 221). Homens casados contentam-se, em geral, com discos menores, usando certos indivíduos de idade mais avançada adornos que, pela peça transversal para segurá-los na boca, assemelham-se ao botão labial tapirapé, distinguindo-se dêle porém, pelo diâmetro maior (cf ib. 377-378 e fig. 220).

Talvez seja exagerada a afirmação de Métraux acima citada de que, entre os Tupinambá, "os tembetás dos adultos eram sempre de pedra". Pois, Vaz de Caminha (91) escreve dos Tupinambá por êle vistos em 1500: "Dos que ali andavam, muitos — quase a maior parte — traziam aquêles bicos de osso nos beiços. E alguns que andavam sem êles, traziam os beiços furados e nos buracos traziam uns espelhos de pau, que pareciam espelhos de borracha". Descrevendo dois "mancebos" tupinambá, o mesmo missivista (ib. 88) refere-se do modo seguinte àqueles "bicos de osso": "Ambos traziam o beiço de baixo furado e metido nêle um osso verdadeiro, de comprimento de uma mão travessa, e da grossura de um fuso de algodão, agudo na ponta como um furador. Metem-nos pela parte de dentro do beiço; e a parte que lhes fica entre o beiço e os dentes é feita a modo de roque-de-xadrêz. E trazem-no ali encaixado de sorte que não os magoa, nem lhes põe estôrvo no falar, nem no comer e beber". Não há dúvida que o mencionado "bico de osso" é adôrno característico dos meninos, correspondendo ao tembetá infantil dos Tapirapé, pois outro quinhentista, a saber, Léry (97-98), escreve dos Tupinambá: "Ovtrepiva, ils ont ceste coustume, que dès l'enfance de

tous les garçons, la leure de dessous au dessus du menton, leur estant percee, chascun y porte ordinairement dans le trou vn certain os bien poli, aussi branc qu'yuoire, fait presque de la façon d'vne de ces petites quilles dequoy on ioue par decà sur la table auec la pirouette: tellement que le bout pointu sortãt vn pouce ou deux doigts en dehors, cela est retenu par vn arrest entre les gẽcius & la leure, & l'ostent & remettẽt quand bon leur semble. Mais ne portans ce poinçon d'os blanc qu'en leur adolescence, quand ils sont grans, & qu'on les appelle *Conomi-ouassou* (c'est à dire gros ou grand garçon) au lieu d'iceluy ils appliquent & enchassent au pertuis de leurs leures vne pierre verte (espece de fausse esmeraude) laquelle aussi retenue d'vn arrest par le dedans, paroist par le dehors, de la rondeur & largeur & deux fois plus espesse qu'vn teston". O adôrno de pedra que do lado de fora tinha a forma desta antiga moeda francesa aparece também nas xilogravuras publicadas pelo mesmo autor (ib. 107, 222, 246 e 301). Parece-se com o botão labial tapirapé não só pela forma, mas também por ser caracteristico do adulto. E não corresponderá da mesma maneira aos "espelhos de pau" mencionados pelo escrivão da frota de Cabral? No tocante à forma, a semelhança do "tostão" e do "botão" com o "espelho" é evidente. O acima mencionado fato de identidade do tembetá infantil tupinambá e tapirapé reforça a suposição duma identidade correspondente na função do botão tapirapé e do "espelho de pau" como distintivo do adulto, o que significaria que, entre os Tupinambá, os tembetás dos adultos nem sempre eram de pedra.

Segundo Métraux (2 299), o uso do tembetá foi encontrado nas seguintes tribos tupi: Tupinambá, Guarani, Kainguá, Chiriguano, Guarayú, Ararandeuara, Tapirapé, Mauhé, Omagua e Oyampí, faltando entre as tribos tupi dos Yuruna, Chipaya, Tembé, Auetô, Apiaká, Mundurukú e Parintintin. Esta enumeração está errada no tocante aos Tembé, pois o mesmo autor (ib. 168) cita a seguinte informação de Barbosa Rodrigues acêrca dêles: "...usam o beiço inferior furado, onde penduram uma rodela de pau". Também entre os Urubú, tribo tupi vizinha dos Tembé, "o beiço inferior é furado para um brinco" (Rice 313). Convém acrescentar que, segundo Gustav von Koenigswald (381), os homens kayuá (kainguá) têm tembetá fino de mais de vinte centimetros de comprimento e feito de resina. (Cf. também Azara II 36 e Métraux 2 167).

Em resumo pode ser dito: tanto entre os Tapirapé como entre os Tupinambá, Karajá e Kayapó, o tembetá é adôrno exclusivamente masculino, variando em forma e material conforme a idade. Os Tapirapé se distinguem dos Tupinambá por não terem os adultos o tembetá de pedra em forma de moeda mencionado por Léry. No tocante ao material, feitio e tamanho, as diferenças entre os tembetás tapirapé, karajá e kayapó são, na totalidade, mais consideráveis do que as semelhanças. Os Tupi Centrais diferem dos Tapirapé pela ausência do adôrno labial.

Semelhança impressionante entre as culturas tapirapé e karajá representam os adôrnos de braços e pernas, feitos de algodão tingido de urucú. São enfeites de todos os dias e usados por ambos os sexos. Entre os Karajá, êles constituem, no dizer de Krau-

se (2 226), "o distintivo dos solteiros, sendo usados, portanto, desde a primeira infância até o casamento e na viuvez". Mas acrescenta o mesmo autor (ib.) que as pulseiras podem ser usadas também por casados "quando as espôsas são satisfeitas com êles".

Entre os Tapirapé vi homens casados com os adornos de algodão chamados de *tamankurú* na sua língua. Êste nome compreende as três espécies, a saber, a pulseira, a jarreteira e a faixa para os tornozelos. Tôdas são feitas pelas mulheres com a agulha de crochê (*chaúnia*, sendo *cha* espinha), agulha essa originalmente óssea e hoje, devido a importação pelos brancos, também de metal. Entre os Karajá, aquêle fabrico é igualmente trabalho feminino (cf. ib.).

As pulseiras (*dezí* em karajá) são cilindros com bordas reforçadas e curvadas para fora. Cada uma das duas usadas por um homem tapirapé e representadas no foto 14-b tem 14 cm de comprimento, 19 cm de circunferência superior e 17 cm de circunferência inferior, tendo a borda superior 4 e a inferior 2,5 cm de largura. O começo de sua fabricação é mostrado no foto 11. Vi poucas delas em Tampilitáua e as que havia lá eram usadas exclusivamente por moços que já passaram pela iniciação (fots. 10 e 70). Entre os Karajá, porém, tais canhões adornam também os antebraços de moças e crianças (Krause ib. pranchas 16, 18, 45 fig. 3).

As jarreteiras (*deobuté* em karajá segundo Krause ib.) são fitas com bordas reforçadas das quais pendem borlas na frente. As indias fecham-nas com ponto de crochê imediatamente sôbre a perna enfeitada, isto é, abaixo do joelho. Cada jarreteira do par usado por um homem tapirapé e representado na fotografia 14-a tem 2,5 cm de largura e 25 cm de circunferência, tendo as borlas 12 cm de comprimento. Um par de jarreteiras dêsta menina tinha a mesma largura e borlas de 20 cm de comprimento. Entre os Tapirapé, as jarreteiras são usadas pelas meninas impúberes (fots. 3 e 9), pelos meninos (fots. 28, 53, 61 e 69) e pelos homens adultos (fots. 7, 8, 25, 26, 28, 61 e 68). O mesmo se dá com os Karajá (cf. Krause 2 pranchas 11, 15, 16, 36, 38, 43 e 45). Segundo Krause (ib. 226 e prancha 44), freqüentemente os Karajá amarram atrás as borlas das jarreteiras, para não serem impedidos por elas nas corridas e longas caminhadas. Entre os Tapirapé, essas borlas, às vêzes, são simplesmente cortadas, (fot. 39).

Só algumas meninas de Tampilitáua usavam *tamankurú* nos tornozelos quando estive lá (fots. 2, 9, 12). Este enfeite é um cilindro com a borda inferior reforçada e curvada para fora, pendendo da borda superior franjas que têm o mesmo comprimento como a própria *tamankurú*. Um exemplar tinha 12 cm de comprimento, 19 cm de circunferência superior e 18 cm de circunferência inferior, tendo a borda inferior 4 cm de largura. Fui informado que certos líderes sociais e espirituais como Kamairabú, Vuatanamy e Urukumy também usavam antes da puberdade semelhantes adornos. Entre os Karajá vi tanto meninos como meninas com faixas nos tornozelos as quais se distinguiam, porém, da correspondente *tamankurú* das meninas tapirapé por não terem borda curvada para fora (cf. Krause 2 fig. 44 e pranchas 16 e 45). Seu nome karajá é *mulaú* (ib. 226).

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Segundo Krause (lh. 227), os Karajá começam a usar as faixas das pernas logo depois do nascimento, cortando-as e substituindo-as por outras quando se tornam apertadas. O mesmo se dá entre os Tapirapé. Encontrei em Tampiitáua até uma forquilha servindo de molde para o fabrico de *tamankuré* para os tornozelos de crianças ainda não nascidas (fot. 13). Vê-se nesta forquilha uma *tamankuré* inacabada e outra acabada que tem 4 cm de comprimento e uma borda de 2 cm de largura.

Os Javahé não diferem dos Karajá no tocante aos mencionados adornos de antebraços, joelhos e tornozelos (lh. 356).

Dos Kayapó refere Krause (lh. 383-384): "Crianças mais crescidas usam pulseiras (*kudiód*) de algodão tingido de preto e fabricadas à maneira das pulseiras karajá. Num lado pendem das duas bordas, franjas vermelhas de algodão (fig. 233). Foram vistas só 2 ou 3 pares dessas pulseiras". E acrescenta (lh. 385): "Também fitas jarreteiras e faixas para os tornozelos (*medzbredió*) são usadas (prancha 24 fig. 1)". Esta figura mostra oito crianças kayapó das quais uma única tem visivelmente um adôrno de algodão, a saber, um par de jarreteiras. E' impossível, porém, reconhecer a maneira de sua fabricação, vendo-se tàlcamente a ausência das bordas que costumam enfeitar as jarreteiras karajá e tapirapé. Krause (lh.) ainda observa: "Adôrno de perna, isto é, uma madeixa torcida de cordéis vermelhos de algodão (*kó*) dando abaixo do joelho várias voltas ao redor da perna, é usado sòmente por crianças de ambos os sexos e, especialmente, pelas meninas. Meninos crescidos não o usam mais". E acêrca do adôrno de braço entre os Kayapó escreve o mesmo autor (lh. 233): "Também o fabrico de braceletes é relativamente simples. Os enfeites do braço propriamente ditos consistem numa argola de cordéis vermelhos de algodão, provida dum comprido tufo de plumas (*ibbedir, bedéidik*; prancha 67 fig. 8) ou, como no exemplar (*mambité*) reproduzido na figura 3 da prancha 67, munida de bordas de entrecasca de 33 cm de comprimento, tingidas de vermelho na parte inferior. O adôrno de antebraço é mais variado. As crianças mais pequenas têm argolinhas de cordéis de algodão trançados, tingidos de vermelho e guarnecidos dum molhinho de pequenas frutas (*ioli*; *wulekó*; fig. 232)".

Tôdas estas informações e as figuras reproduzidas no livro de Krause fazem supor que os poucos exemplares de enfeites semelhantes às *tamankuré* tapirapé e karajá, encontrados entre os Kayapó do norte, não sejam traços típicos da cultura dêstes últimos, mas empréstimos passageiros dos vizinhos ao leste ou sul. Esta suposição é corroborada pelo fato de haver numa cultura gê vizinha, a saber, na dos Apinayé, adornos para os braços e pernas que, como os dos Kayapó, consistem em cordas sólidas ou trançadas, penas e entrecasca (cf. Nimuendajú 8 figs. 1, 2, 4, 5-10), faltando completamente qualquer objeto feito com a agulha de crochê e parecido com as *tamankuré* tapirapé ou karajá. O mesmo se vê na coleção de objetos etnográficos dos Ramkokamekrá (Canela) organizada por Nimuendajú e em poder da Universidade de São Paulo. As jarreteiras dêstes Gê do Maranhão são trançadas de cordéis, diferindo das jarreteiras tapirapé também sob outros aspectos.

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Que os habitantes de Tampitiúna e com fim os Karajá herdaram as suas jarreteiras não dos Gê, mas dos Tupinambá da Bahia ou do Maranhão, parece provável à vista das seguintes notícias quinhentistas e seiscentistas: Gabriel Soares de Sousa (369), referindo-se às moças tupinambá da Bahia, escreve: "... põem nas pernas por baixo do joelho umas tapaçarias, que são de fio de algodão, tinto de vermelho, tecido de maneira que lhas não podem tirar, o que tem três dedos de largo; o que lhe põem as mães enquanto são cachopas, para que lhes engrossem as pernas pelas barrigas, enquanto crescem, as quais as trazem nas pernas enquanto são namoradas, mas de maneiras que as possam tirar, ainda que com trabalho". Simão de Vasconcellos (pág. LXXVI) se refere, aparentemente, também aos Tupi da mesma região, quando observa: "São por ordinário membrudos, corpulentos, bem dispostos, robustos, fortíssimos: e para que mais o sejam, os atam pelas pernas quando nascem, com certas faixas mui apertadas, com que depois de grandes ficam mais vigorosos. Claude d'Abbeville (274-275) informa acêrca dos Tupinambá do Maranhão: "Ovtre plus ils ont vne façon de iartieres qu'ils appellet *Tabocoura*, faites de fil de Cotton merueilleusement bien tissuës & si bien pressées qu'elles semblent estre toutes d'vne piece, en forme d'vn cordon ou petit cercle, large enuiro de deux doigts, enrichi tout autor de belles plumes de diuerses couleurs, dedans lesquels ils passent la iambe & les mettent à l'endroit de la iartiere: & afin qu'elles parroissent dauantage ils en passent deux l'vne sur l'autre, laissant comme vn chanfrin entre les deux, tellement qu'ils semblent non plus ne moins qu'vn double cordon bien enrichy. Ordinairement les filles portet à la iambe semblables iartieres, sauf qu'il n'y a aucunes plumes, n'estat faites que de fil de Cotton à la façon des iartieres susdites dont les hommes Indiens se seruent pour se parer. Ils ont encore vne autre sorte de iartieres qu'ils appellent *Acouby* faictes comme celles que dessus, mais plus larges. & au lieu de plumes il y a force fils de Cotton retors longs d'vn doigt, ayant autour de certaines fruicts aliches gros comme noix, lesquels ont l'escorce fort dure lors qu'ils sont secs, & estant tout vuides, ils mettent dedans des petites pierres ou des pois fort durs en sorte qu'elles font vn bruit lors qu'ils dansent comme si c'estoient des sonnettes. Ils font aussi des brasselets qu'ils appellent *Mapouyah coudy chouaire* auec du fil de cotton, autour desquels il y a force longues plumes des queuës des *Aru* qui ont fort beaux Oiseaux descrits cy dessus, ayat coustume de porter ces brasselets en leurs parades vn petit au dessus du coude, ainsi que les femmes courtisanes portent les bracers grecs en liurées de leurs maistresses". — No tocante aos Tupi do Brasil Holandês há, ainda, a seguinte observação de Marcgrave (288): "Os brasileiros atam almofadas as pernas aos recem-nascidos na infância, com certas faixas que chamam *Tapa cura*, para que eles se tornem mais robustos do início". A frase de Nieuhof (317) que reproduzo na língua original por ser ela omitida nas edições inglêsa e brasileira da obra do autor holandês e deturpada na transcrição de Métraux (I 186), repete a primeira parte da citada informação de Marcgrave, mas não a indicação acêrca da finalidade do costume em questão. Eis ela: "Alleenlijk binden zy den jong gebooren kinderen de beenen met seekere zwachtels, die zy *Tapaakura* noemen, vast".

(O primeiro e em "Tapakurá" é, provàvelmente, êrro tipográfico ou de cópia).

O uso de *tamankurá* era comum também em outras tribos tupi. Dos Mundé refere Martius (2 I 403-404): "Enfeitam as meninas, antes da puberdade, com faixas multicores abaixo do joelho e no braço entre o ombro e o cotovêlo".

Os retratos dos Apiaká desenhados por Florence (pranchas pegadas às páginas 148 e 184) mostram homens e mulheres com jarreteiras aparentemente semelhantes às dos Tapirapé, ao bem que sem borlas. Duas das moças retratadas têm também faixas nos turnozelos, ao passo que os homens têm esta parte da perna enrolada por numerosas cordas horizontais e, como as jarreteiras, tingidas de vermelho (cf. a pranche colorida 13). Tais roletes de cordas são usados também nos pulsos por ambos os sexos dessa tribo tupi da bacia do Tapajós. Os homens têm, além disso, faixas no braço propriamente dito.

Com referência aos Yuruna do Xingú escreve von den Steinen (2 239): "Acocorada no solo, a mulher confecciona com agulha de crochê faixas de algodão de 3 a 4 dedos de largura em tôrno do antebraço e acima dos turnozelos do marido, enquanto êste está sentado na rede... Há também mulheres que usam essas faixas". Adalbert Prinz von Preussen (838) confirma isso dizendo que as mulheres yuruna usam nos braços e nas pernas os mesmos adornos de algodão que os homens. A jarreteira e a faixa no turnozelo dum Yuruna, representadas por von den Steinen (2 254) parecem-se com as dos Tapirapé, distinguindo-se delas só por não terem borlas nem borda curvada para fora.

Descrevendo os Chipaya e Kuruaya (Curuahé) observa Emilio Snethlage (2 816) que tanto homens como mulheres usavam quase sempre nos braços entre o ombro e o cotovêlo, nos turnozelos, nas panturrilhas e abaixo dos joelhos faixas de algodão de cêrca de dois dedos e uma mão de largura e tingidas de vermelho.

Referindo-se às tribos da parte superior da bacia do Xingú por êle visitadas informa von den Steinen (2 181) que ataduras no braço superior, abaixo do joelho e acima do turnozelo eram freqüentes em tôdas elas. "Usavam, para isso, exclusivamente largas faixas de palha, cordões e cordas de algodão, ou faixas confeccionadas com agulha de crochê, sendo esta agulha de madeira". (Ibidem).

No tocante a duas tribos da Guiana, a saber, a tribo karaib dos Galibi e a tribo tupi dos Emerillon, escreve Crevaux (168): "... chez les Galibis, ce sont les femmes qui se servent le moins et en font peut le faire produire, tandis que, chez les Emerillons, les hommes seuls portent des liens en coton non seulement à la jambe, mais au poignet et au niveau du biceps".

Dos Parintintin refere Nimuendajú (4 254): "Mulheres e crianças usam um fio de algodão acima do turnozelo e outro abaixo do joelho e nada mais, absolutamente". Métraux (2 pranche VI fig. 1) representa jarreteiras de cambira dêstes Tupi do rio Madeira. E' digno de nota que êles têm para "fio de algodão abaixo do joelho" o têrmo *tapakurá* (4 254). Esta palavra que aparece também nos cômodos informes de Gabriel Soares de Sousa, Claude d'Abbeville, Marcgrave e Nieuhof acêrca dos Tupinambá da Bahia e do nordeste, figura na Lingua-geral do Amazonas com

o significado de liga amarrada abaixo do joelho (Strodelli 662), no guarani do alto Paraná registrado por Montoya (Z II 354v.-348v.) com a tradução "ligas, cenojilles" e no guarayo da Bolívia coligido por Hueller (238) com a versão "as grilhões dos selvagens, cordas para as mãos, ligas ornamentais" ("*tapocurú*: die Fesseln der Wilden, Handschnüre; *che retapocurú*: meine Zierfesseln").

Sob o título "Déformations corporelles", Métraux (Z 195-196) escreve no tocante aos Tupinambá: "Ils pratiquaient aussi la coutume bien connue de provoquer un accroissement anormal du mollet des femmes en leur serrant fortement, peu après leur naissance, la jambe au-dessous du genou et au-dessus de la cheville. Comme cette déformation n'est mentionnée que par les auteurs qui décrivent les habitants de Bahia et de Pernambuco nous pouvons en conclure qu'elle n'était en usage que chez les Tupi de cette région, car si elle avait été à la mode ailleurs, elle n'aurait pas échappé à l'attention des autres chroniqueurs qui semblent l'ignorer. Dès les premiers voyages de Colomb, cette déformation a été remarquée et signalée comme un signe distinctif des femmes carib. Depuis lors, elle a été bien souvent observé sur le continent, notamment dans les Guyanes où, de même que dans les Iles, elle caractérise les tribus d'origine carib. Roth a esquissé sa distribution dans les Guyanes; la carte 10 est en grande partie dressée d'après ses indications que je me suis efforcé de compléter en ce qui concerne d'autres régions. La déformation du mollet n'est pas l'apanage exclusif des Carib; elle était à la mode à l'époque précolombienne chez les peuplades civilisées de l'embouchure de l'Amazone, chez les Chibcha de Colombie et sur le haut Amazone. En bien des cas, tel celui des Uitóto, nous sommes autorisés à attribuer sa présence à l'influence directe des Carib, mais nous ne pouvons invoquer celle-ci avec certitude pour les régions que ont été énumérées plus haut. Comme il ressort de la carte 10, la déformation du mollet est un phénomène essentiellement nord-amazonien, inconnu des Carib du sud. Ainsi les Bakairi qui se distinguent des populations voisines par les jarretières qui leur serrent les jambes, ne présentent jamais un développement anormal du mollet. Il est certainement fort de voir en honneur chez les Tupinambá de Bahia une coutume qui est non seulement étrangère à toutes les autres tribus de la même famille, mais encore qu'ignorent leurs proches parents de la côte. On ne peut l'expliquer que par l'hypothèse d'une action exercée par les populations de l'embouchure de l'amazone. Les Tupinambá ont peut-être trouvé élégante une mode suivie par des tribus plus civilisées qu'eux-mêmes".

A respeito destas explanações convem observar o seguinte: 1) Dos autores nos quais Métraux se baseia citando-os em nota de rodapé (ib.), isto é, Soares de Souza, Nieuhof, Vasconcellos e Marcgrave, só o primeiro indica literalmente o engrossamento da panturrilha como sendo a finalidade da *tapokurú*. Vasconcellos e Marcgrave falam em robustecer, e Nieuhof, como também Claude d'Abbeville, não menciona objetivo algum. 2) Jarreteiras "mal apertadas" (Vasconcellos) e confeccionadas de maneira que não podem ser tiradas sem cortá-las são usadas também pelos Tapirapé, Apiaká, Yurúna e outros Tupi. O próprio Métraux (Z 178) cita algumas destas tribos num parágrafo intitulado "Jarretières".

Não se compreende, portanto, como êste autor podia chegar a afirmar no trecho acima reproduzido que "o costume de provocar um engrossamento anormal da panturrilha", costume êsse encontrado entre os Tupinambá da Bahia, é "estranho a tôdas as outras tribos da mesma família". E' que as mesmas causas não tenham os mesmos efeitos? Posso declarar, a respeito, que entre os Tapirapé as jarreteiras eram freqüentemente tão apertadas que produziram inflamações e abriram a pele. Apesar disso, basta ver as fotografias para notar que não aparece engrossamento anormal das panturrilhas entre êstes índios. E sabemos que êles usam jarreteiras desde criança. Onde, pois, está o limite em que se pode começar a falar do engrossamento anormal? Parece-me que há muito exagêro em certas descrições desta "deformação". 3) Nada nos obriga a explicar a existência das jarreteiras tupinambá e tupi em geral pela influência das populações da embocadura do Amazonas ou de quaisquer tribos "plus civilisées" do que os índios baianos descritos por Soares de Sousa, se aceitamos a opinião de que êstes não eram os únicos Tupi com jarreteiras fixas e apertadas e se consideramos que o têrmo *itipakurá* como nome de faixa ou fio atado abaixo do joelho era difundido desde o Maranhão e a Bahia até o oeste da Amazônia e de lá o Paraguai, isto é, até tôdas as extremidades do vasto território tupi com exceção duma região litorânea relativamente pequena, no sueste.

Enquanto o costume de atar abaixo do joelho uma faixa ou um fio é comum a muitas tribos da grande família Tupi, não se pode dizer a mesma coisa acêrca das pulseiras. Como já foi citado, ataduras do braço usadas acima do cotovelo foram observadas entre os Tupinambá (Claude d'Abbeville), Manhé (Martius), Apiaká (Florence), Chipaya e Kurusaya (Emilie Snethlage), como também entre os índios da parte superior da bacia do Xingú visitados por von den Steinen e entre os Emerillon (Crevaux). Pulseiras pròpriamente ditas são mencionadas só as dos Apiaká (Florence), Yuruna (von den Steinen), Chipaya e Kurusaya (Snethlage), Emerillon (Crevaux), Guarayo ("*Handschnüre*", diz Hoeller) e Tembé (Barbosa Rodrigues *I* 42). Os roleios usados nos pulsos por ambos os sexos dos Apiaká distinguem-se essencialmente dos canhões tapirapé e karajá, e é de supor que o mesmo se dá com os adornos usados no antebraço por aquelas outras tribos tupi, ainda que faltem nos informes os pormenores a respeito. Notícias que especificam o uso de faixas ou fios nos tornozelos entre as tribos tupi só temos acêrca dos Apiaká (Florence), Yuruna (von den Steinen), Chipaya e Kurusaya (Snethlage), índios da parte superior da bacia do Xingú descritos por von den Steinen, e Parintintin (Nimuendajú), não ficando esclarecido, porém, até que ponto essas faixas se assemelham às dos Tapirapé e Karajá. Digno de nota é, ainda, o fato de a palavra *itipakurá* designar entre os Guarayos as "cordas para as mãos" ("*Handschnüre*"), pois, exceto o tapirapé, em tôdas as outras línguas tupi nas quais êste têrmo foi apontado, se refere ùnicamente às faixas ou fios atados abaixo do joelho.

Resumindo: Uma das principais semelhanças entre as culturas tapirapé, karajá e javahé é representada pelo complexo da *itimakurá*, sendo insignificantes as diferenças a respeito. A cultura kayapó descrita por Krause distingue-se dessas culturas pela

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ausência do mencionado complexo que nela deixou só esporádicos reflexos. Segundo os dados acima citados há, naquele complexo, certos elementos que fazem diferir a cultura tapirapé das dos outros Tupi como também das dos índios xinguanos, e há nele outros elementos que revelam semelhança entre tôdas essas culturas. Embora que tal semelhança não prove o complexo em qualquer parte dêle ter-se originado entre os Tupi, ele também não permite supor o contrário. Provàvelmente a jarreteira pode ser considerada como traço de parentesco cultural entre os Tapirapé, Tapiranhé setentrionais e outros Tupi. Em certas tribos tupi (Tapirapé, Yuruna), os adornos de algodão das pernas distinguem-se dos de certas tribos gê por serem confeccionados com agulha de crochê em vez de serem trançados. Problema de futuras pesquisas será esclarecer se isto se dá em tantas tribos de ambos os famílias que possa servir de distintivo geral entre Tupi e Gê.

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# OS TAPIRAPÉ

## TRIBO TUPI NO BRASIL CENTRAL

(Reportagem para a "REVISTA DO ARQUIVO")

HERBERT BALDUS

(Continuação)

### *VII. Aldeia e casa*

Por ocasião da minha visita, Tampitawa estava situada no meio duma grande derrubada. Ao redor de cada casa (*awyra* em tapirapé) havia tocos e troncos cortados (cf. fot. 67). Só a praça da aldeia tinha ficado, até certo ponto, livre dêles. Êsses troncos serviam de assento e, pouco a pouco, de lenha. No vasto espaço situado entre os edifícios e a orla da mata, êles eram tão numerosos, emaranhados e entrelaçados pelos galhos que a imaginosa Madame de la Falaise (196), visitando Tampitawa em 23 de Agosto de 1935, isto é, pouco depois da minha partida de lá, chegou a escrever o seguinte: "Nous avançons du côté de l'aldeia dont la tribu, par crainte des attaques à main armée a fortifié les alentours. Arbres abattus et enchevêtrés, pièges et obstacles ingénieux sont décourageants. L'agresseur le plus décidé se casserait le cou bien avant d'en avoir triomphé".

A respeito disso tenho que confessar, porém, que os únicos obstáculos sérios que encontrei diàriamente ao atravessar a zona em questão, eram os resultados da digestão tribal, pois a suposta fortificação não desempenhava outro papel do que o de uma enorme

1: Baldus SP22 Tapirapé



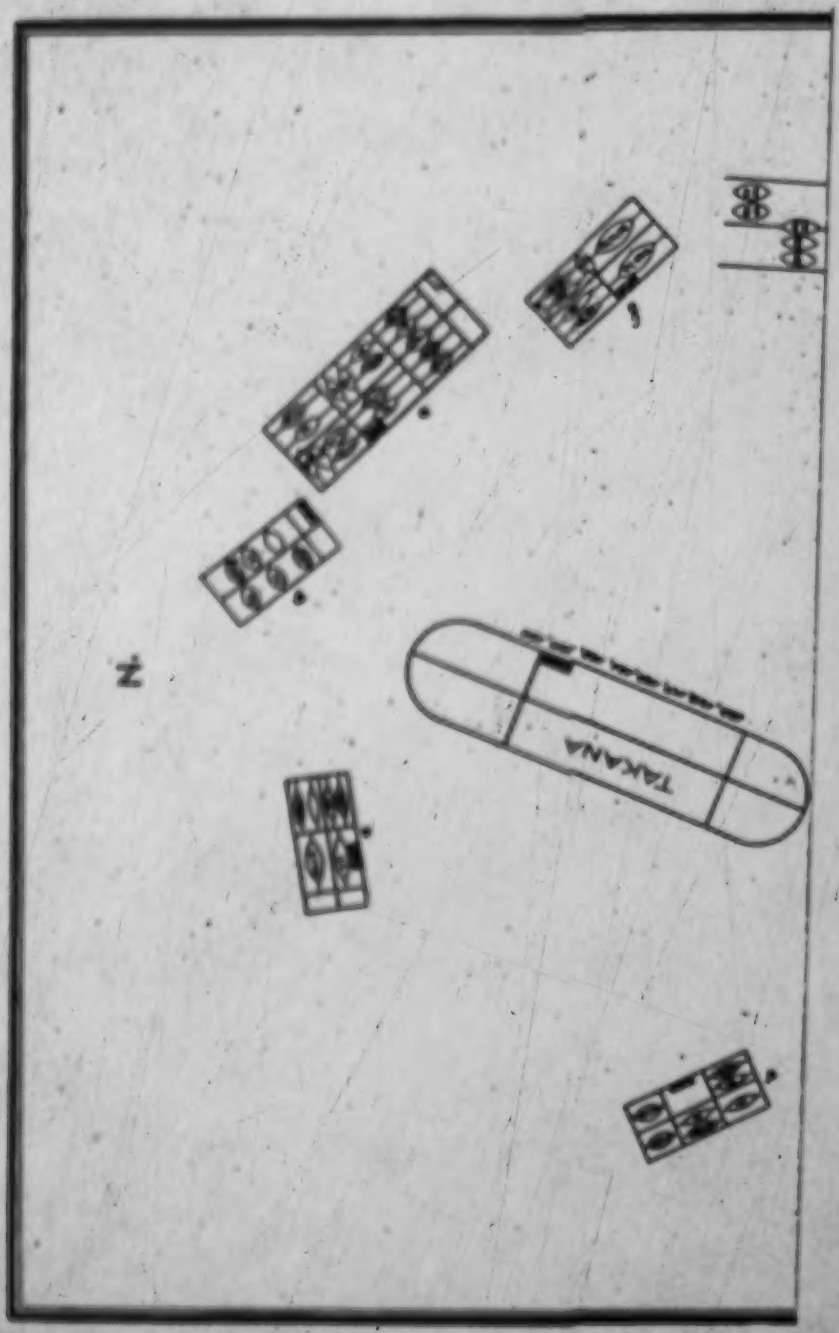
privada. Não quero decidir se tais obstáculos podem ser chamados de "engenhosos" ou não, mas declaro em alta voz que êles não me desanimaram. O certo é que os Tapirapé não fortificam a aldeia de maneira alguma, distinguindo-se a êste respeito dos Tupinambá que rodeavam a aldeia. (Jean Parmentier apud J. F. de Almeida Prado 180; Hans Staden p. 3; Gabriel Soares de Sousa 366). As "armadilhas e obstáculos engenhosos" ("pièges et obstacles ingénieux") acima mencionados existem só na fantasia da citada autora. Mesmo o ato de colocar sentinelas, providência referida no capítulo V da nossa monografia, discorda profundamente da índole tribal tapirapé.

No entanto, a poucos passos da aldeia, serpeava o regato. Suas águas límpidas e frescas estiveram só por um momento descobertas da espessa selva, a saber, no pequeno trecho do leito que era ao mesmo tempo banheiro, bebedouro e lugar de pesca e de lavar a rêde-de-dormir. Um trilho batido que conduzia de lá para a praça, deixava à esquerda uma plantação de cana-de-açúcar. Segundo me informou o Rev. Kegel, o canavial era produto de trabalho coletivo feito para Kamairabé. Êste tinha determinado o seu lugar e, com isso, o da aldeia, construída depois ao lado da roça comumente preparada. Era, por assim dizer, roça de luxo, pois não continha outra coisa além da gramínea doce para chupar, sendo, aliás, o único terreno cultivado dentro da clareira em cujo centro estava Tampitaua.

E o centro de Tampitaua era a *taboa*, a grande casa-dos-homens. Oito malocas estavam agrupadas ao seu redor, observando-se que a disposição das entradas não permitia olhar de dentro de uma maloca para dentro da outra (cf. fig. 8 na qual as entradas principais são representadas por retângulos pretos e as secundárias por retângulos claros). Entre a frente da *taboa* e o semicírculo formado pelas malocas na parte oriental da taba estendia-se a praça, lugar de danças e cantos, jogos e corridas, discursos e banquetes.

Mas a "aldeia da seta" nem sempre tinha estado naquela clareira onde a encontrei, nem continuou estando lá depois da minha partida (cf. cap. V). Em certas ocasiões, os Tapirapé mudam para longe. E, porém, com uma regularidade que varia entre dois e cinco anos, que êles transferem a aldeia para um lugar que dista só uma ou poucas léguas. Grande, isto é, provàvelmente, de dezenas de quilômetros, era a distância quando, por causa dos Karajá, abandonaram a aldeia situada na margem do baixo Tapirapé. Longos trechos foram percorridos, também, por ensêjo de várias separações e reuniões de aldeias, motivadas apenas por discórdias internas e essas pela diminuição do número

[169-A]



[169-B]

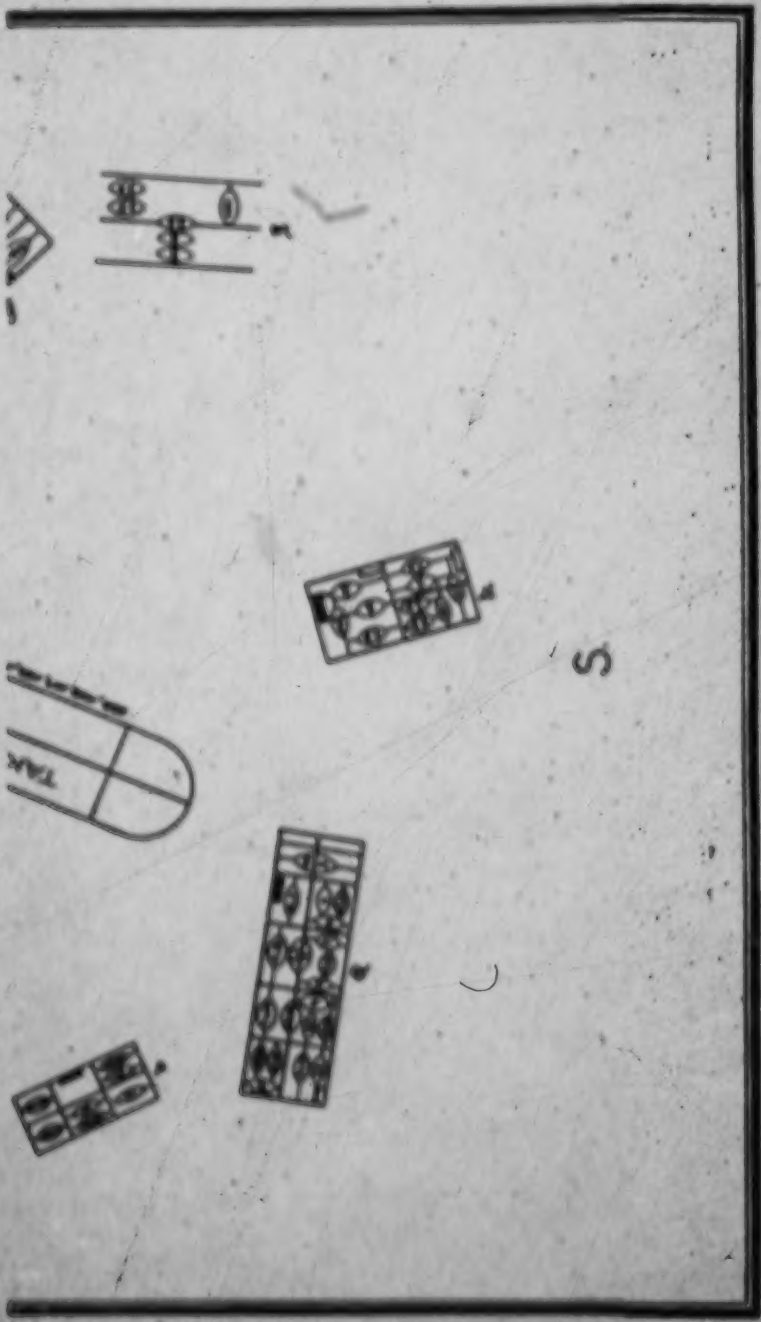



Fig. 8 — Plants de aldeia.

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de habitantes ou pela falta de pagés. As causas principais das mudanças menores e habituais são a praga de baratas e a quantidade de sepulturas dentro das malocas. A enorme proliferação da *Blattella germanica L.* obriga a evacuar e queimar tôdas as casas, no fim de poucos anos. A repetição dêste ato fica assegurada pela negligência dos índios: depois da destruição da aldeia, os trastes levados para a futura residência nunca são suficientemente limpos daquele inseto para impedí-lo de apoderar-se, dentro de pouco, novamente das habitações humanas. Só quando epidemias fazem rápidamente encher de sepulturas o solo das malocas, êste costume de enterrar os mortos pode em menos tempo ainda, produzir a necessidade da construção duma outra aldeia.

Mas a taba muda não só de lugar, como também de tamanho. Já foi mencionada, no capítulo V, a informação do Rev. Kegel segundo a qual Tampitiana tinha cêrca de catorze casas em agosto de 1932. Naturalmente, também o tamanho das casas varia com o número de seus habitantes. A planta da aldeia (fig. 8) evidencia esta distribuição numérica na época da minha visita, distribuição especificada no cap. V.

Não tendo eu assistido à construção de casas (*awyra-kaw*: construir casa), baseia-se a seguinte descrição, a êsse respeito, no que foi observado pelo meu companheiro snr. Kegel por ocasião de uma visita anterior. Em agosto, os homens, durante o dia, cortam na mata troncos grossos e finos, folhas da chamada "banana brava" (*Heliconia spec.*) e folhas da palmeira chamada de macaba pelos sertanejos do Araguaia. Tudo isso é material para as vigas, varas e a cobertura da casa. Nas últimas horas da tarde levam-no para o lugar da futura aldeia, evitando dêste modo que o calor do dia faça as folhas de "bananeiras" enrolarem-se durante o transporte e os carregadores cansarem-se mais do que é necessário.

Entre as quatro e cinco horas da tarde, aproximadamente, começa a edificação. Primeiro erigem o vigamento. As traves verticais formam três paralelas, tendo as duas paralelas exteriores a mesma altura, e à paralela do médio uma altura maior. Assim, na casa *a* (fig. 10), as traves exteriores medem cêrca de 1,60 m. e as interiores cêrca de 3,80 m., o que representa o meio têrmo de tôdas as casas com exceção da *takasa*. Na casa *a*, as paralelas exteriores distam da do médio, cêrca de 2,75m., tendo a distância entre as traves de cada paralela (assinaladas por círculos na fig. 9) 1 m., 3,40 m., 3,90 m., 3,25 m., 3,50 m. e 1,30 m. Como estas variações são iguais nas três mencionadas paralelas, resultam 7 outras paralelas de traves que, formando ângulos retos com aquelas, dividem a casa em quadriláteros retangulares. Esta divisão, socialmente importante por corresponder à distribuição dos habi-

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tantes em canais e famílias-peçonhas, é marcada, ainda, pelas travessas que, na altura de 1,60 m., formam os lados dos quadrilátetos, estando amarradas com embira quando não repousam nas forquilhas das traves verticais exteriores (cf. fig. 10 e fots. 3 e 48). Além disso, as traves verticais interiores são ligadas entre si, na altura de 3,20 m. a 3,80 m., por várias travessas (assinaladas por círculos na fig. 10).

Depois de acabar o vigamento, os índios fincam no solo varas agrupadas em linha reta entre as traves verticais exteriores. A série dos números 3, 8, 11, 10, 7 e 1 na figura 9 refere-se a estas varas que assinalei por pontos na planta da casa a. As varas são amarradas com embira na cumieira formada pelas travessas mais altas, e nas travessas que ligam as traves exteriores. Nasce assim uma abóbada comprida na qual teto e parede constituem unidade homogênea em vez de duas peças distinguíveis. Depois de firmar as varas fincadas, os homens amarram nelas varas horizontais

Fig. 9. Planta da casa a.

Fig. 10. Corte transversal da casa a.

(assinaladas por círculos na fig. 10), começando em baixo e indo subindo de modo que podem colocar os pés nestas travessas até alcançarem a cumieira.

Feito isso, colocam, numa distância de cêrca de 1 m. uma da outra, varetas de cêrca de 1 m. de comprimento verticalmente no lado de fora das vigas transversais que ligam as traves exteriores. Essas varetas são de tal maneira amarradas que ficam meio em baixo e meio em cima das vigas transversais, ajustando-se a metade superior à curvatura da abóbada e destacando-se um pouco a metade inferior. A única finalidade das varetas é segurar, no meio da sua metade inferior e destacada, um cordel torcido de embira que delas mediante um nó e estendido ao está amarrado em cada uma longo da casa inteira. O cordel serve para apoiar de baixo as folhas de "banana brava" colocadas com regularidade e cuidado

sôbre o gradeamento de varas e vigas. É metido nos talos fendidos para êsse fim. O índio dá às folhas uma ligeira curvatura para que se ajustem à abóbada. Aliás, na frescura da tarde, elas já não se enrolam e, em geral, nestas horas não há vento que as pudesse derrubar.

Depois disso, os homens trepam na armação para cobrir *awiytapyé*, isto é, a parte superior da casa. Neste trabalho são ajudados pelas mulheres jovens e pelas meninas que lhes dão as folhas daquela heliconia, levantando-as. Estas folhas são colocadas de tal maneira que cobrem o gradeamento das vigas e varas, pendendo de seus talos dobrados (*pakowuhe*: dobrar) em tôrno das duas varas horizontais mais altas que se encontram a cada lado da cumieira. Para fixá-los, os talos são metidos com a extremidade entre as segundas varas de cima e as folhas que as cobrem. Em grandes casas como, por exemplo, na casa *a*, mais uma camada de folhas pende ainda dessas segundas varas de cima, sendo a extremidade de seus talos introduzida entre as terceiras varas de cima e as folhas da cobertura. Os talos são postos um ao lado do outro até cobrir os espaços entre as varas verticais. A cumieira pròpriamente dita está também coberta de folhas de "banana brava" colocadas ao comprido sôbre a suprema viga horizontal, de modo que as suas metades longitudinais se ajustem às metades longitudinais da abóbada.

Sôbre as folhas de "banana brava" põe-se folhas verdes de macaba deixando suas pontas sobressair a cumieira para atá-las uma à outra. Estas folhas de palmeira que, quando verdes, são bastante pesadas, impedem que as folhas daquela heliconia em baixo delas sejam derrubadas pelo vento e enroladas pelo sol.

A parte mais baixa dos lados longitudinais da casa é coberta atando-se de fora folhas de macaba no gradeamento, pondo-as uma ao lado da outra com os talos para cima e entrançando-as. Sôbre elas são colocadas folhas de "banana brava" fixadas nas varas horizontais da mesma maneira como aquelas que pendem das varas horizontais mais altas. Êste modo de cobrir costuma ser aplicado inteiramente aos dois lados estreitos da casa, pois folhas postas com os talos fendidos num cordel cairiam por falta de apôio nessas paredes completamente verticais e sem curvatura. A "técnica do cordel" também não é usada na cobertura da *takasa*, pois a parte inferior dêste grande edifício fica descoberta (cf. fota. 68 e 69), sendo a parte superior coberta à modo da parte superior de outras casas e com tantas camadas como preciso fôr.

Nas construções mais simples, por exemplo na casa *g* (fota. 64 e 67 à direita) e nas casas de verão (fot. 7), é por causa da inexistência do gradeamento de varas que as folhas que cobrem a

parte inferior do edifício são apoiadas obliqüamente nas vigas horizontais exteriores e colocadas com os talos diretamente no chão. Os lados estreitos são descobertos na casa *g* e só em pequena parte cobertos na casa de verão da fotografia 7. Casas desta última espécie construídas no campo e nas suas adjacências povoadas de árvores são habitadas quando a sêca com as oportunidades para pescar em agosto, setembro e outubro leva os índios a deixar a aldeia e aproximar-se do rio. O fato de ser a cobertura de tais habitações transitórias, não tão perfeitas como a das habitações de caráter permanente, compreende-se considerando que ela serve mais para defender do orvalho e do sol, do que da chuva pròpriamente dita. Os restos de casas de verão que encontrei no caminho do rio para a aldeia, consistiam exclusivamente no vigamento sem grades de varas, tendo estado a cobertura completamente desaparecida.

Digna de nota é uma espécie de varanda que ocupava totalmente um dos lados estreitos da casa *a*, tendo 2,5 m. da largura (fig. 9). Estava coberta só na parte superior até as vigas horizontais e servia àquelas e àquelas que, deitando-se na rêde ou fazendo trabalhos domésticos, queriam estar ao ar livre, porém protegidos do sol. (fot. 46).

As entradas das casas têm mais ou menos a largura duma pessoa adulta (fots. 59 e 67), sendo limitadas por cima pela viga horizontal, isto é, em 1,60 m. de altura. Pelo que fiquei sabendo, nunca são fechadas.

O Rev. Kegel informou-me que, na época de chuva, os Tapirapé elevam a terra ao redor de cada casa para impedir com esta cêrca a invasão das águas.

Ao lado das casas estão armações de varas que são tri- ou quadrangulares conforme o número de seus pés, colocando-se nelas mandioca, pimenta e outros frutos para secar e bananas para aquecer ao sol.

Menção especial exige a *takasa* não só pela sua função como casa-dos-homens, mas também pelo aspecto que a distingue de todos os outros edifícios da aldeia no tocante à cobertura, ao tamanho e à forma da base. Como atrás referi, a parte inferior da *takasa* fica descoberta. A parte coberta de folhas está entre parênteses na figura 12. Estas folhas repousam sôbre um gradeamento de varas. Na parte inferior da *takasa*, isto é, de 1,60 m. para baixo, faltam as varas horizontais, de modo que se pode penetrar em qualquer lugar (cf. fots. 68 e 69). Mas a frente do edifício tem um lugar (assinalado nas figuras 8 e 11) que representa a entrada pròpriamente dita. Nêle faltam também algumas varas verticais o que permite às partilhas de dançarinos saírem

indo, não lateral, mas frontalmente, sem desprender o abraço recíproco dos dois parceiros. As traves que apoiam a vara horizontal mais baixa não são verticais, mas inclinadas e fincadas no interior da casa, formando ângulo agudo com as varas verticais (fot. 68). Traves inclinadas seguram também as vigas horizontais saídas consideràvelmente para fora da cobertura (fots. 4, 68 e 69) que atravessam a *taluma* em 3,25 m. de altura, dividindo-a em três

Fig. 11. Planta da "taluma"

partes de 8, 15 e 7,60 m. de comprimento (fig. 11). Tanto pelo comprimento total de 30, 60 m., como pela altura de 5,30 m. e pela largura de 7,25 m. (fig. 12), êste edifício supera todos os outros, diferindo dêles ainda por não ter os lados estreitos retilíneos, mas acabar em semicírculos (figs. 8, 9 e 11).

Enquanto apenas algumas redes-de-dormir e uns poucos objetos de uso masculino denunciam servir a *taluma* não só para a realização de festas, como também de habitação, o aspecto do interior das malocas revela com tôda a intensidade o seu caráter de morada. Eis, por exemplo, a casa *e*. Dentro dela estão, encostados na parede, o banquinho de Kamairabó, uma esteira de sentar, arcos e flechas, peneiras e altas cestas de transporte cheias de frutos do urucureiro e de cabaços. Fincados na parede estão cestinhos, cabaças, saquinhos, tiras para o fabrico do estojo peniano e grandes entrenós de taquaruçu nos quais estão guardadas as penas caudais da arara vermelha. Colocados no chão, no meio da casa, encontram-se potes cheios de algodão para fiar ou de comida, cabaças, pequenos almofarizes feitos de um pedaço de tronco de palmeira, e fogos dos quais alguns têm ao redor de si pedras para segurar a panela.

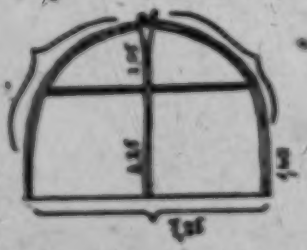

Fig. 12. Corte transversal da "taluma".

Penduradas nas travessas inferiores estão as rêdes-de-dormir, cestinhos e cabaças cheias de farinha de mandioca, um trapo qualquer, algumas espigas de milho e bananas em vésperas de serem consumidas. A dispensa pròpriamente dita começa aqui e vai até as travessas superiores. Nestas estão penduradas grandes quantidades de bananas. Em tiras da mesma espécie pendentes do "teto" até ao alcance da mão levantada dum adulto em pé estão atados cestinhos, cabaças e saquinhos cujo conteúdo (em geral farinha de mandioca), como todos os comestíveis, deve ser protegido da voracidade das baratas e dos cães. O chão dentro da casa é de terra cinzenta-clara e calcada. Sob pequenas e oblongas elevações estão os mortos. A fumaça que continuamente enche a casa, dá ao lado interior de tôda a sua cobertura uma côr negra brilhante. A meia-luz que se conserva durante a noite devido aos fogos ao lado das rêdes, torna-se um tanto mais clara quando o dia penetra pelas fendas da parte inferior das paredes e pelas entradas.

Eis um aspecto da vida noturna na casa *a*:

As galinhas que pernoitam acima do teto, mexem-se sem parar, e de todos os lados vem o murmúrio produzido pelo correr de miríades de baratas. O movimento das rêdes faz as vigas ranger. A fumaça dos fogos não basta para proteger dos mosquitos o corpo nu. Por isso, o Tapirapé deitado na maca embalança-se apoiando a mão ou o pé numa corda estendida ao seu lado, ou deixando pender uma perna para fora a fim de empurrar-se do chão. Assim balouça-se até adormecer. Passando a noite inteira comendo baratas, marcham no solo galinhas com pintos e também frangos acostumados desde pequenos a desempenhar papel de ave noturna à luz dos fogos. De vez em quando, um cão, andando sem pressa alguma, dá uma volta dentro da casa e espreita com paciência as possibilidades gastronômicas. Mas os grandes potes de caiú são bem fechados e todos os outros comestíveis estão penduradas fora do alcance. O cão boceja, mija por costume numa trave e torna a deitar-se perto dum fogo. Às vezes, um dos fogos levanta chama iluminando vivamente a casa, tudo que nela se mexe e tudo que nela produz ruído de espécie qualquer. No tocante a ruídos é mister confessar que também os seres humanos não se constrangem, o que se evidencia tanto mais quanto mais diminue a conversa. Em geral, já duas ou três horas depois do sol posto, ninguém mais fala. É verdade que aquêle que mais tarde, talvez à meia-noite, entra na casa depois de ter dançado fora ou sentido frio dormindo na takasa, fala desembaraçadamente de modo que alguns acordam e a conversa se reanima por um instante. Eu passo deitado muito tempo sem poder pegar no sono. Armar mosquiteiro não é possível por causa da fumaça que, entrando e não

mindo mais, nêle se condensaria. Também não há na casa espaço suficiente para estender objeto tão estrambótico. Por isso puxo o cobertor de lã sôbre a cabeça e quando chego a ser quase sufocado e completamente molhado de suor, entrego-me novamente aos mosquitos (marca *anopheles*) e à fumaça. Isso se repete não sei quantas vezes. As baratas que me visitam, já não provocam nenhuma reação da minha parte. Às vêzes, porém, a camisa que, dobrada, serve-me de travesseiro, cai na sepultura onde, separado verticalmente de mim por um metro e meio de ar e terra, jaz o cadáver dum habitante da casa. Depois de tê-la apanhado, sacudo-a para tirar a poeira esforçando-me a não pensar em saliva humana, urina canina e excrementos de galinha, e ponho-a novamente sob a cabeça. Durante os movimentos necessários para isso, preciso ter cuidado de não fazer cair o revólver e a lâmpada elétrica que estão na minha rêde para a defesa de Tampiitsua contra assaltos noturnos dos Kayapó. De repente estala um urro pertinho do meu ouvido. E' que meus vizinhos de rêde, os dois médicos-feiticeiros Kamairahó e Urukumy, não raramente são consultados de noite e os violentos arrotos e outros ruídos relacionados ao vômito fazem parte da terapia aplicada por êles. Minha rêde não está longe da entrada, e diante desta aparece, a cada quarto de hora, uma parelha de dançarinos cantando retumbantemente e batendo com o pé. Também os outros habitantes da casa não conseguem atravessar tôda a noite dum sono. Depois de meia-noite faz cada vez mais frio. Então os índios retira do fogo que está ao lado da rêde, um pedaço de lenha acesa, obtem fragmentos de brasa golpeando-o no chão e coloca êstes diretamente em baixo da maca. Um meninozinho dorme encurvado numa rêde que já se tornou pequena demais para êle. Não tem mãe que lhe fabrique outra. Seu comprido tembetá de osso de ema pende no ar. De repente, o menino geme, os mosquitos e o frio o despertam, êle se levanta carregado de sono, acocora-se ao lado da brasa quase extinta de seu fogozinho e sopra até reanimar as chamas. Feito isso, êle torna a sentar-se na rêde, esfrega as plantas do pé uma contra a outra para afastar delas a poeira cinzenta-clara do solo, e embalança-se suspirando, às vêzes: "*Aby, tsachó!*" (isto é: "Ai, mosquito!"). — Ao penetrar a madrugada descoradamente na casa, dá-se o acordar geral. Primeiro se levantam as mulheres, sopram o fogo, colocam nêle a panela, vão buscar algodão e fuso, sentam-se ao lado do marido que ainda continua deitado, fiam por um instante, deixam o fuso para irem buscar algumas bananas para o cafejugo e para si, mexem na panela enquanto também o homem se levanta, e assim, pouco a pouco, todos os habitantes da casa se põem em movimento.

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Estando na aldeia e não havendo festas, ambos os sexos costumam passar em casa a maior parte não só da noite, mas também do dia. Algum tempo antes e depois do sol posto estão sentados, porém, no espaço diante de sua casa chamado de *tabapé*, ou na praça em frente da *taba*. Na época da minha visita, êste grande edifício servia de habitação permanente só aos poucos iniciados e a um ou outro solteiro. Outros homens ficaram nêle apenas para "dar uma prosa" ou dançar um pouco, nunca se demorando horas a fio, como se dá com os pais de família na casa-dos-homens bororo.

Tampitaua mostra impressionantes semelhanças com a aldeia e a casa dos Tupinambá. Acêrca da situação da taba dêstes antigos Tupi escreve Hans Staden (p. 2): "Gostam de construir as suas habitações em lugares em cuja proximidade têm água e lenha, assim como caça e peixe..." Claude d'Abbeville (277) observa: "Nos Indiens *Topinambs* demeurent ordinairement les bois le plus pres de la mer qu'ils peuuent pour la pescherie, ou auprès des riuieres pour l'eau douce necessaire à la vie. Ayant trouué vn lieu propre, ils coupent les bois & font vne grande place quarrée, mettans le feu dedans afin de bruslet tout le bois & defricher le lieu". No dizer de Gabriel Soares de Sousa (365), quando o "principal" da taba tupinambá "assenta a sua aldeia, busca sempre um sítio alto e desabafado dos ventos, para que lhe leve as casas, e que tenha a água muito perto, e que a terra tenha disposição para de redor da aldeia fazerem suas roças granjearias..." (Cf. também Vicente de Salvador 35).

No tocante à transferência da aldeia para outro lugar escreve o mesmo autor (ib. 366): "...não vivem mais nesta aldeia, que enquanto lhes não apodrece a palma das casas, que lhes dura três, quatro anos. E como lhe chove muito nelas passam a aldeia para outra parte". (Cf. também Vicente de Salvador 35). Claude d'Abbeville (277) refere: "Ayans demeuré là cinq ou six ans, comme c'est leur coustume de ne demeurer guere dauantage en vn lieu, ils destruisent et bruslent ce lieu et en construisent vn autre à vne demy lieuë de là, où estoient, retenant neanmoins toutiours le nom de leur village precedent. Ils ne donnent autre raison de ce changement, sinon qu'ils disent que leurs grands Peres ont fait le semblable". Staden (p. 2) indica como motivo da mudança o extermínio da caça na região habitada.

A respeito das casas duma aldeia tupinambá temos as seguintes informações das diferentes partes do Brasil e das diversas épocas dos séculos XVI e XVII:

Reproduzindo o relato dos degredados mandados para passar numa tal aldeia perto de Pôrto Seguro escreve Vaz de Caminha

(95) em 1500: "E segundo depois disseram, foram bem uma légua e meia a uma povoação, em que haveria nove ou dez casas, as quais disseram que eram tam compridas, cada uma, como esta nau capitânia. E eram de madeira, e das ilhargas de tábuas, e cobertas de palha, de maneira alta; e tinham de um só espaço, sem repartição alguma, tinham de dentro muitas estacas; e de canto a canto uma cada uma com cabos em cada estaca, altas, em que dormiam. E de baixo, para se aquentarem, faziam seus fogos. E tinha cada uma duas portas pequenas, uma numa extremidade, e outra na oposta. E disseram que em cada uma se recolhiam trinta ou quarenta pessoas, e que assim os encontraram".

Em 1554 começou Anchieta (2 45) numa carta de Piratiniga: "...cada aldeia contém atualmente seis ou sete casas..."

Referindo-se, na mesma época, igualmente aos Tupinambá da Capitania de São Vicente, observa Staden, (p. 2 — p 3): "...quando querem construir aqui, um cabeça reúne um partido de mais 40 homens e melhores, os quantos pode conseguir, e fazem construir seu assento e paredes. Edificam uma cabana que tem cerca de 4 pés de largura e, conforme o número de habitantes, até 150 pésde comprimento. A altura é mais ou menos de 2 braças. A parte superior é arredondada como a abóbada de uma adega. Para dormir-se de chuva colocam a casa aproximadamente com palmas. Não há compartimento fechado, mas cada casal ocupa num dos lados da casa um espaço de 12 pés de comprimento, vivendo outro casal no espaço correspondente do lado oposto. Deste modo, as alcovas ficam repletas. Cada casal tem seu fogo próprio. O cabeça da casa está alojado no meio dela. Comumente, as casas estão revestidas de três portinhas, estando uma em cada extremidade, e uma no meio. Estas portinhas são tão baixas que é preciso curvar-se para sair e entrar. Poucas aldeias têm mais de sete casas. Entre as casas há uma praça, em que reunem os prisioneiros."

Na xilogravura que acompanha êste texto (lb. p 3), a praça retangular é cercada por quatro casas em forma de abóbada comprida, vendo-se em três destas casas duas entradas no lado adjacente à praça. Mas outras xilogravuras do mesmo autor (lb. f 4, g 4, h 1, i 1, z 3, z 4) correspondem melhor à sua descrição, mostrando entradas no meio e na extremidade ocidental das casas.

Num antigo mapa de Espírito Santo (Espírito Santo e Aldeia dos Reis Magos; Rotão do Estado do Brasil no Governo do Norte escrito até como o teve Dd Diogo de Menezes até o ano de 1612, BM. do Porto, ms. 126, apud Serafim Leite 2 1 240 e 586) vemos na costa uma aldeia índia de quatro cabanas que cercam da mesma maneira uma praça retangular e têm a mesma forma de abóbada

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comprida como as colunas representadas nas xilogravuras de Staden. As entradas estão no lado estreito e não no lado comprido. Isto se dá também com as casas em forma de abóbada comprida que aparecem numa xilogravura de Lery (235).

Magalhães de Gandavo (46) escreve: "As Povoações destes Indios são aldeas: cada huma dellas tem sete oito casas as quaes são muy compridas feitas á maneira de corredores ou terraços fabricadas somente de madeira e cobertas com palma ou com outras hervas do mesmo semelhante: estão todas cheas de gente de huma parte e doutra e cada hum por si tem sua instancia, e sua rede armada, em que dorme e assi está huns juntos dos outros por ordem, e pelo meio da casa fica hum caminho aberto por onde todos se servem como dormitorio, ou cousa de gaõ".

Gabriel Soares de Sousa (366) refere que as casas tupinambá eram cobertas "de palma, a que os indios chamam pindoba", feito "muito compridas, e arrumadas, de maneira que lhe fica no meio um terreiro quadrado, onde fazem bailes e os seus ajuntamentos... E nestas casas não há nenhum repartimento, mais que os tiraintes; e entre um e outro é um rancho onde se agasalha cada parentela, e o principal tem o seu rancho primeiro, onde se lhe arruma com sua mulher e filhos, mancebos, criados solteiros, e a algumas velhas que o servem, e pela mesma ordem vai arrumando a gente de sua casa, cada parentela em seu lanço; donde se não poderão mudar, salvo se for algum mancebo solteiro, e casar, porque em tal caso se irá para o lanço onde está sua mulher; e por cima destes tiraintes das casas lançam umas varas arrumadas bem juntas, a que chamam jurôos, em que guardam suas alfaias e seus legumes, que se aqui curam ao fumo, para não apodrecerem; e da mesma maneira se arrumam e ordenam nas outras casas; e em umas e outras a gente que se agasalha em cada lanço dêstes".

Com referência à "grande praça quadrada" da aldeia tupinambá escreve Claude d'Abbeville (227-278): "...Ils batissent quatre grandes loges au milieu de cette place qu'ils disposent en forme de cloistre. Ces loges sont faites de bois & couvertes de *Pindo* depuis le haut iusques en bas (comme il a esté dit cy devant) aussi longues & larges qu'ils iugent estre necessaire pour loger le nombre des peuples qu'ils sont.... Ces longues loges n'ont aucune cloison ou separation que empeche la veuë d'vn bout à l'autre: seulement ils demeurent tous là dedans sans confusion, chaque Pere de famille ayant ses femmes, ses enfans, ses cochons & ses meubles à part en son canton".

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# OS TAPIRAPÉ

## Tribo tupi no Brasil Central

(Especial para a "Revista do Arquivo")

-(Continuação)

HERBERT BALDUS

Métraux (I 55-56) observa: "Aucun traits ne fait mention de Tonistones chez les Tupinambá de haute spéciale construite à la célébration des fêtes ou à la réception des hôtes. Les cérémonies religieuses de la communauté se déroulaient dans s'importe quelle maison dont on avait expulsé au préalable les femmes et les enfants. Des hottes ayant soit le caractère de maison de danse, soit celui de "club" où les hommes se rassemblaient et où ils accueillaient des étrangers, sont mentionnées chez les Apapocúva, les Chiriguano, les Guayaqí, les Mundurukú, les Aweté, les Kamayurá et les Oyampí".

Se, por um lado, esta enumeração não autoriza a considerar a "casa-dos-homens" (cf. êste termo em Baldus e Willems 42-43) como elemento cultural tipicamente tupi, pois encontramos as suas diversas espécies também em numerosas tribos de outras famílias linguísticas sul-americanas (cf. Ibidem), é, por outro lado, preciso mencionar o fato de Yves d'Evreux, na sua "Voyage dans le Nord du Brésil fait durant les années 1613 et 1614", usar várias vezes o vocábulo *corbet* com o qual, entre os Kerahi, era chamada a casa-do-conselho. Assim, por exemplo, o capuchinho francês (o. c., 55) atribue a um índio as seguintes palavras: "... toutes les fois que iessuge, que je suis fils d'un des grands de mon pays, & que nous pour estoit craint, & que chacun l'estimoient pour l'escouter quand il alloit au *Corbet*..." Denis (Ch. 487-488) observa a respeito que é um Tabajara, isto é, um Tupi do Maranhão, quem fala, mas que a palavra *corbet* não pertence à língua dêle, sendo usada particularmente entre os Galibi e outras tribos da Guiana. Cita a informação do padre da Tertre segundo a qual os Kerahi chamam de *corbet* uma grande casa comum que está no meio de tôdas as outras casas. É provável que, no tempo de Yves d'Evreux, êste tôrmo já tenha sido conhecido entre os franceses que se interessaram pelas colônias da América, e por isso, empregado pelo capuchinho para designar um edifício com função análoga entre os Tupi. Convém notar, porém, que o *corbet* no Maranhão, mencionado por êle, foi freqüentado também pelas mulheres (cf. Yves d'Evreux, 56). O que fica na dúvida é se essa casa-do-conselho era,

entre os antigos Tupi, um edifício especial ou uma casa igual a todas as outras que só em determinadas ocasiões servia para as reuniões cerimoniais. Esta questão surge também quando lemos em Gabriel de Soares (384) acêrca dos Tupinambá da Bahia, que o principal "se ajunta... em outra casa, onde se ajuntam os anciãos da aldeia..." Era o local dêste "ajuntamento" outra casa qualquer ou uma casa diferente de tôdas as outras, à maneira em que difere, por exemplo, a taba dos outros edifícios tapirapé? E onde estava situado?

Os dados acima citados revelam acêrca da disposição das casas dentro da aldeia tupinambá certa semelhança com Tempiltzona no sentido de coexistirem aqui e acolá as casas e praça central. A diferença essencial a êsse respeito consiste em estar no meio da praça de Tempiltzona a grande casa-dos-homens, ao passo que, conforme tôdas as notícias e xilogravuras correspondentes, a praça da aldeia tupinambá não tinha edifício algum no centro.

Mais completa parece ser, em todo caso, a semelhança entre a taba dos Tapirapé e a dos Mundurukú. Segundo Tocantins (182, 183), a casa-dos-homens dêste tribo do Tapajós, cujo língua mostra parentesco com idiomas tupi, chama-se ekpé e está no centro da aldeia. "O ekpé consiste em uma longa casa, de cêrca de cem metros de comprimento, coberta de palha, e em tôda sua extensão aberta para o nascente. Nesta situação está perfeitamente ventilada, e lembra da invasão dos carapanãs e de outros mosquitos insuportáveis, que constituem o suplício dos que vivem ao meio das matas ou à margem dos rios. Os raios do sol ao nascer penetram livremente e dedulam o frio da madrugada, que aí é muito intenso. No ekpé moram somente os homens válidos, os guerreiros e seus filhos maiores de oito anos. Cada guerreiro arma no ekpé sua rede no lugar que bem lhe parece. No terreiro, também para o nascente estão três linhas de esteira unidas por travessas, onde os guerreiros armam suas redes nas horas mais do verão. Suspenso no teto do ekpé, sôbre a rede tem o guerreiro à mão tudo quanto precisa: arcos, flechas, tacape e buzina. Todos dormem em redes tecidas de fios de algodão e tão pequenas que é preciso estar imóvel para não cair no chão. O algodão é plantado pela índia; o fio e a rede por ela fabricadas. No ekpé, por entre as redes dos guerreiros, ardem muitas fogueiras durante a noite. Em tôrno do ekpé estão as casas das mulheres, onde também habitam as crianças de ambos os sexos, os velhos decrépitos e os doentes. Em Necodemarte estas casas são em número de cinco, bastante vastas, construídas com mais cuidado, mais altas, fechadas por todos os lados, tendo por entrada uma abertura apenas, e às vezes duas. Não têm divisão alguma interior: é tôda comum; mas cada mãe de família, com suas crianças, seus velhos decrépitos e seus doentes, tomam conta dos se lado da casa, e aí armam suas redes. Junto delas estão seus utensílios, a saber: baiairos, tacapes, penteiras, etc. No meio da casa estão um ou dois fornos de fabricar farinha: não são mais do que buracos cobertos, mais ou menos planos, cobrindo sôbre outras pedras. Por baixo do forno arde a fogueira. Nas casas das mulheres os guerreiros podem entrar quando lhes parece; mas as mulheres nunca penetram no ekpé. Nessas casas das mulheres dos guerreiros

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ao objeto mais precioso, tais como ornatos de penas, cinturões de dentes humanos, cabeças inimigas, etc. Tôdas as vezes que tive ocasião de entrar nestas casas encontrei sempre mulheres trabalhando; umas teciam a rede, outras fabricavam farinha, outras moqueavam carne, outras cozinham, outras preparavam mingau de bananas, etc. Nunca aí foi que não me ofereceram alguma coisa para comer: ora batata cozida, ora mingau de bananas".

Os dados acima referidos acêrca da disposição das casas dentro das aldeias tapirawaká, mundurukú e tapirapé não permitem considerar, porém, como traço tipicamente tupi o agrupamento ao redor de um centro, seja êste a casa-dos-homens ou aí uma praça sem edifício no meio. Tal agrupamento é próprio, também, das tribos Gê e dos Bororo. A aldeia kayapó visitada por Ernane (§ 372 e fig. 269) constituía em 14 cabanas compridas (*bikrô*) e dispostas em círculo, cercando com o lado comprido uma grande praça. "Segundo informações dos Kayapó há, no meio da praça das grandes aldeias, uma grande casa especial na qual os solteiros dormem e ficam durante o dia." (§§. 374). As casas dos Apinayé, como as dos Timbira Orientais, formam aproximadamente um círculo, tendo os lados compridos virados para a praça (Nimuendajú § 18). As casas chavante estavam dispostas em forma de ferradura ao redor da casa-dos-solteiros (Nimuendajú § 18 e fig. 1). Esta disposição foi conservada pelos Chavantes do rio das Mortes, como mostra a informação a respeito citada no capítulo IV na qual o edifício central é chamado, por nova imaginação, de "casinha do capitão", o qual, além disso, é altìdinamente visível numa fotografia tirada de avião e reproduzida na revista norte-americana "Life" em 19 de março de 1945 (pág. 72) na qual aparece uma "ferradura" de 17 casas hemisféricas com uma casa da mesma forma no meio. Acêrca da aldeia dos vilarinhos meridionais dêstes índios, isto é, da aldeia dos Bororo Orientais, escrevem Colbacchini e Albisetti (35): "As vinte e duas cabanas limitam um grande espaço, quase circular, o *bororo*, "pátio da aldeia". Surge no centro uma cabana bastante maior, de forma retangular, na direção leste-oeste: é o *bai-mamagerugu*, lugar destinado para a reunião dos homens que aí passam o dia preparando arcos, flechas e ornamentos; nesse mesmo lugar dormem os homens solteiros. É também o lugar onde se realizam as lutas, os bailes e a maior parte das manifestações religiosas. Há duas portas voltadas uma para leste e outra para oeste."

Digna de nota é a relação da aldeia circular com a organização dual de certas tribos. A aldeia bororo divide-se em dois semicírculos de casas dos quais cada um é habitado por uma das metades exógamas e matrilineares (§§. 35 e 41). Entre os Chavante, uma das metades exógamas e patrilineares ocupava o segmento setentrional da aldeia, e a outra o segmento meridional (Nimuendajú § 18). Dentro mesmo estavam localizadas, também, as metades matrilineares e não exógamas dos Apinayé (Nimuendajú § 21-22). Ernane (35) informa que os Mundurukú do Tapajós são organizados em metades exógamas que, por sua vez, se dividem em clãs patrilineares, mas não localiza a sua residência dentro da aldeia.

Na planta de Tanpilhuas (fig. 8), a disposição das casas ao redor da *kahuma* mostra claramente duas semicírculos distanciados

um do outro, estando um na parte setentrional e o outro, na parte meridional da aldeia. A maior casa de cada grupo está no meio das outras, de modo que estas duas casas maiores, isto é, as casas *a* e *c*, fiquem mais ou menos uma em frente da outra, tendo entre si a *tekma*. A importante dança do *Jemikó* que será descrita em outro capítulo, foi realizada, primeiro, na casa *a* e, logo depois, pelas mesmas pessoas, na casa *c*. Em várias danças de máscaras, as parelhas, atravessando a praça da aldeia, se movimentaram, alternadamente, de uma dessas casa até a outra. Os chefes das duas casas, Kamaiwahó e Vuatanamy, eram não sòmente os principais líderes de Tampiitana, mas também formavam parelha numa daquelas danças. E' por isso, possível que representassem as "metades cerimoniais, patrilineais e não exogâmicas", mencionadas por Wagley (§ 7).

Segundo êste autor (lb.), a residência dos Tapirapé é matrilocal. Ao tempo da minha estadia em Tampiitana havia 8 casais com ascendentes vivos: 1) na casa *a*, o casal designado com os números 3 e 10 na planta da aldeia (fig. 8) morava com o indivíduo 1, isto é, o pai do marido (a mãe do marido e os pais da mulher estavam mortos); 2) o casal 11 e 16 da mesma casa não morava com o 28, isto é, o pai da mulher, na casa *b* (os pais do marido e a mãe da mulher estavam mortos); 3) o casal 13 e 18 morava na mesma casa *a* como 8, isto é, a mãe do marido, e como 17 e 24, isto é, os pais da mulher (o pai do marido estava morto); 4) o casal 29 e 36 da casa *b* não morava com 22, isto é, a mãe da mulher, na casa *a* (os pais do marido e o pai da mulher estavam mortos); 5) o casal 33 e 42 da casa *b* morava nesta casa com 48, isto é, a mãe do marido (o pai do marido e os pais da mulher estavam mortos); 6 o casal 35 e 40 da mesma casa não morava com 56, isto é, a mãe do marido, na casa *d* (o pai do marido e os pais da mulher estavam mortos); 7) o casal 51 e 58 da casa *d* morava nesta casa com 56, isto é, a mãe do marido (o pai do marido e os pais da mulher estavam mortos; 8) o casal 85 e 92 da casa *f* não morava com 22, isto é, a mãe do marido, na casa *a* (o pai do marido e os pais da mulher estavam mortos). Como se vê, êstes dados não autorizam a falar na existência duma instituição matrilocal ou patrilocal entre os Tapirapé de 1935, nem contribuem para resolver a questão se êstes índios praticavam, antigamente, a patrilocalidade ou a matrilocalidade.

Talvez seja oportuno chamar a atenção para o trecho de Gabriel Soares de Sousa (268) acima citado no qual o quinhentista, tratando das casas dos Tupinambá, escreve que o mancebo, ao casar, "se irá para o lanço onde está sua mulher," observação essa repetida, logo depois, pelo mesmo autor (lb. 268), com as seguintes palavras: "... e como os sogros lhes entregam as damas, êles se vão agasalhar no lanço dos sogros com as mulheres, e apartam-se dos pais, mães e irmãos, e mais parentela com quem dantes estavam." — A residência dêsses parentes dos Tapirapé era, portanto, matrilocal.

Resta considerar os dados publicados acêrca das aldeias dos Karajá e das tribos da parte superior da bacia do Xingu. Segundo Fritz Krause (§ 262-263, 354 e figs. 28 e 188), tanto nas aldeias

dos Karajá como nas dos Javahé, as casas estão dispostas em fila, ficando a casa-dos-solteiros à parte e em certa distância dêste agrupamento. Sôbre as aldeias xinguanas escreve Max Schmidt (S 455-456): "Em contraste com as grandes casas-de-sipe de muitas outras tribos indígenas da região florestal brasileira, altamente individualizadas e formando, portanto, cada uma delas uma aldeia para si, as casas dos índios da região das cabeceiras do Xingu são reunidas, geralmente, em grupos de várias que formam aldeias. Só a terceira aldeia mehinaku e a quarta aldeia kamayurá consistiam numa única casa. Mas a casa kamayurá tinha sido construída há pouco tempo, e existia a intenção de reunir com ela tôdas as quatro aldeias kamayurá. Em geral, as aldeias bakairi têm menor número de casas, pois, na maior parte, consistem só em duas ou três casas-de-sipe. Unicamente a aldeia bakairi de Malmalóti construída, mais tarde, na margem direita do Culiseu em lugar da segunda e terceira aldeia, consistia em quatro casas-de-sipe, e a quarta aldeia do Batovi tinha, até, seis casas-de-sipe. Muito maior é, geralmente, o número de casas das quais se compõem as aldeias das outras tribos da região das cabeceiras do Xingu. A aldeia nahukuá situada no Culiseu consistia em duas casas-de-sipe. A maior aldeia conhecida da região das cabeceiras do Xingu, isto é, a dos Akuka-Nahukuá de nome Calapalo, visitada, mais tarde, por Herrmann Meyer, tinha dezoito ou dezenove casas-de-sipe, conforme que descontamos ou não dêste número de-mais uma casa como edifício de festas. A primeira aldeia dos Mehinaku tinha treze casas-de-sipe. As duas outras aldeias desta tribo eram muito menores, tendo uma somente quatro ou cinco casas, e a outra, como já mencionamos, uma casa só. A aldeia aweté consistia em oito casas-de-sipe, e a vivenda dos chamados Arawétí que estava muito perto e cujos habitantes se compunham de homens aweté e mulheres yaulapíti, tinha duas casas. A primeira aldeia dos Yaulapíti tinha seis casas das quais algumas já eram muito velhas; a segunda aldeia tinha nove casas das quais só quatro eram bons para morar, enquanto as restantes cinco eram velhas. A primeira das quatro aldeias kamayurá tinha quatro e a segunda seis casas-de-sipe; a terceira tinha duas casas-de-sipe e, além disso, uma casa desmoronada e outra em construção; a quarta aldeia consistia, como acima mencionamos, numa única casa. As aldeias dos Trumai consistiam em seis ou oito e em quatro ou cinco casas, conforme que suponha ou não, em cada aldeia, uma casa como edifício de festas. Havendo várias casas numa aldeia, estas estão dispostas em círculo ao redor duma praça..."

Referindo-se à casa-de-festas nas aldeias da região das cabeceiras do Xingu observa o mesmo autor (Sh. 417-418): "Como ponto de reunião da sociedade masculina, como depósito dos instrumentos para as danças cerimoniais e como pouso para os hóspedes masculinos, o seu lugar está na proximidade imediata das grandes casas-de-sipe, portanto na própria aldeia, e assim a maior parte das aldeias está provida de uma casa-de-festas e sempre dessas só. Casa especial para abrigar os forasteiros falhava somente na primeira aldeia dos Yaulapíti, como naturalmente também nas duas já mencionadas vivendas dos Mehinaku e Kamayurá que

1: Baldus SP22 Tapirapé



constituem numa única casa. A casa-de-festas dos Nahukuá e dos Mehinaku estava no meio da praça rodeada das casas-de-sipa. Segundo Herrmann Meyer, a casa-de-festas dessa das aldeias trumai estava igualmente no centro do círculo formado pelas casas-de-sipa."

Se, portanto, pela existência dessa casa-de-festas e pela disposição das malocas ao redor dela, as aldeias de várias tribos da região das cabeceiras do Xingu se assemelham com Tempiítsma, o mesmo não se dá no tocante à forma das malocas e à proporção entre as dimensões delas e da casa-de-festas. Naquela parte da bacia do Xingu, a maloca não tem, como a dos Tapirapé, planta retangular, mas elíptica ou redonda, parecendo-se, pela sua forma de colmeia, com as mencionadas casas hemisféricas dos Chavante do rio da Morte, e não com a abóboda comprida (cf. lb. 480-481, Meyer *I* 62 e a fig. em Von den Steinen *I* 134). E há, a casa-de-festas não é, como a itsema de Tempiítsma, maior do que as casas de famílias da mesma aldeia, mas, em geral, menor do que elas (Max Schmidt: *I* 482).

Os Karajá e os Javahé se distinguem dos Tapirapé não só pela disposição das casas dentro da aldeia, como também pela planta e forma destas casas (cf. Krause *I* 194-198, figuras 18-21 e pranchas 22, 28 e 48). É verdade que o corte transversal dessa casa javahé da ilha do Bananal, representada por Déle entre as fig. 28, se parece com o corte transversal das casas tapirapé. Mas, a mesma figura mostra que a planta daquela casa javahé é bem diferente da das malocas de Tempiítsma, distinguindo-se dentre por ser fechada em cada um dos lados extremos com uma construção em arco. Além disso, tais casas javahé medem, segundo Krause (lb. 197) 20-25 m. de comprimento e 12-15 m. de largura. Diferindo, portanto das casas Tapirapé, principalmente por esta última, os dois outros cortes transversais representados por Krause, bem é, a dessa casa karajá (fig. 19) e a dessa casa javahé do Xié (fig. 21) mostram o teto e a parede como duas peças diferentes formando cada uma uma linha reta, e não como uma peça só e curvilínea, conforme o que se vê no corte transversal da casa javahé da ilha do Bananal (lb. fig. 28) e da maloca tapirapé.

Enquanto as aldeias dos Kayapó, segundo a informação acima reproduzida, se parecem com Tempiítsma pela disposição das casas ao redor dessa casa-de-homens, a planta e a orientação das malocas dessas Gê representadas por Krause (lb. fig. 216) são diferentes das das casas tapirapé. Como as casas kayapó cercam com o lado comprido a praça redonda, formando cada uma delas um segmento de círculo, a sua planta é, em consequência disso, curva, sendo o lado dirigido para o centro do círculo, mais curto do que o lado oposto da mesma casa (cf. lb. 173). As entradas estão nos dois lados extremos, portanto em frente das entradas das duas casas centrais (lb.). Se bem que as casas kayapó sejam, como as dos Tapirapé, abóbadas compridas, distinguem-se delas também por terem no seu interior, em vez de três, só duas filas equidistantes de traves verticais, sendo as traves de uma fila mais altas do que as da outra. Além disso, a fila das traves mais altas não está no meio da casa, como se dá com a maloca tapirapé, mas perto de um de seus lados. Por isso, as varas finíssimas no chão

e amarradas, como em Tampiitsua, nas travessas que ligam as traves mais altas repousando nas suas forquilhas, não têm o mesmo comprimento, sendo fincadas perto da fila das traves mais altas, muito mais curtas do que as fincadas perto da fila das traves mais baixas. Pela mesma razão, a junção das varas não está, como na maloca tapirapé, no ponto culminante da casa. Também o corte transversal é sempre completamente arcado em vez de mais ou menos ogival, como acontece, frequentemente, com as construções feitas à moda dos Tapirapé ou dos Javahé da Ilha do Bananal. As varas mais compridas são apoiadas, ainda, pelas travessas que ligam as traves mais baixas.

Já comparamos Tampiitsua com a aldeia e casa dos Tupinambá e das tribos tupi da parte superior da bacia do Xingu. Acêrca de outros Tupi convém mencionar, a êsse respeito, ainda o seguinte: Dos cinco estabelecimentos maiores dos Juruna encontrados, em 1884, por von den Steinen (I 236, 254, 258, 263 e 264) no meio e baixo Xingu, o primeiro estava situado sôbre duas rochas no meio do rio, havendo numa dessas rochas duas cabanas maiores e uma pequena, e na outra rocha cinco cabanas pequenas; o segundo tinha quatro cabanas numa ilha, duas pequenas cabanas perto dela e uma cabana em outra ilha; o terceiro tinha três cabanas em ilhas; o quarto consistia em três e o quinto em duas cabanas. O mesmo autor não fornece dados satisfatórios sôbre a casa dêsses índios. O desenho da aldeia juruna feito pelo seu primo Wilhelm von den Steinen e reproduzido no seu livro (lâ. 253) mostra duas casas cujo teto parece ser formado pela junção de duas pérgolas. Mas a minuciosa descrição das casas dos Juruna do baixo Xingu que devemos a Adalbert Prinz von Preussen (633-634) evidencia que, em 1842, tôdas as habitações dessas tribos válidas pelo príncipe prussiano eram abóbadas compridas, construídas mais ou menos à moda dos Tapirapé e parecidas com as moradas dos seus vizinhos Chipaia e Kuruaia vistas, ainda em nosso século, por Emilio Snethlage (I 402, 404 e 421).

Referindo-se a uma tabela na qual mostra que 13 e 17 tribos tupi tinham casas quadrangulares e 4 também casas redondas ou ovais, escreve Métraux (I 56-57): "Si l'on examine à présent les cabanes où sont indiquées les formes des maisons, l'on verra que celles dont le plan est rectangulaire sont de beaucoup les plus nombreuses. Cette forme se rencontre chez trois les Tupi-Guarani à l'exception de ceux du haut Xingú et du Tapajós. L'on retrouve fréquemment la couverture de feuilles constituant à la fois le toiture et les parois. Le P. Schmidt qui considère la maison quadrangulaire comme propre aux versants orientaux des Andes et au nord-ouest de l'Amérique du Sud, croit que ce type d'habitation a été répandu au sud de l'Amazone par les migrations des Tupi-Guarani dont il place le berceau dans une région voisine de celle qui était habitée par les Omagua. Nordenskiöld a démontré à l'aide d'une carte que la hutte ronde prédomine à l'est des Andes et dans le nord-ouest de l'Amérique du Sud. Si les Tupi ont contribué à l'extension de la maison quadrangulaire, ce n'est certainement pas sur le haut Amazone qu'ils en ont pris le modèle. Là, la ma-

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loca carrée des Omagua apparaît comme une exception explicable seulement par l'hypothèse d'une migration récente".

O costume tapirapé de enterrar o morto no interior da casa era ou é praticado por muitas tribos tupi, a saber, pelos Tupinambá (Léry 303, Gabriel Soares de Sousa, 462), Tembé (Dodt 187), Juruna (von den Steinen I 268), Chipaia (Southlagr 2 462 e 617), Apiaká (Guimarães 310), Mundurukú (Martius 2 I 383, Tocantins 117), Kavahib-Parintintin (Dengler 122, García de Freitas 67), Kaingná (Ambrosetti 80), Guarani (Métraux 2 275), Chiriguano (ib.), Kokama (ib.) e Arikrme (Lopes I 633). (A língua arikrme é considerada como tupi por Nimuendajú 6 93). E' verdade que outras tribos tupi e uma parte dos Tupinambá (cf. Métraux 2 273 e 275) sepultaram o morto fora da casa. Acêrca dêste último, porém, Métraux (2 273) observa: "L'enseveliissement dans la hutte semble devoir représenter la coutume primitive. Cependant les Tupinamba y dérogeaient souvent et enterraient le mort en dehors de la maison; en ce cas on élevait sur sa fosse une petite hutte en miniature".

Por outro lado, o entêrro no interior da casa não é costume restrito aos Tupi, sendo muito difundido entre os Karaib e Arawak das Guianas (cf. Koch-Grünberg 2 III 168 nota 2). E' verdade que a maioria destas tribos não continua a morar na casa do morto (ib. 169 notas 1 e 2), nisso se parecendo com os Tembé (Dodt 187) e se distinguindo de várias outras Tupi, por exemplo, dos Tapirapé, Tupinambá e Juruna.

Seja como for: o costume de sepultar o defunto dentro da casa onde morreu, e de continuar a habitar esta casa mostra que os Tapirapé podem ser considerados parentes dos Tupinambá e da maior parte das tribos da mesma família lingüística, diferenciando-se dos Karajá (Krause 2 330), dos Kayapó (ib. 481) e das tribos do Culiseu (von den Steinen 2 339).

Também o uso da rêde-de-dormir revela o parentesco dos Tapirapé com os Tupinambá e a família Tupi em geral (cf. Métraux 2 88-89). E como os Tapirapé, os Tupinambá dormiam nus e sem cobertura, conservando tôda a noite o fogo ao lado da rêde (cf. Staden p. 4; Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil 270; Salvador 38). Segundo von den Steinen (2 119), também os Kamayurá costumavam manter acesso, durante a noite, pequenos fogueiros perto de suas mesas. Mas enquanto, pelo que informa frei Vicente do Salvador (35), o marido tupinambá dormia com a mulher, geralmente, na mesma rede, o que, com certas exceções, é costume também entre os Tapirapé, os cônjuges na região das cabeceiras do Xingu, segundo o diário de Herrmann Meyer (2 64) dormem separados em rêdes armadas uma em cima da outra. Max Schmidt (2 434) confirma isso no tocante aos Bakairi do Culiseu. Como os Tapirapé, os Tupinambá, no dizer de Léry (270), carregavam consigo as suas redes nas caçadas e pescarias, suspendendo-as nos troncos das árvores para dormirem.

A maneira tapirapé de embalsamar-se os mortos foi encontrada, também, entre índios das selvas da Bolívia oriental. Cada uma das seguintes palavras de Richard N. Wegner (2 78) sôbre dos Sirionó pode ser aplicada a muitos habitantes do Tocantins:

"Ambos os Sirionó nus estavam estendidos em rêdes curtas. Somente as nádegas e a cabeça cabiam mais ou menos; o pé direito balançava-se na corda de armar a rêde, enquanto a perna esquerda, ficando pendurada também no seno, conservava, durante a noite, a maca em movimento oscilatório."

Uma particularidade da cultura tapirapé é a rêde de menstruação. Certas macas têm uma abertura no lugar em que a mulher põe as nádegas. Em geral, tais rêdes são usadas também fora da época do menstruo. Mas na casa *d* havia o casal Techipy e Manchiró que dormiam com Mareiamã, a sua filha de três anos, na mesma rêde, possuindo, além disso, uma rêde de menstruação. Esta, porém, era usada por Manchiró somente no tempo para o qual estava destinada, e foi por cautela que a deixei em branco na figura 8. Nunca tive notícia acêrca da existência de rêdes de menstruação em outras culturas. Naturalmente, é possível que elas existam entre outros povos sem serem observadas pelos exploradores.

A rêde da casa *c*, que deixei em branco na mesma figura, era pequenina, pois pertencia a um cesinho, assim bem de "cachorro-menino", no dizer dos Tapirapé.

Pelo uso da maca, êstes índios se distinguem dos seus vizinhos orientais, setentrionais e, provàvelmente, também dos meridionais: os Karajá e os Kayapó dormem no chão (cf. Krause 2 198 e 373), e o mesmo devemos supor dos Chavante do rio das Mortes, dos quais se encontrou muitas estolas, mas, pelo que sei, nenhuma rêde-de-dormir.

Móvel do qual existia apenas um único exemplar em Tapirapé, era o banquinho. Lemos em Métraux (2 63): "Aucun élément de culture n'est aussi caractéristique du nord et du centre de l'Amérique du Sud que l'escabeau de bois. Sa limite méridionale coïncide avec celle du hamac et marque par là régions extrêmes occupées par les Tupi-Guarani. Nous le trouvons en effet mentionné chez les Tupinambá, les Caingua, les Chiriguano, les Guarayó, les Yuruna, les Chipaya, les Curuaya, les Aweté, les Kamayurá et les Oyampi. Ortiguera est au nombre des merveilles que possédaient les Omágua leurs escabeaux peints et vernis. Ceux des Chiriguano, des Caingua, des Yuruna et des Kamayurá sont en forme d'animaux."

Convém lembrar, porém, que, como mostra o padre Wilhelm Schmidt num quadro comparativo 16, na América do Sul, grande variedade de tipos não só entre o banquinho em geral, mas também entre aquêles que representam animais. Um dêsses últimos tipos é particular dos índios do alto Xingu (vem dos Steinen 2 288-289), dos Karajá (Krause 2 19) e dos Tapirapé. Consiste numa só peça de madeira que forma o assento e as duas tábuas de suporte dispostas à maneira de tesoura. Mas entre os Kamayurá, Mehinakú e Trumai, a representação de aves conserva um certo naturalismo (cf. von den Steinen 2, lgs 82-84), ao passo que ela é completamente estilizada entre os Karajá (cf. Krause 2 prancha 18) onde o assento alongado do banquinho termina, nos dois lados, numa espécie de cabeça triangular, provida de olhos de madrepérola com pupilas de cera e, nos extremos das orelhas, de bolas

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de penas de papagaio vermelho-escarlate. O banquinho que vi em Tampitiwa, assemelhava-se na forma com o dos Karajá representado por Krause (lb.), sendo como êste também pintado de preto com suco de genipapo (cf. Krause 2 199), não tendo, porém, nem olhos nem orifício e entalhes marculares. Não obstante de seu aspecto mostrar um parentesco mais chegado com o móvel dos índios remeiros do Araguaia, o seu nome o liga-va com o banquinho xinguano. Pois enquanto os karajá chamam o banquinho de Aoliati (Krause, lb.), os Tapirapé lhe dão a designação de *ampipeme* que no tupi dos Asurí e Kamayurá vem ser a *apipép* (apiép na grafia de von den Steinen 2 286). Digno de nota é que uma tribo karajá da mesma região, a saber, os Bakairi, usam o mesmo termo tupi transformado em *apipe* (apiéo na grafia de von den Steinen lb.). O mesmo vocábulo, porém, com o acento tônico na última sílaba, isto é, *apipé*, significa banco no dialeto tupi-guarani falado por Montoya (T I 105) na bacia do alto Paraná, ao passo que o abecedário anamítico de Strauss (894) dá *apipéme* e *apipéipe* para banco e *apiéiaú* para o assentado. Dos Tupinambá do Maranhão menciona Claude d'Abbeville (268) "des petits escabeaux fort jolis qu'ils appellent *Apenpeme*."

Acêrca da função dos banquinhos é preciso considerar a informação de Krause (l. c.) segundo a qual êles, entre os Karajá, "existem só para chefes", e a observação de von den Steinen (T 287) de não se encontrarem muitos exemplares dêles entre as tribos da parte superior da bacia do Xingu, havendo-os lá, porém, sempre na casa do chefe são êles oferecidos ao hóspede. (Esta última indicação é confirmada por Meyer 2 63).

Kamaiurá era o dono do banquinho em Tampitiwa. Onde estava êste líder mais importante dos Tapirapé, lá estava também o assento de madeira, como se fôsse uma insígnia de dignidade. Kamaiurá levava-o consigo para sentar-se na praça de Tampitiwa ou, ao lado da aldeia, em frente da cabana construída e habitada pelo meu companheiro Kagel e pelo camarada Daniel. Só quando estava dentro de sua própria casa, encostava o banquinho na parede perto de sua rêde, sentando-se ou deitando-se nela. E como os xinguanos, também entre os Tapirapé foi êsse "assento de honra" oferecido ao hóspede. Nunca, porém, fiquei sòzinho nêle. O fato de, bem acompanhados, dois pessoas poderem usar o móvel ao mesmo tempo, levou Kamaiurá a cederme apenas a metade de seu trono. É verdade que, para isso, não bastava êle afastar-se simplesmente para o lado. Era preciso levantar-se e estabelecer consigo uma completa harmonia dos seus movimentos. Pois, se bem que a tábua horizontal do assento fôsse suficientemente grande para não dois, o entalhe-suporte no seu meio era, como o do banquinho karajá representado por Krause, tão pequeno e ainda diminuído em direção ao chão, que foi preciso cada um de nós tomar pouco de sua metade com a mais rigorosa simetria para não tornar desfeito o plano horizontal e, dêste modo, ou chegar com violência ao chão, ou levar um golpe-do-banquinho nas nádegas.

Pragmaticamente, Kamaiurá e eu passamos as primeiras horas da noite passando nossa interdependência, enquanto, ao nosso lado

e em menor frente, outros homens e os meninos estavam sentados num tronco de árvore cortada e as mulheres e meninas diretamente no solo. Aliás, a maneira de sentar-se é um dos traços culturais pelo qual entre os Tapirapé, os sexos se distinguem radicalmente um do outro. A mulher, quando não está sentada na rede, senta-se no chão sem cobri-lo antes, sendo excepcional que ela fique sentada num tronco de árvore ao lado do marido (cf. fot. 14). Sempre, porém, ela esconde a vulva cobrindo-a com a mão ou uma perna dobrada e aproximada do corpo, enquanto a outra está estendida (fot. 18), ou cruzando as pernas (fots. 11 e 22). Quando ela, pilando, se ajoelha para segurar entre os joelhos o almofariz, é ainda feito que, de certo modo, oculta o aparelho genital (Baldus 7 fig. 21). Os homens costumam sentar-se de pernas abertas e cobrem o chão com uma esteira (fot. 13) ou um pano (fot. 63), se não se contentarem acocorados (fot. 28) ou sentados num tronco de árvore (fot. 61). Pousando vários no mesmo tronco, preferem encostar-se em vez de guardar distância um do outro. Durante as refeições em casa, o marido se acomoda na rede, enquanto a mulher se senta em frente dêle no chão.

Já as xilogravuras de Hans Staden (b 2 e 1 4) mostram as diferenças sexuais na maneira de sentar-se, acocorando-se os homens tupinambá com as pernas abertas, ao passo que as suas mulheres puxam cobrir a vulva ao ajoelharem-se numa perna. Dumas tribo tupi do alto Amazonas escreve Métraux (7 64): "Chez les Omagua, le droit de s'asseoir sur le banc était le privilège des hommes; les femmes devaient s'accroupir sur une natte." Numa fotografia tirada por Krause (2, prancha 37), os rapazes karajá sentados ou ajoelhados têm as pernas abertas. Por fim, von den Steinen (7 fig. 19) reproduz uma fotografia do Bakairi na qual os dois sexos estão, mais ou menos, na mesma posição como os homens e as mulheres tupinambá nas mencionadas xilogravuras de Staden, isto é, os homens acocorados com as pernas abertas e as mulheres ajoelhadas numa perna. A causa de nem todas elas fecharem bem as pernas talvez esteja no fato de elas não terem, ao contrário das mulheres tapirapé e tupinambá, o órgão genital completamente no, mas parcialmente coberto do sexo, isto é, dum triângulo de cabelos (fb. 193-195). Digno de nota é, ainda, as três mulheres bakairi ajoelharem-se todas na mesma perna, a saber, na esquerda, enquanto as mulheres tupinambá nas xilogravuras de Staden não apresentam tal uniformidade.

Os sacrifícios vistos por Krause (2 378) entre os Karajá eram um comprido tronco de árvore colocado no chão e uma pedrinha constituída duma fogueira.

Os Tapirapé se assemelham com a maioria das tribos do Brasil pelo fato de não terem petrechos especiais para iluminar à noite, bastando-lhes, de noite, para isso, as frecas chamas de seus fogos.

Não sentiu, entre os Tapirapé, a produção do fogo, pois dos nossos o emprestam, levando sua vingança tições acesos. Mas na coleção de Wagley conservada no Museu Nacional figuram sob o número 22 181 "Bastões para fazer fogo" indicando que essa tribo, antes previsa, obtinha o fogo pelo processo usado por todos os

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índios dêste país e já descrito e representado em xilogravura por Hans Staden (p 3), isto é, fazendo girar entre as mãos espalmadas uma vareta apoiada perpendicularmente sôbre um pau deitado.

Para aviver o fogo, os Tapirapé usam abanos que, como entre muitas tribos tupi (cf. Métraux 2 1979), são trançados de folha de palmeira. Também os Tupinambá tinham abanos para êsse fim, como mostra uma xilogravura de Staden (l 1).

Quando, de noite, os habitantes de Tampiítsua se afastam da casa para fazer suas necessidades levam como facho um tição que que agitam continuamente para que não se apague. Adalbert Prinz von Preussen (879), quando viajava no território dos Juruna, chamava, no seu diário, esta maneira de mover uma acha sôbre para um e para outro lado: "o modo dos índios". Entre os Tapirapé, os tições assim sacralizados servem de defesa noturna contra certos *anchiêgue*, isto é, maus espíritos. Também Hans Staden (p 4) escreve dos Tupinambá: "De noite, para as suas necessidades, não gostam de sair de casa sem levar luzes, de tanto medo que têm do diabo chamado Ingange e visto frequentemente por êles". Segundo Koch-Grünberg (2 III 168), o medo dos maus espíritos (*mamari*) faz os Tenlipêng levar um tição quando, de noite, deixam a casa.

Apesar do perigo constante representado pelos *anchiêgue* e, naturalmente, também pelos horríveis vizinhos Kayapó, os Tapirapé, mesmo de noite, não evacuam perto da casa, mas penetram no labirinto dos troncos da derrubada situada entre a aldeia e o mato, afastando-se o suficiente para não sujar os lugares limpos e transitáveis ao lado da moreda sem fazer chegar a esta o cheiro das fezes. O costume de ganhar para êsse fim, uma boa distância, já está fixado na expressão *kar-pe-ygui* ("mato-para-barriga"), isto é em tradução livre, "vou levar a minha barriga em direção do mato", locução com que qualquer senhora decente de Tampiítsua tem de avisar a gente de sua casa, da intenção de ir defecar.

Mas no tocante ao urinar, estas mulheres são menos cerimoniosas, pois, quando havia luar eu pude ver na terra, ao levantar-me a senão noturna realizada em frente da casa e provida por Kamaiwabó, manchas escuras nos lugares onde representantes do sexo feminino tinham estado sentadas: sem movimentar-se ou dar o mínimo sinal de inquietação, as senhoras e senhoritas agrupadas ao redor de não tinham abundantemente urinado, enquanto o grande homem e os vestíbulos se mais profundos problemas cosmológicos. Aparentemente, o assunto assim meditado não lhes tinha sido muito desagradável.

Naturalmente, s'a mulher que está de pé, não se senta diretamente no chão, quando quer urinar, mas se acocora para êste fim. Os homens tomam também esta posição. Mas devem-se interessantes tratativas dessa mudança cultural e dos respectivos. Pois quando, algum tempo depois da minha chegada à aldeia, estava urinando no mato vizinho, vi com surpresa vários moços e inclusive o meu afilhado igualmente de pé. Apenas, porém, haviam assim começado, foram-se, dominados pelo hábito, abaixando pouco a pouco até estarem de cócoras. Tais atoques contra a maneira tra-

dicional de urinar repetiram-se ainda nos dias seguintes. "Eu mijo" é em tapirapé: *ankurég*. Segundo Krause (I 200), os homens karajá urinam na água do Araguaia, dobrando um pouco os joelhos.

Uma carta do padre António Blasques, escrita na Bahia, em 1587, e inserta nas "Cartas jesuíticas" (II 173) diz acêrca dos Tupinambá daquela região: "São suas casas escuras, fedorentas e afumadas, em meio das quais estão uns cântaros como meias tinas, que figuram as caldeiras do inferno. Em um mesmo tempo estão rindo uns e outros chorando, tão de vagar que se lhes passa uma noite em isto sem lhe ir ninguém à mão. Suas camas são umas rêdes podres com a urina, porque são tão preguiçosos que ao que demanda a natureza se não querem levantar."

Comentando isso observa Afrânio Peixoto (Ib. 178, nota 108): "Esta realista descrição diz bem do que eram as casas e usos d'indígenas dos índios, de uma repelente sujidade, não atenuada mais nem pelos seus filhos criados pelos Jesuítas. A página deve ser conservada para substituir a ilusório improvisado com que o romantismo nacionalista, político e literário, falsificou os nossos aborígenes, no correr do século XIX. Aliás os documentos coloniais não concordam: o índio era sujo...."

Esta afirmação referente aos "documentos coloniais" revela uma certa leviandade do célebre polígrafo, como provam as seguintes frases de Métraux (I 202): "Le goût de la propreté est un des traits typiques du caractère des Indiens tupi-guarani. Les anciens voyageurs l'avaient déjà constaté chez les Tupinamba. Yves d'Evreux assure qu'ils se lavaient tous les jour avec grand soin et qu'après chaque repas ils se rinçaient la bouche. Les femmes se lavaient la tête tous les matins, et pour la dégraisser, nous dit Claude d'Abbeville, se servaient "d'une racine appelée Oudpecurt, laquelle estant trempée tant soit peu à pressée entre les mains, lotte une mousse blanche comme le savon dont elles se nettoyent la teste, les cheveux à ce qui leur plaist." Les Tupinamba étendaient en soin de la propreté aux objets. Lorsque leurs hamacs étaient par trop sales, les femmes les blanchissaient au moyen d'un fruit sauvage qu'elles décorpaient en tranches et qu'elles faisaient tremper dans l'eau qu'il suffisait alors de battre pour obtenir une écume savoureuse et blanche.".

Ao tocante aos Tapirapé posso dizer que nunca os vi urinar dentro da casa e nunca senti cheiro de urina nas suas rêdes as quais, aliás, foram levadas ao regaço vizinho. Para julgar o asseio da aldeia em geral, não há autoridade melhor do que uma dona de casa dessas raças mais civilizadas da Europa, a saber, a escandinava. Madame de la Falaise que escreve com referência a Tampiliness (266): "De l'ensemble émane une impression de stabilité, de propreté, que ne dégage aucune des aldées carajás de mes connaissances. Ici, c'est net. Point de feuillis, point de foire à l'ancienne, de sorcières dépenaillées, de déchets, ni de poteries brisées. Le village carajá, c'est le bohème, le pervers et l'autochtone. Le marché aux puces passé le vieux pointeur. L'aldeia tapirapé sent l'ordre. Le caractère essentiel de chaque race s'est exprimé clairement. Le Carajá qui campe pour cinq ou six mois

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au maximum, se délecte dans le provisoire. Le Tapirapé, beaucoup plus sédentaire, essaie au cas pour longtemps."

A respeito da desordem e falta de asseio na aldeia karajá, as palavras da ilustre dama são confirmadas por Krause (I 208). O mesmo autor (Ib. 376) não dá juízo melhor sôbre os Kayapó, observa, porém, que as mulheres dêstes Gê limpavam, ao vento, a entrada das casas, afastando com um pau folhas caídas e lixo de tôda espécie.

Naturalmente, o asseio dos Tapirapé tem limites que a benevolência de Madame de la Falaise não deixa supor, mas que aparecem quando olhamos atentamente o chão em certas fotografias reproduzidas no presente trabalho. Indubitàvelmente, a voracidade dos cães e das galinhas contribue muito para a limpeza da casa e de suas imediações, pois se não houvessem dêles animais, grande parte daquela espécie de lixo que desperta o interêsse dêles, ficaria onde está. Já mencionei, também, o entusiasmo das galinhagens na luta contra as baratas, devorando tôas baratas durante tôda a noite. A reação dos Tapirapé contra esta praga consiste só em evacuar a casa e queimá-la. Nunca vi um dêles perseguir e matar baratas uma por uma, o que seria facílimo devido à abundância. Aliás, já Léry (158.160) viu dêste fingido entre os Tupinambá e não o conhecera, aparentemente, da Europa ou dos navios europeus, pois fala em "bestioles, lesquelles sont appellees par les sauvages, *Aramore*, n'estans pas plus grosses que non gillets, mesmes sortans ainsi la nuict par troupes esparses du feu, si elles trouvoit quelque chose, elles en faudroient point de le ronger. Mais principalement entre ce qu'elles se lèchyent de telle façon sur les colliets & soulliers de marroquins, que nanpreans tout le dessus, ceux qui en seryent, les trouveyent le matin à leur leur troup bâcu & effiaures: cuyeres y sueil.il cela, que si le soir nous laissions quelques poules ou autres volailles crues & mal serrees, ces *Aramore* les rongeoit lesquels nous en, nous nous pouvions bien estendre de trouver le lendemain matin des anatomies."

A palavra escrita *aramore* na grafia francesa do quinhentismo corresponde perfeitamente ao *aramó*, *aramó* o *aramó*, com que os Tapirapé designam as baratas.

Resumindo os principais dados comparativos do presente capítulo, podemos dizer o seguinte: os Tapirapé se parecem com os Tupinambá pela disposição das casas ao redor da praça central; pela construção da casa de várias famílias feita em trabalho coletivo; pela forma da abitada comprida, dada a esta mulheres; pela sepultura dentro da casa e pelo uso da rede-de-dormir; dêles se distinguem dos antigos Tupi do litoral por não fortificar o aldeia com cêrcas e por ter um edifício central, isto é, a ibiaba no meio da praça. Os mais tipicamente tupi daqueles traços culturais são a forma da abitada comprida, a sepultura dentro da casa e a rede-de-dormir. Os Tapirapé se parecem com os Karajá pela forma do banquinho, distinguindo-se dêles, porém, pelo uso tupi que dão a êste móvel, pela disposição das casas dentro da aldeia, pelo plano e forma da casa, pela maneira de sepultar e pelo uso da maca. Os Tapirapé se parecem com os Kayapó pela disposição

das casas ao redor duma casa-dos-homens, — disposição própria também dos outros Gê e dos Bororo, — mas diferem de seus vizinhos setentrionais pela planta e arranjo das malocas, pela maneira de enterrar e pelo uso da rêde-de-dormir. Os Tapirapé se parecem com várias tribos da parte superior da bacia do Xingu pela disposição das malocas ao redor da casa-de-festas e pelo uso da maca, distinguindo-se delas pela forma das casas e pela proporção entre as suas dimensões e as da casa-de-festas, como também pelo costume de enterrar o morto dentro da maloca. Digno de nota é, ainda, a diferença entre a forma de abóboda comprida da casa dos Tapirapé e dos Kayapó do norte e a cônica da casa dos Kayapó-Chavante do rio das Mortes.

[MS]

# OS TAPIRAPÉ

(Especial para a "Revista do Arquivo")

## Tribo tupi no Brasil Central

(Continuação) HERBERT BALDUS

### VIII. AQUISIÇÃO DO SUSTENTO

Os Tapirapé adquirem o seu sustento principalmente pela lavoura e pesca. Isso não os impede de aproveitarem as oportunidades para colher frutas silvestres e mel e, também, para caçar. Frutas de certas árvores são apanhadas quando encontradas por acaso pelo caminho; mas as do tucum-açú (*Astrocharyum spec.*), chamado de chamma em tapirapé, são procuradas sistematicamente pelo mês de outubro. Em setembro, mais ou menos, os homens armam-se de machados e cabaças indo ao mato em busca de mel. O mesmo não serve-lhes para apanhar as larvas e seus ovos. Em várias épocas recolhem as larvas de diferentes vespas (*Sumi: vespa, em tapirapé*) e matam animais pequenos e grandes. Mas ainda que algumas caças em lidas ao estômago do ser, formam os meses de fevereiro e março o tempo especialmente vantajoso, pois nestes meses a sociedade encontra a caça, em especial, os porcos-do-mato, bichos e pacas.

Durante a minha estadia em Tampitiawa havia lá um índio homem que preferia a atividade de caçar a qualquer outra ocupação. Era Kanchewaní, um Tapirapé de cerca de trinta-e-dois anos de idade e com o corpo mais delgado do que muitos de seus irmãos. Enquanto os outros trabalhavam na roça ou deliravam-se a qualquer atividade na aldeia, fez ouvir à espera na mata e no carrido. Também certos homens mais moços foram, de vez em quando, Kanchewaní, porém, aparecem como o especialista, como o caçador por excelência.

Além das caçadas individuais, há caçadas coletivas feitas por um pequeno número de homens (fot. 34) que pelos grupos-de-trabalho.

As armas de caça são arco e flecha e a maça. Em viagem, o índio leva, geralmente, arco e flecha e, freqüentemente, junto com fios e cipós. Quando, marchando da aldeia para o rio, ou à da aguda, encontramos um canal de caça, Kanaiwí e Chapaká cortaram cipós dêle com o arco e a maça nas mãos. Em 14 de julho, um Tapirapé matou um porco-do-mato por meio da caça.

O arco instrumental representado na figura 12 e nas fotos 22, 26, 27 e 29 é típico. A vara de madeira da palmeira pati

1: Balêus SP22 Tapirapé

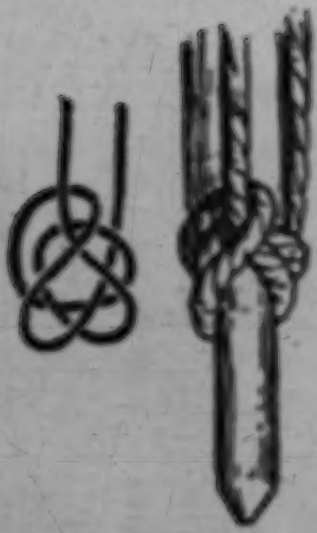

FIG. 16
Amarrações da cordão do arco.

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Pot. 30
Pentido do cupidrum.

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## OS TAPIRAPÉ

(*Spiraea betrypiphora*), em tapirapé *hantal* e *iwiaguat*, do exemplar representado na fóto 39 tem 175 cm. de comprimento, sendo a circunferência 8 cm. no seu meio, 5 cm. perto dos estilhos das pontas e 3,5 cm. nestas pontas das quais a superior tem 4,5 cm. e a inferior 3,5 cm. de comprimento. O corte transversal é redondo. A corda de material vegetal (*iwiaguat*, *amiguat*) mede 182 cm. As vêzes, ela é untada com a pasta gordurosa de urucu, o que mantém mais fraqueamente ainda com a vara do arco e a clava. Em certos arcos especialmente bem feitos que servem aos chefes de danças como armas decorativas e para fazer o companeiro, a corda é inteiramente bruniquada (fot. 4, 88, 89).

Krause (P 264) indica como comprimento da corda do arco karajá 194-204 cm. Exceto o tamanho, êste arco é igual ao arco tapirapé. Tais arcos pertencem, na classificação de Meyer (J 8), ao tipo "brasileiro oriental". W. Schmidt (1927) segundo o qual "o corte transversal da vara do arco do mais antigo ciclo cultural sul-americano é completo ou aproximadamente redondo", mostrou esta forma dos Kaingang, Botocudos, Purí-Coroados, Krahó, Karajá, Chavante, de numerosas tribos do Chaco e das seguintes de Mato Grosso: Kadiweu, Guató, Bororo Ocidentais, Guaná, Terena, Kustenau, Kabixi, Parecí, Mehinaku, Bakairí, Nahukuá, Trumai, Aweté e Kamayurá, sendo entre os Tupí citados, além destas duas últimas tribos da região das cabeceiras do Xingu, ainda dignas de nota os Parintintin. No dizer do mesmo autor (1932), a ponta estilhada da vara do arco é encontrada, no Velho Mundo, só nas "mais antigas formas de arco", só porque, na América do Sul, ela ocorre nos "ciclos culturais mais novos", sendo conhecida dos Tupí Ocidentais e Centrais, de todas as tribos panos e karaíb, e de quase todas as tribos aruak. Como vemos, a vara do arco tapirapé é assunto difícil para a "teoria dos ciclos culturais".

Krause (P 262) escreve a respeito da madeira de palmeira em que consiste a vara do arco karajá: "Disse-me que esta madeira (*iwiaú*, *uwaiú*) cresce só na região dos Tapirapé. Em todo o caso, segundo declaração unânime, os índios da borda meridional obtêm os seus arcos ou o material para êstes, dos Karajá da borda setentrional ou dos próprios Tapirapé. Em consequência disso pode admitir arcos só na borda setentrional, pois na borda meridional eles são considerados preciosíssimos". — Isso talvez explique o fato de Nimuendaú, Karajá de cêrca de cincoenta anos e habitante de Berreminhã, aldeia situada perto de Santa Terezinha, ter-me pedido que lhe trouxesse dos Tapirapé um arco e um punhado de flechas, oferecendo outros tais objetos, na tribo tapé, melhores do que os de que possuía tribo. Já mencionei no capítulo II que segundo Krause (P 456), a palavra *mahá* com que os Karajá denominam os Tapirapé, significa flecha, o que, possivelmente, alude à sua qualidade como fornecedores de flechas.

As flechas (*ugua*) dêstes índios representadas nas fotos 37, 39 e 39 assemelham-se às correspondentes dos Karajá e Kayapó descritas por Krause (P 264-270, 282-283). As correspondentes são as largadas e as com simples ponta redonda de madeira. Não vi flechas tapirapé como as dois encontradas pelo mesmo autor (P 411 e fig. 270) das quais uma tinha ponta chata de madeira com "farpas bilaterais recurvadas e gume de dois cantos", enquanto a outra provida de ponta de taquara. Tão-pouco achei

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entre os Tapirapé flechas com ponta de madeira dentada, como Krause (7 265) as encontrou entre os Karajá. Por outro lado, a flecha de pescar(?) com ponta grossa de osso que dele existe (7 267) nenhuma da mesma tribo, é usada também pelos Tapirapé (cf. fig. 25 e 26).

Como os Karajá, os Kayapó (1 c. 267 e 268) e as tribos da região dos cabeceiras do Xingu (vou dos Bakairi 2 229), também os Tapirapé obtêm uma espécie de flecha farpada, colocando na extremidade intermediária escavada da parte de madeira da haste uma varetinha dessa levemente curva e agarrada em ambas as extremidades, amarrando-a e cobrindo com resina negra tida e abaixo. Nas flechas farpadas tapirapé como ponta de ferrão de raia, a farpa não é formada do mesmo ferrão, como afirma Krause (7 267 e fig. 249 b) de semelhante flecha kayapó, mas consiste em madeira. Os Tupinambá do século XVI já usavam como como ponta de flecha, segundo relatam Staden (c 2) e Léry (190), os o ferrão da raia, como mencionou bem Métraux mesmo (Bibliog). A flecha farpada dos Tupi do Maranhão refere-se, no século seguinte, Claude d'Abbeville (288, 289), sendo a mesma espécie também descrita como arma de pesca dos Jurunas por Adalbert von Preussen (711).

O comprimento das flechas farpadas com ponta de osso ou ferrão de raia é, mais ou menos, igual entre os Karajá, Kayapó e Tapirapé, tendo a ponta, em meio término, 6 cm.; a parte de madeira da haste entre 35 e 50 cm.; e a do bacuri cerca de 1 metro.

A varetta de pau em cada extremidade está a ponta da flecha (apemerki, significando *ski*: ponta), é intermediada com um entre extremidade no bacuri (aryhamaschipu) e firmada não por meio de resina. Antes disso é colocada parte do fogo para ser endurecida ligeiramente quente. Mas, em geral, a varetta fica dirigida só na sua direção geral, permanecendo torta mais ou em vários lugares. É que uma tribo amazônica bravadora como os Tapirapé não fabrica as armas com o cuidado empregado em tal trabalho pelos Bororo, por exemplo, tribo 4, por uma tribo cangaceira. O calor do fogo serve também para endurecer a madeira. Esta, de vinho, é tingida de vermelho ou negro.

A parte do bacuri que encerra dos pau, é envolta em fibras de embiral por uma fita estreita e negra de cera de Hymenaeus (mamel) que com resina colam nela. Esta envoltório tem 8 a 18 cm. de comprimento e serve para amarrar a ponta da haste.

A emplumação (yrpé: ara, significando pé: cauda), direita ou sinistrorsa para frente, o pé: ambi) tem, em meio término, 18 a 22 cm. de comprimento. Como os Karajá e os Kayapó, também os Tapirapé plumam duas penas longitudinalmente na extremidade traseira da haste, uma em frente da outra. As penas são, em geral, de arara, quando as cingem. Nas extremidades são amarradas na haste por fios de algodão (kaiwi). A borracha das penas cuja finalidade é fazer girar a flecha no ar, alcança raramente um quarto da circunferência da haste e, muitas vezes, pouco mais adiante. As barbas das penas são geralmente inferiores com interiores cilíndrica dos brasileiros, firmando o metade anteriormente mais larga do que o outro. O cumbido da pena é fixado na ponta grossa e colado com cola parte na tingiera ocasionada.

Anéis ou envoltórios coloridos de fios de algodão são fixados na haste por meio de resina. O diâmetro consiste em algo-

Fot. 16
Aldeação Ciclo do pamonhinha



Fot. 18
Aldeação Ciclo do pamonhinha

Fot. 57

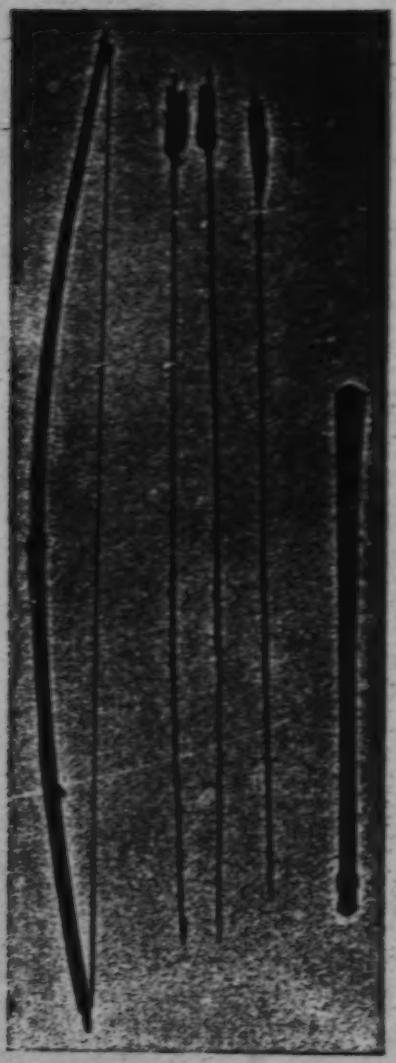
A oposição entre a altura dos homens e o comprimento do cesto brasileiro.



Fot. 58

Homem com cesta.

[202]



Fot. 28
Cocota, arco e flechas.

dão emgrecido, tem cêrca de seis centímetros de comprimento e segura pequenas penas vermelhas e, às vêzes, amarelas do peito de arara, cujas barbas se estendem para trás, isto é, para o interior da emplumação. O envoltório traseiro consiste em algodão branco, tem cêrca de um centímetro e meio de comprimento e serve não só para segurar a parte mais fina do canhão das penas, como também para reforçar a extremidade traseira do projétil. Nesta extremidade está o entalhe oblíquo (*wantarh/mentáma*) de mais de meio centímetro de profundidade em que colocam a corda do arco. O envoltório chega até êste entalhe. Sua terceira função é, aparentemente, servir de marca tribal, pois além dos fios paralelos tem dois fios cruzados o que, como já Krause (*Z* 270) ouvira entre os Karajá, é característico dos Tapirapé.

Êstes índios, como os Karajá (*Ibidem*) e os Kayapó (*Ibidem* 393), enfeitam a parte da haste situada entre os dois envoltórios de algodão com um ou mais anéis de resina vermelha (*totóppi, chotahyppyrynpe*). Na tribo tupi, a largura dêsses anéis varia de 1 a 3 cm., sendo a matéria prima cozida com água na panela pela mulher, pois, segundo o padrão de comportamento tapirapé, todo o cozimento em vasos é trabalho feminino, cabendo ao homem o serviço de assar. Também os fios de algodão são feitos pela mulher. No restante, a flecha, como as outras armas e os seus componentes, é fabricada pelo homem, sendo, em geral, o dono da arma também o seu produtor.

Thevet (*f* 291) escreve de uma árvore denominada "Vhabehasou", extremamente alta, com folhas semelhantes às da couve e frutos de mais de um pé de comprimento que nunca chegam a amadurecer por serem antes disto devorados por abelhas silvestres: "Au reste il porte gomme rouge, propre à plusieurs choses, comme ils la sçeuêt bien accomoder." — Será que os índios visitados por Thevet, isto é, os Tupinambá do século XVI, deram à mencionada "goma vermelha" a mesma finalidade que os Tapirapé dão ao *totóppi*?

Na pesca de grande peixes, a flexa farpada é mais útil do que qualquer outra, pois o fato da farpa fixar o projétil no corpo do animal serve não só para impedir a fuga, enfraquecer e matar, como se dá também ao acertar um mamífero, mas ainda auxilia a retirar o pescado da água. Diferente é o caso ao flechar peixes pequenos em água pouco profunda onde a ponta da arma fàcilmente entra na areia. Para isto, os Tapirapé usam um arco pequeno (*putrampampi*) com setas especiais de 60 a 70 cm. de comprimento cuja simples ponta redonda de madeira tem 10 a 20 cm. de comprimento, sendo diretamente introduzida na haste de taquari. De acôrdo com o tamanho total dessas flechas, a emplumação tem penas de papagaio em vez das penas de arara ou de outras aves grandes das flechas farpadas. No restante, êstes e aquêles projéteis são iguais desde a extremidade do taquari envolta por uma tira de casca de filodendro até a sua outra extremidade onde a corda do arco se apoia no entalhe; correspondência perfeita há em todos os detalhes da emplumação. No tocante à ponta, porém, é digno de nota terem as pequenas flechas, às vêzes, até três dessas simples pontas redondas de madeira em lugar de uma só (*cf.* fot. 30). Nordenskiöld (*3* 39-41 e mapa 5), estudando a distribuição da flecha de pescar de várias pontas entre os índios sul-americanos, chega à conclusão de que "the many-

pointed fish-arrow seems to be a cultural element that came to the Chiriguano from the north part of S. America, most likely from Mojos".

Na classificação de Meyer (I 9, 33), a emplumação da flecha tapirapé pertence ao tipo "brasileiro-oriental ou gê-tupi", distinguindo-se claramente da "emplumação costurada do Xingu" em que duas metas penas são coisidas à haste da flecha (ibidem, prancha 1, fig. 9). Nordenskiöld (6 70-72 e mapas 4 e 5) mostra ser êste último tipo próprio dos Bororo, Bakairi, Aweró, Tsalapiti, Kamayurá, Trumai, Huanyam e Kayabi, ao passo que a "emplumação brasileiro-oriental" foi encontrada entre os Karajá, Bororo, Kayapó, Gaeté, Kaingné, Trumai, Kamayurá, Kaingang, Guayaki, Kampa, Guarayú (Guarayós e Pamerna), Botocudos, Javahé, Mundurukú, Apiaká, Tapirapé, Puri, Tembé, Chavante, Tupuya (da Bahia), Krenem, Kanella, Kraõ Kocrunx, Mura, Mawé, Periatiatin, Yuruna e Peba.

Krause (I 272-274 e fig. 127) descreve o propulsor de flechas (*anbí, obirá*) usado pelos Karajá como arma de esporte num jôgo chamado *anerikintré-mahé*, isto é, "jôgo dos Tapirapé", e menciona que foi informado por aquêles índios do Araguaia de existirem o propulsor e êsse jôgo também na dita tribo tupi. Segundo o mesmo autor (I 382 e fig. 198), entre os Javahé o propulsor (*hanbí*) servia para pescar, passarinhar e como arma de esporte, ao passo que êle foi considerado arma de guerra no Culuene e Culiseu onde von den Steinen (I 231-233 e fig. 28) o encontrou entre os Trumai, Auetó e Kamayurá, sendo o seu nome na língua dêstes últimos *genuri ano-modp*. Segundo o mesmo autor (I 315, 324), os Kamayurá têm uma dança guerreira com o propulsor, representando um guerreiro ficar ferido e morrer. Entre os Tapirapé, nada vi e ouvi a respeito de tal arma e do jôgo referido por Krause.

Êste autor (I fig. 265) representa como clava tapirapé uma arma por êle obtida numa aldeia karajá perto da foz do rio Tapirapé, arma essa que se assemelha à maça redonda (*gohordé*) dos Karajá não só pela forma, como também pelas estrias na parte dianteira e no cabo (cf. ibidem, fig. 123). Com referência aos Karaja, Krause (ibidem 271) observa: "Não vi em parte alguma clavas lisas como as trazidas por Ehrenreich". A maça javahé é estriada, como a karajá, na parte dianteira e no cabo (ibidem, 361 e fig. 196), ao passo que a maioria dos cacetes redondos kayapó é inteiramente coberta de tais canelures (ibidem 390 e fig. 245). E' digno de nota, porém, possuirem êstes vizinhos setentrionais dos Tapirapé também clavas chatas (ibidem fig. 246).

Tôdas as maças tapirapé (*gayrá*: pau, designação genérica de "madeira") que vi, tinham a forma das mencionadas clavas redondas dos vizinhos, mas estria alguma e, geralmente, tamanho menor do que as dos Karajá. Pois, segundo Ehrenheich (I 19), os cacetes karajá têm 95 a 137 cm. de comprimento, e uma dessas armas na minha coleção particular mede 111 cm., tendo a sua circunferência maior 20 cm. e a menor 10 cm., isto é, as medidas médias. O cacete tapirapé (fot. 29), porém, também mostrando medidas médias, tem 90 cm. de comprimento, 17 cm. na sua circunferência maior e 8 na menor. Como se vê na foto, êle tem forma de bastão, engrossando na parte que serve para bater. O anel entre o manúbrio e o castão tem 3 cm. de largura e 11 cm.

[2 ex]



de circunferência nesse cacete tapirapé, e 25 cm. de largura e 12 cm. de circunferência na mencionada maça karajá em meu poder. Ambos os exemplares são feitos de madeira pesada.

Wilhelm Schmidt (1926) enumera, ainda, clava-bastões redondas dos Botocudos, Coroados (Kaingang), Longua, Sirionó, Kamayurá e Yuruna. Karl von den Steinen (I 241) encontrou em 1884 entre os Yuruna clava-bastões redondas e canelados, de 135 cm. de comprimento, que provieram dos Karajá (provàvelmente dos "Karajá do Xingu" identificados por Nimuendajú como sub-tribos kayapó), e, em 1887, entre os Kamayurá, um cacete do mesmo tipo e atribuído aos Yuruná (I 234). Êle observa a respeito (ibidem) que tanto os Yuruna como os Kamayurá "tinham transformado a arma assassina em pacífica bengala." Entre os Karajá, porém, a maça é, no dizer de Krause (I 271), "a verdadeira arma de guerra".

Para a luta corpo a corpo, para matar a pequena distância, o cacete é, em geral preferível à flecha. Assim, também o Tapirapé pega nele ao brigar com um companheiro de sua tribo, briga essa que, aliás, apesar dêste gesto ameaçador, costuma limitar-se a uma série de insultos verbais. Enquanto nas danças diurnas em Tampilhana, os homens seguravam na mão uma flecha ou um arco e só excepcionalmente uma maça, no *kuá*, isto é, na grande dança grupal noturna, empunhavam clavas e facões. Estas armas não serviam, principalmente, para fazer o compasso, como se dava com o arco e a flecha na dança diurna. Elas tinham de evidenciar o caráter do *kuá* que, como mostravam também a entoação do canto acompanhador e outros aspectos, era essencialmente marcial. Além disso, os guerreiros, dêsse modo munidos de clava e facão, estavam prontos para repelir cada noite um temível assalto dos vizinhos Kayapó. No incente à caça é preciso considerar o fato de, na selva, a espessura da vegetação, e, no campo, a altura do capim impedirem, frequentemente, o uso de arco e flecha e obrigarem a atacar de perto, isto é, a empregar o cacete. Apesar disso notei na marcha da aldeia ao rio que todos os homens levavam arco e flecha, mas nem todos a maça. Uma função especial da clava tapirapé é, ainda, matar aquêle que é considerado feiticeiro ruim.

A lança tapirapé (*gugre-hãle*: pau agudo; *mãne*: lança) talvez provenha dos Karajá. Não há notícias concernentes a lanças dos antigos Tupinambá nem das tribos do alto Xingu. Há, porém, em Montoya (I II) os têrmos *ibirãhaguãbat*: "palo aguçado" (*ãaguã*: "ponta") e *mg*: "lança, pua". Quando estive entre os Tapirapé, não vi lança alguma, mas em Macanha, na ilha do Bananal, o sr. Frederico Kegel mostrou-me uma que êle tinha trazido de uma visita anteriormente feita a êsses índios, informando-me que êles a usavam exclusivamente nas danças a modo das mencionadas outras armas para fazer o compasso. Essa lança assemelhava-se à lança karajá (*domoli*) descrita por Krause (I 272-273 e fig. 126), sendo como esta objeto decorativo empregado por ocasião de festas e tendo como ela uma grande ponta de osso sobreposta à haste e provida de tufos de penas pendentes. Estes tufos, porém, são ausentes, na lança karajá, entre a ponta de osso e um trançado ornamental que cobre a parte dianteira da haste num comprimento de 50 a 80 cm., ao passo que nas fotografias de Tapirapé publicadas no artigo "A civilização dos índios de Goyaz" (Revista

da Semana) vemo-las atadas atrás (na, em posição vertical: em baixo) do trançado bicolor. Os Karajá contaram a Krause (l. c.) que quando antigamente a lança era usada na caça de onças, as tufos serviam para amedrontar o felino. Tratando dos Kayapó escreve o mesmo autor (2 290) que observou numa cerimônia algumas lanças o que estas se assemelhavam às dos Karajá.

Pelo que vi, os Tapirapé não usam armadilhas para a caça, distinguindo-se nisso dos antigos Tupi da costa cujas armadilhas são mencionadas por vários autores, por exemplo por Léry (134, 142) no século XVI e por Vasconcellos (pág. LXXVII) no século XVII. Também certos Tupi modernos empregam armadilhas, por exemplo os Cayuá (Kaingang) do vale do alto Paraná (von Koenigswald 181; Ambrosetti 70-73). Segundo Krause (2 247, fig. 34 e prancha 54), os Karajá têm armadilhas (*dohedé*, *hodoiohé*) para passarinhar. Mas nem dos Kayapó, nem do alto Xingu há notícias concernentes a qualquer armadilha.

Na nossa marcha ao rio, os Tapirapé acenderam o capim alto e seco. No dizer dêles, fizeram isso para poder andar melhor quando voltassem à aldeia. Diverge êsse motivo daquele que me indicaram os sertanejos brasileiros ao acenderem campos. Diziam que, em consequência da queimada, brotaria capim fresco, isto é, surgiria uma atração para veados e outros animais, facilitando assim a caça. Krause (2 247) recebeu a mesma explicação dos Karajá que também gostavam de acender os capinzais. Pode ser que a razão dada pelos Tapirapé caracterize a falta de tradições venatórias. Pelo que sei, êles também não põem fogo aos campos para matarem mais fàcilmente os animais que fogem das labaredas, e para obtêrem os pequenos roedores que morreram queimados, processo êsse usado, por exemplo, pelos Chamakoko do Chaco (Baldus *I* 32) e pelos Parecsi de Mato Grosso (Roquette-Pinto 126).

Não observei na tribo de cães (*chavanné*) do Tampiltaua nenhum especializado em determinada caça. Os dois cães que estiveram conosco quando encontramos o casal de onças, ficaram logo com medo em presença dos felinos, não ousando perseguí-los nem sequer em companhia dos índios. Por outro lado, o porco-do-mato morto em 14 de julho foi acuado por cães tapirapé. Já Krause (2 467) encontrou numerosos restos de cães dos Tapirapé em banco de areia do rio homônimo. O mesmo autor (2 245 e 326) menciona cães dos Karajá (*kjolondé*, no idioma dêstes) e dos Kayapó. No dizer dos Tapirapé, os Ampanaé roubaram-lhe cães novos. A ausência completa de cães na região das cabeceiras do Xingu constatada por von den Steinen (*I* 326) em 1884 foi confirmada, ainda em 1924, por Hintermann (255).

Não pude obter explicação satisfatória no tocante ao seguinte costume do qual me contou o meu companheiro Kegel: Os Tapirapé colocam no lugar onde, depois de terem matado caça, entram novamente num dos caminhos usados pela tribo, o número de varetas que corresponde ao número dos animais mortos, abrindo um pouco cada vareta para fixar na fenda assim produzida uma pena ou alguns pêlos da caçada. Encontrei o mesmo costume, porém, no ano de 1946, entre os Kaingang do alto Ivaí. Lá, o índio Salvador Veiniá, depois de uma caçada de baitacas, tirou na minha presença, de um dêsses papagaios algumas penas, jogando-as na beira do caminho. O mesmo Kaingang, topando, em

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companhia do meu assistente Harald Schultz, com uma vara posta no sítio dum caminho de roça, vara-mua em cuja extremidade superior fendida estavam metidos dois feixes de pêlos de tatetu, informou que neste lugar foram abatidos dois dêsses porcos-do-mato, sendo a vara com os pêlos colocada pelo caçador para comunicar o ocorrido aos parentes.

Não observei magia cujo fim era explicitamente obter ou multiplicar caça. Fica problemático se as danças e cantos de animais de que tratarei no capítulo sôbre a religião, tenham tais objetivos ou sirvam para exprimir alegria. Os próprios índios disseram que há muito peixe, quando cantam, mas que há muito peixe também, se não cantam. Segundo esta declaração, os cantos e danças de animais não são magia venatória. Os Tapirapé cantam e dançam, porque gostam de cantar e dançar. Por isso também receberam cantos e danças dos Karajá. Seria preciso averiguar: 1) eram as danças e cantos de animais originalmente mágicos? 2) há alguém que ainda os considera assim? 3) quem? — Não consegui resolver estas questões.

Em todo caso, porém, a maioria das danças e cantos de animais observada por mim representava peixes. Sòmente a dança do *chunkui*, isto é, do "jacuzinho" era também freqüente. Uma dança dêste nome é mencionada por von den Steinen (2 312) dos Anetê e dos Kamayurá como "dança original" dessas tribos tupi. Realmente, aquêles galináceos do gênero Penélopide que se deixam fàcilmente caçar, abundam no território tapirapé, e o consumo de sua carne saborosa não é vedado a nenhum dos dois sexos. É possível fazer belas hipóteses no tocante à relação dêstes fatos com a mencionada dança. Não quero fazê-las.

A predominância de danças de peixe está de acôrdo com a importância da pesca. A época principal da pesca é de junho a outubro. Nestes meses, as águas são baixas e mais claras, permitindo em muitos lugares ver até o fundo. Os pequenos regatos secam pouco a pouco, sendo os peixes forçados a reunirem-se em determinados trechos do rio e nos lagos. Estes perdem a comunicação com o rio ou são fechados artificialmente pelas tapagens já observadas por Krause (2 469, figs. 7 e 267, prancha 29) que consistem em postes ligados por travessas e revestidos de espessa folhagem.

Os lagares assim encurralados são envenenados por meio dum cipó chama *chimé* em tapirapé. Batem a água com pedaços desta trepadeira, chamando tal ato *enchimaká*. A água torna-se azul-violeta. Mas só os peixinhos miúdos morrem. Os outros ficam atordoados. Para obter água potável, os índios cavam na margem buracos que, às vêzes, não distam mais do que um metro da água envenenada, mas cujo conteúdo filtrado pela areia não faz mal ao homem.

Krause (2 250-251) descreve a tapagem e o envenenamento dos lagos, praticados pelos Karajá, especialmente na água turva da época pluvial, mencionando a afirmação dêstes índios de terem êles aprendido isso dos Chavante. Os Kayapó contaram ao mesmo autor (ibidem 386) que êles sabem envenenar peixe por meio de cipó. Tal processo não foi observado no alto Xingu (*cf.* von den Steinen 2 235) o que, segundo Métraux (2 93), parece indicar que êle "a été découvert à une date récente, probablement dans le bassin de l'Amazone". Métraux (2 90-92)

mostra, também, a sua grande difusão entre os Tupi antigos e modernos. Segundo Nordenskiöld (f 45 e mapa 6), a pesca com veneno é muito difundida em toda a América do Sul.

Um outro meio de pesca tapirapé é, como já mencionei, arco e flechas. Enquanto a grande flecha farpada é usada, ultimamente, pelos homens adultos, a pequena de uma ou várias pontas simples de madeira é utilizada pelos meninos.

No dizer do Krause (f 249), o arco e a flecha farpada são o instrumento principal da pesca karajá, sendo para isso também empregados pelos Kayapó (ibidem 250). A maneira de flechar peixes usada pelas tribos do alto Xingu foi bem descrita por von den Steinen (f 231). Segundo Métraux (f 92), os Kaingáng (Kayuá) são os únicos Tupi que "ne servent pas chasser le poisson avec l'arc et flèche comme le plupart des Indiens de l'Amérique du Sud." A pesca com flecha de várias pontas cuja distribuição na América do Sul, como já citei, é estudada por Nordenskiöld, foi praticada, segundo Métraux (f 92), pelas seguintes tribos tupi: Tupinambá, Chiriguano, Guarayó, Panoaras, Parintintin e Oyampi. Ela não foi observada nem no alto Xingu, nem entre os Karajá e Kayapó (cf. Krause 2).

Vi em Tampilhasa um côvo (*chekiá*) que era um cesto cilíndrico e afunilado, feito de tiras de taquara (fot. 32). Alêm disso, os índios me apresentaram um curioso objeto que, no dizer dêles, serve para apanhar peixinhos minúsculos, sendo colocado, como o côvo, de tal modo na água que a corrente facilite aos peixinhos a entrar nêle e os impeça, depois, a sair. Consiste em entrevada de taquari abertos ao longo de tal maneira que um anel do mesmo material posto transversalmente no meio de cada entrevá representa, por assim dizer, a base comum de dois cones formados pelas tiras encurvadas e distendidas as quais sòmente nas extremidades do entrevá, isto é, nos dois nós, continuam unidas (fot. 31). O nome tapirapé dêste "côvo-vara" é *chekiá-aapapaat*, sendo *á* do material: *aapáwaatachapa*, pois é o taquari que empregam também no fabrico da flecha. Confesso que nunca vi o *chekiá-aapapaat* em funcionamento, e ignoro a sua existência em outra tribo. Há, porém, entre os Bororo Orientais, enfeites para o cabelo que consistem em entrevada de taquari distendidos igualmente por meio dum anel do mesmo material e adornados de plumas. Segundo a lista da coleção Manoel Cruz existente na Universidade de São Paulo, os seus nomes são *tubogó-ararú-bóro* (n. 284) e *tóbortu-aro-bóro* (n. 285).

A pesca de côvo foi praticada, segundo Métraux (f 92), pelas seguintes tribos tupi: Tupinambá, Kaingáng, Chiriguano, Aweró e Apiaká. Na região das cabeceiras do Xingu, von den Steinen (f 236) encontrou duas espécies de côvos, mas não as descreveu suficientemente para que possam ser comparadas com o *chekiá* tapirapé. Em todo o caso distingue-se dêle o côvo bakairi representado numa figura pelo mesmo autor (f 166). Krause (f 251) refere que, entre os Karajá, não viu nem ouviu nada dos côvos para peixes pequenos, mencionados por Ehrenreich.

A peneira (*grupema*) feita de tiras de taquari é usada por crianças e adultos de ambos os sexos para recolher peixinhos, como freqüentemente observei no regato da aldeia. Métraux (f 89-90) cita entre as tribos tupi estudadas por êle só os Tupinambá e os Guarayó como praticantes do mesmo processo. Nem no

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Fot. 10
Pequenas flechas de pescar com uma e três pontas.

Fot. 11
"Covo-vara".

[2:0]

Fot. 11
Cuia ofuscilada (cabaça) a cujo lado está sentada Iparra (108).

Fot. 12
Maqueta com peixes (Int. Frei Pedro Sennedy O.F.).

alto Xingu, nem entre os Karajá e os Kayapó (cf. Krause 2), foi observado o emprêgo do penetrus para tal fim.

Há casos que, de noite, aproveitam-se da água parada com tipiéu. Então os peixes não atraídos pelo lume e deixam-se fàcilmente matar a golpe de pau ou facão, ou apanhar à mão. Essa maneira de atrair os peixes é referida dos Tupinambá e dos Oyampi (Métraux 2 96) e também do alto Xingu (von den Steinen 2 235), mas não dos Karajá e dos Kayapó (cf. Krause 2).

Não observei a pesca da rede entre os Tapirapé. Ela foi encontrada por vários autores entre os Tupinambá de diferentes regiões do litoral (cf. Métraux 2 89), por von den Steinen (2 236) no alto Xingu e por Krause (2 256) entre os Karajá, ao passo que êste autor não a refere dos Kayapó (cf. ibidem 398).

Não observei a pesca de arpão entre os Tapirapé. Segundo Métraux (2 92), ela era praticada pelas seguintes tribos tupi: Tupinambá, Curuaya, Tembé, Omagua e Oyampi. Êsse processo de pescar não é mencionado do alto Xingu, nem dos Kayapó (Krause 2 386), mas sim dos Karajá (ibidem 249).

Não vi entre os Tapirapé a pesca com o instrumento feito de varinhas pontiagudas e dispostas em forma de cone truncado, instrumento êsse chamado de *kuto* pelos Bakairi (von den Steinen 2 73, 74 e 236) e usado, também, pelos Tembé (Nordenskiöld 5 182 e mapa 11), mas não encontrado entre os Karajá e os Kayapó.

Os Tapirapé, pelo que vi, não usam anzóis nem gostam muito de recebê-los de presente. Os Karajá desprezavam os anzóis grandes e pediam-me só pequenos para pescar pacu, pois para peixes maiores costumam empregar a flecha. Segundo Métraux (2 88), o anzol parece ter sido muito difundido entre os antigos Tupinambá. No alto Xingu, êle não foi encontrado por von den Steinen (2 235-236). Krause (2 386) não o menciona dos Kayapó e viu só poucos anzóis de ferro entre os Karajá (ibidem 249).

O mesmo autor (ibidem 409) achou num lago cuja água tinha sido envenenada pelos Tapirapé, algumas leves troncos de árvores ligados um ao outro e supõe terem êles servido para navegar. Como já mencionei no segundo capítulo, estava, no regaio de Tampiitsua, um tronco escavado em fôrma de canoa, mas deitado com a abertura para baixo. Dêste modo, êle nos serviu perfeitamente para lavar roupa em cima dêle. Era feito, aparentemente, por obra passatempo, não tendo outra finalidade do que essa. Pois os Tapirapé não costumam viajar embarcados, distinguindo-se nisso dos Tupinambá e da maioria dos Tupi modernos (cf. Métraux 2 207-211), das tribos xinguanos (von den Steinen 2 234) e dos Karajá (Krause 2 276), mas não dos Kayapó (ibidem 393). Os Chavante que também não usam canoas, atravessam o rio das Mortes nas toscas jangadas descritas por Szaffka. E' digno de nota, porém, o fato dos Tapirapé conservarem a antiga palavra tupi para canoa, isto é, *panz*, escrita *pare* por Stradelli e considerada por êle (715): "Contração de *y* — água, e *iara* — dona — Dona da água." Em todo o caso, não é impossível os Tapirapé terem possuído, outrora, canoas para embarcar.

A respeito da pesca seja mencionado, ainda, um "sonho" de Manggambi. A gente de Tampiitsua diz, freqüentemente, ter sonhado com uma coisa, quando a supõe ou sabe. Manggambi era o Tapirapé mais gordo na época da minha visita. Êle sonhou com a abundância de peixes num determinado lugar dum regaio, com

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tantas peixes que os enchiam pedaços comer muito. O mesmo enchiam comprovando tanto certos espíritos como também os dançadores de mascaras que os representam. Todos os enchiam habitantes do mesmo e da água as alimentam de peixes. Esta crença tapirapé é, aliás, também um indício da importância da pesca. Menggendi disse que "todos" os homens devem ir buscar os peixes com os quais ele tinha sonhado. Aquilo que, em Tenpitiam, chamam de "todos", perfeito. Era o próprio Menggendi com sua companheira. Na volta, Menggendi tinha o grande cesto cheio de peixinhos, minúsculos que, cozinhados, foram comidos pouco antes de amanhecer, na casa-de-festas, pelos homens e adolescentes que tinham representado os enchiam chamado o Gengchá.

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# OS TAPIRAPÉ

## TRIBO TUPI NO BRASIL CENTRAL

(Especial para a "REVISTA DO ARQUIVO")

HERBERT BALDUS

(Continuação)

Apesar de ser a pesca um dos meios principais com que os Tapirapé adquirem o sustento, êles não podem ser considerados tribo essencialmente pescadora, designação essa que cabe perfeitamente aos seus vizinhos Karajá. Os habitantes de Tampiitaua não levam a vida anfíbia dêstes remeiros dum grande rio. Êles são índios do mato e lavradores por excelência. No tocante a isso continuam a ser típicos Tupi.

As roças karajá são miseráveis em comparação com as dos Tapirapé. Encontrei Karajá habitantes do norte da foz do Tapirapé que passaram fome vários anos por terem feito a roça sempre no mesmo lugar. O Araguaia, por várias vezes inundara, privando-lhes dos frutos de seu trabalho e castigando-os pela pouca circunspeção. O fato de dar-se isso com tão bons e antigos conhecedores do grande rio mostra serem êles não muito propensos e aptos para o amanho da terra. Também os Kayapó parecem ter sido, principalmente, captores, sendo duvidoso se cultivaram plantas antes da chegada dos missionários dominicanos (cf. Krause 2 386). Por outro lado, os habitantes da parte superior da bacia do Xingu devem ser designados como tribos lavradoras (cf. von den Steinen 2 209; Max Schmidt 2 427).

Já os Tupinambá cultivavam grande quantidade de diferentes vegetais enumerados pelos antigos cronistas e identificados, modernamente, pelo botânico F. C. Hoehne (*2*). No dizer de Métraux (*2* 66), "a maior parte dêstes vegetais era ou é conhecida pelas outras tribos tupi-guarani". Também as publicações mais recentes a respeito de tribos tupi aparentemente não mais doutrinadas por não do que os Tapirapé, destacam o desenvolvimento da lavoura. Assim, segundo Pedro de Moura (19), os Urubu do vale do Gurupi "fazem uma agricultura mais metódica do que a maioria dos caboclos civilizados da margem do rio", e, no dizer de Schultz-Kampfhenkel (201), "a roça gigantesca" dos (Oayapi) (Oyampi) do vale do Jari "é um trabalho respeitável".

De junho a agosto, isto é, nos meses mais secos, os Tapirapé cortam mata para novas plantações. A derrubada é feita pelo método muito divulgado entre tribos sul-americanas e adotado, no Brasil e nos países vizinhos, também pelos colonos brancos. Consiste em fazer cair, de uma vez, um grupo de árvores em conjunto, iniciando-as de tal maneira que elas tôdas têm de cair na mesma direção quando a vizinha caduca nelas se apoia do lado oposto, e abatendo, então, a maior do grupo, geralmente uma verdadeira gigante, e de tal grito que ela arraste consigo para o chão as companheiras debilitadas pelo machado.

Aliás, nem sempre e nem em tôdas as tribos era ou é o machado, seja o de pedra, seja o de aço, o meio ou o único meio para deitar abaixo as grandes árvores. Dodt (193, 194) refere dos Tembé: "Antigamente começavam, logo que acabava a estação das chuvas a conservar fogueiras grandes ao pé das árvores maiores, no terreno destinado para ser roçado, afim de derrubá-las dêste modo. Os cipós e o mato eram decepados, machucando-se os ramos entre duas pedras, e o fogo acabava de limpar o terreno". Esta afirmação é repetida por R. Lopes (*2* 150) quando escreve da mesma tribo tupi do Gurupi: "Derrubavam cada árvore por meio de uma fogueira, mal acabava a chuva, machucando os cipós entre pedras".

Também os Tupinambá empregavam fogo com semelhante finalidade, segundo a seguinte observação de Thevet (*1* 225) a respeito dos machados que êstes índios do século XVI receberam dos franceses: "Ce qu'ils estimoiêt beaucoup, et non sans raison, car cela leur est propre pour coupper leur bois, lequel auparauant estoient contraints de coupper auec pierres, ou mettre le feu es arbres, pour les abatre". O mesmo autor confirma essa observação escrevendo em outro lugar de seu livro (ibidem 269): "... retournans au feu de nos Sauuages, cõme ils en ont usé à plusieurs choses, cõme à cuire viandes, abatre bois, iusques à ce que depuis ils ont trouué moyẽ de le coupper, encore auec quelques pierres,

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si depois sugerava ent recou l'usage de ferramenta par les Chrétiens qui sont allés par delà". Também Léry (174, 175) escreve dos Tupinambá: "Je dis expressément que les sauvages, depuis que les François & Portugais fréquentent en leur pays, emploient leur bois de Brésil: car auparavant ainsi que l'ay entendu des vieillards, ils n'usoyent presque autre industrie d'abbattre vn arbre, sinon mettre le feu au pied".

A habitantes duma região bem afastada da terra dos Tupinambá refere-se a seguinte observação de Steere (385), a saber, aos Yamamadi, tribo arauá do rio Purús: "Os primeiros civilizados que os visitaram disseram que, naquele tempo, faziam essas árvores incisões em forma de cinta, tirando com o machado de pedra a sua casca. Depois derrubavam as árvores queimando-as por meio de lenha amontoada ao seu redor".

Mais detalhada é a descrição do mesmo processo empregado pelos índios do alto Uaupés em Stradelli (575): "O machado serve para fazer um primeiro entalhe todo em redor da árvore, machucando antes de que cortando a casca. Feito isso e passados alguns dias para o lugar machucado secar ou ao menos murchar, aglomeram em tôrno da árvore uma porção de mato seco e depois lhe dão fogo. A parte machucada, por isso mesmo que, se não teve tempo de secar, pelo menos murchou, naturalmente pega fogo de preferência ao resto. Apagado o fogo, com o machado fazem saltar a camada de carvão que ficou desta primeira operação, e põem a madeira em fogo em seguida atendo novo fogo e fazendo, apagado êste, saltar a nova camada de carvão, continuando assim até conseguir a queda da árvore".

Esta nota de Stradelli pode servir de resposta a Hermann von Ihering (431) que, baseando-se em experiências por êle pessoalmente feitas na derrubada de uma roça por meio de machados de pedra, observa no tocante ao emprêgo alternativo do machado e do fogo referido de índios amazonenses também por Goeldi: "Nunca o índio que quiesse trabalhar depressa terá empregado alternativamente o fogo e o machado para derrubar um tronco no mato, pois o fogo logo acabaria e, secando a madeira, só tornaria mais árduo o serviço". É que o índio, neste caso, não quer trabalhar depressa e deixa passar, no dizer do explorador italiano, "alguns dias para o lugar machucado secar ou ao menos murchar". O citado experimentador de machados de pedra, estudando assim objetos de índios longe de índios numa mata do Alto da Serra no Estado de São Paulo, ignorava, aparentemente, essa circunstância mencionada por Stradelli. Isso prova ser o convívio do etnólogo com a tribo pesquisada necessário para conhecer as funções sociais ou religiosas dum objeto.

Não sei se os Tapirapé empregavam o processo descrito por Stradelli. O que sei é que derrubavam as grandes árvores pondo fogo em baixo das raízes. Se os vestígios de carbonização nas raízes de troncos caídos e nos troncos no solo ao redor deles, vestígios êstes em 1935 ainda visíveis nas roças antigas, confirmassem essa informação, não teria passado muito tempo desde o uso de fogo para tal fim, e, considerando que os Tapirapé possuem machados de ferro já há dezenas de anos, seria de supor o emprêgo de fogo em colaboração com êstes produtos da nossa civilização.

Em todo o caso, não achei machados de pedra entre os Tapirapé, nem pessoa alguma em Tanpiítua que os tenha usado, nem pessoa alguma que tenha encontrado instrumentos semelhantes em lugares antigamente habitados por esta tribo. Naturalmente, não há dúvida que também ela os possuía outrora, e talvez fossem tão pequenos como, no dizer dos Tapirapé são os machados de pedra dos Ampanoé. Mas é certo que os Tapirapé, já há várias gerações, receberam objetos de ferro (*itsachos*: ferro, vidro, é composto de *itá*: pedra, e *chos*: semelhante) por intermédio dos Karajá, e não só machados, como também facões (*hyché-eté*, composto de *hyché*: faca, e *eté*: "verdadeiro", um aumentativo, sendo o têrmo *hyché* já mencionado no "Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica" como *quiçé*, por Montoya como *quicé* [i = y na nossa grafia], e por Stradelli como *hicé*. É digno de nota que os Tapirapé, usando há tanto tempo instrumentos cortantes de metal, não se resolvem a afiá-lo, apesar de êste processo ter-lhes sido ensinado já repetidas vezes pelos brancos que também lhes ofereceram pedras de amolar. É isso um exemplo de que a aceitação de dados culturais estranhos nem sempre implica a aceitação de todos os procedimentos ligados a êles.

Em 30 de julho assisti a uma derrubada feita em trabalho comum chamado *apachirá* pelos Tapirapé (o *pachirum* dos sertanejos paraenses e amazonenses). O líder Tanupanchoa determinou os pedaços da mata que deviam ser abatidos, indo, sem dizer palavra, para os lugares em questão e começando lá a bater com o machado numa árvore. Pelo fato de trabalhar mais do que os outros mostrou ser êle o cabeça. Os outros escolheram para si, como bem lhes pareceu, árvores na circunvizinhança dêle, incisando as mais fracas e cortando, enfim, a mais forte. Para todo o trabalho só usavam machados com cabos bastante comprido (fot. 56 e 61). Cada qual batia os troncos na altura que mais lhe convinha, de modo que havia, depois, tocos de 30 a 90 cm. Depois de ter trabalhado, assim, por certo tempo até o extremo esfôrço, descansava até sentir vontade de continuar com o trabalho. Todos eram muito aplicados. E quando vi os homens, na maior parte

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com o fisico dos nossos adolescentes, vencerem pedaço por pedaço a gigantesca mata ao redor, nada notei da gravidade da vida sedentária e da monotonia que entre nós caracterizam tantos trabalhos coletivos. Gritos alegres soavam e gargalhadas faziam-se ouvir por todos os lados, como se se realizasse um jôgo bem divertido.

Sendo a época das derrubadas a mais seca do ano, também as folhas e os galhos das árvores abatidas murcham mais depressa, tornando-se fàcilmente combustíveis. Os Tapirapé, então, ateam fogo nelas, para plantar por entre os troncos caídos e quase carbonizados, logo que as chuvas ajudam a vegetação. Assim, o tempo principal do plantio é em novembro e dezembro, mas em certas lagoas mais úmidas plantam já em outubro.

Para plantar inhame, cará e mandioca, cavam com enxada um buraco em forma de funil com 1 m. a 1,50 de diâmetro de profundidade no centro, em que, depois, amontoam a terra em cone. Neste cone metem de quatro a cinco bulbos de inhame, ou igual número de gomos do cará, isto é, fragmentos ou "olhos" dos respectivos tubérculos, ou quatro a cinco estacas de mandioca. Também os Karajá plantam a mandioca em semelhantes "canteiros redondos" (Krause 2 243 e fig. 12), os quais, evidentemente, são iguais aos "montinhos" mencionados, no século XVII, pelo jesuíta Simão de Vasconcellos (pág. CXXVIII-CXXIX) ao tratar daquele vegetal com as palavras seguintes: "He esta planta toda a fartura do Brasil, e é tradição, que a ensinou aos Indios o Apostolo S. Thomé, cavando a terra em montinhos, e metendo em cada qual quatro pedaços de vara de certas ramos, que chamão manaíba, de comprimento como de hum palmo cada hum dos pedaços, cujas tres partes vão metidas em terra, que fiquem em forma de cruz: e d'ahi a dez dias commummente brotão os pedaços de vara por todos os lados que tem amendoadas, e dentro em sete ou oito mezes crescem em altura de doze, até tres covados; supposto que he necessario ordinariamente hum anno pera perfeição de seu fruto, que são as raizes, duas, quatro, seis, e muitas vezes chegão a dez, mais ou menos compridas, e grossas, conforme a fertilidade da terra".

Seja como fôr o ensino do apóstolo São Tomé, não há dúvida de que os índios cultivavam a mandioca já muito antes da chegada de Colombo. O que seria interessante saber é com que instrumento cavavam a terra para isso. Métraux (2 68), baseando-se em autores antigos, afirma sumàriamente: "Pour tout instrument agricole, les Tupinamba, à l'instar des autres Tupi-Guarani, n'avaient qu'un pieu pointu durci au feu". Mas uma coisa é fazer buracos no solo para neles meter os grãos de milho, e outra coisa é revolver a terra para formar canteiros de mandioca. Por isso, os Karajá

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tinham uma vara grossa, adelgaçada numa das extremidades, e acabando em pé, na outra (Krause *2* 243 e fig. 83). O pau pontudo serve aos Tapirapé para plantar milho, amendoim e algodão em linhas retas que passam sôbre os troncos caídos e outras irregularidades do solo, ficando numa distância de cêrca de quatro metros uma da outra. No plantio de algodão, que é feito, como em nossa, em dezembro, pegado vários caroços em cada buraco, conservam cêrca de dois palmos de distância entre êsses buracos, sendo tal distância menor na plantação do milho e do amendoim. No mesmo mês começa também o trabalho de roçar. De junho a agôsto há safra de milho, amendoim e algodão. Mandioca e batatas são colhidas durante todo o ano. Bananas e milho são colhidos em estado verde e pendurados sob o teto das casas para ali amadurecer, pois lá no mato bastante animais intervendo em comê-las. Aliás, as roças, ainda que estejam separadas entre si por faixas de mata, não têm cêrcas nem espantalhos.

Dos Tupi da Bahia do século XVI escreve Gabriel Soares de Sousa (*377*): "Quando os Tupinambás vão às suas roças, não trabalham senão tôda sua horas da manhã até ao meio dia". Fora do *apichirá* em que se trabalha de tarde, dá-se o mesmo com os Tapirapé, saindo da aldeia, para êsse fim, os cansis, de manhãzinha, e voltando nas horas mais quentes. Continua o cronista português (Ibidem): "Os machos costumam a roçar os matos, e os queimam e alimpam a terra dêles; e as fêmeas plantam o alimento e o alimpam". Entre os Tapirapé, os homens têm não só êsses mesmos deveres dos antigos Tupinambá, mas, além disso, plantam, moedam e carregam os grandes cestos em que os produtos da lavoura são levados para casa. As mulheres participam inicamente do plantio de milho, amendoim e algodão, isto é, ambos os sexos semeam êstes vegetais e fazem a sua colheita.

Dos Karajá escreve Krause (*2* 243): "Dizem que o plantio de algodão, milho, batata doce e urucu compete às mulheres". Completamente igual é a divisão de trabalho dêstes índios com a dos Tapirapé a respeito do preparo do terreno, do plantio da mandioca e do cará, e do transporte dos grandes cestos, tarefas essas que cabem em ambas as tribos ao sexo masculino (cf. Krause Ibidem e prancha 15).

Na maioria dos outros índios sul-americanos é a mulher que leva da roça as cargas pesadas, assim, por exemplo, entre as tribos da parte superior da bacia do Xingu (von den Steinen *2* 214; Max Schmidt *2* 429) como também entre as das Guianas e da Venezuela (Koch-Grünberg *2* III 50 e prancha 53). Errada, porém, é a generalização de von Steinen (l.c.) quando êle, ao tratar dos índios daquela região xinguana, afirma: "Exclusivamente às mu-

lheres, como em todo o Brasil, cabe não só o preparo da mandioca em casa, como também o seu plantio". Já mencionei ser êsse plantio trabalho masculino entre os Tapirapé e Karajá, e segundo Koch-Grünberg (l.c.) dá-se o mesmo com os Taulipáng e seus vizinhos.

Como os Tupinambá, também os Tapirapé cultivam grande quantidade de vegetais diferentes. Êstes serão enumerados no capítulo seguinte.

Quando estive em Tampiitana, não havia lá outros animais domésticos do que cães e galinhas. Não restam vestígios de um casal de porcos trazido, pouco antes, por um amigo branco com o intuito de incitar os índios a criarem tais animais.

Dos cães já falei ao referir-me à caça. Os filhotes dêstes canídeos do tipo galgo foram amamentados por mulheres — e, infelizmente, não por velhas, mas pelas moças mais bonitas. Numa casa havia pendurada, ao lado das redes-de-dormir, até uma macaxinha incrivelmente pequena que era o leito de tal criança quadrúpede. Mas depois da infância cheia dessas meiguices, a vida torna-se caminha para o cão. Êle a passa faminto, com as costelas bem à vista, roubando restos de alimentos humanos e, às vêzes, até bananas, tendo entre os seus meios de sustento só um único realmente inesgotável e não proibido: a colheita de baratas. E assim como êle tem de mastigar êstes insetos em vez de chupar num gentil seio tapirapé, também recebe, em lugar de carícias, só maldições, pauladas e pontapés, ainda que dados, em geral, com certa clemência e, até, suavidade. Quando, numa reunião de homens, a ventosidade de um dêstes é acompanhada de mau cheiro, responsabilizam disso o cão mais próximo, dando grunhidos de desaprovação e um pontapé em direção do animal, pontapé indeciso cujo alvo é o ar e não o cachorro.

Também as galinhas não costumam ser alimentadas pela mão humana e se dedicam, por isso, à caça de baratas que abundam nas paredes da casa e no chão. Freqüentemente vi, de noite, à luz das fogueiras, galinhas com os seus pintos andarem por dentro da casa à procura dêsses insetos. Isso não quer dizer que as galinhas, de dia, se alimentavam de outra coisa.

Como os cães nunca são presos, também as galinhas gozam de completa liberdade e costumavam dormir, na época da minha visita, em cima das casas. A sua função na cultura tapirapé é, se bem que raramente, fornecer penas e, mais raramente ainda, dar um prato de carne.

A palavra tapirapé para galinha é *wayrachompokéinis* o que corresponde ao *guirá cupucaya* do "Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica" composto, segundo Ayrosa, provàvelmente por Anchieta.

Neste vocabulário do antigo tupi oriental, *guirá*, correspondendo ao *vuyrá tapirapé*, significa "aue glr." e "passaro, gnlr.", sendo *apocem* "grita dar". Claude d'Abbeville (242), na sua grafia francesa, escreve *Ouirs Sapoukay* como a designação dada pelos Tupinambá do Maranhão às "Poulles communes". No tupi moderno do Amazonas apontado por Stradelli, *uirá* é o nome genérico das aves, *sapucái* significa "grito" e "gritar em alvoroto", sendo o termo para "galo" e "galinha" simplesmente *sapucaia*. Segundo Hurley (338), também os Tembé do Gurupi e Guamá dizem nada mais do que *sapocais* quando falam da galinha.

Por outro lado, lemos no dicionário do tupi de Guaira, publicado na primeira metade do século XVII por Ruiz de Montoya (*2* II 406v. 400v.): Uruguaçú, "un paxaro, por su semejança lo ham trasladado a las gallinas"; *Uruguaçú çapucai*, "canto del gallo". Considerando êstes termos, Nordenskiöld (*5* 28) escreve a respeito da palavra *urenjopukóye* (*j* como *gi* na palavra italiana "giorno" e *y* como *y* na palavra inglêsa "youth") apontada por Kissenberth (*2* 60) como denominação tapirapé para galinha: "The question is whether this is not a remnant of an original form, i.e. *uren* being the same as *Uru*. It is quite probable that a fowl was first called the big, crowing *Uru*, and that in the Lingua Geral *Uru* and *guaçu* were simply dropped, and one was content to call it 'the crower'." — No tocante a isso convem observar o seguinte: 1) Os Tapirapé chamam o uru (*Odontophorus spec.*) com o mesmo nome tupi *urú* ou *oró* (com *o* fechado); 2) Kissenberth colheu o seu pequeno vocabulário da boca duma escrava tapirapé durante uma estadia de um dia e meio numa aldeia karajá, familiarizando-se, portanto, tão pouco com a língua em questão que êle escreveu (*2* 59) como termo para "ave" *oãorã* em vez de vuyrá; 3) o parentesco da língua tapirapé com o tupinambá do Maranhão é muito mais chegado do que o seu parentesco com o idioma estudado por Montoya na fronteira entre o Brasil e o Paraguai.

A galinha é chamada em karajá (*h*)*ani*(*k*)*e* (Krause *2* 245), em kayapó *akrõn* (*e*) *ãi* (Kissenberth apud Nordenskiöld *5* 35) e em bakairi *arakóma* (von den Steinen *1* 343). Pelo que sei, não foram encontradas galinhas entre as tribos do alto Xingu (cf. Nordenskiöld *5* 10 e mapa ♀).

Não vi nenhum animal amansado em Tampiitaua. Mas pelas minhas conversas com os habitantes fiquei sabendo que êles, como os índios em geral, gostariam de ter tais animais, tendo possuído, antes, diferentes mamíferos e aves silvestres. A maior importância entre estas tinham as arara-pirangas (*Ara chloroptera* Gray, em tapirapé *arana*), muito mais raras na bacia do Araguaia do que os canindés (*Ara ararauna* Lin., em tapirapé *kanindé*), pois, como

adôrno, as penas vermelhas daquelas são mais apreciadas do que as penas azuis e amarelas dêstes últimos. Assim é não só entre os Tapirapé, mas também entre os Karajá, razão pela qual pouco antes da minha chegada ao Araguaia, um homem desta tribo de canoeiros tinha dado em troca de um filhote de arara-piranga uma ubá que naquela região e naquele tempo valia 50 até 100 mil réis ou um rifle. Na época em que os Karajá comerciaram regularmente com os Tapirapé, tais filhotes constituiram um dos principais artigos da permuta.

Aliás, êste comércio pelo qual a tribo tupi recebeu ferramentas em troca de araras amansadas, urucu, redes, tembetás de quartzo e outros produtos de sua indústria, era, naturalmente, de importância decisiva para a adquisição do sustento, principalmente pelo papel que as ferramentas desempenham na lavoura. A êsse respeito afigura-se como boa sorte para os Tapirapé o fato de terem sido entabuladas relações diretas com os brancos pouco depois do rompimento com os Karajá. Pois a falta de ferramentas entre gente que nunca trabalhou com machado de pedra teria levado, provàvelmente, ou a ações precipitadas na "política externa", ou a conflitos intra-tribais.

Assim, para a aquisição do sustento dos Tapirapé é a mais importante de suas relações com os brancos o encontro com os dominicanos que, desde 1914, se repete com certa regularidade cada um ou dois anos e lhes fornece os instrumentos necessários. Aliás, não se trata, neste caso, dum comércio pròpriamente dito, pois, em geral, os índios não precisam dar em troca do abastecimento produtos de sua indústria, mas só prestar atenção a certas palavras e procedimentos peculiares ao padre. Isto não quer dizer que êles ignorem o conceito de reciprocidade no comércio com os brancos. Quando eu queria adquirir uma flecha para minha coleção, sabiam não só fazer altos preços, como também encarecer o valor chamando o projétil vulgar de "flecha de capitão". Mesmo no campo da "cultura espiritual" (ou "não material") havia tal "mercantilismo", pois como tinham permutado com os Karajá danças e cantos, assim também exigiam de mim canções em troca das suas, e para aprender dêles uma cantiga infantil tratando dum camondongo, tive de ensinar-lhes uma canção da minha infância, canção essa em que a raposa é acusada de ter roubado o ganso ("Fuchs, du hast die Gans gestohlen").

Quando os Tapirapé comerciavam entre si, observei bastante regateio.

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# OS TAPIRAPÉ

## TRIBO TUPI NO BRASIL CENTRAL

(Especial para a "REVISTA DO ARQUIVO")

HERBERT BALDUS

(continuação)

### *IX. Alimentação*

O capítulo antecedente aludia à importância dos vegetais na alimentação dos Tapirapé. Em primeiro lugar está a mandioca. Ela é, ao lado do peixe, o único alimento mencionado na descrição do segundo céu dada por êsses índios, isto é, do mítico céu invisível que está em cima do nosso céu visível. Os habitantes de Tampiitáua chamam as raizes daquela euforbiácea genèricamente de *mandioca*. Ayrosa (4 112) dúvida da origem tupi do têrmo mandioca.

Os Tapirapé possuem, como os Tupinambá, a espécie da "mandioca brava" (*Manihot utilissima* Pohl) e a da "mandioca doce", macaxeira ou aipim (*Manihot dulcis* Pax.). Distinguem cinco variedades do gênero *Manihot*, sendo ainda maior o número das variedades conhecidas dos antigos Tupi (cf. Soares de Sousa 187; Simão de Vasconcelos, pág. CXXVIII; Métraux 2 65).

Como êstes índios, os Tapirapé têm, essencialmente, duas maneiras de preparar as raizes da mandioca para o consumo: 1) colocam-nas por alguns dias na água até amolecerem, fazendo delas o que chamam *mandiyuugua* e o que é chamado de puba pelos neo-brasileiros; 2) ralam-nas sem êste tratamento de água (cf.

Staden q 2; Soares de Sousa 189 e 191; Simão de Vasconcellos pág. CXXIX; Claude d'Abbeville 304-305). Há variedades preparadas de ambas as maneiras, e outras preparadas sòmente de uma dessas duas maneiras. As raizes amolecidas na água são secadas ao sol e socadas no almofariz, servindo a substância pilada para o fabrico de beiju e caui. A mandioca fresca e ralada dá, depois de ser secada ao sol, passada pela peneira e torrada numa panela de barro, a farinha que entra na composição de certos pratos e acompanha outros, sendo lançada com a mão diretamente na boca. Já os Tupinambá tinham essas três formas de consumir a mandioca, isto é, o bolo, o líquido mais ou menos fermentado cuja consistência varia entre a do mingau e a da sopa, e as migalhas que, ora na panela, ora na própria boca, são agregadas a outro alimento (cf. Soares de Sousa 189 e 196; Simão de Vasconcellos págs. LXXXV, CXXIX e CXXX e outros).

Como os Tapirapé e muitas outras tribos, êsses antigos habitantes do litoral ralavam ou pilavam as raizes da mandioca, secavam-nas ao sol, peneiravam as migalhas e torravam-nas em panelas sôbre o fogo. Uma diferença notável nos processos de tornar comestíveis tais tubérculos existe, sòmente, acêrca da maneira de espremer a massa ralada da "mandioca brava", para extrair dela o suco venenoso. Enquanto Hans Staden (q 2) encontrou entre os Tupinambá da capitania de São Vicente e Gabriel Soares de Sousa (189) entre os da Bahia o tipiti, esta prensa trançada de palma em forma de tubo ou saco (cf. Baldus e Willems 219-220) não foi mencionada pelos autores franceses que, nos séculos VI e XVII, visitaram índios homônimos em outras partes do Brasil (cf. Métraux 2 104). Dos Tupinambá do Maranhão refere Claude d'Abbeville (304) expressamente que "ils prennent toutes les raclures de ces racines & les expriment auec les mains..." O uso do mesmo processo e a ausência do tipiti entre os Tapirapé são, portanto, fatos que corroboram a suposição de êstes índios procederam do Maranhão. Aliás, no mapa da distribuição do tipiti na América do Sul, Métraux (2 114) não assinala êste aparelho naquele Estado, sendo possível, por isso, que o tipiti visto por Wagley (3 3), em 1942, entre os Guajajara do vale do rio Pindaré representasse um traço cultural dêstes Tupi adquirido em tempo não muito remoto. Por outro lado convem notar que o tipiti, enquanto aparece entre os Guarani de Guaira (*Montoya* 2 II 382 v) e entre várias tribos tupi da bacia do Amazonas, a saber, entre os Ararandeuara, Juruna, Munduruku, Apiaká, Oyampi e Kokamilla (Métraux 2 104), não é conhecido das tribos da parte superior da bacia do Xingu visitadas por Karl von den Steinen (2 212), nem dos Karajá, apesar de ser a mandioca o alimento

principal tanto entre êstes índios do Araguaia (cf. Krause *2* 253), como entre aquêles Xinguanos (cf. von den Steinen *2* 212; Max Schmidt *2* 427; Hiptermann 251) e, aliás, também entre os Tupinambá maranhenses descritos por Claude d'Abbeville (304). E' preciso observar, porém, que os Bakairi prensam em ésteiras a mandioca raspada e socada (von den Steinen *1* 166) e que os Karajá colocam a massa ralada numa peneira formada de finas varetas de taquara, dispostas lado a lado, enrolam esta e apertam-na, depois, com as mãos até escorrer o suco venenoso das migalhas envolvidas por ela (Krause *2* 254). Dos Kayapó refere Krause (ib. 388): "As mulheres e as moças socam a mandioca em grandes almofarizes, iguais aos dos Karajá... Espremem-na com prensas trançadas, segurando estas com as mãos em ambos os cabos e torcendo cada lado em sentido contrário ao outro." Como mostra a fotografia reproduzida pelo mesmo autor (ib. prancha 68, fig. 4), tais prensas de mandioca são uma espécie de saco comprido, flexível e aberto de longo a longo. Métraux (*2* 104) apontando êste tipo também entre os Uitoto e Yamadidi, supõe representar êle a "forma primária" do tipiti, já pelo fato de seu manejo exigir certo esfôrço muscular, ao passo que o tubo flexível do tipo mais engenhoso e mais difundido é estirado por meio de um pêso, extraindo-se desta maneira mecânica o ácido hidrociânico.

Ainda que a mandioca constitua a base da alimentação não só de muitas tribos de índios da América do Sul, mas também de inúmeros neo-sul-americanos, o seu valor é controverso. Em Gilberto Freyre (44) encontramos a seguinte nota sôbre a farinha de mandioca: "A farinha — alimento hidrocarbonato, com proteína de segunda classe e pobre de vitaminas e de sais minerais — não é apenas alimento de fraco valor: é prejudicial. Mesmo quando ingerida sêca, — observa pitorescamente em 1909 um estudioso do regime de alimentação na Bahia — "duplicando de volume, distende fortemente as paredes do estômago...", podendo dar lugar a "fermentações anormais". Além do que, pela "existência de fibras lenhosas da raiz de mandioca", contribue para "a formação de bolos fecais endurecidos, constituindo verdadeiros *fecalomas*, capazes de resistirem às mais fortes lavagens e aos mais enérgicos purgativos..." Francisco Antônio dos Santos Sousa, "Alimentação na Bahia", Tese apresentada à Faculdade de Medicina da Bahia, Bahia 1909".

Estêvão Pinto (*2* 77) dá um minucioso quadro demonstrando numèricamente o valor nutritivo de diversas espécies de farinha de mandioca, segundo determinação de Alfredo A. de Andrade, citada por Josué de Castro: "O problema da alimentação no Brasil", São Paulo, 1934.

Mas tanto entre os antigos como entre os modernos há defensores daquela euforbiácea. Claude d'Abbeville (305), por exemplo, acha a farinha de mandioca um alimento "fort bon, fort stomachal, for nutritif & de facile digestion". Hochne (2 103) observa: "Considerando as inúmeras vantagens que a mandioca oferece ao homem, Sprecher von Bernegg também não vacilou em colocá-la na primeira plana entre as plantas úteis ao homem. O coeficiente de calorias que ela fornece excede o triplo das melhores plantas, quando se faz o cálculo pela produção por hectare de terreno".

Uma variedade de "mandioca doce", cultivada pelos Tapirapé e chamada *tuaykyra* por êles, alcança mais de trinta centímetros de circunferência e mais de meio metro de comprimento. Comi-a freqüentemente e com prazer, tanto cozida como também assada na brasa.

Outros tubérculos assados da mesma maneira e por mim experimentados entre êsses índios eram das seguintes plantas: 1) variedade da batata doce (*Ipomoea batatas* Lam., em tapirapé *chetyka*), alaranjados por dentro e de sabor de quase uma abóbora; 2) cará roxo (*Dioscorea spec.*, em tapirapé *urukú-ampaá*), roxos por dentro, de forma de um nabo, de tamanho do punho duma criança e de um sabor um pouco mais intenso do que o cará branco conhecido entre nós; 3) êste último cará, tomado dos brancos, como já mostra o nome tapirapé *mayrangkanakuera* (*mayra*: "homem branco", *kaná*: cará, *kuera*: que foi), tendo freqüentemente setenta centímetros de circunferência, meio metro de comprimento e pouco sabor; 4) uma terceira dioscoreácea, existente em estado silvestre na mata e chamada de "*kanachinga*", cará branco" em tapirapé por serem brancos por dentro, tendo a forma de cenoura, vinte centímetros de circunferência, trinta centímetros de comprimento e tão pouco sabor como *mairangkanakuera;* 5) um cará menor ainda, chamado *emamaé* em tapirapé; 6) um inhame que alcança sessenta centímetros de circunferência e trinta e cinco centímetros de comprimento (*Alocasia-spec.*, em tapirapé *iampokumaé*), mas saboroso do que os carás; 7) um inhame menor, chamado *uaunchaira* em tapirapé. E' sabido que a batata doce e os carás são autóctones da América, sendo os inhames plantas introduzidas (cf. Hoehne 2 187). Os Tapirapé afirmam ter cultivado o *iampokumaé* em tempos remotos, e se lembram de ter recebido o *uaunchaira* dos brancos.

Já Hans Staden (v. 3) gostou da batata doce dos Tupinambá, escrevendo o seu nome *jettiki*. Como *jética*, o têrmo tupi entrou no vernáculo (*Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro de Língua Portuguesa*, 5.ª edição, 1944). Stradelli (500), no seu vocabulário

nheêngatú, escreve *iutyca*, como designação de "batata". Aliás, os Tapirapé plantam a *chetyka* só em pequena quantidade.

Outro têrmo tupi entrado na idioma dos brancos é o de cará. Gabriel Soares de Sousa (198) relata acêrca dessa dioscoreácea: "Dão-se na Bahia outras raizes maiores que batatas, a que os índios chamam carazes, que se plantam da mesma maneira que as batatas, e como nascem, põem-lhes ao pé uns páus, por onde atrepam os ramos que lançam, como herva. Êstes carazes se plantam em Março e colhem-se em Agosto, os quais se comem cozidos e assados, como os inhames, mas têm melhor sabor: os mais dêles são brancos, outros roxos, outros brancos por dentro e roxos por fora junto à casca, que são os melhores, e de melhor sabor; outros são todos negros como pós; e uns e outros se curam no fumo, e duram de um ano para outro. Da massa dêstes carazes fazem os Portuguêses muitos manjares com açúcar, e cozidos como carne têm muita graça. "— Hoehne (2 208) acrescenta o seguinte comentário: "Temos aqui a confirmação do que repetidas vezes temos dito, que o nome "Cará" deve ser reservado exclusivamente para as espécies do gênero *Dioscorea* e de modo algum confundido com os "Inhames" do gênero *Alocasia* da família das *Aráceas*. Havia naquela época uma bela série de variedades do "Cará", que ainda agora encontramos melhor selecionados entre os índios incultos do noroeste brasileiro que entre os agricultores civilizados."

Ao lado dos mencionados tubérculos são as bananas o alimento vegetal mais importante para os Tapirapé. Como a mandioca, elas são recolhidas por êsses índios durante quase o ano inteiro. Mas por ocasião da minha visita em Julho de 1947, tinha muito menos bananas e outros víveres na aldeia do que nos meses de Junho a Agosto de 1935. No capítulo II já foi dito que o têrmo *chatá* ou *tatá* com que os habitantes de Tampiitáua designam, genèricamente, as bananas por êles cultivadas, se parece com a palavra karajá indicativa das mesmas frutas. Comi, naquela aldeia, as seguintes variedades desta musácea:

1) uma banana de trinta centímetros de comprimento e quinze a vinte centímetros de circunferência, a maior das cultivadas pelos Tapirapé que, por isso, a chamam de *tatahó*, isto é, acrescentando ao têrmo genérico o aumentativo. Os neo-brasileiros do Araguaia a designam "banana comprida". E', provàvelmente, uma variedade da "banana da terra" (*Musa paradisiaca* L., subsp. *normalis*). Durante a minha primeira estadia entre os Tapirapé, êles a comiam todos os dias em grande quantidade. Também eu nunca me cansei de devorar estas frutas enormes e gostosíssimas, ficando o meu corpo, em conseqüência disso, tão desproporcionado como o de um cavalo que, meses a fio, se alimenta só de capim. Os Ta-

1: Baldus SP22 Tapirapé



pirapé recolhem estas bananas em estado verde, pendurando-as dentro da casa até se tornarem amarelas e maduras. Então expõem-nas à ação do sol até ficarem pretas por fora e tirantes a pardo por dentro. Para isso colocam-nas em armações de varas, erigidas onde cresceram ou em outro lugar considerado adequado. Os Karajá que cultivam também essas grandes bananas, as enterram igualmente, e o mesmo faziam os Péua (Takunhapeba) do baixo Xingú, visitados por von den Steinen (*1* 275). Os Tapirapé gostam de comer essas frutas quando elas estão não só apodrecendo, como também quentes da ação imediata do sol ou da areia aquecida pelos raios dêste astro. Não as descascam, mas abrem um pouco a casca coriácea numa das pontas, tomam esta ponta entre os lábios e esvaziam então devagar a casca, apertando-a com os dedos, de modo que a carne mole e pardacenta entre pouco a pouco na boca. Não estive, neste caso, de acôrdo com o paladar dos índios, achando-se as bananas uma coisa nauseabunda quando podres e preferindo comê-las quando ainda amarelas por fora e amarelo-rosadas por dentro, pois já neste estado eram bastante succosas.

2) Sêca não era também a carne branca duma banana maior, cujo sabor doce lembrava o duma bala penetrada pelo perfume usado por um barbeiro barato, e cuja casca é verde-rosada. O nome tapirapé desta fruta é *tatampiringó*. O seu comprimento é igual à sua circunferência, a saber: cêrca de quinze centímetros. Meu camarada a tratava de "banana roxa", afirmando que ela alcança, entre os "civilizados", o dôbro dessa circunferência. Provàvelmente é *Musa paradisiaca* L., subsp. *sapientum*, var. *rubra*.

3) "São Tomé" era, aparentemente, a banana de quinze centímetros de comprimento e dez centímetros de circunferência, cuja carne branca e mole tinha um sabor suave e cuja casca verde não amarelece. Os Tapirapé a penduram dentro de casa, chamando-a *inanchanyní*.

4) Amarela por dentro e por fora é a banana cujo nome tapirapé é *abãbakíngamaí* e que se assemelha na forma e no sabor à banana *tatahó*, sendo, porém, um pouco menor e mais sêca do que esta.

5) Também amarela por dentro e por fora, como diz já o seu nome *tatanchova*, é outra banana de carne muito "perfumada", que tem quinze centímetros de comprimento e doze centímetros de circunferência.

6) *Tatakyra* chamam em Tampiitáua uma banana verde de tamanho médio que, assada na brasa, tem o gôsto duma batata muito sêca.

7) Os habitantes desta aldeia cultivavam também, "banana ouro" (var. *regia* da subsp. *sapientum*) que alcançou, nas suas roças, dez centímetros de comprimento e oito centímetros de circunferência.

Krause (*2* 241-242), tratando da alimentação karajá, escreve o seguinte: "Em aldeias indias, só duas vezes obtive bananas, e ambas as vezes no começo de julho; nunca vi estas frutas nas plantações. Talvez existam sòmente em determinados lugares, como, por exemplo, segundo contam os brasileiros, na parte da ilha do Bananal habitada pelos Javahé, fato êsse que, dizem, deu o nome a êste território cercado das águas do Araguaia". — Já citei, no capítulo IV, a informação de Kissenberth segundo a qual o nome da ilha do Bananal é corruptela do nome karajá Abananá dum chefe que morava, no século XVIII, no braço menor do Araguaia. A escassês de bananas, observada por Krause entre os Karajá, mostra, em todo o caso, uma diferença característica entre êstes índios e os Tapirapé.

O mesmo autor (ib. 387) relata que os Kayapó visitados por êle plantavam mandioca, milho, batatas, cará e bananas, mas não dá pormenores a respeito.

Em 1884 von den Steinen (*1* 311) constatou ser a banana desconhecida em todo o alto Xingú. Aliás, ainda em 1924, Hintermann (254) notou a sua ausência completa nessa região. A importância da descoberta de von den Steinen consiste no fato de morarem lá tribos das quatro principais famílias linguísticas do Brasil, a saber, dos Tupi, Aruak, Karaib e Gê, tribos que, até a chegada do explorador alemão, aparentemente, não tinham recebido influência de culturas européias, possuindo, por outro lado, grande número das diferentes plantas mais características da lavoura dos índios brasileiros. Tomando tudo isso como ponto de partida, von den Steinen (*1* 310-314 e mapa pegado à 299) estudou a distribuição geográfica de diferentes nomes da banana entre índios sul-americanos para, apoiando o botânico Alphonse de Candolle, refutar a hipótese de Humboldt segundo a qual a *Musa paradisiaca* já era difundida na América pré-colombiana.

Recentemente, porém, outro eminente botânico contribiuou para defender o ponto de vista de Humboldt. E' o dr. F. C. Hoehne (*2* 221-224) que, comentando, na obra de Gabriel Soares de Sousa o capítulo L, "Em que se declara a natureza das pacobas e bananas", logo chama a atenção para êste epígrafe que revela ter o quinhentista português distinguido as "bananeiras" das "pacobeiras". Transcreve, depois, os seguintes trechos do mesmo livro:

"Pacoba é uma fruta natural desta terra, a qual se dá em uma árvore muito mole e fácil de cortar, cujas folhas são de doze e

1: Baldus SP22 Tapirapé



quinze palmos de comprido e de três e quatro de largo; as de junto ao olho são menores, muito verdes uma e outras, e a árvore da mesma côr, mas mais escura; na Índia chamam a estas pacobeiras figueiras e ao fruto figos...."

"E como se corta esta pacobeira, tiram-lhe o cacho que tem fruto verde e muito tezo, e dependuram-no em parte onde amadureça, e se façam amarelas as pacobas; e na casca onde se fizer fogo amadurecem mais depressa com a quentura; e como esta fruta está madura, cheira muito bem. Cada pacoba destas tem um palmo de comprido e a grossura de um pepino, às quais tiram as cascas, que são de grossura das das favas; e fica-lhe o miolo inteiro alinecegado, muito saboroso. Dão-se estas pacobas assadas aos doentes em lugar de maçãs, das quais se faz marmelada muito sofrível, e também as concertam como beringelas, e são muito gostosas; e cozidas no açúcar com canela são estremadas, e passadas ao sol sabem a pêssegos passados. Basta que de tôda a maneira são muito boas, e dão-se em todo o ano; mas no inverno não há tantas como no verão, e a estas pacobas chama o gentio pacobuçú que quer dizer pacoba grande".

Hoehne observa a respeito: "Como se evidencia temos aqui referida a *Musa paradisiaca* L. subsp. *normalis* O. Kuntze, porque para atestar isto basta considerar-se a última frase acima e as dimensões: um palmo de comprido e da grossura de pepino. Positivmente é portanto a Banana da Terra. Aliás êste nome já no-la revelava como indígena. Mas haveria outras da segunda sub-espécie?... Vejamos":

E transcreve a seguinte frase do mesmo quinhentista: "Há outra casta que não são tamanhas, mas muito melhores no sabor, e vermelhaças por dentro quando as cortam, e se dão e criam da mesma maneira das grandes".

A isso, Hoehne acrescenta: "Evidentemente aqui se trata da var. *rubra* Feminger Bak. da segunda subespécie, segundo Schumann. Mas considerando que também ela é ainda daquelas que são mais apreciadas cozidas ou assadas do que cruas, preferiríamos dá-la como variedade da mesma subespécie *normalis*."

O mesmo capítulo L continua como segue: "Há outra casta, que os índios chamam pacobamirim, que quer dizer pacoba pequena, que são do comprimento de um dedo, mas mais grossas; estas são tão doces como tâmaras, em tudo mui excelentes".

Hoehne comenta: "Êste trecho documenta-nos que Soares considerava indígena também a Banana Ouro (*Musa paradisiaca* L. subsp. *sapientum* Ktz. var. *regia* Baker). E que de fato isto não pode ser refutado, confirma-nos o trecho que segue, em que se percebe claramente que às variedades e espécies de *Musa*

indígenas se dava o nome de "Pacoba" e às introduzidas chamava-se "Bananas".

Eis o teor do trecho em questão: "As bananeiras têm as árvores, folhas e criação como as pacobeiras, e não há nas árvores de umas às outras nenhuma diferença, as quais foram ao Brasil de S. Tomé, aonde ao seu fruto chamam bananas e na Índia chamam a estas figos de horta, as quais são mais curtas que as pacobas, mas mais grossas e de três quinas; têm a casca a mesma côr e grossura da das pacobas, e o miolo mais mole e cheiram melhor como são de vez, às quais arregoa a casca como vão amadurecendo e fazendo algumas fendas ao alto, o que fazem na árvore; e não são tão sadias como as pacobas. Os negros da Guiné são mais afeiçoados a estas bananas que às pacobas, e delas usam nas suas roças..."

Hoehne termina os comentários àquele capítulo de Gabriel Soares de Sousa dizendo: "Pelo exarado parece, portanto, que apenas a Banana S. Tomé foi introduzida e que as demais então cultivadas, já existiam no nosso país."

Acêrca da palavra "pacoba" convem lembrar a frase da carta de Nimuendajú citada em nosso capítulo II, segundo a qual é provável que todos os Tupí designavam, originàriamente, com o têrmo *pakowa* e os seus semelhantes a "banana brava" (*Heliconia spec.*), derivando disso o nome da verdadeira banana.

Aliás, num trabalho publicado em 1922, isto é, quinze anos antes do livro de Hoehne, Nordenskiöld (5 64) escreve: "It may be regarded as proved by de Candolle and Karl v. d. Steinen that the banana was introduced into America by the whites.", corroborando esta afirmação com dados tirados de relatos dos séculos XV e XVI para, depois, observar o seguinte (ib. 72-73): "Although the banana is not mentioned by the first pioneers, and was evidently not cultivated by the Indians before the whites made them acquainted with it, there was a general impression a few decades later that it was an American plant. Thus, Lery, who took part in Villegaingnon's experiment at colonising on the Brazilian coast (1557-1558) gives a detailed description of the banana as a new and remarkable American fruit, which the Indians called *paco*, a name for the banana which in our own day still has a very wide distribution in the east of S. America. Thevet, who also took part in the experiment, speaks of the banana as a remarkable American fruit. Yet the banana was not new to this extensive traveller. He had seen a small species of banana in Egypt and Palestine. It is still more remarkable that Soares de Souza should have held the banana to be indigenous to America. He was there from 1570 to 1587. He distinguishes, however, between a large native species

1: Baldus SP22 Tapirapé



of banana, evidently the plantain *Musa paradisiaca*, and a smaller, more luscious species ,imported from St. Thomas, evidently *Musa sapientum*. Pero de Magalhães likewise evidently considers the banana to be indigenous to Brazil. Also Garcilasso de la Vega and Acosta thought the banana was a native American plant. In the *Relaciones Geográficas* the banana is mentioned in several places as a native plant, e. g. from La Paz in 1586, and from Columbia in 1581/?/. That these writers assumed that the banana was indigenous to America is evidently due to the fact that in their time it was already extensively disseminated in the New World. Moreover, since the banana was not found in their own countries, it was to them a new plant."

Se o mesmo autor sueco (ib. 29 e 76) supõe que, por causa da semelhança de termos acima mencionada, os Tapirapé ficaram conhecendo a banana pelos Karajá, podemos ainda observar que na extensa lista de designações de banana, usadas por tribos sul-americanas, lista por Nordenskiöld publicada juntamente com um mapa de distribuição (ib. 78-85 e mapa IV), não aparece nenhum têrmo parecido com *chatá* e *tatá*.

Digno de nota é o fato da *pòankuá* dos Tapirapé ter também uma certa função alimentar. Em Campiitáua esta "banana brava" fornece não só folhas para a cobertura da casa, mas também sementes que as crianças comem torradas, depois de terem tirado a pele da pevide. O gôsto pouco intenso lembra vagamente leite e farinha de trigo.

Das outras plantas silvestres aproveitadas pelos Tapirapé para a alimentação, sejam mencionadas:

A árvore por êles chamada de *ampí* cujas frutas vermelhas em forma de cereja, amadurecidas em outubro, têm gôsto duma doce cereja.

A mangabeira (*Hancornia speciosa* Gomes, *mangaua* em tapirapé), já descrita por Gabriel Soares de Sousa (210-211), cujas frutas verde-amarelas em forma e tamanho de uma pequena maçã, amadurecidas em outubro, são comidas cruas, tendo, sem a pele, gôsto duma maçã assada. No dizer de Hoehne (2 227) a mangaba é no Chapadão dos Parecis e muitas outras localidades de Mato Grosso e do nordeste do Brasil "a melhor fruta do mato".

A palmeira chamada de *pinaua* pelos Tapirapé e de "macaba" pelo meu camarada nortista, cujo coco um pouco maior do que cereja e amadurecido em outubro e novembro, é fervido até amolecer a carne, depois esfregado numa peneira posta numa panela, de modo que a carne desligada do caroça cai neste vaso para, então, ser cozida com água. O gôsto, por fim, lembra nozes, e é refrescante.

Pela sua substância oleosa é apreciado o coquinho de outra palmeira, a tucumã ou o tucum-açu (*Astrocaryum spec.*, ou tapirapé *chavana*), coquinho êsse que é recolhido em outubro.

Uma espécie de cogumelo que os Tapirapé gostam de comer é chamada por êles de *yvöpá*.

Êstes índios cultivam, além das plantas mencionadas no começo do presente capítulo, ainda várias outras. O milho (*Zea mays* L., *avundsí* em tapirapé) é recolhido em estado imaturo e pendurado dentro da casa para amarelecer, sendo depois pilado e usado para mingau e caui. O têrmo tapirapé corresponde ao *abati* em Staden (e 2), *auati* em Léry (120), *ubatim* em Soares de Sousa (199), *auatí* em Stradelli (384) e *abatí* em Montoya (*2* I 357 e II 10). Comentando o capítulo XLV de Soares de Sousa, "em que se contém o milho que se dá na Bahia", escreve Hoehne (*2* 211): "Temos aqui as várias variedades de milho que ainda agora os aborígenes sabem conservar tão puras e isentas de defeitos". Os Kayapó visitados por Krause (*2* 387) plantam, como já mencionamos, o milho, chamando-o *báu* (ib, 464). O mesmo autor (ib. 241) enumera as seguintes quatro variedades de milho cultivadas pelos Karajá: *mdi*, *dolimé* com grãos grandes e redondos, *ijelalá* com grãos redondos e *maidujó* com grãos vermelhos. Segundo uma lenda dêstes índios foi a estrela vésper que, tendo vindo à terra em figura de homem êsse casado com uma moça da tribo, ensinou-lhe o cultivo do milho e da mandioca (cf. Baldus *10* 21). Isso sugere que os Karajá possuem desde tempos imemoriais estas plantas, que, aliás, são consideradas por Hoehne (*2* 30-32) como vegetais genuìnamente americanos, tendo sido cultivados pelos índios já antes da chegada de Colombo.

As sementes do amendoim (*Arachis spec.*, *monovi* em tapirapé), são socadas e depois acrescentadas a certos mingaus, ou torradas, socadas e assim comidas, ou torradas e comidas sem antes pisá-las no pilão, ou mastigadas e cuspidas na panela para, assim, fermentar e tornar-se caui. Esta leguminosa da qual, no dizer de von Martius (*2* II 381), Oviedo, no ano de 1535, indica em Haiti o nome *mani*, nome êsse adotado pelos espanhois e ainda hoje usado na língua dêles, era chamada de *manobi* pelos Tupinambá visitados por Léry (192), de *mandubi* pelos índios da mesma família Tupi que habitavam a região de Guaira (Montoya *2* II 206), e de *mandui* no nheêngatú do Amazonas (Stradelli 512). Gabriel Soares de Sousa (202-203) escreve a respeito: "Dos amendois temos que dar conta particular, porque é coisa, que se não sabe haver senão no Brasil, os quais nascem debaixo da terra, onde se plantam a mão, um palmo um do outro; as suas folhas são como as dos feijões de Espanha, e tem os ramos ao longo do

chão. E cada pé dá um grande prato dêstes amendoís, que nascem nas pontas das raizes, os quais são tamanhos como bolotas, e têm a casca da mesma grossura e dureza, mas é branca e crespa, e tem dentro de cada bainha três e quatro amendoís, que são da feição dos pinhões com casca, e ainda mais grossos. Tem uma tona parda, que se lhe sai logo como a do miolo dos pinhões, o qual miolo é alvo. Comestos crus tem sabor de gravanços crus, mas comem-se assados e cozindos com a casca, como as castanhas, e são muito saborosos, e torrados fora da casca são melhores. De uma maneira e doutra é esta fruta muito quente em demasia, e causam dor de cabeça, a quem como muitos, se é doente dela. Plantam-se êstes amendoís em terra sôlta e úmida, na qual planta e benefício dela não entra homem macho; só as índias os costumam plantar, e as mestiças; e nesta lavoura não entendem os maridos, e tem para si que se êles ou seus escravos os plantarem, que não hão de nascer. E as fêmeas os vão apanhar, e segundo seu uso hão de ser as mesmas que os plantem; e para durarem todo o ano curam-nos no fumo, onde os tem até vir outra novidade. Desta fruta fazem as mulheres portugueses tôdas as coisas doces, que fazem das amêndoas, e cortados os fazem cobertos de açúcar de mistura como os confeitos. E também os curam em peças delgadas e compridas, de que fazem pinhoadas; e quem os não conhece, por tal a come se lha dão. O próprio tempo em que se os amendoís plantam é em Fevereiro, e não estão debaixo da terra mais que até Maio, que é o tempo em que se lhes colhe a novidade, o que as fêmeas vão fazer com grande festa."

Comentando êste trecho observa Hoehne (2 216): "E' preciso notar que o Brasil meridional, especialmente S. Paulo, Paraná e Mato Grosso, são a terra da origem dos diferentes "Amendoins". Tôdas as espécies conhecidas existem ainda aqui em estado selvagem e natural e são então plantas mais ou menos perenes ou pelo menos bi ou trienais. Não podemos dizer se aqui Soares se referia a *Arachis hypogaea* L. ou à A. *sambyquarae* Hoehne. Como, porém, a primeira foi logo levada para a África e mais tarde até considerada natural de lá, é provável que tenha sido ela a que cultivavam os índios da Bahia. Pode também ser que tivesse sido a última, que pela cultura do europeu foi decrescendo no tamanho até adquirir a forma e tamanho da primeira. Merece atenção o fato que também cozinhavam o "Amendoim" e que então já faziam dêle os doces e o saboreavam torrado. Em o sul de Mato Grosso é o centro da irradiação do "Amendoim" nativo. Mais reparo merece ainda o fato referido que sòmente as mulheres podiam cultivar e colher esta leguminosa e que a colheita era feita com grande festa. Seria isto devido ao fato de ser o Amendoim

muito estimulante? Soares disse que o reputavam como muito quente e que o abuso dêle produzia dor de cabeça aos que sofriam dêste mal. O interêsse pela cultura do Amendoim entre os indígenas continua sendo o mesmo e perfeitamente iguais os costumes a respeito da sua plantação e colheita. Êles possuem inúmeras variedades do *Arachis nambyquarae* Hoehne e na Serra do Norte, cabeceiras do Rio Jamary e Jacy, são as índias que a cultivam."

No capítulo anterior já mencionamos que os únicos vegetais de cuja semeadura e colheita participa a mulher tapirapé, são o amandioen, o milho e o algodão. A observação do quinhentista português de ser o amendoim "muito quente em demasia" e, em certas circunstâncias, prejudicial, parece corresponder ao conceito manifesto pelo costume tapirapé de pai e mãe abeterem-se dessa leguminosa durante os dois primeiros anos de seu filho para não por em perigo a vida dêle.

O amendoim que vi em grandes quantidades entre os Tapirapé, parece ser uma variedade da *Arachis nambyquarae*. Esta espécie foi encontrada por Kuhlmann em 1919, entre os Nambíkuara de Pimenta Bueno, no Estado de Mato Grosso, e descrita por Hoehne (*1* 21-22 e tábula 190; *2*). Como ela, o *mowerá* tapirapé distingue-se do "amendoim comum" (*Arachis hypogaea*) já pelo tamanho, muito maior, alcançando os seus legumes sete centímetros de comprimento e suas sementes dois a três centímetros. Segundo Hoehne (*1* 22), cada exemplo da *Arachis nambyquarae* pode produzir de 50 a 100 legumes. Pela sua riqueza em óleo e sua abundância, o amendoim tem bastante importância para a alimentação tapirapé, tendo constituído também um dos meus alimentos pediletos durante minha estada em Tampiitáma. Krause (*2* 241-242, 358-359 e 387) não menciona esta leguminosa nem dos Karajá, nem dos Javahé e Kayapó. Mas numa lenda que ouvi em julho de 1947 na aldeia dos Karajá de Santa Isabel, um herói-civilizador desta tribo, isto é, a estrêla vésper, ensinou a plantar, entre outras coisas, também amendoim.

Menos importante que o amendoim eram para os Tapirapé as grandes favas chatas e um pouco maiores que as da Europa. Só alguns indivíduos as cultivavam, plantando-as em pequena quantidade. Seu nome tapirapé *kumanã* corresponde ao *comandá* em Soares de Sousa (200), *cumandá* em Montoya (*2* II 105v) e Stradelli (427). Êste autor (ib.) indicando ainda a forma *cumanã*, escreve a respeito: "Nome que hoje é reservado aos feijões comestíveis, mas que parece ter sido comum ao fruto de muitas leguminosas, atendendo-se mais à forma e aspecto exterior do que a outra coisa, o que pelo menos ainda hoje se dá com os derivados." A grande fava tapirapé parece ser uma variedade de *Pha-*

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*scolus lunatus* L., e, portanto, da mesma espécie que as favas mencionadas por Anchieta (Hoehne *2* 107), Thevet (ib. 132) e Soares de Sousa (ib. 211-213). Em Tampiitáua ela é fervida em pequena panela de barro. Depois tiram-lhe a pele verde. Em baixo desta pele, a fava é branca. Comi-a com grande prazer.

Menores que estas favas são os redondos frutos amarelos de um arbusto leguminoso cultivado pelos Tapirapé, chamado por êles de *kumaná-ytyrá*, "arbusto do feijão". Os neo-brasileiros plantam êsse arbusto no Morro de Areia e em outros lugares da região, dando-lhe o nome de "anduzeiro". Esta designação pode levar à suposição de pertencer o vegetal em questão à espécie *Cytisus cajanus* Lin.

Os Tapirapé aproveitam os frutos de certas cucurbitáceas para vasos, depois de esvaziá-los do miolo, enquanto usam os de outra espécie desta família para preparar com o suco um prato muito estimado. O suco é cozido e, ao começar a fervura, misturado com milho cru socado, sendo a mistura em ebulição, mexida durante dez minutos até condensar-se. Às vezes, juntam amendoim pilado. Neste caso, o acréscimo é feito antes do suco entrar em ebulição. O fruto que fornece êste suco alcança trinta e cinco centímetros de comprimento e trinta de circunferência, tendo uma casca grossa e dura. Seu nome tapirapé é *kornanchos*, referindo-se *chos* (ou *chous*) à côr amarela. Os neo-brasileiros da região conhecem êste fruto sob o nome croá que, segundo o "Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa", 5.ª edição, é sinônimo de cruá, craná e melão-caboclo (*Sicana odorifera* Naud.) No vocabulário nheengatú de Stradelli (435) *curúas* é "casta de abóbora cheia de protuberâncias". Montoya (*2* II 110 v) dá a palavra *curugná* com o significado "calabaças coloradas, conocidas".

Pegado a Tampiitáua estava, em 1935, o pequeno canavial de Kamirabó. Nenhum outro membro da tribo possuía plantação de *Saccharum officinarum* L. e em 1947 não vi nenhuma. Essa cana de açúcar servia exclusivamente para chupar e era recentemente importada. Krause (*2* 242) refuta a afirmação de Ehrenreich segundo a qual os Karajá plantavam cana de açúcar nos bancos de areia, e declara que se tratava de mandioca e milho. Escreve com referência a êsses índios:"... não vi cana de açúcar. Se a tivessem possuído, provàvelmente não teriam pechinchado tanto o meu açúcar..." Esta conclusão é errada. O fato de chuparem cana de açúcar nunca impediu os Tapirapé de solicitar a minha rapadura.

Êstes índios fabricam o beiju (*meijá* ou *mãjá* no seu idioma), às vezes com a tapioca extraída da puba, como já foi mencionado,

e, outras vezes com farinha de amendoim ou de milho. No dizer de Ayrosa (*1* 54), o têrmo "*mbeiú* ou *mbeyú* do tupi-guarani" é "eqüivalente a enroscada, enrolado, franzido, etc." O mesmo autor (ib. 51-54) cita diversas espécies dêsse bolo, descrita por vários autores. O beijú tapirapé corresponde na forma ao chamado "beiju-açú", que é um grande e fino disco torrado no alguidar. Não é comida de todos os dias. Durante as minhas estadias em Tampiitáua ví-o só uma única vez. Era em 29 de junho de 1935, por ocasião duma festa de "máscaras". Colocavam no centro da *taboa* um grande alguidar cheio dêsses discos de tapioca de puba feitos por Anampí, mulher de Tanupanchoa. Êste homem importante ofereceu-os a vários dos presentes, distribuindo-os pessoalmente. Recebi também a minha parte e gostei. Já Hans Staden (q 2) menciona dos Tupinambá semelhantes bolos fabricados com o mesmo material e da mesma maneira, escrevendo o seu nome *byyu*. Segundo Karl von den Steinen (*2* 539), os Kamayurá dizem *meiú* com nasalação, isto é, quase *meniú* ("*meyu*" e "menyu" na grafia dele). O mesmo autor (ib. fig. 54) representa uma pá ornamentada com desenhos geométricos que servia a êstes índios para virar beijus. Em Tampiitáua não vi instrumento especial com esta finalidade e também na coleção de Wagley conservada no Museu Nacional não existe nada disso. Krause (*2* 155) declara não ter visto nem ouvido entre os Karajá, nada acêrca dos beijús que, segundo Ehrenreich eram fabricados por esta tribo. Também não menciona tais bolos ao tratar da alimentação dos Javahé (ib. 359) e Kayapó (ib. 387-388).

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# OS TAPIRAPÉ

## TRIBO TUPI NO BRASIL CENTRAL

(Especial para a "REVISTA DO ARQUIVO")

HERBERT BALDUS

(Continuação)

Para os Tapirapé, o mais importante prato preparado de vegetais é, sem dúvida, o cauí. Segundo Stradelli (405), *caú* significa "embebedado" no nheêngatu do Amazonas, sendo *cauy* e *cauyn* "água de bêbedo" (ib. 407). No guarani de Guaira colhido por Montoya (2 II 95), *cáá* quer dizer: "beber vinho", e *acaú*: "eu bebo vinho". Neste idioma (ib. 85 v.) e no guarani da Bolívia, isto é, no guarayo (Hoeller 45), a palavra cauí aparece como *cãgui*. Friederici (22) menciona que as palavras *cahuin*, *cahuiñ*, *cahuintu* e *cahuiñtun* significam em araucano: "borracheira, reunião festiva para embebedar-se". O mesmo autor (ibidem), citando a literatura a respeito, lembra que se supunha a existência de relações linguísticas e etnográficas entre *caui* e seu uso e a palavra *kawa* e o beber kawa nos Mares do Sul. Nas referências quinhentistas às bebidas embriagantes dos Tupinambá aparecem *Kas.ury* e *Kauí* na grafia do alemão Hans Staden (e 2, f 3), *Cahouin* na de Thevet (*1* 121) e *Caou-in* na de Lery (125). A nasalação do *i* indicada pelos dois franceses e apontada, depois, acêrca de diversas línguas tupi, por autores de diferentes nações, não existe nem em tapirapé nem em kamayurá, sendo, porém, em ambos êstes idiomas, o *u* de *kauí* nasalado e *σi* a sílaba tônica (cf. von den Steinen *2* 213). Além disso, tanto os

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Tapirapé como os Kamayurá não fabricam bebidas embriagantes, designando aquêles com a palavra *kosí* as suas sopas de amendoim, milho, mandioca, semente de algodão, abóbora e banana e, até, a água pura para beber (*y-kosí*), e empregando os Kamayurá o têrmo em apreço para denominar o simples refresco feito de água com beiju esmigalhado (ibidem). Portanto, a existência e o uso do vocábulo *kosí* nestas duas tribos põem em dúvida ser a significação de *cosí* como "embebedado", indicada por Stradelli, a primitiva, senão se quer supor que ambas tenham recebido aquêle têrmo de outros Tupi que com êle designavam bebidas alcoólicas.

Nem sempre o *kosí* tapirapé é feito exclusivamente de uma das plantas acima mencionadas. Há também misturas como a de milho pilado com amendoim mastigado ou com semente de algodão mastigada. Mas não são usados outros vegetais além dos enumerados, não se fabricando tais sopas, por exemplo, de cará e inhame.

Milho e mandioca parecem ter sido as principais matérias-primas do caui tupinambá. Segundo Hans Staden (e 2), o *Kauiy* era preparado misturando-se "*Abbati*" ou "*Abei*" (*avendji* em tapirapé) com "*Mandioka*" (*mandiaga* em tapirapé). O mesmo autor (ib. q 4) descreve também a fabricação da bebida embriagante feita exclusivamente de mandioca. O "vinho" dos Tupi descritos por Anchieta (*2* 330) era feito "das raízes da mandioca que comem, e do milho e outras frutas", tendo sido "o vinho comum" e "das raízes e milho". O *Cahouin* mencionado por Thevet (*1* 121) é composto de "*Avaty*" misturado a "racines" que, indubitàvelmente, são as "raízes" da mandioca. Lery (124-125) observa que os Tupinambá usam "racines d'*Aypi* & de *Mosiot*" para fazer "leur brouage ordinaire", servindo-se também do "*Avati*" para preparar o *Cacu-in*. Segundo Gabriel Soares de Sousa (199), os Tupinambá da Bahia fizeram "seus vinhos" com milho chamado "ubatim". Em outro lugar (ib)376) escreve o mesmo autor que êstes índios, para tal fim, se serviam "de todos os seus legumes, até da farinha que comem; mas o seu vinho principal é de uma raiz a que chamam aipim". Os Tupinambá do Maranhão descritos por Claude d'Abbeville (302) juntaram um pouco de farinha de milho à macaxeira ("*Macachet*") mascada. No dizer de frei Vicente de Salvador (33), os "vinhos eram feitos "de mel e de frutas, de milho, batatas e outros legumes". O maior número de espécies de caui é referido por Simão de Vasconcellos (pág. LXXXV) que escreve: "Só em fazer várias castas de vinho são engenhosos. Parece certo que algum deus Baco passou a estas partes a ensinar-lhe tantas espécies dêle, que alguns contam trinta-e-duas. Uns fazem de fruta que chamam

acayá; outros de aipy, e são de duas castas, a uma chamam cauycaraçú, a outra canymacaxeira; outros de pacoba, a que chamam pacouy; outros de milho a que chamam abatiuy; outros de nanãs que chamam nanauy, e êste é mais aficaz, e logo embebeda; outros de batata, que chamam jetiuy; outros de janipaba; outros que chamam bacútinguy; outros de beiju, ou mandioca, que chamam tepiocuy; outros de mel silvestre, ou de açúcar, a que chamam garapa; outros de acajú; e dêste em tão grande quantidade, que podem encher-se muitas pipas, de côr a modo de palhete".

Nenhum autor menciona expressamente as três espécies de cauí feitas pelos Tapirapé com sementes de algodão, amendoin e abóbora. Como já referi, as sementes de algodão são mastigadas com milho pilado. A bebida assim produzida tem aspecto verde-amarelo e pouco sabor. E' verdade que também os Tupinambá da Bahia acharam nutritivas aquelas sementes. Mas preparavam-nas de outro forma, pois Gabriel Soares de Sousa (235) escreve: "Êstes caroços do algodão come o gentio pisados e depois cozidos, que se faz em papas que chamam mingau."

O *monovi-kauí* era, por ocasião das minhas estadias entre os Tapirapé, a espécie mais usada e a que eu mesmo mais tomei. Confesso que gostei tanto dessa bebida e fiquei com tanta saudade dela que, em 1947, ao rever a gente cuja rêde, doze anos antes, tinha pendurado ao lado da minha, era o primeiro desejo que manifestei: "Monovi-kaui." E' digno de nota que Gabriel Soares de Sousa (203), tratando do uso do amendoim entre os Tupinambá, não menciona seu emprêgo na fabricação dum líquido. O mesmo, aliás, se dá acêrca da abóbora da qual, segundo o quinhentista português (ib. 201) "há dez ou doze castas" chamadas "*gerumús*" pelos Tupinambá da Bahia. A bebida tapirapé feita de abóbora esmigalhada é denominada "*kurú-kauí*, sendo *kurú* talvez não uma das "castas" de "gerumús" conhecidas na Bahia, mas, em todo caso, pertencente como estas às cucurbitáceas comestíveis.

As substâncias vegetais para a fabricação das diversas espécies do *kauí* tapirapé são esmigalhadas ou esmagadas, pelas mulheres, de três modos, a saber entre as mãos, no pilão e entre os dentes; entre as mãos a abóbora e a banana, no pilão o milho e a mandioca antes posta na água e depois secada ao sol, e mastigados são o milho, a mandioca, o amendoim e as sementes de algodão. Na língua tapirapé, *amatyká* é "eu mastigo" e *amdjahák* é "eu pilo".

Tambem os Tupinambá preparavam cauí com substâncias mascadas. Segundo Staden (q 4), as mocinhas mastigavam a mandioca cozida. O "vinho" mencionado por Anchieta (2 330)

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"fazem as mulheres, e depois de cozidas as raízes ou o milho, o mastigam porque com isso dizem que lhe dão mais gôsto e o fazem ferver mais." Thevet (*1* 121-122) escreve: "Apres qu'il a bouilly en grande vases faits ingenieusement de terre grasse, capables d'un muy viendront quelques filles vierges mache ce mil ainsi boullu, puis le remettront en un autre vaisseau à ce propre: ou si une femme y est appellée, il faut qu'elle s'abstienne par certains iours de son mary, autrement ce bruuage ne pourroit iamais acquerir perfection." Lery (124-125) observa que as mulheres mastigam rodelas cortadas de raízes de aipim e mandioca depois de serem amolecidas pela fervura, fazendo o mesmo com o milho. No dizer de Gabriel Soares de Sousa (376), as Tupinambá da Bahia cozem a "raiz a que chamam aipim" e "depois pisam-na e tornam-na a cozer, e como é bem cozida, buscam as mais formosas moças da aldeia para espremer êstes aipins com as mãos, e algum mastigado com a boca, e depois espremido na vasilha, que é o que dizem que lhe põem a virtude, segundo a sua gentilidade." No dizer de Claude d'Abbeville (302), as mulheres tupinambá do Maranhão mascavam "les racines de *Macachet*", isto é, da macaxeira, nome dado no norte e nordeste ao aipim. O franciscano baiano frei Vicente de Salvadôr (33) observa que "donzelas" mastigavam os "legumes" que serviam para fazer os "vinhos" dos índios. Simão de Vasconcelos (pág. CXXX) escreve: "Mastigão as femeas a mandioca, e lançada em agoa assim mastigada, fazem outra espécie de vinho cavicaraixú."

Digno de nota é o fato de os Kamayurá, apesar de conhecerem o têrmo *kauí*, ignorarem completamente o processo de mastigação no preparo de líquidos, processo aliás deconhecido entre tôdas as tribos xinguanas visitadas por von den Steinen (*2* 212).

Não quero deixar de citar a inteligente consideração acêrca do lado estético do assunto em aprêço, feita por Lery (132-133): "Finalement parce que ie ne doute point que quelques vns de ceux qui aurõt ouy ce que i'ay dit cy dessus, touchant la mascheuse & tortilleure, tant des racines que du mil, parmi la bouche des femmes sauuages quand elles composent leur bruuage dit *Caou-in*, n'ayent eu mal au coeur, & en ayent craché: à fin que ie leur oste aucunement ce degoust, ie les prie de se resouuenir de la façon qu'on tient quand on fait le vin par deçà. Car s'ils considerent seulement cecy: qu'és lieux mesmes où croissent les bons vins, les vignerons, en temps de vendanges, se mettent dans les tinnes & dans les cuues esquelles à beaux pieds, & quelques fois auec leurs soulliers, ils foulent les raisins, voire comme i'ay veu, les patrouillent encor ainsi sur les pressoirs, ils trouueront qui s'y passe beaucoup de choses, lesquelles n'ot guere meilleure grace que ceste

maniers de macheller, accoustumee aux femmes Ameriquaines. Que si on dit là dessus, Voire mais, le vin en cuuât & bouillant iette toute cest ordure: e respons que nostre *Caou-in* se purge aussi, & partant, quant à ce poinct, qu'il y a mesme raison de l'vn à l'autre."

Aliás, a prática de transformar um alimento em mingau mediante a mastigação é empregada pelos Tapirapé, além do fabrico do caui, com os dois fins seguintes: mastigam amendoim para ungir com a massa assim preparada o corpo quando entoxicado por mandioca estragada, e mascam certos víveres para dar a papa às crianças de peito. Tais crianças recebem também o verdadeiro cauí. E' de se supor que a observação da sacarificação já sensível durante a mastigação, levou os índios a aplicar êste processo ao preparo de seu prato predileto.

Acêrca dessa sacarificação, meu saudoso amigo o dr. Eugênio Lindenberg, antigo professor de química na Escola Politécnica de São Paulo, me deu a seguinte explicação: "Substâncias amiláceas, chamadas amido, quando provenientes de grãos de cereais, e fécula quando de tubérculos vegetais como da batata, mandioca, etc., postas em contacto íntimo com uma enzima como seja a diástase, sob certas condições, são transformadas ("desdobradas", quer dizer a molécula complicada do amido é reduzida a moléculas mais simples por introdução de molécula ou moléculas de água, sendo a ação química por isto chamada "hidrólise") em um "açúcar", substância capaz de "fermentar" pela ação de uma enzima produzida pelo lêvedo vivo em vegetação. Esta enzima, a zímase, desdobra o açúcar em anídrido carbônico ($CO_2$) também conhecido por "gás carbônico" ou ácido carbônico, e em alcool. Chama-se êste fenômeno "fermentação" e o lêvedo "fermento". O corpo capaz de produzir por sua simples presença ("ação catalítica") a hidrólise do amido, se encontra em quantidade apreciável mormente nos grãos de cereais em germinação, sendo então empregada na indústria em grande escala a cevada germinada, o 'malte' das cervejarias e das fábricas de alcool. A 'maltase', isto é, a enzima ativa contida no malte transforma o "polissacarido' amido em açúcar fermentável que é neste caso a "maltose' e um pouco de dextrina. O açúcar fermenta por diversos lêvedos presentes no ambiente, e na indústria por lêvedos de raças cultivadas. Durante a fermentação o desprendimento do gás carbônico produz o 'borbulho' de líquido em viva fermentação. Na indústria do alcool podemos observar as seguintes fases: 1) Produção de uma massa mais ou menos fluida pela decocção de batatas, mandioca, cereais, etc. em autoclaves. 2) Ajuntamento de 3% de malte moído na temperatura de 50°C., conservando-se a temperatura de 50-60° durante algumas horas e evitando-se ele-

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vação à temperatura mais alta, para não destruir a maltase. 3) Refrigeração do "mosto" até 25° e ajuntamento de lêvedo que começa a desenvolver-se ràpidamente com elevação de temperatura que iria acima de 40° se não fosse controlada por refrigeração, preferindo-se na indústria conservar a temperatura de 25-30°. 4) Destilação do líquido fermentado que em geral tem 10-13° de alcool. Na indústria moderna fazem também uso de certos microorganismos (da família dos fungos) por um processo bastante delicado, e por isso pouco usado, os quais têm a capacidade de hidrolizar o amido e depois fermentar o açúcar produzido, sem se ajuntar lêvedo. Um outro processo faz uso de ácidos minerais diluidos para o desdobramento do amido. O açúcar, neste caso, é a dextrose, também conhecido como glicose. Na natureza, para tornar mais digeríveis as substâncias amiláceas contidas nas matérias vegetais de que se servem certos animais para a sua nutrição, encontra-se a diástase na saliva de muitos dêstes animais. Assim também na saliva do homem. Pela mastigação bem feita, por exemplo, do pão, êste é intimamente embebido de saliva que depois, no ato da digestão, transforma o amido do pão, já pela cocção mais digerível, em açúcar fàcilmente assimilável pelo organismo. Da mesma maneira como, fora do organismo, a diástase do malte transforma o amido da mandioca em açúcar fermentável, sendo essa cozida antes para se tornar mais acessível à ação da maltase, assim atua a diástase da saliva humana. E' assim mesmo que no fabrico do cauí dos índios, a saliva das mulheres, ocupadas nesse serviço, produz, do mingau da mandioca cozida, aquêle líquido adocicado que com o tempo começa a fermentar, sendo o resultado um líquido alcoólico de gôsto ácido, devido êste à produção de ácido láctico e de ácido butírico por fermentos contidos no ambiente e nas bocas das indígenas. Um velho suíço me pediu uma vez explicação do seguinte: antigamente, as mães da aldeia onde passou a sua mocidade, davam aos filhos que tinham de fazer longa caminhada para a escola, uma espécie de chupeta preparada com pano de linho na qual as mães deitavam farinha por elas mastigada. Na ida para a escola o *Nüggi*, como chamavam a chupeta, era inssôso, mas na volta, quando vinham esfomeados, fazendo a longa caminhada, vinham distraindo a fome com a chupeta que entrementes se tinha tornado adocicada, devido aos cuidados das boas mães. O meu velho amigo na Suíça ficou muito satisfeito com a minha explicação de um fenômeno sobre o qual ele tinha quebrado a sua cabeça durante setenta anos."

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# OS TAPIRAPÉ

## TRIBO TUPI NO BRASIL CENTRAL

(Especial para a "REVISTA DO ARQUIVO")

HERBERT BALDUS

(Continuação)

Os Tapirapé têm, como os Tupinambá, três fases na fabricação da bebida fermentada pela mastigação: 1) cozer a substância a ser mastigada, 2) mascá-la e assim ajuntar-lhe o fermento contido na saliva, 3) aquecer novamente o líquido misturado com a massa mascada (cf.Staden q 4, Lery 124, Claude d'Abbeville 302). Referindo-se à terceira fase escreve Staden (q 4): "... dann lassen sie eswiderumb warm werden" ("então aquecem-no de novo"); Lery (124): "... reprenãs chacun morceau l'vn apres l'autre, auec la main, elles les remettẽt dans d'autres vaisseaux de terre qui sont tous prests sur le feu, esquels elles lesfont bouillir derechef"; Claude d'Abbeville (302): "... de rechef font boüillir le tout sur le feu ..." Estas maneiras de expressão poderiam, talvez, provocar a suposição de ter sido o fogo o que fez "bouillir", isto é, "ferver" o cauí. Mas já Afrânio Peixoto (Cartas Jesuiticas II 74, nota 20) observa com referência a Anchieta: "O mastigar por moças, dando mais gôsto, não é galanteio indígena: a saliva ajuda à sacarificação do almidon, pelo fermento; é êste fermento, que faz "ferver" a bebida, e não o fogo, como, inadvertidamente, se poderia supor; há produção de gases e elevação de temperatura, o que esquenta a bebida." Aliás, isto se pode deduzir

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lendo atentamente o próprio Archieta (2 330). "... depois de ferver dois dias o bebem quasi quente", escreve na frase anterior que trata da segunda fase: " ... *o mastigam porque com isso* dizem que lhe dão mais gôsto e *o fazem ferver mais*" (o grifo é nosso).

Também a designação "warm werden" na frase de Staden acima citada difere do verbo "sieden" ("fazer ferver") usado pelo mesmo autor ao tratar da primeira fase da fabricação. Sua ligação com "widerumb" ("wiederum" em alemão moderno), isto é, "de novo", "outra vez", parece querer indicar que a referida elevação de temperatura foi produzida novamente pela ação do fogo, não tendo tido o autor a intenção de aludir à ação do fermento. Neste caso, a distinção entre "fazer ferver" e "aquecer" seria especialmente significativa por apontar o fato de, na terceira fase da fabricação, não ser alcançado o grau da ebulição, isto é, 100°C. Sabemos que isto interromperia a fermentação, ao passo que o aquecimento até cêrca de 50° a desenvolve. A êsse respeito sejam lembradas também as palavras do professor Lindenberg acima citadas acêrca da segunda fase na indústria do álcool.

Os Tapirapé, em todo caso, aquecem em cima da brasa o líquido misturado com a massa mascada. Em relação com o assunto em questão convem mencionar, aliás, Georg Wilhelm Freyreiss (102) que, no primeiro quartel do século XIX, visitou Espírito Santo, relatando que "os índios da costa preparam o cauí das raízes da mandioca que são cozidas, depois mascadas pelas mulheres, cuspidas numa grande panela e cobertas com água. Ali as deixam fermentar. Também, provàvelmente para acelerar a fermentação, colocam a panela *perto* do fogo" (o grifo é nosso e o texto original desta frase diz: "... auch wohl um die Gährung zu befördern den Topf in die Nähe des Feuers setzt."). O autor alemão acrescenta que esta bebida costuma ser tomada antes de passarem vinte-e-quatro horas.

Digno de nota é, ainda, o fato de os Aweikoma, também chamados de Botocudos de Santa Catarina ou Xokleng, "com intuito de acelerar a fermentação", imergirem numa bebida preparada de mel misturado com água e o suco de xaxim e do caule de coqueiros novos, "pedras redondas, prèviamente aquecidas em grandes fogueiras" (José Maria de Paula 128).

As bebidas cuja fermentação é provocada pela mastigação, podem ser divididas em embriagantes e não embriagantes. À segunda espécie pertence o cauí tapirapé, pois é tomado, como o mencionado por Freyreiss, antes de passarem vinte-e-quatro horas depois da mastigação. O mesmo se dá com o *jolorukuá* dos Umutina do alto Paraguai, a cujo respeito o sr. Harald Schultz me comunicou o seguinte: "O processo da fabricação dessa bebida

começa com a ralagem das espigas de milho verde. A massa ralada é fervida durante várias horas em grande panela de barro. Para adoça-la costumam fazer um pequeno bolo de milho verde ralado, enrolam-no em folhas de banana-brava e assam-no em cinza quente. Depois de esfriar é aberto, ligeiramente mastigado e acrescentado à massa na panela. Após o esfriamento completo, a massa é misturada com água e distribuida em muitas panelas e vasilhames pequenos que são guardados até o dia seguinte, isto é, até começar um ligeiro adocicamento. A bebida é muito cobiçada por adultos de ambos os sexos e crianças e preparada, principalmente, durante a época das festas dos mortos, que é a da maturação do milho. Se começa a "azedar, não a consomem mais e jogam-na fora."

Da embriaguez produzida pelo cauí tupinambá falam Hans Staden (q 4), Thevet (*1* 121), Lery (*127*), Gabriel Soares de Souza (*377*) e Anchieta (*2* 333). Êste último (ib.), tratando dos "impedimentos que há para a conversão e perseverar na vida cristã de parte Índios", menciona "seus vinhos em que são muito contínuos e em tirar-lhos há ordináriamente mais dificuldade que em todo o mais, por ser como seu mantimento, e assim não lhos tiram os Padres de todo, senão o excesso que neles há, porque assim moderado quase nunca se embebedam nem fazem outros desatinos." Consta claramente destas palvras do jesuita que para os antigos Tupi da costa, o verdadeiro cauí era, como para os Tapirapé, em primeiro lugar alimento, e que só o "excesso" levou a fazer dele um meio embriagante. Provàvelmente, um belo dia, observou-se o efeito inebriante daquela iguaria que, por qualquer causa, havia sido guardada por mais tempo que de costume, e aplicou-se esta experiência, então por ocasiões festivas.

Àquele cauí classificado como alimento comum refere-se, aparentemente, Montaigne (406) quando afirma ser a bebida dos Tupi do Rio de Janeiro "nullement fumeux" ("de nenhum modo embriagante"). Eis o que diz a respeito: "Leur bruvage est faict de quelque racine, et est de la couleur de nos vins clairets: ils ne le boivent que tiede. Ce bruvage ne se conserve que deux ou trois iours; il a le goust un peu picquant. nullement fumeux, salutaire à l'estomach, et laxatif à ceulx qui ne l'ont accoustumé: c'est une boisson tres agreable à qui y est duict."

É necessário, porém, dividir os cauís não embriagantes em mascados e não mascados. Já sabemos que à primeira espécie pertencem os cauís feitos pelos Tapirapé de milho, mandioca, amendoim e sementes de algodão, sendo da segunda espécie o refrêsco dos Kamayurá fabricado de água com beiju esmigalhado. Com referência a mais outra tribo tupi, isto é, aos Guajajara do Maranhão, escreve Fróes Abreu (127-128): "... enquanto estive

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com eles, vi beberem muitas cuias de *cauí* e nunca percebi o mais leve sintoma de embriaguez — pelo simples fato do *cauí* não conter álcool ... O que se verifica é uma forte tendência à produção de gases intestinais, de modo que, algum tempo após as libações do *cauí*, o ambiente torna-se insuportável... Preparam o *cauí* com o suco da manioçáua recentemente ralada e espremida no tepiti; põe-no a ferver até ficar com a consistência xaroposa, deixam então esfriar e tomam-no às cuias. O gôsto é muito agradável, doce pelos açúcares que se encontram na raiz tuberosa daquela planta, certamente do mesmo gênero que o aipim e a mandioca. O *cauí* dos Guajajaras de hoje não é, pois, uma bebida alcoólica, mas um mingau ralo, feito com o suco e a tapioca duma espécie de aipim. Provávelmente será um xarope de amido e dextrina, adoçado pelos açúcares que já se encontram no suco. Se êsse líquido fosse submetido à fermentação, certamente daria um licor alcoólico, mas os índios disseram sempre que nunca usam fermentá-lo, o *cauí* era aquilo."

Nas diversas partes da América do Sul há numerosas tribos que tomam e fabricam alcool, e outras, às vezes vizinhas destas, que o ignoram ou recusam. Das últimas só quero mencionar, além dos Tapirapé, os Guajajara (ib.), os Umutina (segundo me informou o sr. Harald Schultz) e os Kayuá ou Kaynguá, tribo tupi-guarani a cujo respeito lemos em Ambrosetti (44-45): "El indio Cainguá, em general, es sobrio en el beber; sólo usa del agua y desconocen el placer de las bebidas alcohólicas, á las que tienen desconfianza, porque conocen las consecuencias que acarrea su abuso. Con estas palabras rechazó un indio mi invitación á tomar un poco de caña: *no tomamos ni fabricamos bebidas alcohólicas, por que no queremos emborracharnos, para después pelearnos y matarnos entre hermanos como hacen los Tupis.* Se refería á los indios *Ingains*, que viven al Norte, en el Alto Paraná, en el lugar llamado *Iuitorocai*, entre los cuales siempre hay que lamentar desgracias á causa de las bebidas y borracherías; lo mismo que sucede con los *Kaingangues*, de los que son parientes. La contestación del indio me asombró mucho, y por un momento creí hallarme delante de algún honrable miembro de la benemérita sociedad de templanza, transportado al Alto Paraná; pero después repetí la prueba con otros indios, con igual resultado, y e so, tratándose de un trago de caña, cosa que muchos, sin ser indios, hubieran aceptado sin vacilar y por aquellas alturas mucho más. Como se comprende, esto es en tésis general y no deja de haber excepciones como en todas las cosas; hablo de los indios en estado salvaje, porque los que se hallan en contacto con los blancos van paulatinamente adoptando los vicios propios de estos, como siempre sucede."

1: Baldus SP22 Tapirapé



Referindo-se às tribos da parte superior dá bacia do Xingu que visitou, escreve von den Steinen (*2* 213) ser a ausência de bebidas embriagantes entre elas a melhor prova de que não sofreram qualquel influência por parte dos brancos. Êste argumento fica desvalorizado se pensamos nas tribos sem alcool acima enumeradas e, especialmente, nos Guajajara dos quais alguns grupos têm tido relações com a nossa cultura "por mais de trezentos anos", tendo as suas quatro aldeias próximas do Pôsto Gonçalves Dias "contacto diário com neo-brasileiros" (Wagley *3* 2).

As bebidas fermentadas são tomadas pelos Tapirapé tanto em estado quente como sem calor. Quando, por exemplo, na manhã depois da minha chegada a Tampiitáua em 1947, a minha amiguinha Ampitánia satisfez o meu desejo servindo-me *monoví-kauí*, que tomei da maneira mais agradável para os Tapirapé e para mim, isto é, bem quente. Ampitánia demonstrou a sua afeição enchendo durante a noite um pote realmente gigantesco. Devia ter socado e mascado muito. Da massa borbulhante tirou uma boa porção com uma cuia grande, remexeu nesta com uma cuia menor para assim esfriar um pouco o líquido contido, colocou então a cuia grande diante de mim, dando-me numa das mãos a menor como prato e noutra mão outra cuia ainda mais pequena para servir de colher. Eu, sentado na rêde da moça, engoli com voracidade a sopa quente, adocicada e nutritiva, meio farinhenta e meio granulosa, enchendo sempre de novo o meu "prato" na cuia grande, até esvazia-la completamente.

Mas também o cauí frio é apreciado por êsses índios. Muitas vezes vi um deles acordar no alto da noite e, enquanto todos estavam dormindo, tomar uma cuiada de cauí que restou num pote tirado do fogo há muitas horas.

Os Tupi descritos pelos quinhentistas tomavam o cauí "vn peu chaut", segundo Lery (126), "tiede", no dizer de Montaigne (406), e, conforme Anchieta (*2* 330), "quase quente, porque assim não lhes faz tanto mal nem os embebeda tanto."

Para os Tapirapé, a bebida mascada e fermentada representa não sòmente o auge de banquetes festivos, mas também a "pièce de résistance" da comida diária, sendo sua importância bem ilustrada pelo fato de o mito do dilúvio terminar nas seguintes palavras: "Quando a enchente acabou, sairam (os sobreviventes) por baixo da terra, e havia cauí e muitos Tapirapé."

Segundo Staden (q 4), os habitantes da aldeia tupinambá costumavam reunir-se festivamente uma vez por mês para tomar cauí de mandioca, ao passo que bebiam cauí de milho ao comerem os prisioneiros de guerra (ib. e 2). Lery (126) escreve que os índios faziam o cauí de mandioca e milho em qualquer

estação do ano, tomando-o quando queriam divertir-se e, principalmente, quando matavam com solenidade um cativo. Anchieta (*2* 330) relata: "Com o vinho das frutas que é muito forte se embebedam muito e perdem o siso, mas dêste bebem pouco, e sòmente o tempo que elas duram; mas o vinho comum das raízes e milho bebem tanto que às vezes andam dois dias com suas noites bebendo, e às vezes mais, principalmente nas matanças de contrários e todo êste tempo cantando e bailando sem cansar nem dormir. Êste vinho comumente o fazem grosso e basto, porque juntamente lhes serve de mantimento."

Entre os índios da parte superior da bacia do Xingu visitados por Herrmann Meyer (*1* 63), o cauí era oferecido na recepção dos hóspedes.

Ehrenreich (*1* 16-17) menciona dos Karajá uma bebida chamada *uiero* e feita duma mistura de milho socado e farinha de mandioca, fervida em água. Depois de esfriar o líquido, as mulheres mascam a borra. A bebida é tomada ao tornar-se azeda. Às vezes juntam-lhe caldo de cana ou mel, fazendo-a, então, ligeiramente embriagante. Krause (*2* 257-258) indica como nome desta bebida o de *iuerúk*, observando ser ela tomada por ocasião de visitas e de qualquer festa e causar, de fato, certa ebriedade. Ouviu falar, ainda, numa bebida chamada *kanué*, feita de milho por esses índios; mas não ficou conhecendo o preparo.

Os Karajá da aldeia de Santa Isabel tomavam, em 1947, de preferência uma bebida misturada de arroz com milho ou com mandioca. Para isso, a mandioca, às vezes, mas nem sempre, foi antes mascada em estado cozido. O nome comum das diversas espécies daquela bebida é *kaluxí*. Ehrenreich (*1*) e Krause (*2*) não mencionam êste têrmo, ao menos se não se quer identificar com ele a palavra *kanué* indicada pelo último (ib. 257 e 429). Mas num pequeno vocabulário karajá organizado por Hermano Ribeiro da Silva (148) lemos: "cozimento de mandioca e milho, *calushí*", e frei Luiz Palha (*6* 89) escreve: É *o calugi* para o karajá o que é o "cauin" para os tupis."

Um Karajá de Santa Isabel que tinha estado na capital de São Paulo, me disse: "O *kaluxí* é para mim como o cafèzinho para os brasileiros." Queria referir-se com isso ao fato de ser essa bebida tomada em pequenas quantidades repetidamente a qualquer hora do dia a título de estimulante. Assim, por exemplo, quando, em julho e agosto de 1947, estive naquela aldeia, vi com frequência a grande panela de *kaluxí* no meio dos homens e rapazes sentados ao lado da casa-de-máscaras e cada um, de tempos em tempos, tomar uma pequena cuia cheia do líquido frio, aquoso e refrescante. Experimentei com prazer não sòmente êste, mas

também o *kaluxí* aquecido que as mulheres me ofereceram nas malocas. De fato, o *kaluxí* é para esses Karajá do Sul, como o *kauí* para os Tapirapé, o prato predileto.

Dos Kayapó do Norte, Krause (*2* 387) não menciona nada de semelhante, indicando que estes Gê ignoravam o processo de cozer e assavam ou grelhavam todos os alimentos.

Resumindo podemos dizer que os estudados aspectos do complexo do cauí revelam íntimo parentesco cultural dos Tapirapé com os Tupinambá: 1) pelo nome da bebida, 2) pela importância da mandioca e do milho no seu preparo; 3) pelas mencionadas três fases na fabricação da bebida fermentada pela saliva produzida pela mastigação, 4) pelo grande papel que as espécies de cauí assim fabricadas desempenham na alimentação. Comparado com estas semelhanças, pouco significa o fato mencionado por certos quinhentistas, de que os Tupinambá, em contraste com os Tapirapé, terem-se embriagado em determinadas oportunidades.

Sem dúvida, menos chegado do que aquele parentesco cultural é o que liga os Tapirapé, no tocante ao complexo do cauí, com os Tupi da parte superior da bacia do Xingu. Os habitantes de Tampiitáua têm em comum com os Kamayurá o nome de uma bebida não embriagante, mas de fabricação e função inteiramente diferentes.

Embora bastasse eliminar duas consoantes da palavra Karajá *kaluxí* para transforma-la no vocábulo *kauí*, não tenho coragem para construir hipóteses sobre qualquer conexão entre os dois têrmos. Em todo caso, o *kaluxí* é para os Karajá não sòmente o que o cafèzinho é para os paulistas, mas também o que o *kauí* é para os Tapirapé, quer dizer, um alimento importante. Há, ainda, semelhança na fabricação dessas bebidas dos Karajá e Tapirapé. É verdade, porém, que os primeiros, freqüentemente, deixam de aplicar a mastigação. O fato dos diversos *kaluxí* tomados por mim terem sido menos espessos e de outra composição do que os *kauí* de milho, mandioca, amendoim e sementes de algodão, que experimentei, talvez não signifique que as mulheres karajá ignoram as receitas dessas bebidas tapirapé. Poderiam tê-las conhecido por intermédio das moças da tribo tupi roubadas pelos Karajá em várias épocas e oportunidades.

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# OS TAPIRAPE'

## Tribo tupi no Brasil Central

(Especial para a "Revista do Arquivo")

(*Continuação*)

HERBERT BALDUS

Os Tapirapé não comem carne crua nem semicrua, mas assada na brasa ou grelhada, sendo os peixes menores cozidos na panela. Muitos peixes são jogados inteiros na brasa, isto é, sem que lhes sejam tiradas as tripas. Lá ficam até estarem carbonizadas por fora. Êste preparo lhes dá um sabor delicioso.

Aliás, também os Tupinambá da Bahia trataram dêsse modo o peixe, pois Gabriel Soares de Sousa (376) escreve: "... ao peixe não escamam nem lhe tiram as tripas, e assim como vem do mar ou rios, assim o cozem ou assam".

"Eu cozo" é, em tapirapé: *aván;* "eu asso": *aihyn;* e "eu grelho": *amakaé*. No nheêngatú colhido por Stradelli (116), "assar sôbre o girau a fogo lento" é "*mocáen*" e "expondo a peça à chama viva perto do fogo" é "*sapereca*". Acêrca da relação entre a palavra tapirapé *amakaé* e o têrmo brasileiro "*moquém*", convém considerar as seguintes observações de Recalde (2 69): "Moquém, vernáculo brasileiro, provem de MOKAEM' tupi, voz correspondente à MOKA'è' guarani. Moquêm significa a grelha de assar e não se pòderá mais alterar êsse significado já consolidado. No entanto MOJAEM' não quer dizer grelha de assar, sendo simplesmente o mesmo verbo assar. A grelha seria MOKAEM'TAUA, o lugar, o aparelho de assar. Em guarani MOKA'èìTa', sendo ìTA' o suporte, a grelha de assar".

É preciso mencionar, ainda, o fato de a vogal *o* de outras línguas tupi aparecer em tapirapé, frequentemente, como *a;* assim, por exemplo, no vocábulo *máia*: "cobra" (têrmo genérico), que figura em Montoya (2 *II* BVED.) como "*Mbof*" e em Stradelli (150) como "*Mboia*".

Estudando a vasta distribuição do moquém na América do Sul, Nordenskiöld (*6* 135-137 e mapa 15) distingue dois tipos, a saber: 1) uma plataforma quadrangular de varas apoiadas, em quatro, raramente em três estacas, e 2) três varas colocadas como espingardas ensarilhadas entre as quais está atada, horizontalmente, uma grade. Menciona (ib. 136) os Tapirapé entre os representantes do primeiro tipo, baseando-se em Kreuse (2). Êste autor (ib.122, 407, 409, prancha 29 e fig. 269 a-c) encontrou várias subespécies daquele tipo, com três e quatro apoios, sendo um dêles uma árvore; não tinham forquilhas como o moquém tupinambá pertencente ao mesmo tipo (Staden k 4,

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l 3, m 1, m 2, t 11 Lery 135; Claude d'Abbeville 294) e aparentemente igual ao dos Karajá e Javahé visto por Krause (2 251 e prancha 61). Mas os Tapirapé, quanto ao moquém, parecem distinguir-se ainda mais daquelas tribos, pois possuem também, como mostro na foto 33, o segundo tipo discriminado por Nordenskiöld (l.c.) e não mencionado por êle (ib.) como existente entre os Tupinambá, Karajá e Javahé. Por outro lado, o mesmo moquém em forma de pirâmide foi encontrado entre os Kayapó do norte (Krause 2 387 e prancha 25) e as tribos da parte superior da bacia do Xingu visitadas por v.d. Steinen (2 236 e fig. 30). Resumindo, podemos dizer que os habitantes de Tampiitáua usam ambos os tipos de moquém estabelecidos por Nordenskiöld (l.c.), ao passo que os seus vizinhos, os xinguanos e os Tupinambá são colocados pelo mesmo autor (ib.) entre os representantes de um tipo só.

Nos moquéns tapirapé, a altura em que está atada a grelha corresponde às diversas funções, sendo baixa quando querem assar a carne e o peixe, e mais elevada ao secá-los.

Servem de sustentáculos da panela três pedras dispostas ao redor do fogo, como vi também entre os Karajá e como Koch-Grüberg (2 III 48) observou entre os Taulipáng da bacia do rio Branco. O que Karl von den Steinen (2 215) disse acêrca dos xinguanos, isto é: "Os homens assavam, mas nunca cozinhavam", pode ser dito igualmente, dos Tapirapé e de numerosas outras tribos sul-americanas (cf. Baldus 7 142 e Koch-Grünberg 2 III 91, 335, 351). A respeito dos Karajá, Krause (2 253) faz uma restrição, observando que "os homens também sabem cozinhar", como mostram, sendo preciso, em viagem. Não se dá o mesmo com os Tapirapé. Estes não levam panela nas viagens, pois andam a pé e não, como aqueles índios, de canoa, isto é, com facilidade para transportar pesados e quebradiços utensílios de cozinha. Além disso, a divisão de trabalho entre os sexos é tão rigorosa que o homem tapirapé, estando por qualquer razão sem mulher, sente esta falta já pelo fato de não poder comer cozido, se não quer tomá-lo de outras famílias. Por outro lado, os assados de grandes animais costumam ser feitos pelos homens. Só quando a caça é morta perto da aldeia, acontece, em certos casos, que as mulheres a moqueiam.

Também os Tupinambá não se limitavam a moquear, pois Simão de Vasconcellos (pag. LXXXV) escreve: "... huns costumão comer assado, e cozido ao modo ordinário; o que há de assar-se sobre brazas, e o que ha de cozer-se em panelas". Mas os Kayapó do norte, por sua vez, como foi acima mencionado, ignoravam, segundo Krause (2 387), o processo de cozer.

Tanto para organizar um vocabulário zoológico tapirapé como para averiguar quais os animais comidos ou não pelos habitantes de Tampiitáua ou por determinada parte dêles, mostrei, nesta aldeia, repetidamente, a numerosas pessoas de diferentes idades e sexos, as figuras do livro de Rodolpho von Ihering, intitulado "Da vida dos nossos animais. Fauna do Brasil" (Rotermund & Co., São Leopoldo 1934). Causei com essas exibições muita alegria e recomendo-as, portanto, aos indianistas como meio de aproximação. Possibilitam, também, alto grau de contrôle, pois a identificação de cada animal representado é feita por vários, senão muitos peritos e o nome, então, é pronunciado repetidas vêzes por numerosas bôcas. Naturalmente, nem sempre basta uma simples olhada para a figura para o índio reconhecer o animal nela representado. Frequentemente é preciso acres-

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centar comentários acêrca do tamanho, da côr, dos movimentos, dos gritos e do modo de vida. A respeito de certos insetos, por exemplo, o tamanho das estampas é muito maior do que o do original, dando-se o contrário em relação à maioria dos outros animais. Dificuldade especial oferece a identificação de vários peixes, cujo tamanho natural varia consideravelmente.

Transcrevo do livro de Rodolphò von Ihering os nomes vulgares e os científicos, omitindo, porém, às vêzes, a indicação da espécie. A maioria dos erros provàvelmente cometidos, apesar desta precaução, será, assim espero, facilmente corrigida pelos zoólogos. Convém chamar a atenção dos que estudam a distribuição geográfica dos animais, para o fato dos Tapirapé desconhecerem os retratados por R. von Ihering e não mencionados na lista seguinte, pois mostrei tôdas as figuras do livro.

A título de comparação, acrescento ainda, o vocabulário zoológico karajá que colhi em junho de 1947, em Leopoldina (hoje Aruanã), da bôca de Tohobári, homem de cêrca de trinta anos de idade, natural da aldeia de Santa Isabel, e de seu filho Lourenço Ohori, de doze anos. O valor das letras usadas na reprodução dêsse vocabulário corresponde mais ou menos ao das letras com que escrevo tapirapé. Somente o *s* assume, às vêzes, a pronúncia do *th* inglês. O *z* sôa como em português. — É sabido que nessa tribo há certas diferenças entre a língua dos homens e a das mulheres, sendo talvez a particularidade principal a êsse respeito, o fato de aparecer, em muitas palavras das mulheres, um *k* que falta nos vocábulos correspondentes usados pelos homens.

Segundo fui informado, os têrmos zoológicos, porém, são, em grande parte, iguais na fala de ambos os sexos. Mas pedindo eu o nome de cutia, Tohobári me disse "*haurí*". Perguntando, depois, separadamente, ao filho, ouvi: "*hakuvi*". Quando lhe chamei a atenção para a diferença, Ohori declarou ter dito a forma das mulheres, enquanto o pai usara a dos homens. Interrogado por mim porque empregava aquela, respondeu: "Porque errei". Como menino de doze anos não convivera, provavelmente, o suficiente com rapazes e homens para desacostumar-se de expressões femininas. — Averiguei, ainda, que os sexos dos animais, mesmo diferindo muito pelo aspecto, não são distinguidos em karajá, mas macho e fêmea chamados pelo mesmo nome.

Na lista seguinte, o primeiro têrmo de cada número é tapirapé. As observações a respeito dos Kaingang referem-se aos índios paranaenses que, em 1946, estudei no Pôsto Indígena do Ivai, e foram publicadas no meu "Vocabulário Zoológico Kaingang" (Baldus *11*); os dados acêrca dos Cherente obteve organizando, em 1947, com homens desta tribo gê do Tocantins, um vocabulário zoológico que ainda não publiquei.

## MAMÍFEROS

1) *anyrá* — morcego em geral. Não se come. — Karajá: *tyrehe*. Não se come. — Também os Kaingang não comem quirópteros, mas os Cherente me declararam a respeito dêsses animais: "Algum homem come".

2) *tatu* — tatu peludo ou peva (*Euphractus sexcinctus*). Homem come. — Karajá: *oha*. Não se come. — Kaingang e Cherente comem êste desdentado, considerado no citado livro de R. von Iher-

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ing (16-17) como "tatu aiva" — "o que significa em tupi: "tatu ruim", que não se come". Lemos, porém, em Gabriel Soares de Sousa (296): "Tatúpeba é outra casta de tatus maiores que os comuns... andam sempre debaixo do chão como toupeiras, e não comem mais que minhocas;... e matam-nos os índios que vêem bolir a terra; cuja carne é muito boa". — O tatuetê (*Dasypus novemcinctus*), na fig. 15, não era conhecido dos Tapirapé. Os informantes karajá, porém, chamavam-no *hauedüra* e afirmavam não ser êle comido por ninguém de sua tribo. Entre os Kaingang e Cherente todo mundo como êste animal. Entre os Chamakoko do Chaco, só os anciões comem-no publicamente, ao passo que os outros homens o saboreiam apenas por ocasião duma festa a que mulheres e crianças não podem assistir; dizem ser carne que faz envelhecer (Baldus *1* 96). Referindo-se provavelmente, a tribos do alto Amazonas, escreve Stradelli (668): "Os indígenas têm pelas carnes de tatu uma concepção muito original, afirmando que elas reunem em si as virtudes de tôdas as outras carnes, e que por via disso mesmo podem ser comidas sempre e impunemente..." Entre os Terreno do sul matogrossense, "muito tempo antes do parto, pai e mãe não comem tatu" (Baldus *7* 72).

3) *tamanua* — tamanduá-bandeira (*Myrmecophaga jubata*). Come-se. — Karajá: *uaririi*. Não se come. — Não é comido pelos Kaingang, mas sim pelos Cherente. Entre os Chamakoko, só os homens o comem (Baldus *1* 96). Segundo Gabriel Soares de Sousa (289), carne de tamanduá "comem os índios velhos, que os mancebos tem nojo dela". Anchieta (*2* 118) observa a respeito: "É saborosíssimo; dirias que é carne de vaca, sendo todavia mais mole e macia". O inglês Henry Walter Bates que passou há anos no Amazonas, gostou também do tamanduá-bandeira, achando sua carne assada semelhante à do ganso que, como se sabe, é considerado petisco na pátria dêsse eminente naturalista. Karl von den Steinen (*2* 37-38) escreve: "Desprezamos o tamanduá pela sua gordura repugnante; dizem que a carne dos mais novos não é tão ruim". Quando eu, em 1934, atravessei a Chapada de Mato Grosso, fui informado de que os sertanejos usam carne do tamanduá-bandeira como afrodisíaco.

4) *tamanduá-beva* — tamanduá-mirim. (*Tamandua tetradactyla*). Homem e rapaz comem, menino e mulher não. — Karajá: *uaririné*. Não se come. — Não é comido pelos Kaingang, mas sim pelos Cherente. Entre os Tereno, a mulher grávida e seu marido abstêm-se, por longo tempo, dessa carne, "porque senão o filho morre no ventre da mãe e não sai" (Baldus *7* 72).

5) *chingó* — preguiça (espécie da família dos Bradipodideos). Não se come. A palavra tapirapé pode provocar dúvidas, pois difere completamente do designativo tupi mencionado por numerosos autores e grafado *aig* por Anchieta (*2* 119), *Hay* por Lery (145), *ahy* por Gabriel Soares de Sousa (301) e *Aí* e *Oú* por Stradelli (299). Por outro lado, também Gabriel Soares de Sousa (302) afirma que a carne não é comida. Meus informantes karajá não conheceram o animal representado na fig. 18. Mas Machado (84) colheu entre os Karajá o têrmo *Ló-bi-darré*. Kaingang e Cherente não conheceram a preguiça.

6) *tapidji* — tapiti (*Sylvilagus minensis*). Homem adulto come. — Karajá: *kudjo*. Não se come. — Os Cherente não conheceram o "coelho brasileiro" da fig. 19. Entre os Kaingang, só os velhos comem tapiti; "os novos, se o comessem, ficariam muito preguiçosos".

7) *kuanohó* — rato (espécie). Assim chamaram tanto o rato do mato (*Axymycterus nasutus*) da fig. 20 como o ratão do banhado

(*Myocastor coypus*) da fig. 22. Considerando a grande diferença no tamanho e aspecto geral dêstes dois roedores e aceitando a informação de R. von Ihering (25) de que o último "no Brasil habita só os Estados do Sul", suponho que os Tapirapé se enganaram. Declararam acêrca de ambos que só o homem os come. Digno de nota é, ainda, o sufixo aumentativo *ho* quando lemos sôbre o ratão do banhado: "O corpo tem o feitio de um enorme rato, mas pelas dimensões é quase uma cutia, de pernas baixas e o rabo de rato, quase do comprimento do corpo, que mede 45 a 55 cm." (ib.) A mesma palavra tapirapé com o sufixo diminutivo *i*, isto é, *kuanoi*, designa o ouriçocacheiro de que tratarei sob número 12. — Os Karajá chamam o rato do mato *looty* e não o comem. Êstes índios não conhecem o rato do banhado, dando-se o mesmo com os Cherente. Os Kaingang comem ambos os animais.

8) *kereroá* — rato da taquara (*Calomys longicaudatus*). Homem come. — Os Karajá não conheceram êste rato do rabo comprido da fig. 21 de R. von Ihering. Naturalmente, o *kereroá* dos Tapirapé pode ser uma espécie diferente da representada por êste autor. Os Kaingang declararam que comem o rato da taquara.

9) *anuchá* — camondongo que vive em troncos de árvores e não no chão. Não é representado por R. von Ihering.

10) *anochaó* — camondongo que faz ninho de palha. Não é representado por R. von Ihering. O sufixo *o* é aumentativo.

11) *vuavedei* — serelepe (*Sciurus spec.*). Homem adulto come. — Karajá e Cherente não conhecem o animal representado na fig. 23 de R. von Ihering. Os Kaingang o comem.

12) *kuanoi* — ouriço (*Coendu spec.*) Homem come. O parentesco do têrmo com as formas tupi *cuandú* (Stradelli 423) e *coendú* é evidente, sendo, como acima se mencionou, o *i* um sufixo diminutivo. — Karajá: *odé*. Não se come. — Também os Kaingang não o comem. Os Cherente me informaram que é comido por "alguns homens e algumas mulheres" de sua tribo.

13) *ampereá* — preá (*Cavia aperea*). Homem come. — Karajá: *lootyde* (cf. n.° 7: *looty*: rato do mato). Não se come. — Os Kaingang não conheceram o animal representado na fig. 25 de R. von Ihering. Os Cherente comem preá. As preás assadas que comi nas margens do alto Paraná, eram muito gostosas.

14) *ankuchí*, *akutí* — cutia, aguti (*Dasyprocta spec.*). Come-se. Karajá: homem diz: *hauri*; mulher diz: *hakuri*. Come-se. — Também Kaingang e Cherente comem êste roedor, cuja carne sempre achei saborosa.

15) *kanoanó* — paca (*Coelogenys paca*). Come-se. É interessante notar que os Tapirapé ignoram o têrmo tupi *paca*. — Karajá: *haadja*. Só homem come, porque "é muito gorda". Êste roedor, comido pelos Kaingang de hoje, podia ser comido, entre êles, antigamente, só pelos *pénie*, isto é, por determinadas pessoas de ambos os sexos consideradas as mais resistentes a influências maléficas sobrenaturais e estando, portanto, em condições de aproximar-se sem perigo de um cadáver ou tratar do viúvo e da viúva. Mas mesmo esta gente magicamente robusta podia comer paca somente no mato e não em casa. Não quero deixar de acrescentar que muitos caçadores brancos consideram a carne dêsse animal como a mais saborosa do mundo. — Os Yekuaná visitados por Koch-Grünberg (2 III 375) consideravam a paca e o aguti "carne leve" que podia ser dada aos doentes. Os Cherente comem paca.

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16) *angkampiyvuana* — capivara (*Hydrochoerus capybara*). Homem adulto come. — Karajá: *kuć*. Não se come, mas mata-se filhote a fim de lhe tirar os dentes, usados na confecção de enfeites auriculares. — No dizer dos Kaingang do Ivai, "algum" come. Os Cherente comem o maior de todos os roedores, e os Chamakoko, fazendo o mesmo, explicam que, comendo sua carne, saberão nadar bem (Baldus *1* 96). — Segundo Karl von den Steinen (*1* 174), a carne da capivara tem gôsto de "óleo de máquina".

17) *ypirawuira* — bôto branco (*Inia geoffrogensis*). Não se come. Essa espécie, de água doce, não é representada por R. von Ihering. Joaquim Branco (XVI 213) indica para o bôto branco da Amazônia o nome "pirayaguara", acrescentando que isto quer dizer "peixe-cão" (cf. também Stradelli 132 e 603). O têrmo tapirapé, porém, significa "peixe-ave". — Karajá: *buhá*. Não se come. Também os Cherente não comem êste mamífero que os Kaingang do Paraná, naturalmente, não conhecem.

18) *auvaná* — guará, aguará (*Canis jubatus*). Não se come. — Karajá: *akolá*. Não se come. — Também os Kaingang, Cherente e Chamakoko (Baldus *1* 96) não o comem.

Os Tapirapé não conheceram o cachorro do mato representado na fig. 40 de R. von Ihering e chamado pelos Jarajá *idjoró* (cão é *idjorosá* em karajá). Como êstes índios do Araguaia, também os Cherente e Kaingang não comem cachorro do mato.

19) *koandji* — coati (*Nasua narica*). Come-se. — Karajá: *djuró*. Homem come. — Entre os Cherente e Kaingang, indivíduos de ambos os sexos comem a deliciosa carne dêsse carnívoro.

20) *eirana* — irara (*Tayra barbara*). Homem come. — Karajá: *dyreni*. Não se come. — Também os Cherente não comem êste "papamel", ao passo que entre os Kaingang há alguns que apreciam sua carne.

21) *mykura* — Os Tapirapé disseram esta palavra vendo o zorrilho representado na fig. 45 de R. von Ihering acompanhada do seguinte comentário: "*Zorrilho*. No Rio Grande do Sul é só êste o nome que se dá ao pequeno carnívoro da família *Mustelideos*, do gênero a que pertence o *cangambá*". No "Dicionário Enciclopédico Brasileiro" (Pôrto Alegre 1943) lemos: "Cangambá (*Conepactus chilensis*). Espécie de carnívoro da família dos mustelídeos, afim do zorrilho. E' encontrado no sertão do Brasil Central". É sabido, porém, que "mycura" ou "mucura" é o designativo dado no Amazonas aos marsupiais do gênero *Didelphys* chamados de "gambá" no sul do país (cf. Stradelli 568, R. von Ihering 9). Os Tapirapé não conheceram o gambá (*Didelphys aurita*) representado na fig. 1 de R. von Ihering, o que, aliás, se deu também com os Karajá e Cherente, em contraste com os Kaingang. Todos os informantes destas três tribos, porém, ignoraram o zorrilho da figura de R. von Ihering. — Os Tapirapé não comem o animal chamado por êles de *mykura*.

22) *chaualanangka* — ariranha (*Pteronura brasiliensis*). Não se come. — Karajá: *djüré*. Não se come. O mesmo disseram os Cherente e Kaingang vendo a lontra (*Lutra paranensis*) representada na fig. 46 de R. von Ihering.

23) *chauvuanohó* — onça (*Felis onza*). Homem come. — O têrmo tapirapé compreende tanto a chamada "pintada" ou "canguçu", como a "preta". Em tapirapé, *chauvuana* é "cão" (*Canis familiaris*), sendo *ho* o sufixo aumentativo. o designativo tapirapé para "onça" corresponde, portanto, à palavra composta *jaguaretê* (Stradelli 275),

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sendo "cão" em Montoya (l.c.) *pagúa* e em Stradelli (462) *laudra* e tendo *eté* a mesma função que *ho* (cf. Montoya 2 II 126 e Stradelli 446). — Karajá: homem diz: *haloé;* mulher diz: *halokoi*. Não se come. Na língua dêstes índios do Araguaia, esta palavra não está relacionada com "cão": *idjorosá*, mas com "gato": *haloene*, dando-se o mesmo em kaingang (*mi*: onça; *mikxi*: gato, sendo *xi* o diminutivo). Entre os Kaingang e os Cherente "alguns" comem carne de onça. Karl von den Steinen (2 37) compara o seu gôsto com o de carne gorda de porco.

24) *chauvuápinima* — "onça pintada". Stradelli (275): *lauretê pinima*, sendo *pinima*: "pintado", "colorido" (ib. 601).

25) *chauangpytyngó* — suçuarana (*Felis concolor*). Homem come. — Karajá: homem diz: *obrôra*; mulher diz: *kobrôra*. Não se come. — Entre os Kaingang "alguns" comem o "puma". É comido também entre os Cherente.

26) *mananggaanchaí* — gato do mato ou maracajá (*Felis spec.*). Homem come. — Karajá: homem diz: *haloene;* mulher diz: *halokoeni*. Não se come. — Também os Kaingang não o comem, mas entre os Cherente é comido por alguns.

27) *tampiira* — anta (*Tapirus americanus*). Homem come. — Karajá: *kori*. Homem e "alguma mulher" comem. — Entre os Kaingang e os Cherente todo mundo come. Entre os Chamakoko só os anciões podem comer a carne dêsse paquiderme; dizem que os moços ficariam imediatamente velhos e débeis se a comessem (Baldus 1 95). Os Taulipáng, Makuxi e Yekuaná consideram a carne de anta "pesada", que produz abcessos e cuja influência maléfica deve ser combatida mágicamente (Koch-Grünberg 2 III 374). Na região do Araguaia, certos sertanejos chamam essa carne de "forte".

28) *chingná* — catêto ou caitetu (*Dicotyles tayassu*). Come-se. — Karajá: *holô*. Come-se. — Também os Kaingang e Cherente comem êste porco do mato. Os Taulipáng, Makuxi e Yekuaná tratam a carne dos porcos do mato como "pesada" (Koch-Grünberg 2 III 225, 231, 375). Os Yekuaná não comem a língua, o coração e o miolo dêste animal, que é sua caça predileta (ib. 335-336). Entre os Tapirapé, porém, encontrei grandes apreciadores do miolo (cf. Baldus 7 95). A carne dos porcos-do-mato é chamada de "forte" entre sertanejos do Araguaia.

29) *tanchahó* — queixada ou taiaçu (*Dicotyles albirostris*). Come-se. — *Karajá*: *ixa*. Come-se. Êstes índios chamam *ixaní* ao porco doméstico. — Também os Kaingang e Cherente comem queixada.

30) *opoká* — veado galheiro (*Dorcelaphus dichotomus*). Homem come, mas só quando não tem filho pequeno. — Karajá: *broré*. Come-se. Êstes índios chamam *brorene* ao gado vacum de ambos os sexos e é possível que esta palavra se tenha transformado para *mararé*, têrmo que tinha o mesmo sentido em tapirapé. Também os Cherente comem aquêle veado. Os Taulipang e Makuxi tratam-no como carne "pesada" (Koch-Grünberg 2 III 225, 232), ao passo que certos sertanejos do Araguaia acham-na "fraca".

31) *ochinga* — veado campeiro ou veado branco (*Dorcelaphus bezoarcticus*). Homem come. — Karajá: *nati*. Come-se. — Também os Cherente o comem. — Achei sua carne muito sêca.

32) *mianá* — veado pardo ou mateiro (*Mazama americana*). Come-se. — Karajá: *budoe*. Come-se. — Também os Kaingang e Cherente comem êste ruminante.

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33) *anaknahó* — veado virá ou catingueiro (*Mazama simplicicornis*). Come-se. — Por não ser representado no livro de R. von Ihering, deixei de perguntar a seu respeito aos Karajá, Kaingang e Cherente.

Os Tapirapé, Cherente e Kaingang não conheceram o paranacú (*Pithecia monachus*) representado na fig. 66 de R. von Ihering e chamado pelos Karajá *asoní*. Os últimos não comem êste símio.

34) *antamani* — sagüí (espécie?). Homem come. — Os Cherente me disseram o nome de um sagüí que é comido pelos meninos de sua tribo.

35) *yai* — japuçá-de-coleira (*Callicebus torquatus*). Homem come. — Os Karajá, Cherente e Kaingang não conheceram êste macaquinho representado na fig. 71 de R. von Ihering.

36) *kai* — macaco prego (*Cebus spec.*). Come-se. — Por não ser representado no livro de R. von Ihering, deixei de perguntar a seu respeito aos Karajá, Kaingang e Cherente. Comi frequentemente sua carne e achei-a boa tanto cozida como assada.

37) *kai-ió* — bugio ou guariba (*Allonata spec.*). Homem come. (*kai* cf. n.° 36). — Karajá: *asan*. Não se come. — Entre os Kaingang, "alguns" comem êste grande macaco, mas outros não queriam experimentar quando horrorizei os caboclos do alto Ivaí, comendo a carne extremamente mole do "barbado". Entre os Cherente, a mulher não come guariba "porque parece com gente". Aparentemente, os homens dêstes Gê do Tocantins não se impressionam tanto com tal semelhança, pois comem o animal em aprêço.

38) *kokykoky* — coatá (*Ateles spec.*). Não se come. — Karajá: *krobi*. Homem come. — Os Cherente e Kaingang não conhecem êste macaco representado na fig. 76.

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# OS TAPIRAPE'

## Tribo tupi no Brazil Central

(Especial para a "Revista do Arquivo")

(*Continuação*) HERBERT BALDUS

### AVES

39) **vuyrá, uyrá** — ave em geral. Muitas aves são comidas somente pelos homens, contrastando os Tapirapé a êsse respeito com os Chamakoko, pois nesta tribo chaquenha a maior parte das aves é comida pelas mulheres, supondo-se que os homens ficariam imediatamente velhos e impedidos de andar se a comessem. (Baldus 1 96). O Tapirapé Kamairá deu ao meu companheiro F. C. Kegel 97 nomes de aves.

40) **vuyranchampokáinia** — galinha doméstica. Come-se. — No nheengatú do Amazonas, reproduzido por Stradelli, é simplesmente sapucaia, sem acréscimo de uirá: ave, significando sapucaí: gritando (Stradelli 123, 213, 640, 641). — Enquanto nessa língua e no tapirapé, o sexo é distinguido só pelo acréscimo dos designativos de macho e fêmea, os Karajá não têm nome que compreenda os dois, chamando o galo **habé** e a galinha **hanoká**.

41) **chanoó** — ema ou nhandú (Rhea americana). Homem come. — Karajá: **kuschéue**. Não se come. Segundo Krause (2 246) êstes índios gostam de comer os ovos de ema cozidos. — Os Cherente comem êste avestruz não conhecido pelos informantes kaingang do Ivaí. Entre os Chamakoko só as mulheres comem carne de ema; dizem que o homem se tornaria covarde se a comesse. Como ainda averiguei entre êstes índios do Chaco, os ovos de avestruz são comidos exclusivamente pelos velhos e pelas mulheres, pois supõe-se que, comendo-os um homem moço, morreria sua esposa, deixando-o com muitos filhos pequenos, por ser entre os avestruzes o macho que choca e se encarrega da criação dos pintos (Baldus 1 96).

42) **uré - uré** (Odontophorus spec.). Come-se. — Também os Kaingang comem êste galináceo que os Karajá e Cherente não conheceram pela representação na fig. 79 de R. von Ihering.

43) **muitá** — mutum (Crax spec.). Distinguem os sexos, chamando o macho **muitanoé** por ser maior do que a fêmea, e esta **muitapinima**, pois ela, em contraste com êle, é "pintada". Come-se. — Karajá: homem diz: **urití**; mulher diz **kuritú**. Come-se. — Também os Cherente comem a carne saborosa desta ave.

44) inomó — inambú (Crypturus spec.). Come-se. — Karajá: maeredó. Não se come. — Os Kaingang e Cherente comem a sua carne branca e sêca que lembra galinha.

45) changkú — jacu (Penelope spec.). Come-se. — Karajá: ehoré. Não se come. Esta última informação tem especial interêsse, pois o jacu é relativamente frequente no Araguaia, fácil de caçar e constitui o prato predileto não só dos Tapirapé, mas também dos Kaingang, Cherente e dos caçadores brancos em tôdas as regiões sul-americanas onde aparece.

46) tepangkuá — jacú (Crypturus noctivagus). Come-se. — Karajá: djekeke. Come-se — Também os Cherente comem-no.

x) Os Tapirapé não conheceram as pombas representadas por R. von Ihering nas figs. 85 e 86. Vendo a "Pomba de bando" ou "do sertão ou "Pararí" (Zenaida auriculata) representada na fig. 85, os Karajá disseram o nome ptoe, acrescentando que não comem esta ave. Os Kaingang e Cherente comem tôdas as pombas.

xx) Os Tapirapé e os Kaingang não conheceram o ireré (Dendrocygna viduata) representado na fig. 87 de R. von Ihering e chamado hesoroaá pelos Karajá. Entre êstes índios, o homem come ireré, ao passo que entre os Cherente, esta ave aquática é comida por todos.

xxx) Os Tapirapé e os Kaingang não conheceram a anhuma ou inhuma (Palamedea cornuta) representada na fig. 88 de R. von Ihering e chamada kabíky pelos Karajá. Êstes índios e os Cherente não a comem.

47) uyrahó — jabiru (Mycteria mycteria). Homem adulto come. o nome tapirapé significa literalmente "ave grande". — Karajá: vuoré. Não se come. — Entre os Cherente, alguns homens comem-no. Os Kaingang não conhecem esta ave. — Eu achei sua carne com muito gôsto de peixe.

48) mananí — magoari (Euxenura maguari). Come-se. — Os Tapirapé disseram êste nome vendo a garça representada na fig. 91 de R. von Ihering, portanto uma pernalta não da família dos ciconídeos, mas da dos ardeídeos. — Os Karajá, vendo a mesma figura, deram o nome uarí, acrescentando que não comem esta ave. Os Cherente declararam expressamente que a garça de fig. 91 tem, no seu idioma, o mesmo designativo que o jabiru da figura anterior. A êsse respeito talvez convenha mencionar que a magoari é sinônimo de jabiru-moleque.

49) vuaná — colheireiro (Ajaja ajaja). Come-se. O nome tapirapé lembra o do uará ou guará (Stradelli 222 e 695), ave da família dos ibidídeos (Eudocimus ruber) e pernalta como o colheireiro. A respeito dêste, escreve R. von Ihering (76): "... a delicadeza da sua côr róseo sobressai ainda melhor com o tom purpúreo dos ombros...", acrescentando acêrca do guará: "Vermelho escarlate, todo inteiro, é o guará, ave um tanto menor, mas que em certas regiões, como na Amazônia, ainda hoje se encontra aos milhares..." (ib.). Como se vê, ambas as aves apresentam côres vermelhas, se bem que de diversas espécies. — Os Karajá chamam o colheireiro uareré e não o comem. (Cf. uarí: garça, no verbete anterior). Os Cherente não comem o colheireiro e os Kaingang não o conhecem.

50) akaká — saracura (espécie?). Os Tapirapé disseram êsse têrmo vendo Aramides saracura da fig. 99 de R. von Ihering e declararam que os homens comem esta ave da família dos ralídeos. Os Karajá e Cherente informaram que não conhecem a ave representada na mencionada figura. Os Kaingang comem saracura e eu também a comi, apesar do ligeiro sabor oleoso, com prazer, nas margens do rio Tapirapé.

51) karakaraka — tapicuru. Homem come. Os Tapirapé acharam essa ave da família dos ibidídeos, não representada no livro de R. von Ihering, parecida com a saracura da fig. 99, distinguindo-se dela por ter o bico mais completo. Gostei da sua carne. Meu companheiro, sr. Kegel, achou-a muito "oleosa".

52) ananghuru — seriema (Microdactylus cristatus). Homem come. Quando colhi essa palavra tapirapé, a sua semelhança com "saracura" me fêz pensar que houvesse confusão entre as duas pernaltas representadas no livro de R. von Ihering uma ao lado da outra. Mas os Tapirapé me tiraram as dúvidas e, além disso, encontrei no pequeno vocabulário tapirapé de Kissenberth (2 59) o têrmo arikorí com a tradução alemã "Strausfuart", isto é, "espécie de avestruz", o que não pode ser outra coisa que seriema, visto que o mesmo autor (ib.) apresenta para "ema" a mesma palavra tapirapé indicada com ligeira diferença gráfica sob número 41, na presente lista. — Karajá: kudja-kudja. Não se come. Os Cherente comem a seriema. Os Kaingang não a conhecem.

53) vasaghá — bigú-tinga (Plotus anhinga). Come-se. — Karajá: vaykarere. Não se come. Também os Cherente e Kaingang não comem essa ave mergulhadora.

54) yrevá pevó — urubu comum ou prêto (Catharista atratus brasiliensis). Não se come. — Karajá: rarú. Não se come. — Também os Cherente e Kaingang não comem esta ave necrófaga.

55) yrevá chingá — urubu-rei (Gypagus papa). Não se come. — Karajá: rara-rosa. Não se come. — Também os Cherente e Kaingang não o comem.

56) yrevá apapá — urubu de cabeça vermelha (Cathartes aura). Não se come. — Não perguntei aos informantes das outras tribos acêrca desta espécie não representada no livro de R. von Ihering.

57) tanapikyvanchinga — caracará (Milvago chimachima ou espécie parecida). Homem come. — Karajá: hrení. Não se come. — Os Cherente e Kaingang não conheceram o gavião representado na fig. 104 de R. von Ihering; não comem gavião de espécie alguma.

58) tanyagó — carancho (Polyborus tharus ou espécie parecida). Não se come. Karajá hiré. Não se come. — Os Cherente não o comem e os Kaingang não conheceram o gavião representado na fig. 105 de R. von Ihering.

59) pypypypó — harpia (Thrasaetus harpyia). Homem come. Na língua tembé, pypy é uma coruja (E. H. Snethlage 257). — Karajá: yrará. Não se come. — Também os Cherente e Kaingang não comem o gavião-real.

x) Os Tapirapé não conheceram a coruja-do-campo representada na fig. 107 de R. von Ihering. — Os Karajá lhe deram o nome kyvi. Não a comem. — Também os Cherente não comem esta ave de rapina e não há coruja comida pelos Kaingang.

60) urukuré — mócho orelhudo (espécies?). Homem adulto come. A palavra dada pelos Tapirapé era conhecida pelos Tupi da Bahia quinhentista, pois Gabriel Soares de Souza (272) escreve: "Urucuream é uma ave, pontualmente como as corujas de Espanha: umas são cinzentas e outras brancas; gritam como corujas; as quais criam no mato em tronco de árvores grossas, e em povoado nas igrejas, de cujas alampadas comem o azeite." — No seu vocabulário nheengatú do Amazonas, diz Stradelli (765): "Urucariá — Casta de Strix, do tamanho do Strix flammea europeu, mas muito mais claro, quase branco, que vive na espessura da mata e passa o dia, conforme os indígenas afirmam, no 600

dos paus. — Karajá: kudxuruky. Não se come. — Também os Cherente não comem essa ave noturna.

61) vuantori(n)iá — cigana (Opisthocomus cristatus). Só os velhos comem esta ave e para isso tiram-lhe a pele, o que, aliás, é feito também pelos poucos neo-brasileiros que não desprezam sua carne, pois pelo seu cheiro penetrante, a cigana é chamada também de "catingueiro" pelos sertanejos, usando os Tapirapé a palavra ikanching: "fedendo", com referência a ela. A cigana abunda nas margens do Tapirapé e médio Araguaia e por ser lerda e desageitada é fácil de caçar. Aquêles índios a matam para emplumar a flecha com suas penas. — Entre outras tribos não colhi dados acêrca dessa ave não mencionada no livro de R. von Ihering.

62) ypekã — picapau em geral. Homem adulto come. Os Tapirapé assim chamam não só as aves trepadoras da família dos Picídeos, mas também o arapaçu da família dos Dendrocolaptídeos representado na fig. 132 de R. von Ihering. — Os Karajá chamam o picapau: dosó e o arapaçu: adjuesanî, não comendo nenhum dos dois. — Também os Cherente e Kaingang distinguem as aves das duas famílias em aprêço. Na tribo do Tocantins elas são comidas só pelos meninos "por serem muito pequenas". Entre os Kaingang, porém, qualquer pessoa come picapau e arapaçu.

63) chryvá — jurúva (Momotus spec.). Adultos comem. — Karajá: hurú. Não se come. O têrmo karajá corresponde ao nome onomatopaico hudú dado a essa ave pelos amazonenses. — Também os Cherente não comem jurúva. Os Kaingang não o conhecem.

64) tatauantí — martim-pescador (Ceryle spec.). Homem adulto come. — Karajá: kre. Não se come. — Também os Cherente e Kaingang não comem essa ave.

65) vuainomy — beija-flor em geral. Come-se. Os Tupinambá chamavam estas minúsculas aves da família dos Troquilídeos guainumbí na grafia de Anchieta (2 124), ganambi na de Gabriel Soares de Sousa (274) e gonambuch na de Lery (155). — Dos Karajá não consegui obter têrmo para beija-flor, apesar de mostrar-lhes as figuras 112 e 114-116 de R. von Ihering. Também Krause (2 424-426) e Palha (7 30-31) nas suas listas de nomes de aves em karajá, não indicam designação para esta ave. — Machado (62) dá o têrmo genérico Ubá-dó ou Ubó-do. — Os Cherente não comem beija-flor; os Kaingang, porém, o comem.

66) yvychangó — taperá. Homem adulto come. Os Tapirapé disseram essa palavra vendo o Chaetura cinereiventris da fig. 117 de R. von Ihering. — Karajá: notiene. Não se come. O mesmo disseram acêrca da andorinha (Tachicineta leucorrhoa) representada na fig. 140 de R. von Ihering, que chamavam com o mesmo nome e que não era conhecida pelos Tapirapé. — Os Cherente e Kaingang não conheceram a grande andorinha representada na fig. 117, mas sim a andorinha da fig. 140 e declararam não comê-la.

67) urutauí — urutau (Nyctibius spec.). Homem adulto come. Os Tapirapé disseram o têrmo vendo o curiango tesoura representado na fig. 118 de R. von Ihering, ave de gênero diferente, mas da mesma família dos Caprimulgídeos. — Karajá: kuakuaré. Não se come. — Também os Cherente e Kaingang não comem essa ave noturna.

68) tuichinga — periquito. Homem come. Os Tapirapé disseram êsse têrmo, isto é, "tuí branco", vendo o Pyrrhura vittata da fig. 119 de R. von Ihering; não conheceram o tuí (Psittacula passerina) representado na fig. 122 do mesmo autor, e chama djahidjá pelos Karajá. Êstes

denominam o periquito: biri e não o comem, como também não comem aquêle tuí. — Os Cherente e Kaingang comem periquito.

69) arana — arara-vermelha, arara-canga (Ara spec.). Homem adulto come. — Karajá: andedurá. Não se come. — Os Cherente e Kaingang comem arara.

70) kaninó — canindé (Ara ararauna). Homem adulto come. — Karajá: besá. Não se come. — Os Cherente comem canindé. — Entre os Tapirapé comi várias vêzes a carne dura desta ave, que, mesmo depois de ser cozida longo tempo, não amolece.

71) anchoró — papagaio (Amazona spec.). Homem adulto come. Os Tapirapé me deram o têrmo vendo o Amazona aestiva da fig. 121 de R. von Ihering. — Karajá: doré. Não se come. — Os Cherente e Kaingang comem papagaio e eu também sempre gostei muito da carne das várias espécies dessa ave que comi em diversas partes do Brasil.

72) tokynó — tucano (Rhamphastus spec.). Come-se. — Karajá: torivá. Não se come. — Os Cherente e Kaingang comem essa ave da mata. — Gabriel Soares de Sousa (263) achou sua carne "muito dura e magra".

73) pyichiva — espécie de "tucano pequeno", menor do que tokynó. Come-se.

74) anú — anú prêto (Crotophaga ani). Homem e menino comem. — Os Karajá e Cherente não conheceram essa ave representada na fig. 125 de R. von Ihering. Também os vocabulários karajá de Krause (2 424-426) e Palha (7 30-31) não contêm têrmo para ela, mas sim o de Machado (60) que dá o têrmo Atô-atoi-ô. — Os Kaingang não comem anú.

75) anachychyryó — anú branco, quirirú (Octopteryx guira). Homem e menino comem.

76) pytauvuyó — bem-te-vi (Pitangus sulphuratus). Come-se. — No nheêngatú é pitaua (Stradelli 609). — Karajá: xíteka. Não se come. — Também os Kaingang não comem esta ave. Os Cherente não conheceram o pássaro representado na fig. 127.

x) Os Tapirapé e os Cherente não conheceram o cagassebinho (Serpophaga subcristata) representado na fig. 128 de R. von Ihering e chamado xiriri pelos Karajá. Êstes não o comem. Os Kaingang comem essa ave da família dos Tyrannideos.

xx) Os Tapirapé, Cherente e Kaingang não conheceram a borralhara (Thamnophilus caerulescens), ave da família dos Formicariideos, representada na fig. 129 de R. von Ihering, e chamada de djuventanohó pelos Karajá. Êstes índios não a comem.

xxx) Os Tapirapé, Cherente e Kaingang não conheceram a lavandeira (Fluvicola albiventris) representada na fig. 130 de R. von Ihering e chamada herevoresá pelos Karajá. Êstes índios não a comem.

xxxx) Os Tapirapé, os Cherente e os Kaingang não conheceram o João-tenenem ou Benterêrê (Synallaxis spixi) representado na fig. 131 de R. von Ihering. Os Karajá chamam-no xiká e não o comem.

xxxxx) Os Tapirapé, os Cherente e os Kaingang não conheceram o João-de-barro (Furnarius rufus) representado na fig. 134 de R. von Ihering. Os Karajá chamam-no chichichichi e não o comem.

77) aviá — sabiá (Turdus spec.). Mas o sabiá branco (Turdus amaurochalinus) da fig. 135 de R. von Ihering não era conhecido nem pelos Tapirapé nem pelos Karajá e Cherente. Os Kaingang, porém, o conheceram e afirmaram comê-lo.

x) Os Tapirapé, os Cherente e os Kaingang não conheceram o saí amarelo (Callospixa flava) da fig. 139 de R. von Ihering. — Os Karajá chamaram-no biriní e afirmaram não comê-lo.

78) **anchoichinghó** — soldado, sofrê, corrupião (Xanthornus jamacai). Homem adulto come. — Os Karajá, os Cherente e os Kaingang não conheceram êsse pássaro da família dos Icterídeos representado na fig. 141 de R. von Ihering.

79) **angkaé** — gralha (Uroleuca cyanoleuca ou Cyanocorax spec.?). Homem adulto come. — Os Karajá e Cherente não conheceram o pássaro da família dos Corvídeos representado na fig. 142 de R. von Ihering. Os Kaingang comem gralha.

80) **champohú** — japu (Ostinops decumanus). Homem adulto come. Essa ave grande da família dos Icterídeos é também chamada japu-guaçu, correspondendo "guaçu" ao hu em tapirapé. — Não havendo figura representando o japu no livro de R. von Ihering, não colhi seus nomes em karajá, cherente e kaingang.

## RÉPTEIS

81) **changkané** — jacaré em geral. Homem come. — Os Karajá distinguem duas espécies, chamando a maior **kabororô** e a menor **korerá**. Não comem nenhuma delas. — Entre os cherente, o homem come o rabo do jacaré. Os Kaingang não comem nada dêle. Dizem os Chamakoko que, entre êles, o homem, comendo um pedacinho do rabo do jacaré, não receberá golpe algum na luta, pois o jacaré come todos e nunca é vencido. E' o símbolo na fôrça. Mas só as velhas comem o animal inteiro. (Baldus 1 96). Segundo Gabriel Soares de Sousa (311), a carne de jacaré "é um tanto adocicada, e tão gorda que tem na barriga banha como porco, a qual é alva e saborosa e cheira bem." Eu comi, no Araguaia, rabo de jacaré adulto, achando a carne agradavelmente tenra e tão sui-generis que não lembrava nem peixe nem carne de mamífero algum.

82) **chauvatí-pevoú** — cágado. Assim disseram os Tapirapé vendo o Hydrspis hilarii da fig. 147 de R. von Ihering. Comem a carne e os ovos. — Karajá: **krodunini**. Não se come. — Também os Kaingang não comem, mas um velho desta tribo me disse que os Guarani comem cágado. Os Cherente comem êste réptil.

83) **chauvatió** — tartaruga. Come-se. Êsse têrmo, que significa "tartaruga grande", foi dito à vista da "tartaruga do mar" (Talassochelis carreta) representada na fig. 149 de R. von Ihering. E' provável, porém, que se refira a "tartaruga da Amazônia" (Podocnemis expansa). — O mesmo se dá com a palavra karajá **krodní**. Os Karajá e Cherente comem as tartarugas grande e seus ovos.

x) Não colhi o designativo tapirapé para tracajá (Podocnemis cayennensis) não representado no livro de R. von Ihering, mas vi os habitantes de Tampititáua comerem um dêsses pequenos quelônios que tinham pegado quando subira a margem arenosa do rio a fim de botar ovos. O animal inteiro e, ao seu lado, os ovos, foram assados na brasa. — Os Karajá chamam esta tartaruga de água doce **krodá**. Segundo meus informantes, ela é comida por êsses índios do Araguaia. Krause (2 258), porém, faz a seguinte restrição a respeito: "Só gente velha come tracajá e seus ovos; os moços desprezam-nos, considerando ter seu uso consequências ruins". — Os Cherente comem tracajá e também eu comi frequentemente e sempre com prazer a carne e os ovos dêste réptil.

84) **chauvatí-été** — jaboti (Testudo tabulata). Come-se. — Karajá: **krodubana**. Não se come. — Os Cherente comem êste animal.

No território dos Kaingang do Ivaí não existe jaboti. Dizem os Chamakoko que entre êles, só as mulheres comem êste réptil, pois se os homens o comessem ficariam lerdos e apanhariam na luta (cf. Baldus 1 96). Segundo Gabriel Soares de Sousa (300), a carne do jaboti "é muito gorda, saborosa e sadia para doentes". Achei-a muito mole quando a comi na margem do Tapirapé.

85) chauvachí-amperanchí — matamatá (Chelys fimbriata). Homem come. — Karajá: uema. Não se come. — Os Cherente não conheceram êsse quelônio da Amazônia representado na fig. 151 de R. von Ihering.

86) Vendo a "cobra de duas cabeças" (Amphisbaena alba) representada na fig. 153 de R. von Ihering, os Tapirapé disseram simplesmente maiá ou máia, têrmo que designa cobra em geral. Declararam que não comem êste animal. Os Karajá chamaram o mesmo lacertílio irubió. Êles e os Cherente disseram que não o comem. Os Kaingang não conheceram semelhante animal. — O nome genérico karajá para cobra é hemonlala.

87) tamã — lagartixa. Não se come. Os Tapirapé deram êsse nome tanto ao Hemidactyeus mabuia da fig. 154 de R. von Ihering, como também ao Diploglossus fasciatus, da fig 155. Os Karajá chamaram aquêle torikoko e não conheceram êste. Disseram não comer torikoko. Também os Cherente e Kaingang não comem lagartixa.

88) amereva — Mabuia agilis. Não se come. — Karajá: busytu. Não se come. — Os Cherente e Kaingang não conheceram êsse lacertílio representado na fig. 157 de R. von Ihering.

x) Os Karajá chamaram asará o teiídeo (Microblepharus maximiliani) representado na fig. 158 de R. von Ihering e disseram que não o comem. Os Tapirapé, Cherente e Kaingang não conheceram êsse animal.

89) chichuputereva — teju ou lagarto (Tupinambis teguixin). Não se come. — Karajá: uateló. Não se come. Entre os Cherente, "algum homem come". Os Kaingang do Ivai disseram que "hoje alguns comem, mas os antigos não comiam". No Paraguai comí frequentemente e com prazer a carne dêsse grande lacertílio e sei que também no Brasil muita gente a aprecia.

90) anemy — sinimbu (Iguana tuberculata). Homem adulto come. — Karajá: kuré. Come-se. — Entre os Cherente, o homem come êste animal. Os Kaingang não o conheceram.

91) kamechorânia — Assim disseram os Tapirapé vendo o papavento (Anolis punctatus) da fig. 161 de R. von Ihering. Declararam que não o comem. — Os Karajá chamaram kurení tanto êste iguanídeo como dois outros da mesma família representados por R. von Ihering nas figs. 162 e 163 (Anisolepis undulatus e Enyalius ihering) Disseram que não comem nenhum dêles. — Os Cherente não conheceram Anisolepis undulatus e informaram a respeito dos outros dois que não os comem. Os Kaingang não conheceram nenhum dos três.

92) kovianá — truira-peva (Hoplocercus spinosus). Não se come. — Os Karajá, Cherente e Kaingang não conheceram êste lacertílio da fig. 164 de R. von Ihering.

93) maichiningó — cascavel (Crotalus terrificus). Não se come. Boicininga em Gabriel Soares de Sousa (308) e Mbola-cininga em Stradelli (142, 521). — Karajá: hemonlala uerodí (sendo uerodí o guizo). Não se come. — Também os Cherente e Kaingang não comem cascavel. — Cf. os têrmos genéricos e karajá para cobra sob n. 86.

94) **maiayva** — jararaca (Lachesis lanceolatus). Não se come. Gabiel Soares de Sousa (307-308) escreve o nome tupinambá gereraca e afirma que "os índios" comem a carne desta serpente. — Karajá: **hemonlala nohetidesé** Não se come. — Também os Cherente e Kaingang não comem jararaca.

95) **okumaní** — Os Tapirapé disseram esta palavra vendo a coral falsa (Oxyrhopus trigeminus) da fig. 181 de R. von Ihering e a coral verdadeira (Micrurus corallinus) da fig. 183 do mesmo autor. Não se come. — Os Karajá não conheceram a primeira e chamaram a coral verdadeira **hohomari**. Apesar da diferença na acentuação, a semelhança com o têrmo tapirapé é notável. Machado (65) dá o vocábulo **Utu-rê-çá** para "coral" (Elaps sp.). Não a comem. — Os Cherente deram o mesmo nome a ambas as cobras e disseram que não as comem. Os Kaingang só conheceram a coral verdadeira e afirmaram que não a comem.

96) **urukuká** — surucucu (Lachesis mutus). Não se come. — Os Karajá, Cherente e Kaingang não conheceram esta serpente que, segundo R. von Ihering (125) é rara, não existindo no sul do Brasil. Acrescenta o mesmo autor (ib.): "Os índios amazônicos apreciam sua carne como ótimo petisco, o que aliás P. le Cointe confirmou após experiência própria."

97) **maioó** — sucuri ou boiuçu (Eunectes murinus). Não se come. Literalmente, a palavra tapirapé significa "serpente grande". Segundo Gabriel Soares de Sousa (306), "os índios e alguns portuguêses comem" a carne desta serpente, "e dizem ser muito gostosa". — Karajá: **leri**. Não se come. — Também os Cherente não comem sucuri. Os Kaingang não conheceram a maior serpente do mundo, representada na fig. 185 de R. von Ihering.

x) Os Tapirapé e Kaingang não conheceram a cobra-nova ou "jararaca do banhado" Drymobius bifossatus) da fig. 186 de R. von Ihering. — Os Karajá chamaram-na **vuyhy**. Êles e os Cherente disseram que não comem êste animal.

98) **machukyry** — Os Tapirapé disseram esta palavra vendo a cobra-cipó (Chironius) da fig. 187 de R. von Ihering e declararam que não comem êste animal. — Os Karajá chamaram-no **hetedod**. Êles, os Cherente e os Kaingang não comem cobra-cipó.

## ANFIBIOS

99) **tayra** — Os Tapirapé disseram êste têrmo, designativo empregado pelo filho com referência ao pai, vendo os girinos representados na fig. 191 de R. von Ihering, a lagarta de borboleta da fig. 464 e a crisálida de borboleta da fig. 465. Disseram que comem êsses girinos.

100) **choí** — rã. Homem adulto come. Os Tapirapé disseram essa palavra vendo Nototrema fissipes da fig. 192 de R. von Ihering — Os Karajá e Kaingang não conheceram esta rã. Os Cherente disseram que não a comem.

101) **koreró** — sapo (Bufo marinus). Não se come. Segundo Gabriel Soares de Sousa (313), os Tupinambá da Bahia comiam **cururú**. — Os Karajá chamaram **krooté** tanto êste sapo como também as rãs das figs. 197 e 199 de R. von Ihering. Não se come. — Também os Cherente e Kaingang não comem sapo e rã.

102) chyioó — untanha (Ceratophrys spec.). Homem adulto come. — Karajá e Cherente não conheceram o batráquio representado na fig. 196 de R. von Ihering. Os Kaingang afirmaram que não comem untanha.

103) vuavá — rã. Homem adulto come. Os Tapirapé disseram essa palavra vendo Leptodactylus caliginosus da fig. 197 de R. von Ihering.

104) mantereva — Assim disseram os Tapirapé vendo a rã (Dendrobates tinctorius) da fig. 198 de R. von Ihering. Acrescentaram que não comem êste batráquio. — Karajá: hoí. Não se come. — Os Cherente e Kaingang não conheceram esta rã.

105) kurtána — perereca (Hyla spec.). Homem come. — Karajá: uaritete. Não se come. Também os Cherente e Kaingang não comem perereca.

106) choipapevó — rã (Phyllomedusa spec.). Homem come. — Karajá: krood-teurá. Não se come.

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# OS TAPIRAPE'

(Especial para a "Revista do Arquivo")

Tribo tupi no Brasil Central

(*Continuação*) HERBERT BALDUS

## PEIXES

107) **ypirá** — peixe em geral. Meu companheiro de viagem Rev. F. C. Kegel colheu 54 nomes de peixes em tapirapé.

108) **chavevuyra** — raia dágua doce em geral. Come-se. Gabriel Soares de Sousa (338) escreve jabubirá e observa que as raias da Bahia "são muito saborosas e sadias." — Karajá: **boró**. Não se come. — Os Cherente, porém, comem êsses seláquios. Os Kaingang não os conhecem.

109) **pirampokó** — Literalmente, "peixe comprido'. Assim chamaram os Tapirapé a bicuda (Sphyraena barracuda) da fig. 224 de R. von Ihering, afirmando que comem êste peixe do mar que também entra em água doce, segundo me informou o dr. Antenor Leitão de Carvalho do Museu Nacional do Rio de Janeiro.

110) **ampakochingó** — Os Tapirapé disseram esta palavra vendo o peixe-galo (Selene vomer) da fig. 226 de R. von Ihering, e acrescentaram que comem êste animal. Sem dúvida, confundiram-no com outro peixe, pois o dr. Leitão de Carvalho me afirmou que aquele peixe do mar não entra em água doce, onde há, porém, peixes de aparência semelhante.

111) **chanevychanché** — Os Tapirapé disseram êste têrmo vendo o o linguado (Achiurus lineatus) da fig. 227 de R. von Ihering, acrescentantando comerem êste peixe que, segundo o dr. Leitão de Carvalho, entra em água doce. Também R. von Ihering (158) afirma que há linguados "perfeitamente adaptados à água doce, e que por isto se encontram mesmo no Alto Amazonas e em Mato Grosso". A palavra tapirapé parece ser composta de **chavevuyra**: raia (cf. n.º 108) e **chancé**: irmã do pai (dito pelo homem), significando, portanto, "tia paterna da raia". Esta hipótese torna-se mais razoável se considerarmos que ambos os peixes têm o corpo completamente achatado, vivendo no fundo das águas com o lado branco para baixo e o lado em que têm os olhos virado para cima. Convém lembrar também, que a denominação kaingang da centopéia significa literalmente "sogro da cobra" (Baldus 11 157). — Os Karajá chamavam o linguado da figura de R. von Ihering **usú** e declararam que não o comem. — E' sabido que o aspecto esquisito dêsse não impede que seja muito procurado em nossos mercados pelos numerosos apreciadores.

112) **mairampeyá** — Os Tapirapé disseram êste têrmo vendo o baiacu pinima (Spheroides spengleri) da fig. 234 de R. von Ihering e

acrescentaram que comem êste peixe marinho. Segundo o mesmo autor (ib. 158) há baiacus adaptados à água doce na Amazônia e em Mato Grosso.

113) **moó** — Os Tapirapé disseram esta palavra vendo a moreia (**Lycodontis moringa**) da fig. 248 de R. von Ihering e afirmaram que, entre êles, o homem come êste animal. Provàvelmente, confundiram o peixe marinho com o muçum (**Symbranchus marmoratus**) que muito se parece com a moreia e vive na água doce.

114) **purangké** — puraquê ou peixe elétrico (**Electrophorus electricus**). Homem come. — Karajá: **kuarú**. Não se come. — Entre os Cherente, "algum homem come" puraquê. Os Kaingang não o conhecem.

115) **chechoó** — piracuru (**Arapaima gigas**). Homem come. — Karajá: **bdoleké**. Come-se. — Os informantes cherente chamaram êste grande peixe com o nome tupi **pirarukú**, usado pelos neo-brasileiros e explicaram a falta de um têrmo próprio na sua língua afirmando haver "pouco pirarucu no Tocantins". — Os Kaingang, naturalmente, não conheceram êste gigante das águas amazônicas.

116) **chechó** — Êste pequeno peixe muito apreciado pelos Tapirapé é, provàvelmente, o jeju (**Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus**). No capítulo V aludiu à possibilidade de ser a palavra tapirapé parte do nome da aldeia **Chechotáua**. Acêrca das relações entre o **chechó** e o **chechoó**, isto é, o "chechó grande" covém citar o que Stradelli (467) observa sôbre êsses dois peixes de escama, de água doce, com tamanhos tão diferentes. Segundo êste autor, os pescadores do baixo Amazonas dizem ser o jeju a melhor isca para pegar pirarucu de anzol . Indica isso uma relação mágica?

x) Os Tapirapé e Kaingang não conheceram o jaú (**Paulicea lütkni**) representado na fig. 259 de R. von Ihering e chamado **hadinîhika** pelos Karajá. Êstes índios e os Cherente comem jaú.

117) **oroví** — sorubim (**Pseudoplatystoma corruscans**). Come-se. — Karajá: **dsané**. Come-se. — Também os Cherente e Kaingang comem sorubim.

118) **tauvanuá** — Os Tapirapé disseram esta palavra vendo o bagre do rio (**Pseudopimelodus zungaro**) da fig. 261 de R. von Ihering e afirmaram comer êste peixe. Os Karajá e Cherente não reconheceram. Os Kaingang declararam comê-lo.

119) **tororopy** — Assim os Tapirapé chamaram o bagre ou mandi pintado (**Pimelodus clarias**) da fig. 262 de R. von Ihering, afirmando que comem êste peixe. — Karajá: **hatiseby**. Come-se. — Os informantes Cherente e Kaingang não conheceram êste peixe.

120) **chaniá** — bagrinho (**Pimelodus**). Come-se. — Os Karajá e Cherente não conheceram êste peixe representado na fig. 263 de R. von Ihering. Os Kaingang afirmaram comê-lo.

121) **itaiaí** — cambeva (**Pygidium brasiliensis**). Come-se. — Os informações karajá, cherente e kaingang não conheceram êste peixe representado na fig. 264 de R. von Ihering.

122) **chaniauhó** — mandi (**Pimelodella brasiliensis**). Cf. n.° 120: **chaniá**. Come-se. — Karajá: **hatí**. Come-se. — Os Cherente não conheceram êste peixe da fig. 265 de R. von Ihering. Os Kaingang disseram que o comem.

123) **atavachipeva** — cascudo-espada (**Loricaria spec.**). Come-se. — Karajá: **ryryene**. Não se come. — Os Cherente e Kaingang comem êste peixe.

124) **moró** — cascudo (**Plecostumus spec.**). Come-se. — Karajá:

ryy. Cf. n.° 123. Come-se. — Também os Cherente e Kaingang comem cascudo.

125) **amoatá** — tamboatá (**Callichthys spec.**). Come-se. Lery (166) escreve **Tamou-ata** Gabriel Soares de Sousa (355) **Tamoatá**. Segundo Plínio Ayrosa (4 148), "o sentido dêsse nome provàvelmente encontra-se na variante **camboatá**, de **kaábo-atá**, o que anda pelo mato (apud Rodolfo Garcia, in **Revista** Inst. Hist. Bras., vol. 94, 75)), porque êsses peixes dotados de fachos papilosos ricamente vasculares, que lhes servem para a respiração, podem perambular livremente por terra, quando pretendem mudar de águas." Convém ventilar, porém, a possibilidade de uma relação entre as palavras tapirapé **amoatá** e **amatáua**, podendo esta última, que significa "bigode", aludir às barbas do peixe em questão. Aliás, os Tapirapé pegam e apreciam muito o tamboatá e têm uma dança para representá-lo. — Karajá: **rahy**. Come-se. — Também os Cherente comem êste peixe, ao passo que os Kaingang não o conhecem.

126) **amoatatí** — Os Tapirapé chamaram com esta palavra o cuiúcuiú (**Doras marmoratus**) representado na fig. 271 de R. von Ihering, afirmando que o comem. Êste peixe, distinguido pelo sufixo aumentativo do **amoatá**, assemelha-se a êle por ter igualmente barbas, mas também pela particularidade de viajar por terra. — Karajá: **ehy**. Come-se. — Os Cherente e Kaingang não conheceram êsse peixe.

127) **anampá** — tuvira (**Carapus fasciatus**). Homem come. — Karajá: **emá**. Não se come. — Os Cherente comem êste peixe; os Kaingang não o conheceram.

128) **antangkopaná** — pirá-tamanduá (**Sternarchus curvirostris**) Come-se. — Karajá: **vukky**. Não se come. — Cherente e Kaingang não conheceram êste peixe.

129) **akná** — acará (**Geophagus brasiliensis**). Come-se. — Karajá: **vourerue**. Come-se. — Cherente e Kaingang comem êste peixe.

130) **changkoná** — joaninha ou jacundá (**Crenicichla spec.**) Come-se. — Karajá: **bedevoko vuederé**. Come-se. — Também os Cherente comem êste peixe desconhecido para os Kaingang.

131) **tukunaré** — tucunaré (**Cichla spec.**). Come-se. Êste peixe, que alcança meio metro de comprimento, é um dos mais apreciados pelos Tapirapé e por êles morto com arco e flecha. Como não é representado no livro de R. von Ihering, deixei de perguntar a seu respeito aos informantes das outras tribos.

132) **vuananaó** — corumbatá (**Prochilodus spec.**). Come-se. — Karajá: **k(e)nahaka**. Come-se. Também os Cherente comem êste peixe. Os Kaingang não conheceram.

133) **vuananaí** — Os Tapirapé disseram esta forma diminutiva do têrmo apresentado sob n. 132, vendo o chimboré (**Anostomus kneri**) da fig. 279 de R. von Ihering junto à fig. 279 que mostra o corumbatá. De fato há, com exceção da cabeça, muita semelhança entre êsses peixes nas figuras, sendo a fig. 278 um pouco maior que a outra. Afirmaram os Tapirapé que comem **vuananaí**. — Os Karajá, Cherente e Kaingang não conheceram o peixe da fig. 279.

134) **ipiáua** — piava (**Leporinus spec.**). Come-se. Karajá: **pytonty**. Come-se. — Os Cherente e Kaingang também comem piava.

135) **ipirápechova** — lambari-guaçu. Come-se. Os Tapirapé disseram êsse têrmo, que literalmente significa "peixe chato amarelo", vento **Tetragonopterus rutilus** da fig. 282 de R. von Ihering. — Karajá, Cherente e Kaingang não conheceram êste peixe.

136) **pekakuhama** — lambari-mirim (**Characidium fasciatum**). Come-se. — Karajá: **huí** Come-se. — Os Cherente não conheceram êste peixe representado na fig. 283 de R. von Ihering. — Os Kaingang têm um têrmo genérico para os lambaris e comem todos.

137) **aikyngapeva** — peixe-cachorro ou saincanga (**Acestrorhamphus hepsetus**). Come-se. — Karajá: **laté**. Come-se. Também os Cherente e Kaingang comem êste peixe.

138) **tanayra** — traíra (**Hoplias malabaricus**). Come-se. — Karajá: **adomoé**. Come-se. — Os Cherente e Kaingang também comem traíra.

139) **ipiránionó** — piranha em geral (gêneros **Pygocentrus** e **Serrassalmus**). Come-se. — Karajá: **djuetá**. Come-se. Os Cherente também a comem. Os informantes kaingang não conheceram o **Pygocentrus pirava** representado na fig. 288 de R. von Ihering.

## MOLUSCOS

140) **ity** — concha em geral. — Karajá: **katará**.

141) **champoroá** — Assim disseram os Tapirapé vendo **Planorbis peregrinus** na fig. 316 de R. von Ihering. Não se come.

142) **tatytá** — **Strophocheilus oblongus**. Não se come. — Karajá: **ykó**. Não se come. — Os Cherente também não comem êste molusco. Os Kaingang não conheceram o animal da fig. 321 de R. von Ihering.

## CRUSTÁCEOS

143) **machiy** — camarão de água doce ou pitu (**Bithynis spec.**) Come-se. — Karajá: **heseká**. Não se come. — Os Cherente também não comem. Os Kaingang não conhecem.

144) **vuananá** — caranguejo de água doce em geral. Literalmente: caranguejo grande. Come-se. Segundo Gabriel de Sousa (358-360), os Tupinambá da Bahia davam aos "caranguejos do mato" que se "criam na terra, sem verem nem tocarem água do mar", o nome "guoanhamú" ou "guanhamú". — Karajá: **odemahi**. Não se come. — Também Cherente e Kaingang não comem caranguejo.

145) **vuapema** — Esta palavra, que significa literalmente "caranguejo chato", foi dito ao verem os Tapirapé e "guaiá das pedras" (**Panopaeus herbstii**) na fig. 356 de R. von Ihering. Afirmaram que comem êste caranguejo.

## ARACNÓIDES

146) **china** — Os Tapirapé disseram esta palavra vendo o escorpião (**Tytius bahiensis**) da fig. 362 de R. von Ihering, e afirmaram que não o comem. — Os Karajá chamavam-no **etytíboró** explicando ser **boró** o designativo de "raia" (cf. n. 108) e **etytí**: "sêco", pois para êles o escorpião seria uma espécie de raia que vive no sêco. Esta idéia se torna compreensível considerando-se ser para os índios, como também para nós, o que mais impressiona em ambos os animais do Araguaia, a longa cauda armada de perigoso ferrão, cuja picada causa dores violentíssimas. Machado (70) menciona um escorpião chamado **odé-marrí**. Karajá, Cherente e Kaingang não comem escorpião.

147) **chanó** — aranha em geral. Não se come. O têrmo corresponde ao **ñandú** em Montoya (2 I 82) e **iandú** em Stradelli (109). Os Tapirapé conhecem várias das aranhas representadas no livro de R. von Ihering, sem

distingui-las, todavia, por nomes especiais. Chamam a teia de aranha chanóini, sendo ini também o designativo da "rêde-de-dormir". — Os Karajá chamam kochurukú a aranha em geral, distinguindo, porém, com os seguintes acréscimos feitos a êste vocábulo, as aranhas representadas por R. von Ihering: — kananxilelaré: aranha das casas (Blechroscelis), da fig. 364: — riauré: meirinho (fam. Salticidae), da fig. 365; — huká: caranguejeira (Homeomma) da fig. 367.. Naturalmente, êstes índios, como os Cherente e Kaingang, não comem aranha.

148) tantevoga — carrapato em geral. Não se come (com exceção daqueles carrapatos que são tirados diretamente do corpo humano). — Karajá: kohari. Como os Tapirapé e em oposição aos Cherente e Kaingang, os Karajá não distinguem os carrapatos representados por R. von Ihering. Nem êles, nem os Cherente e Kaingang, comem tais ácaros.

## MIRIÁPODES

149) amoévaí — piolho de cobra (Leptodesmus). Não se come. — Karajá: yryrybodó. Não se come. Também os Cherente e Kaingang não comem êstes diplópodos.

150) amoá — piolho de cobra (Rhinocricus). Não se come. — Os Karajá designaram com o mesmo têrmo, tanto êste animal da fig. 391 de R. von Ihering, como o da fig. 390, ao qual se refere o verbete precedente.

151) chapeauá — centopeia (Scolopendra). Não se come. Os Karajá não conheceram o animal representado na fig. 393. Machado (66) colheu o têrmo Turrú-riení para Scolopendra spec. Os Cherente e Kaingang afirmaram que não comem centopeia.

## INSETOS

152) tokorí — gafanhoto em geral. Não se come. — Karajá: seí. Não se come. — Também os Cherente e Kaingang não comem gafanhoto.

153) tokoró ambipém — esperança. Não se come. — Os Karajá e Kaingang não conheceram êste ortóptero, representado na fig. 397 de R. von Ihering. Os Cherente não o comem.

154) tokoró — Os Tapirapé disseram esta palavra à vista da jequitiranaboia (Fulgora lanternaria) da fig. 430 de R. von Ihering. Não consegui averiguar se estabelecem alguma relação entre êste homóptero e os insetos mencionados nos verbetes 152 e 153, ou se se trata de uma confusão. Em todo caso, não tem palavra parecida com jequitiranaboia ou jaquiranaboia. No vocabulário nheengatu de Stradelli, "tucura" é gafanhoto. — Os Tapirapé e Cherente afirmaram que não comem o animal representado na fig. 430. Os Karajá e Kaingang não o conheceram.

155) kyngeyma — taquarinha sêca. Fasmídeo. Não se come. Provavelmente a palavra tapirapé é composta de kynga: osso, e yma: sufixo negativo, o que seria bem significativo considerando-se o aspecto dêsse inseto quando imóvel, pois então parece-se com um graveto, sendo, por isso, também chamado de "bicho pau". — Os Karajá não conheceram êste ostóptero representado na fig. 398 de R. von Ihering. Os Cherente e Kaingang afirmaram que não o comem.

156) tiraná — louva-a-deus. Mantídeo. Não se come. — Karajá: dobió. Não se come. Também os Cherente não comem êste ortóptero. Os Kaingang não conheceram a Stagmatoptera predicatoria da fig. 399.

157) pykapykáua — grilo (Gryllus spec.). Não se come. A palavra

1: Baldus SP22 Tapirapé

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tapirapé está relacionada com o têrmo genérico para borboleta, isto é, **pykápyká** (cf. n.° 170). Os Karajá não conheceram o grilídeo representado na fig. 400. Os Cherente e Kaingang afirmaram que não o comem.

158) **ygechuchanana** — paquinha (Gryllotalpa spec.). Não se come. — Karajá: **dysi**. Não se come. — Também os Cherente não comem êste grilídeo. Os Kaingang não conheceram êste animal, representado na figura 401.

159) **anavé, anané, aranê** — barata (Blatella germanica L.). Não se come. Já no capítulo VII tratei do importante papel desempenhado por êste inseto na vida dos Tapirapé, mencionando também a correspondência entre o têrmo empregado por êstes índios e o designativo tupinambá indicado por Levy. — Os Karajá chamaram o blatídeo da fig. 402. (Periplaneta): **vualá**, afirmando que não o comem. Também os Cherente e Kaingang não comem barata.

160) **kupií** — cupim em geral. Não se come. — Karajá: **kodó**. Não se come. — Os Cherente e Kaingang também não comem isópteros.

161) **chichinó** — libélula. Os Tapirapé disseram esta palavra, não só à vista do cavalo-de-cão (Aeschnidae) representado na fig. 412, como também do neuróptero da fig. 409. Chamaram chichina o icneumonídeo da fig. 511 e o vespídeo (Synoeca) da fig. 529. Os quatro insetos mencionados estão representados com as asas abertas, fato êsse que, talvez tivesse levado os índios a ver semelhanças e pronunciar os têrmos, que se distinguem um do outro pelo sufixo aumentativo. No vocabulário nheêngatu de Stradelli (248), libélula é Iacina. — Os Tapirapé afirmaram que não comem os quatro insetos em questão. — Os Karajá, Cherente e Kaingang não conheceram os representados nas figs. 409 e 511. A libélula é chamada **kúryda** pelos Karajá, não sendo comida por êles nem pelos Cherente. Os Kaingang não conheceram o cavalo-de-cão da fig. 412. — Os Karajá chamam a vespa em geral: **robinadé**. Êstes, os Kaingang e os Cherente não comem tais insetos.

162) **ámpeámpeí** — Os Tapirapé disseram e repetiram esta palavra vendo as representações de insetos tão diferentes, como os seguintes: psocídeo (Atropos), da fig. 413; tisanóptero, da fig. 415; barata dágua (Belonostoma), da fig. 422; notonecta, da fig. 423; percevejo da cama (Acanthia lectularia), da fig. 424; cercopídeo, da fig. 425; afídeo, pulgão da roseira (Aphis rosae), da fig. 428; cicacídeo, cigarra (Zammara tympanum), da fig. 429; buprestídeo (Conognatha), da fig. 450; meloídeo (Lytta), da fig. 451; brenthidae (Brenthus), da fig. 452; curculionídeo (Heilipus), da fig. 453; curculionídeo (Entimus), da fig. 454; cerambicídeos das figs. 455 (Lophnocercus), 456 e 457; coeinelídeo (Neda), da fig. 458; estafilinídeo (Paederus), da fig. 459; hidrofilídeo (Hydrophilus), da fig. 462. Não se come. — Dêsses insetos, os Karajá, Cherente e Kaingang não conheceram os representados nas figs. 413, 415, 422-425, 428, 450-452, 454-459, 462. Os Karajá chamaram a cigarra da fig. 429 **dykó-dykó** e o curculionídeo (Heilipus) da fig. 453 **vuarelé**. Nenhuma das mencionadas tribos come os insetos indicados neste verbete.

163) **kyva** — piolho da cabeça (Pediculus capitis). Comem-se êstes parasitas catando-se das pessoas queridas. Aliás, devido ao fato de êsse inseto estar sempre relacionado com determinada pessoa, ouvi o designativo tapirapé sòmente em ligação com o possessivo, isto é, **chekyva**: meu piolho, **anenekyva**:: teu piolho, **ikyva**: seu piolho. — Karajá: **tyburú**. Come-se. — Não vi os Cherente e Kaingang comerem piolho da cabeça.

164) **inimákyrynga** — piolho da rêde-de-dormir (iní: rêde-de-dormir), provavelmente a muquirana (Pediculus vestimenti). E' maior que o

piolho de cabeça, e me atacou dolorosamente, ao passo que nunca tive qualquer dos inúmeros piolhos-de-cabeça dos Tapirapé, apesar de ter-lhes oferecido muitas oportunidades de transmigração. Os habitantes de Tampiitaua comiam o piolho da rede, quando o pegavam em flagrante. Segundo Gabriel Soares de Sousa (325, êste inseto existia também entre os Tupinambá.

x) Os Tapirapé, Cherente e Kaingang não conheceram a efeméride da fig. 410 chamada lookó pelos Karajá.

165) mechuá — Os Tapirapé disseram e repetiram esta palavra vendo as representações dos seguintes hemípteros geocores: reduvídeo, barbeiro (Triatoma megistus), da fig. 417; pirrocorídeo (Dysdercus ruficollis), da fig. 418; coreideo, da fig. 419; pentatomideos, das figs. 420 e 421. Não se come. — Os Karajá e Cherente não conheceram êstes insetos. Os Kaingang apenas conheceram o coreídeo.

166) ypehaga — Os Tapirapé disseram e repetiram êste nome vendo as representações dos seguintes coleópteros: passalidae (Neleus), da fig. 439; lucanidae (Leptinopterus), da fig. 440; cetonidae (Gymnetes), da fig. 442; melolonthidae (Macrodactylus), da fig. 443; rutelidae (Pelidnota), da fig. 444; carabidae (Galerita), da fig. 445; cicindelidae (Tetracha), da fig. 446; erotylidae (Cypherotylus), da fig. 447. Não se come. — Os Karajá não conheceram nenhum besouro dessas figuras.

167) byrema — dynastidae (Coelosis) e escarabídeo (Phanacus). Não se come. — Os Karajá não conheceram o primeiro dêstes dois coleópteros representados nas figs. 441 e 449, dando ao último o nome korivuá e afirmando que não o comem.

168) anerechinga — lymexilonidae (Atractocerus). Não se come. — — Os Karajá não conheceram êste coleóptero da fig. 448.

169) takuereré, takuarereka — vagalume em geral. taká: quente. Não se come. — Karajá: dokré. Êstes, os Cherente e os Kaingang não comem tais insetos.

170) pykápyká — Os Tapirapé denominaram com êste têrmo, genèricamente, os lepidópteros, tanto as borboletas como as mariposas, não distinguindo famílias e espécies. Disseram ainda o mesmo nome vendo os membracídeos das figs. 426 e 427 e o tricóptero da fig. 463. Como já foi mencionado no verbete 99, chamam tayra a lagarta e a crisálide. Em oposição a outros povos-naturais (cf. Thurnwald 106), os Tapirapé conhecem a metamorfose das borboletas. Não comem êsses animais em nenhuma fase de sua vida. — Karajá: otixá: borboleta em geral; idjerema-yb (e) do: mariposa em geral; idjaré: lagarta e crisálide de ambas. Não se come. Não conheceram os insetos das figs. 426, 427 e 463. — Os Cherente e Kaingang não comem nenhum dos insetos mencionados no presente verbete.

171) ií — mosquitinho noturno hematófago, talvez espécie de bigui ou birigui (Phlebotomus).

x) Não colhi entre os Tapirapé o designativo de mosquito pólvora (Culicoides spec.). Os Karajá chamam êste inseto manurá.

172) ipió, ipioeté — borrachudo, pium (Simulium spec.). Come-se, pegando-o em flagrante. A palavra pium e a descrição do simuliídeo já aparecem em Gabriel Soares de Sousa (283). — Karajá: lokó. Duvido que esta palavra seja idêntica a lookó, designativo karajá da efeméride da fig. 410, pois esta, pela aparência, não pode ser confundida com o pium. Não vi os Karajá comerem pium. Os Cherente e Kaingang afirmaram que não o comem.

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173) **ipiochinga** — lambe-olhos (**Trigona duckei**). Pegando-o em flagrante, come-se. Esta abelha, aliás a menor de tôdas as abelhas do mundo, não figura no livro de R. von Ihering, razão pela qual deixei de averiguar o seu nome nas outras línguas índias.

174) **tanchió, tanchiú** — mosquito-muriçoca (**Anopheles spec.**). Pegando-o em flagrante, come-se. Entre os mosquitos descritos por Gabriel Soares de Sousa (283) figuram "**inhatium**" e "**nhatium-açú**". Claude d'Abbeville (255) escreve "**Iation**" e Marcgrave (257) "**Nhatiu**" e "**Yatium**". No vocabulário kamayurá de Karl von den Steinen (2 539) lemos "**yatsiu**". — Karajá: **ahí**. Não vi êstes índios comerem muriçoca. Os Cherente e Kaingang afirmaram que não a comem.

175) **merú** — Os Tapirapé disseram e repetiram esta palavra vendo as representações da mosca dos estábulos (**Stomoxys calcitrans**) da fig. 494, os estratiomiídeos (**Tachina melanopyga** e **Hermetia illucens**) das figs. 497 e 498, e a varejeira (**Cochlionvia macellaria**) da fig. 499. Não se come. Gabriel Soares de Sousa (282) escreve: "Merús são outras moscas grandes e azuladas que mordem muito..." No vocabulário nheêngatú de Stradelli (525), **merú** é "mosca" e **merurupiára** e "varejeira". — Os Karajá dão às moscas o nome **kohó**. Êles, os Cherente e os Kaingang não comem êsses insetos.

176) **mutuka** — mutuca (**Chrysops** e **Erephopsis**). Não se come. — Os Karajá chamaram êstes dois insetos representados nas figs. 495 e 496 **auarórodu**. Êles, os Cherente e os Kaingang não comem mutuca.

177) **iora** — pulga (**Pulex irritans** ou **Ctenocephalus canis?**). — Karajá: **idjorosádaburú**: pulga do cão (**idjorosá**: cão; cf. verbete n. 23).

178) **tongá** — bicho do pé (**Tunga penetrans**). Staden (v2) escreve "**Attun**", Lery (160) "**Ton**", Gabriel Soares de Sousa (326) "**tunga**". — Karajá: **kohoná**.

179) **chauanakaó** — Os Tapirapé disseram esta palavra vendo o mutilídeo representado na fig. 518 e conhecido por "formiga chiadeira" por causa do som que emite quando se o segura, e por "oncinha" ou "piolho de onça" por causa de seu desenho. Um etimólogo audacioso talvez possa explicar a palavra tapirapé como "canto do cão" ou mesmo "da onça", considerando ao lado do som e das manchas os têrmos mencionados no verbete 23, considerando ainda o fato de ser **kaó** o nome de determinado canto em tapirapé e de corresponder ao têrmo guaraní **guahú**, que significa "o latido dos cachorros" (Recalde 1 68). Pode-se pensar também no agulhão da fêmea do mencionado mutilídeo, cuja ação dolorosa é própria para provocar, na vítima, ruidos de descspêro. Os Tapirapé não comem êste inseto.

180) **taiyva** — formiga de fogo (**Solenopsis geminata**). Não averiguei o seu nome em outros idiomas índios pelo fato dela não figurar no livro de R. von Ihering.

x) Os Tapirapé não conheceram a cuiabana (**Prenolepis**) da figura 519. Os Karajá chamaram-na **djumatyta**, e me indicaram, ainda, o têrmo **kolabore** como designativo de outra formiga pequena. Não se comem tais insetos.

181) **mamangao** — mamangaba (**Bombus spec.**). Os Tapirapé afirmaram que comem o mel desta grande abelha, o qual é classificado como "imprestável" por R. von Ihering (256). Chamam tôdas as espécies de abelha e de mel: **ei** ou **eirá** e comem o mel de vinte abelhas diferentes. O meu companheiro F. C. Kegel colheu 29 nomes de abelhas em tapirapé.

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— Os Karajá, porém, não conheceram a mamangaba da fig. 532, mas me deram como têrmo genérico para "abelha" o vocábulo bdeiñ e para "mel": iuvy.

182) **kaueauá** — mandaçaia (Melipona spec.). Come-se o mel desta abelha, aliás considerado saborosíssimo também pelos brancos. — Dos Karajá não obtive designativo especial da mandaçaia representada na figura 533. — Os Cherente e Kaingang tinham nome para esta abelha e afirmaram que comem o seu mel.

183) **tateí** — jatai (Trigona spec.). Come-se o mel gostoso desta pequena abelha, cujo nome no dioma das outras tribos deixei de averiguar por não haver sua figura no livro de R. von Ihering. — De outra espécie de trigona, a saber, do lambe-olhos, tratei sob número 173.

184) **anchova** — Os Tapirapé assim chamaram uma pequena abelha preta que se enrola no cabelo e que, segundo êles, não produz mel. Talvez seja a irapuã ou arapuá (Trigona ruficrus) cujo mel, de fato, é pouco e, no dizer de R. von Ihering (256), "não presta". Não figura no livro dêsse autor.

185) **káua** — vespa em geral. Comem-se as larvas assando-as nas células do ninho e tirando-as, depois, de seus cubículos, com um pauzinho ou por meio de batidas na mão. Homens e mulheres comem tôdas as larvas de vespas. Consideram-nas petiscos especiais e comem-nas, em geral, misturadas com farinha de mandioca.

186) **yvyraantana** — uma vespa que vive em árvores (espécie?). Comi com os Tapirapé suas larvas brancas de 2 cm de comprimento. O gôsto intensamente farinhoso e, nas partes não afumadas, adocicado, não era desagradável. Provinha da substância quase líquida da larva e não da sua pele. Muitas larvas ainda se moviam por não terem ficado tão perto do fogo como as outras. Vivas e mortas, porém, foram comidas sem distinção.

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# OS TAPIRAPE'

(Especial para a "Revista do Arquivo")

## Tribo tupi no Brasil Central

(Continuação)

HERBERT BALDUS

Da lista antecedente podemos deduzir:

I) Não há parentesco linguístico entre tapirapé e karajá. Isto, aliás, é evidenciado também pela comparação de todo o material linguístico tapirapé colhido por mim, com os vocabulários karajá publicados por Ehrenreich, Krause, Palha e Machado. O vocabulário organizado por êste último é o mais rico em designativos de animais. Contém muitos têrmos zoológicos que eu não tenho, mas também lhe faltam muitos dos que apresento aqui. Entre os têrmos colhidos por Machado e por mim, que designam o mesmo animal, há muitos perfeitamente idênticos, outros mais ou menos diferentes entre si, e alguns completamente diferentes. Numerosos dos "mais ou menos diferentes" representam a diversidade entre o idioma dos homens e o das mulheres. Posso mencionar, ainda, que os vocabulários zoológicos cherente e kaingang não mostram parentesco nem entre si, nem com aqueles dois idiomas.

II) Com exceção do coatá (n. 38), não há animal que seja comido pelos Karajá e não pelos Tapirapé, mas há numerosos mamíferos, aves, répteis, anfíbios, peixes e crustáceos comidos por êstes e não por aqueles.

III) Com exceção do morcego (n. 1) que entre os Cherente, "algum homem come", e fora também o teju (n. 89) que, entre êstes índios, "algum come" e entre os Kaingang do Ivai "hoje alguns comem, mas os antigos não comiam", não existe animal que seja comido por essas duas tribos e não pelos Tapirapé. Os animais comidos por êstes últimos e não pelos Cherente são: a irara (n. 20), o colheireiro (n. 49), o biguá-tinga (n. 53), a harpia (n. 59), o mocho (n. 60), o juruva (n. 63), o martim-pescador (n. 64), o beija-flor (n. 65), o urutau (n. 67), a rã (n. 100) e os crustáceos (ns. 143 e 144). Os animais comidos pelos Tapirapé e não pelos Kaingang são: o tamanduá-bandeira (n. 3), o tamanduá-mirim (n. 4), o ouriço (n. 12), o gato do mato (n. 26), o biguátinga (n. 53), o martim-pescador (n. 64), o urutau (n. 67), o anú (n. 74), o bem-te-vi (n. 76), o jacaré (n. 81), o cágado (n. 82), a untanha (n. 102) e o caranguejo (n. 144).

IV) Vemos, portanto, que das quatro tribos em questão, são os Tapirapé os que comem o maior número de diferentes animais, dando-se o contrário com os Karajá.

V) Assim como as quatro tribos diferem entre si quanto à língua, diferem também em relação a determinados conceitos de comestibilidade.

VI) A maioria dos animais comidos pelos Tapirapé e não pelas outras três tribos é considerada, entre aqueles índios, comida exclusivamente do homem.

VII) Enquanto que, entre os Tapirapé, há numerosos mamíferos e aves e vários répteis, anfíbios e peixes que são comidos exclusivamente pelo homem, apenas figuram como comida masculina, entre os Karajá, a pesca (n. 15), o coati (n. 19), a anta (n. 27) e o coatá (n. 38). A respeito da paca, reputada ótima carne por muitos caçadores brancos e apreciada entre os Tapirapé e Cherente por ambos os sexos, convém lembrar o fato de êsse roedor ter sido comido, entre os antigos Kaingang, somente pelas pessoas consideradas mais resistentes às influências maléficas sobrenaturais. Talvez também os informantes karajá quisessem fazer supor mais robustez do próprio sexo quando explicaram que, entre êles, só o homem come paca, "porque é muito gorda". É gorda mesmo e exige, comida em grande quantidade, um bom estômago, sendo por isso, estranho que os índios Yekuaná a tenham em conta de "carne leve", que podia ser dada aos doentes. Também o coati é muito gordo, pelo menos segundo a experiência que tive com exemplares adultos. Tratando da anta, que, aliás, entre os Tapirapé é comida só pelo homem, ao passo que entre os Karajá o homem e também "alguma mulher" a comem, já mencionei as consequências perniciosas que, na crença de índios do Chaco e das Guianas seriam acarretadas pelo consumo de sua carne. O coatá é evitado completamente na cozinha tapirapé e comido, entre os Karajá, só pelo homem, talvez devido ao seu aspecto grotesco ou à facilidade de ser domesticado, pois R. von Ihering (65) escreve a seu respeito: "Gabam os caçadores sua carne como sendo talvez a melhor caça da Amazônia".

VIII) Também entre os Cherente, o número dos animais que são comidos exclusivamente pelo homem, é pequeno. São: o morcego (n. 1), o bugio (n. 37), o jabiru (n. 47), o jacaré (n. 81), o teju (n. 89), o sinimbu (n. 90), e o puraquê (n. 114). Dêsses animais, o morcego não é comido em nenhuma das outras tribos em aprêço; o bugio, que a mulher cherente não come "porque parece com gente", também entre os Tapirapé é comido só pelo homem, entre os Kaingang só por "alguns" e entre os Karajá por ninguém; o jabiru e o puraquê são, entre os Tapirapé, exclusivamente comida de homem e, entre os Karajá, comida de ninguém, ao passo que os Kaingang não os conhecem; o jacaré, do qual o homem cherente come o rabo, é comido, entre os Tapirapé, só pelo homem, e entre os Karajá e Kaingang por ninguém; o teju, apesar de sua carne ser tão gostosa para o paladar de muitos brancos, não é comido nem pelos Tapirapé, nem pelos Karajá e, entre os Kaingang, só por alguns modernos; o sinimbu, prato muito apreciado pelos Karajá, é comido, entre os Tapirapé, só pelo homem e desconhecido entre os Kaingang. Vemos, portanto, que entre os animais que, na tribo dos Cherente, são comidos somente pelo homem, há um único que, em outra tribo, é comido por todos: o sinimbu, petisco de todos os Karajá.

IX) Para os Kaingang do Ivai não existe animal que possa ser comido só pelo homem ou só pela mulher. Aliás, nem para os Tapirapé nem para os Karajá e Cherente existe animal cujo consumo seja restrito ao sexo feminino. A êste respeito, as quatro tribos em aprêço contrastam com os Chamakoko do Chaco, entre os quais o veado, o jaboti, a ema e a maioria das outras aves são comidas exclusivamente pelas mulheres.

X) Essa exclusividade não representa privilégio, mas tem, segundo as informações dadas pelos índios, a finalidade de proteger o homem contra influências maléficas, pois êste ficaria lerdo e apanharia na luta se comesse jaboti, se tornaria cobarde se comesse carne de veado e ema, e ficaria imediatamente velho e impedido de andar se comesse certas outras aves. Também entre os Karajá e Cherente a restrição do consumo de determinado animal aos homens não se apresenta como prerrogativa dêstes, mas antes como tentativa de eximir o outro sexo de comer carnes indigestas ou por qualquer razão pouco apetitosas. Cada vez que contava aos Tapirapé que, entre outras tribos, a mulher ficaria doente e até mesmo morreria se comesse os animais de cuja carne devia abster-se, era informado que para a mulher tapirapé não faria mal comer os animais cuja carne costuma ser consumida só pelos homens. Segundo Kamairabé, a mulher não come tal carne espontaneamente. Isto significa não haver, nestes casos, abstenção ligada ao sobrenatural. Aliás, os mamíferos, aves, répteis e peixes considerados os mais saborosos tanto pelos Tapirapé e pela maioria dos outros índios como também pelos brancos, são comidos pelas mulheres daquela tribo tupi, não comendo elas os animais que, em geral, tão pouco são apreciados por nós. — Embora pareça arriscado procurar as relações entre os conceitos de comestibilidade e a posição social dos sexos, convém mencionar que: a) entre os Chamakoko, a mulher desempenha papel predominante (Baldus 1 64); b) a cultura tapirapé mostra, em traços essenciais, a preponderância do homem; c) importantes aspectos da cultura kaingang revelam equiparação dos sexos.

XI) Com referência aos conceitos de comestibilidade, a idade tem, entre os Tapirapé e Cherente, menos importância que o sexo; muito pouca entre os Kaingang; entre os Karajá, nenhuma. Na enumeração dos animais comidos exclusivamente pelo sexo masculino, os Tapirapé mencionaram, acêrca da maior parte, que só o "homem" os come, especificando acêrca de dois (anú prêto, n. 74, e anú branco, n. 75), que "homem e menino" os comem, e explicando em relação ao resto: "homem sim, menino não. Os animais comidos, segundo essas informações, só pelo "homem adulto" são: o tamanduá-mirim (n. 4), o tapiti (n. 6), o serelepe (n. 11), a capivara (n. 16), o jabiru (n. 47), o mochó (n. 60), o pássaro (n. 62), o martim- pescador (n. 64), o taperá (n. 66), o urutau (n. 67), araras e papagaios (nn. 69-71), o soldado (n. 73), a gralha (n. 79), o japu (n. 80), o sinimbu (n. 90), a rã (n. 100) e a uxtanha (n. 102). Acêrca da cigana (n. 61), os Tapirapé declararam que só os velhos a comem, e com referência ao juruva (n. 63), disseram que esta ave é comida exclusivamente pelos adultos. Entre os Cherente, os pássaros (n. 62) são comidos só pelos meninos, "por serem muito pequenos", e, entre os Kaingang do Ivai, só os velhos comem tapiti (n. 6).

XII) Os animais não comidos por Tapirapé algum, são: o morcego (n. 1), o bôto (n. 17), o guará (n. 18), a arirunha (n. 22), o

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coatá (n. 38), os urubus (nn. 54-56), o carancho (n. 58), a lagartixa (n. 87), Mabuia agilis (n. 88), o teju (n. 89), o papa-vento (n. 91), o truira-peva (n. 92), as cobras (nn. 93-98), o sapo cururu (n. 101), os moluscos (nn. 140-142), os aracnóides (nn. 146-148) (exceituando os carrapatos tirados do corpo humano), os miriápodes (nn. 149-151) e os insetos (nn. 152-186) (com exceção dos que são pegados em flagrante sugando sangue humano e exceituando também certas larvas e mel). A maior parte dos animais não comidos pelos Tapirapé é conhecida pelos Karajá, Cherente e Kaingang e também não comida por estas três tribos, exceituando-se o morcego, comido por "algum homem" cherente, o coatá, comido pelo homem karajá, e o teju, comido por "algum homem" cherente e alguns modernistas kaingang.

XIII) Assim como fui informado de que à mulher tapirapé não faria mal comer os animais cuja carne costuma ser consumida só pelos homens (cf. item X), ouvi também que os animais não comidos por nenhum Tapirapé tão pouco prejudicariam aquele que o comesse. Há, porém, certos animais comidos exclusivamente pelo homem, a saber: a anta (n. 27), o veado galheiro (n. 30), a cma (n. 41) e o jacaré (n. 81), que, comidos pelo pai de criança pequena, fariam esta adoecer e morrer. Segundo os informantes karajá, os animais não comidos por componentes de sua tribo provocariam doenças se fossem comidos. Os Cherente indicaram apenas acêrca de dois animais as razões pelas quais não são comidos por todos: a mulher não come guariba (n. 37) "porque parece com gente" e o piespau (n. 62) é comido só pelos meninos "por ser muito pequeno". Em contraste com essas razões tão afastadas do pensamento mágico que qualquer materialista branco as teria dito, fizeram, pelo menos, duas explicações dadas pelos Kaingang do Ivai, a saber: que o tapiti (n. 6) é comido só pelos velhos, pois "os novos, se o comessem, ficariam muito preguiçosos", e que a paca (n. 15) era comida, nos tempos antigos, exclusivamente por determinadas pessoas consideradas as mais resistentes às influências maléficas sobrenaturais. Quanto a outros animais não comidos, se limitavam os Kaingang e Cherente a dizer que já "os antigos" não os comiam.

XIV) Tôdas as diferenças acêrca dos conceitos de comestibilidade, tanto entre as diversas tribos como entre estas e os brancos, são fenômenos exclusivamente culturais contribuindo para evidenciar, portanto, a importância da cultura na vida humana.

* * *

Acêrca da alimentação animal convém acrescentar as seguintes observações:

Os Tapirapé não tomam o sangue cru dos animais, pois o consideram mau.

Apesar da distância entre Tampiitawa e o rio, e não obstante a vida de habitante da mata e lavrador não permitisse assumir o peixe papel tão grande na alimentação dos Tapirapé como na dos aquáticos Karajá, tem êsse animal, para aquêles índios, maior importância do que qualquer outro. Desde pequeno vive o Tapirapé procurando peixinhos no córrego pegado à aldeia. Sonha haver abundância de peixe em determinados lugares e, admitindo-se rapidamente a notícia dada por tais sonhos, organizam-se excursões coletivas para pesca. É o peixe sua principal fonte de gordura animal e de cálcio. O cálcio está nas espi-

nhas que, esmigalhadas em molho fortemente apimentado, são o quebra-jejum mais estimado. Sendo êste um prato frio, a carne dos peixes é comida no dia anterior, bem quente e obrigatoriamente acompanhada da farinha de mandioca. Causei espanto geral quando, comendo pela primeira vez em Tampiitaua, peixinhos assados, não os fiz acompanhar pela farinha. Meu amigo Vuanomanchi declara que peixe sem farinha é ruim, gesticula e cospe, como se sentisse mau cheiro, querendo levantar-se para trazer-me da sua farinha. U'a mulher que come sentada ao meu lado, imediatamente me oferece a sua. De tôdas as figuras do livro zoológico que lhes mostrei, eram sempre as dos peixes que chamavam mais atenção. A maioria das danças de máscaras a que assisti, representava peixes, e há uma dança sem máscaras na qual a maior parte do texto do canto consiste na palavra ypirá. Foi êste têrmo genérico para peixe que ouvi, também, quase tôdas as vêzes que perguntei pela causa de uma doença, não significando, porém, que o fato de ter comido peixe fizera mal ao doente, mas que dentro do corpo dêste tinha sido atirada uma espinha de peixe, como projétil mágico, por um feiticeiro maligno. Disseram ainda que todos os espíritos dos mortos e da água comem peixe, não se referindo a outro alimento deles. E, como já foi dito no começo dêste capítulo, o peixe, ao lado da mandioca, é o único alimento mencionado na descrição do segundo céu, dada pelos Tapirapé, isto é, do mítico céu invisível que está em cima do nosso céu visível. Não deixam de acrescentar que, nesse caso, se trata de "peixes com muita gordura".

Não sei se há, e em que medida razões mágicas determinam o costume de comer vivos os carrapatos, os piolhos e os outros parasitas pegados em flagrante no corpo humano. Em todo caso, convém ouvir também, a respeito, um especialista em nutrição. Escreve Silva Mello (24): "Quem não tem visto macacos engaiolados catando os companheiros e, no caso de encontrarem pulgas, comê-las com indizível prazer? A ocupação é interessante e deve ter maior significação que a de um simples passa tempo. As pulgas, os carrapatos e os piolhos são animais vivos, provavelmente possuidores de virtudes alimentícias especiais, talvez do gênero dos hormônios, das secreções internas, das vitaminas, da qualidade das albuminas, etc.. E tal prática não é usada somente pelo macaco, sendo também pelo homem, sob variadas modalidades. Os primeiros descobridores de nossas terras relataram que muitos de nossos índios apreciavam larvas de insetos, catavam piolhos para comer, regalavam-se com larvas de formigas, etc."

Acêrca dos piolhos-de-cabeça quero mencionar, de passagem, o fato de nunca tê-los notado em minha pessoa, durante o convívio com diferentes tribos, apesar de muito cabelo piolhento ter-se tocado com o meu e eu não ter tomado medidas especiais de defesa. O mesmo se deu com outros brancos entre índios sul-americanos. Sei também de um moço louro em cuja cabeça se instalaram piolhos dos índios Krahó sem, porém, matá-lo.

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A pimenta usada pelos Tapirapé é chamada por êles ykayuia ou Ikayuia é, aparentemente, a malagueta (Capsicum frutescens, Willd.). No vocabulário de Stradelli (292), esta planta da família das Solanáceas figura com o nome Kiza-azy, sendo Kiza: "pimenta". K. Fr. Ph. von Martius (I 153-154), observando ter a "pimenta espanhola" (Capsicum) em numerosas espécies (cerasiforme, annuum, pendulum, fru-

1: Baldus SP22 Tapirapé

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tascena), o condimento principal dos índios do Brasil, acha que, sem dúvida, elas eram empregadas desde tempos imemoriais pelos aborígenes americanos, e chama a atenção para o fato de terem elas na língua zapoteca o nome Quijuna e em tupi, na grafia portuguêsa, Quijuha. Entre as "castas de pimenta" descritas por Gabriel Soares de Sousa (204) há uma "que chamam sabiá, que é comprida e delgada, em verde não queima tanto como quando é madura, que é vermelha; cuja árvore é pequena, dá fruta todo o ano..." Hoehne (2 218) identifica êste condimento com a "nossa" malagueta "que efetivamente é aromática e muito ardente". As palavras do quinhentista português seriam aplicáveis, também, à pimenta vermelha e ardida dos Tapirapé. Krause (2 242 e 255) menciona que os Karajá cultivam uma espécie da planta com sementes redondas, que denominam kaxiwará.

Os Tapirapé gostam imensamente de rapadura e do nosso sal, comendo-os no momento em que os recebem, isto é, não perdem tempo usando-os como ingredientes. Pelo que sei, não substituem o sal por substâncias tiradas de cinzas vegetais, à maneira dos Nahuquá (von den Steinen 2 100), Mehinaku (ibidem 106(, Kamayurá (Meyer 1 61) e outras tribos brasileiras (Staden 2 3; Martius 2 497). Entre os Karajá, só numa única aldeia Krause (2 25) encontrou sal. Era um sal amargo proveniente da salina situada perto de São José, que os índios tinham obtido por permuta, nesta povoação neo-brasileira do Araguaia.

O mesmo autor (ibidem 337) supõe vir da falta de sal o costume dos Karajá de comerem bolotas de argila. Os Tapirapé não igualmente grandes geófagos. Também não têm sal e sofrem de verminoses e intoxicações intestinais. Uma casa de pau-a-pique construída pelo meu companheiro Frederico C. Kegel, ao lado da aldeia, perdeu o barro das paredes, quebrando os habitantes de Tampiitua, durante o dia todo, podaciinhos que saboreavam como se fossem balas. Entre os Bororo de Meréri, vi as paredes de pau-a-pique dos edifícios da missão salesiana esmigalhadas em muitos lugares. Informaram-me os padres que adultos e crianças comem as paredes de tal forma, que é preciso renovê-las três vêzes por ano.

Também os Tupinambá eram geófagos. Gabriel Soares de Sousa (382) escreve, no capítulo que trata "dos que comem terra para se matarem": "Tem este gentio outra barbaria muito grande, que se tomam qualquer desgôsto, se anojam de maneira que determinam de o morrer; e põem-se a comer terra, cada dia um pouco, até que vem a definhar e inchar do rosto e olhos, e a morrer disso, sem lhe ninguém poder valer, nem desviar de se quererem matar; o que afirmam que lhe ensinou o diabo, e que lhes aparece, como se determinam a comer a terra."

Acêrca dos Tupinambá do Maranhão observa Yves d'Evreux (76): "Ils sont fort patiens en leurs miseres & famine, iusques à manger de la terre, à quoy ils habituent leurs enfans, chose que i'ay veuë plusieurs fois, que les petits enfans tenoient en leurs mains vne pleie de terre, qu'ils ont en leur pays quasi comme terre sigilee, laquelle ils suçoient & mangeoient, ainsi que les enfas de France, les pommes, les poires, & autres fruicts qu'on leur donne".

Nossa medicina moderna reconhece o efeito salutar da geofagia. No seu artigo "Sobre a virtude curativa das terras e a geofagia dos povos naturais", Wacker (1279), depois de explicar que "se trata quase sem exceção — como provam várias análises — de hidrosilicatos das terras e de terras alcalinas (alumínio, ferro, cálcio, magnésio)", mostra que

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a geofagia dos homens e animais pode ser motivada pelo desejo de obter uma sensação de saciedade, de estimular a evacuação, de aliviar dores de úlceras de estômago e intestinos e de aumentar o bem-estar, desenvenenando o estômago e os intestinos por ocasião de intoxicações de qualquer espécie (ibidem 1281).

Estudando os problemas da alimentação do Nordeste, escreve Josué de Castro (160-161): "Como consequência inevitável dessa fome crônica de ferro e, certamente, de alguns outros elementos minerais decorre a grande incidência nesta zona do fenômeno da geofagia ao qual já nos referimos no estudo da área amazônica. Nos tempos coloniais, os viajantes estrangeiros que passavam por esta zona do açúcar se impressionavam muito com êste hábito dos meninos de engenho de comerem terra e atribuiam o fato ao contato maléfico dos meninos brancos com os moleques das senzalas que lhes transmitiam o feio vício africano. É verdade que os negros africanos da Costa do Marfim, da Guiné e do Congo sempre foram bons comedores de terra. Mas também é verdade que antes da sua chegada nestas terras já o índio tinha o vício da geofagia atribuido com razão por Schiafino à verminose. Tanto lá na África como aqui no Brasil, negros e índios se atiravam à terra com apetite sob a pressão da fome específica. Da necessidade imperiosa de ingerirem os sais minerais negados ao seu organismo por suas dietas incompletas. Quando os molequinhos do Nordeste, os anêmicos senhorzinhos brancos comiam seus bolõezinhos de barro estavam corrigindo instintivamente as deficiências minerais de sua alimentação incompleta, imposta pela monocultura da cana. Estavam a merecer em lugar de reprimendas e castigos, elogios pela presteza com que se medicavam, ou a merecer ainda um bom regime alimentar que os tiraria depressa dêsse "vício" com muito maior presteza do que as horríveis máscaras de Flandres que lhes eram afiveladas as suas carinhas magras, como mordaça em bôca de cachorro mordedor ou os intermináveis castigos de dias e dias a fio pendurados dentro de um balaio até que largassem o vício abominável de comer terra. Ainda hoje em certas zonas, como a do Pontal da Barra, em Alagoas, vendem-se nas bodegas ao lado do bacalhau e do sabão, tijolinhos de barro de massapé bem cozido, para regalo dos viciados! São em geral terras ricas em ferro, em cálcio ou em fósforo".

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# OS TAPIRAPE'

## Tribo tupi no Brasil Central

(Especial para a "Revista do Arquivo")

(*Continuação*)

HERBERT BALDUS

Em Silva Melo (30-34) lemos: "Gabriel Soares de Sousa, que parece ter sido o primeiro a descrever entre nós a geofagia, disse, em 1587, que quando os índios começavam a comer terra, era isso sinal de doença e doença incurável, acrescentando que a comiam então até morrer, depois de atravessarem uma fase de emagrecimento que podia chegar a seu extremo limite. Galt viu um soldado morrer tendo à bôca um pedaço de terra e, como a maioria dos antigos autores, atribui inúmeros malefícios à geofagia, em sua opinião causa de muitas doenças, desde a clorose e a hipoemia tropicais, até a opilação, a caquexia aquosa, a disenteria, etc.. Em consequência de seu uso, as crianças tornar-se-iam pálidas, barrigudas, inchadas, deixando de crescer e morrendo precocemente. Tal prática foi julgada em algumas regiões como tão condenável e perigosa que, para evitá-la, os oficiais chegaram a impor a seus subalternos a aplicação de máscaras, que não podiam retirar senão no momento das refeições.

"Aliás, a explicação de que êsse hábito provém unicamente de estados patológicos, traduzindo sempre manifestações mórbidas, está longe de corresponder à realidade. Humboldt refere que, em certas zonas do Orinoco, chegavam os índios, durante os meses das grandes cheias, a comer até meio quilo de terra por dia, quase sem consumir qualquer alimento. Êle e muitos outros autores acreditaram, por isso, que a terra possuísse grande valor nutritivo, o que explicaria então seu elevado consumo, justamente nas épocas de maior penúria alimentar. No entanto, como a terra é destituída de qualquer valor nutritivo ou, quando muito, não o possui senão insignificante e somente no caso de conter muitas substâncias orgânicas, torna-se insustentável uma tal explicação, que necessita ser procurada em outra direção. Ademais, é ainda provável que Humboldt, assim como outros autores, tenham sido vítimas de informações incompletas ou superficiais, semelhantes àquelas que von den Steinen, quando ouviu de índios a comunicação de que os seus avós viveram de terra, ignorando o milho e a mandioca.

"Em muitas outras relações de viagem encontram-se informações segundo as quais os aborígenes não se serviam de terra para matar

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a fome, mas sim que a comiam associada a outros alimentos, mesmo quando êstes eram abundantes e nutritivos. E' o que nos conta o frade Ramon Bueno, que viveu 12 anos entre os índios do Orínoco, assim como Martins e outros viajantes, surpreendidos ao verem-nos saborear terra em abundância e com verdadeiro prazer, apesar de fortes e sadios. Partindo de tais observações, é justo admitir que semelhante hábito possa ter suas vantagens, talvez decorrentes de necessidades reais do próprio organismo. Além disso se a ingestão de terra era freqüente em casos de doença, talvez não fôsse ela propriamente a causa da doença, mas sim freqüentemente apenas uma de suas conseqüências. Não só a geofagia, como também tôdas as formas de pica, de malécia, de apetite depravado, em vez de simples aberrações exquisitices, devem traduzir sinais de moléstia ou de insuficiência do organismo....

"Afora as interpretações até aqui apresentadas sôbre a geofagia, parece que a probabilidade maior é da terra ter sido usada, desde os tempos mais primitivos, não como alimento ou por simples perversão de apetite, mas sim justamente como substância útil ao organismo, capaz de favorecer o trabalho digestivo ou até atuar diretamente como medicamento. Vimos existirem informações de que era comida mesmo quando não havia penúria de alimentos, às vêzes até depois de abundantes refeições. Na China, por exemplo, tem sido usada para combater os sintomas intestinais que são frequentes na intoxicação pelo ópio, assim como em diversas outras perturbações digestivas. Falamos do seu emprêgo na mais velha medicina, revivido na terapêutica atual sob a forma de silicatos, de carvão, de bolus alba, e outras argilas, etc., e que, por vêzes, têm efeitos verdadeiramente surpreendentes. A observação de Stumpf, que recomendou a argila no tratamento das diarréias crônicas, obtendo excelentes resultados, foi confirmada por grande número de autores. E tanto a argila como certas preparações de carvão pulverizado tornaram-se hoje terapêutica corrente em casos de perturbações digestivas, principalmente quando acompanhadas de sintomas de intoxicação. Em 1906, Stumpf publicou seu livro sôbre os efeitos curativos da argila, que chegou a reputar recurso garantido no tratamento do cólera morbus, assim como de gastro-enterites graves e outras doenças microbianas. Também relata ter obtido, por meio de repetidos gargarejos, feitos com uma parte de argila desmanchada em duas de água, efeitos favorável e quase imediato em casos de difteria, cuja melhora já aparecia depois de 2 a 3 horas. Aliás, já antes, em 1888, havia debove tratado de casos de diarréias crônicas produzidas por tuberculose intestinal com grandes doses de silicato de magnésio, de 200 até 600 gramas por dia e que eram bem suportadas, melhorando o intestino e possibilitando mais abundante alimentação. Desde então, o tratamento de diversas diarréias crônicas pela argila tem sido largamente confirmado, existinto sôbre o assunto abundante literatura.

"Lichtwitz observou igualmente a ação benéfica da argila e do carvão em casos de anemia perniciosa, chegando a admitir que tal doença pudesse provir de uma absorção de toxinas intestinais. Num trabalho recente, de 1935, o professor Wacker, da Universidade de Munique, estudou experimentalmente os efeitos da argila, chegando à conclusão de ser ela um medicamento de grande valor, pelo fato de, além de inócua, possuir a propriedade de obsorver substâncias tóxicas ingeridas com os alimentos ou aquelas que se formam diretamente no

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interior do tubo digestivo, tais como toxinas bacterinas, produtos da decomposição protética, entre os quais o indol e o escatol, que dão às fezes seu cheiro característico e possuem grande ação tóxica. Nesse particular, é surpreendente que Metchnikoff, que tanto se preocupou com os problemas da flora intestinal, tanto estudou os processos de auto-intoxicação, e quis pôr a saúde e a velhice na dependência direta das bactérias do cólon, não tivesse cogitado do emprêgo da terra e do estudo de seus efeitos sôbre essa mesma flora, assim como das substâncias tóxicas que ela é capaz de produzir. No entanto, devia ser essa uma das investigações mais dignas de interêsse, dada a generalização da geofagia e os conhecimentos que dela possuímos quanto à patologia do tubo digestivo. O problema ainda continua aberto, sendo, sem dúvida, daqueles que devem merecer nossa maior atenção.

"Que a terra possa, por si, apaziguar a fome, agindo sôbre as funções motoras e químicas do aparêlho digestivo, é fato que parece evidente, sendo mesmo corroborado pela observação em animais. E' o que pode ser não raro verificado quando êles, famintos, procuram terra para comer. Aliás, se tal substância fizesse mal, se produzisse sempre distúrbios digestivos ou de outra natureza, então certamente o homem, em vez de empregá-la de maneira tão generalizada, procuraria antes abster-se de seu uso. De qualquer forma, se em tôdas as partes do mundo, entre todos os povos e desde os tempos mais primitivos, foi êsse uso tão difundido, isso deve ser prova de haver nêle qualquer motivo útil, qualquer vantagem concreta, principalmente quando provém de uma generalização tão espontânea. Além disso, quando muitos medicamentos desaparecem da terapêutica, reaparece ela periodicamente, tendo sempre adeptos que exaltam suas virtudes. Seja como fôr, tanto a terra como o carvão têm hoje largo emprêgo terapêutico, indo sua administração desde os casos de intoxicação, de anemia, de asma, de eczemas, até às diversas doenças do aparelho digestivo, tais como hiperacidez, diarréia, timpanismo, etc..

"Vogel afirmou recentemente que a ingestão de determinadas terras podia representar o processo mais cômodo e mais barato para se enriquecer o organismo em alcalinos. O clínico alemão Schlayer recomendou-as no tratamento de complexos neurastênicos, não raro produzidos por processos de intoxicação. Heisler falou da sua quase especificidade em micoses do couro cabeludo, etc..

"As terras mais comumente ingeridas são as formadas de hidrossilicatos, nas quais preponderam o alumínio, o cálcio, o ferro, o magnésio, etc.. Algumas delas são de composição muito simples, tal como o talco, formado unicamente de hidrossilicato de magnésio e que, pelas suas qualidades untuosas, mereceu o nome de manteiga de pedra, tendo sido, sobretudo nos países do norte da Europa, muito usado sôbre o pão e comido em vez da manteiga ou da banha animal. O poder físico de adsorção de tais substâncias, tanto sôbre micróbios como sôbre suas toxinas e diversos produtos tóxicos, é dos mais intensos, bastando tal efeito para explicar muito de sua ação medicamentosa. A argila, por exemplo, pode apresentar-se em estado coloidal, devido à extraordinária pequinês de suas partículas, entre as quais predominam as que não chegam a medir nem 2 milésimos de milímetro. E' por um mecanismo talvez mais de ordem física que se pode explicar não somente muito do seu efeito terapêutico, senão também muitas outras de suas ações, tais como a observada sôbre ovos que, nela conservados,

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diminuem de pêso, perdendo até mais de 10% dentro do prazo de 10 dias, assim como o fenômeno, muita vez verificado e que produz sempre tanta surprêsa, de cadáveres, sepultados em terrenos formados de greda ou argila sêca, poderem conservar-se quase indefinidamente, sem apresentar sinais de decomposição.

"Interessante ainda é o poder que têm determinadas terras de descorar soluções aquosas de azul de metileno, talvez uma prova bem adequada para monstrar quanto é grande seu poder de adsorção.

"Pelo emprêgo da argila, as evacuações podem chegar a perder seu cheiro fecalóide ou putrefato, o trânsito intestinal é facilitado, a cura de inflamações e úlceras, tanto do estômago como do intestino, favorecida, graças ao induto depositado sôbre elas e que as protege, havendo ainda diminuição da secreção ácida do estômago. Wacker diz que os resultados são, nesse sentido, tão favoráveis que, durante a guerra de 1914, o govêrno russo resolveu integrar, ao equipamento de cada soldado, uma embalagem especial contendo aproximadamente 200 gramas de bolus alba.

"Se, portanto, os fatos se apresentam, dessa maneira, talvez se torne compreensível a razão pela qual os povos primitivos se serviram da terra como alimento, principalmente em zonas de clima quente, onde seu uso se tornou mais intenso e generalizado. Justamente nessas zonas superabundam as infecções e as doenças gastro-intestinais, aí facilitadas pela rapidez da decomposição alimentar, assim como pela tendência para a ingestão de alimentos crus, em estado natural. Basta considerar a difusão e a multiplicidade que aí têm as verminoses, para logo se ter noção de quanto devem ser frequentes seus ataques diretos ao aparelho digestivo. Nessas condições, se o consumo de terra serve para combater dores e espasmos produzidos por doenças gastro-intestinais, se ela é favorável mesmo em casos de vômitos incoercíveis da gravidez, assim como em numerosos outros distúrbios do aparelho digestivo, torna-se então compreensível que tenha sido usada e apreciada, até ao ponto de parecer substância necessária. Tais exemplos mostram, em todo caso, seu efeito benéfico sôbre infecções e perturbações digestivas, talvez sôbre as consequências das próprias verminoses, sôbre intoxicações, em determinadas insuficiências minerais, doenças tôdas capazes de levar às anemias, às caquexias, às hidropisias, que tinham sido justamente atribuídas ao seu uso. Em vez, portanto, de ser a causa de tais moléstias, é possível que a terra não fôsse já aí ingerida senão para combater ou minorar a existência do mal. E' nesse sentido que a investigação científica tem de penetrar o problema, cuja significação toca tão de perto questões de patologia humana e animal.

"Em apôio dêsse mesmo ponto de vista, fala a enorme generalização da geofagia que, como vimos, é também encontrada com frequência entre crianças e até entre animais. O boi e o cavalo lambem as paredes caiadas do curral; a criança come terra, o giz da escola ou o cal das paredes, e não é raro a mulher grávida procurar terra para comer. Nós próprios temos conhecimento de mulheres que, no período de gravidez, comem com indescritível prazer pedaços de potes e de moringas e, recentemente, tivemos observações colhidas num asilo de menores, onde grande número de crianças comia terra tirada do chão ou arrancada até do muro, assim como de crianças que, em casas ricas, chegam a descolar o papel para comer a caliça ou a argamassa da parede".

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# OS TAPIRAPÉ

## TRIBO TUPI NO BRASIL CENTRAL

(Especial para a "REVISTA DO ARQUIVO")

HERBERT BALDUS

(Continuação)

Encarando a alimentação dos Tapirapé sob o ponto de vista do valor nutritivo, podemos repetir a observação de Josué de Castro (66) acêrca da alimentação na Amazônia em geral: "Tem-se logo uma impressão de sua impropriedade na sua extrema pobreza, ou mesmo ausência, de alguns dos alimentos protetores: da carne, do leite, do queijo, da manteiga, dos ovos, das verduras e das frutas". "O teor em vitaminas do complexo B na mandioca, que constitui o alimento básico do regime é muito inferior ao dos cereais, do arroz e do trigo cujos envoltórios estão impregnados dêstes elementos. Ademais, no preparo da farinha, as pequenas quantidades existentes são pràticamente destruidas" (ibidem 89). Dignas de nota, ainda, no tocante a êsse assunto, são as seguintes palavras do mesmo autor: "... a proteína do milho é muito incompleta, faltando-lhe diversos ácidos animados indispensáveis ao crescimento e ao equilíbrio orgânico. Mas, também a mandioca é muito pobre em proteínas, mais pobre mesmo do que o milho e qualitativamente inferior. O que salva o amazonense é que êle não come farinha pura como o mexicano se alimenta dias e dias, exclusivamente de milho". (ibidem 73). Aliás, no início do presente capítulo foram citadas diversas opiniões sôbre o valor nutritivo da farinha de mandioca.

Felizmente, também o Tapirapé é salvo por uma alimentação mais variada. A farinha de mandioca lhe serve, em geral, para acompanhar outros alimentos. Para dar um idéia da variedade em determinada época, quero enumerar os pratos que me foram oferecidos, na tarde de 21 de junho de 1935, quando cheguei pela primeira vez a Tampiitaua: duas espécies de bananas aquecidas e frias, amendoim quente e frio, farinha de amendoim crua e torrada, cauí de amendoim, de milho e de mandioca, sementes de abóbora torradas, abóbora, inhame e cará cozidos e assados na brasa, grandes favas verdes cozidas, farinha de mandioca quente, peixinhos cozidos, sopa quente de mandioca com pequena pimenta verde e carne de galinha, sopa de mandioca com peixe moqueado, caroços crus e torrados de tucum, cana de açúcar para chupar. Não querendo ofender ninguem, comi na mesma tarde, em tôdas as casas da aldeia, grandes quantidades de cada um dêsses deliciosos pratos.

Aliás, também os Tupinambá comiam bem, segundo as seguintes palavras de Lery (116): "... encores qu'ils n'ayent, & par consequent ne sement ni ne plantent bleds ni vignes en leur pays, que neantmoins, ainsi que ie l'ay veu & experimenté, on ne laisse pas pour cela de s'y bien traiter & d'y faire bonne chere sans pain ni vin".

Durante a minha estadia em Tampiitaua alimentei-me principalmente à moda tapirapé, e me dei bem com essa vida quase exclusivamente vegetariana. Nunca meu aparêlho digestivo tinha funcionado com tanta perfeição como naquele tempo e o meu companheiro Kegel constatou depois de poucas semanas do regime índio, que meu rosto ficara mais cheio. A êsse respeito contrastei com o nosso camarada Daniel. O pobre do sertanejo, mostrando suas qualidades de "civilizado", ao comer todos os dias, com regularidade exclusivista o seu arroz e, de quando em quando, um pedaço de caça, definhava dia a dia. É provável que para isso tenham contribuido também os choques culturais que recebeu sem cessar e que, a respeito da comida, eram da mesma espécie dos sofridos pelos Tapirapé quando o Reverendo Kegel abriu uma lata de salsichas vienenses. Uma criança vê sair da lata êsses vultos serpentiformes, corre para casa, e já chega ràpidamente todo o povo. Cada um cheira a lata e cospe, depois, com ênfase, para não deixar dúvida acêrca do nojo que sente ou que acha necessário sentir. É verdade que isso não impediu o guloso Kamairahó de experimentar, embora com certa relutância, um pedacinho, de gostar e pedir mais.

Infelizmente, a fartura e a variedade de víveres que vi em Tampiitaua, nos meses de junho a agosto de 1935, desapareceram. Como já escrevi, em relatório enviado ao diretor do Serviço de

Proteção aos Índios, "em 1947, na mesma época do ano, percorrendo tôdas as casas, quase não achei nada disso. Tinha se tornado difícil obter umas bananas, um pouco de cará e beiju. A diminuição de tudo mostrava-se até no tamanho do amendoim, sendo o comprimento de seu legumes e sementes reduzido quase à metade, devido, aparentemente, à qualidade da terra das novas roças. Naturalmente, tal mudança na situação alimentar influi sôbre o padrão de comportamento tribal, reprimindo, por exemplo, a hospitalidade tapirapé, outrora ilimitada. É verdade que, para isto talvez tenha contribuido também o contacto com os vizinhos brancos que, nos últimos anos, se estabeleceram no rio Tapirapé. Geralmente, êstes sertanejos, ou não têm nada para oferecer, ou vendem as sobras de seus produtos para poderem comprar sal e roupas. Seu corpo é subnutrido, mas a cultura os obrigava a vesti-lo. Assim, não lhes resta outra coisa do que, em vez de satisfazer as necessidades do estômago das visitas índias, criar mais uma necessidade para elas: a necessidade puramente cultural, e não física, de cobrir-se. Em 1935, tôdas as mulheres de Tampiitaua andavam completamente nuas. Agora, muitas usam, em presença dos brancos, trapos amarrados na cintura e algumas, vestidos inteiros. É difícil afirmar se os Tapirapé já sentem realmente uma redução dos víveres animais causada por aqueles novos vizinhos. O que deve ser considerado a respeito, é o fato da diminuição do número de habitantes de sua taba ter sido mais rápida que o aumento dos moradores do rio. Não faltavam, porém, queixas do seguinte teor: — Tapirapé só come peixe pequeno; não pode mais comer tucumaré e tartaruga e ovos dela. — Estas palavras aludem à ocupação do rio inteiro pelos sertanejos que, com isso, se apoderaram da fonte principal de proteína animal e gorduras. Convém lembrar, ainda, que anualmente, no tempo da sêca, em que desaparecem córregos e lagos, a fauna e com ela também os sêres humanos da região têm de concentrar-se naquele curso dágua para poderem matar sêde e fome. Não resta dúvida que os sertanejos, fixando-se para sempre em todos os lugares habitáveis do rio e tornando-se cada vez mais numerosos, diminuirão constantemente a caça e a pesca que os índios só em determinada época do ano costumavam aproveitar. Em todo caso, o fato de Tampiitaua, nos últimos tempos, ter sido transferida para mais longe do rio e mais para o norte, parece evidenciar que os Tapirapé se sentiam ameaçados pela proximidade dos povoadores brancos." (Baldus 12).

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1: Baldus SP22 Tapirapé



Nos modos de comer os Tapirapé conservam muitas semelhanças com os antigos Tupinambá. Como entre êstes, também em Tampiitaua, a família come, em geral, junta, e simultâneamente da mesma vasilha que está no meio de todos, ficando o pai deitado na rede e a mulher e os filhos de cócoras no chão. (cf. Gabriel Soares de Sousa 366 e 375; Vicente de Salvador 35). Ehrenreich (I 17) escreve com referência aos Karajá: "Requer a etiqueta que cada qual como por si, de costas para os companheiros. Quem não a observa é alvo da zombaria dos outros". Esta observação foi repetida por Gustav von Koenigswald (II 223) e citada por von den Steinen (II 66-67) ao reunir-se com os outros. Krause (II 257), porém, não confirma a informação de Ehrenreich. Eu também nunca vi semelhante atitude nas inúmeras oportunidades em que presenciei a refeição de famílias karajá e jamais falei com um conhecedor dêstes índios que a tenha notado. Os Tapirapé, igualmente, não se separam nem viram as costas para comer.

Tanto êstes modernos Tupi, como os antigos do litoral, não bebem enquanto comem. (cf. Vicente de Salvador 33; Soares de Sousa 375; Anchieta 2 330; Cardim 165; Lery 127). Como os Tupinambá, os Tapirapé comem "em todo o tempo, de noite e de dia, e a cada hora e momento" (Cardim 164), podendo ser aplicado a êles o que Simão de Vasconcellos (pág. LXXXV) escreveu com referência àqueles: "O tempo de comer determinado, he quando a natureza lho pede, como qualquer animal do campo; e pede-lho ella tantas vezes, que comem de dia, e de noite, se tem que". — Aconteceu que, à meia-noite, quando todo o mundo estava dormindo, Kamairahó, meu vizinho de rêde, acordou de repente, sentindo fome; levantou-se, despertando a mulher e as crianças; a mulher preparou peixinhos e, por fim, todos começaram a comer e a tomar cauí.

O costume de comer de arremesso a farinha de mandioca é um traço cultural que os Tapirapé têm em comum não só com os antigos Tupi do litoral (cf. Lery 118-119; Thevet I 303; Cardim 166; Simão de Vasconcellos pág. LXXXV), mas também com caipiras dos arredores da capital de São Paulo, sendo a única diferença que na vizinhança dessa moderna metrópole a farinha é atirada à boca por meio de uma colher e não, como entre os índios, diretamente com os dedos.

Os alimentos cozidos são comidos ou bebidos pelos Tapirapé no estado mais quente que aguentam. E aguentam, a êsse respeito, mais do que eu, por exemplo. Estando a comida ainda quente demais mesmo para êles, esfriam-na soprando ou, sendo líquida, remexendo-a com uma cuia.

Em tapirapé, *aó* é "eu como", e *ayó*: "eu tomo água", tendo o *o* quase o som do *u*.

Para obter água limpa e fresca, os Tapirapé cavam um buraco tão perto de água parada ou do rio que o líquido entra através da faixa divisória de terra. Pelo uso dêsse processo de filtrar mostram que não se pode aplicar a êles o que Anchieta (II 330) escreveu com referência aos índios que conheceu: "... quasi não fazem diferença de boa ou má agua, com qualquer se contentam". Antes, os habitantes de Tampiitaua poderão dar, a êsse respeito, uma lição aos sertanejos "civilizados", pois em nenhum dos Estados do Brasil que percorri vi êstes empregarem qualquer processo de filtramento na água que tomavam, de rio, lagôa ou pântano. É verdade que, dispondo de água fria e límpida de pequenos regatos como aquêle que corria ao lado da aldeia de 1935, os Tapirapé dispensam a filtração. Raramente guardam água mais do que poucas horas, deixando-as em cabaças geralmente pequenas, nas quais a costumam buscar.

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O único narcótico dos Tapirapé é o fumo (*Nicotiana tabacum* L.). Chamam-no *petyma*. A espécie pequena que lhes serve para fumar, cresce no mato, sem ser cultivada. Só excepcionalmente transplantam alguns exemplares para perto da roça. Secam ao sol as folhas dessa solanácea e guardam-nas, depois, no grande cilindro trançado (*orokoroa*) que, em certas danças de máscaras, serve para pôr na cabeça. Não deixam fermentar o tabaco. Antes de colocá-lo no cachimbo esmigalham as fôlhas esfregando-as entre as mãos.

Em 1935 possuiam duas espécies de cachimbo (*petyaua*), isto é, cachimbos de barro e cachimbos feitos da fruta do jequitibá. Em 1947, os de barro tinham desaparecido. Também os Karajá e Kayapó usam os cachimbos feitos da fruta do jequitibá (Krause II 260 e 388). Estas duas tribos e os Tapirapé não mastigam tabaco nem tomam rapé e também não fumam charutos ou cigarros como as numerosas tribos tupi mencionadas por Métraux (II 116), entre as quais figuram os Tupinambá, Auetó e Yuruna e à cuja lista podemos acrescentar, ainda, os Kamayurá (cf. Meyer I 61). Isso, porém, não quer dizer que os meus amigos de Tampiitaua não se lançassem àvidamente sôbre o tôco de cada cigarro que eu jogava no chão, continuando a fumá-lo até queimarem bôca e dedos. Também os Karajá têm loucura por fumar e *koty'*, isto é, tabaco, é o que mais pedem ao viajante. Enquanto entre êles mulheres e homens andam com cachimbo,

1: Baldus SP22 Tapirapé



entre os Tapirapé apenas os últimos fumam. Com referência aos Tupinambá afirma Lery (190) que não viu as mulheres usarem a "fume de *Petun*".

Os Tapirapé passam a fumaça da bôca ao estômago, expelindo-a, depois, ruidosamente numa rápida sequência de arrotos. Não os vi soltá-las pelas ventas, como rferem Lery (190) e Yves d'Evreux (110) dos Tupinambá e Koch-Grünberg (1 I 128) dos Káua do alto Aiari. Não conseguiram inalar a fumaça como eu. Cada vez que tentavam, começavam a tossir violentamente. As minhas exibições de aspirar fumaça e só soltá-la depois de ter falado e tomado água, provocaram respeitosa admiração, ninguém ousando imitá-las. Provàvelmente, os Tupinambá engoliam a fumaça, a moda dos Tapirapé, pois Yves d'Evreux (110) escreve com referência a ela: "... & en aualent, pour nettoyer l'estomach de cruditez, lesquelles ils font sortir par eructations". Acêrca dos Guaikuru do norte, explica o padre Sánchez Labrador (I 277) claramente: "... cada uno trae tres ó cuatro bocanadas de humo, que por lo común pasan al estómago tragándoselas." A respeito da maneira de fumar dos Bakiri, von den Steinen disse em 1886 (I 173): "Der Rauch wurde eingeathmet" ("A fumaça era tragada"), observando (ib. 347) do índio em geral: "Er athmete den Rauch ein und *verschluckte* ihn (darer bei den Entdeckern Amerikas stets der Ausdruck "trinken")" ("Inalou a fumaça e *tragou*-a (sendo por isso que no tempo da descoberta da América sempre se usava o têrmo "beber"). (De fato, Gabriel Soares de Sousa (233), por exemplo, tratando do "*Petume*" da Bahia, fala em "beber fumo".

Podemos distinguir, entre os Tapirapé, nitidamente, duas finalidades do fumar tabaco: uma simplesmente recreativa e outra medicinal. Como medicamento, a fumaça é soprada sôbre partes doloridas do corpo ou sôbre o corpo inteiro do paciente. Um Bakairi contou a Karl von den Steinen (II 347) que há no alto Xingu duas variedades de tabaco, sendo aquele que fumam por prazer, muito mais fraco do que o medicinal.

Resumindo, podemos dizer que os Tapirapé se assemelham aos Tupinambá pelo têrmo designativo de tabaco, pelo modo de engolir a fumaça e pelo fato de entre êles só os homens fumarem. Distinguem-se dêsses índios, dos xinguanos e de outras tribos tupi por não fumarem charutos. Os habitantes de Tampiitaua se parecem com os Karajá e Kayapó do norte pelo uso de cachimbo de fruta de jequitibá; distinguindo-se destas tribos pelas designações de tabaco e cachimbo e dos Karajá pelo fato de em Tampitaua serem exclusivamente os homens que fumam.

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# OS TAPIRAPÉ

## Tribo tupi no Brasil Central

(Especial para a "Revista do Arquivo")

(*Continuação*)

HERBERT BALDUS

### XI. CICLO DE VIDA DO INDIVÍDUO

*Nascimento*

Em tapirapé *aán* significa "eu caio" e "eu nasço", correspondendo a *aa* em Montoya (2 II 4) e no dicionário guarayo de Hoeller (1). A ligação entre "cair" e "nascer" lembra a palavra alemã *niederkommen*, se bem que esta, além de "vir abaixo", quer dizer "parir" e não "nascer".

Não tive ensejo de ver um parto entre os Tapirapé, de modo que só posso reproduzir as informações que obtive do Rev. Kegel e dos índios. O parto se dá dentro de casa. Enquanto o futuro pai fica na rêde, mulheres assistem a parturiente que está ou deitada em outra rêde com as pernas encolhidas, ou penduradas segurando em vigas horizontais. Colocam perto uma grande panela com água que serve para lavar mãe e filho. Sendo o parto difícil, uma mulher aperta o ventre da parturiente até sair a criança. Esta é tomada nos braços por outra mulher que fica em baixo da parturiente. Cortam o cordão umbilical por meio duma tira de taquara e enterram as páreas. Pai e mãe abstêm-se durante um dia de qualquer comida. Ambos permanecem na rêde "até acabarem as perdas de sangue, isto é, frequentemente por muitos dias". Antes do parto não há abstenções alimentares para os futuros pais. Desde o nascimento do filho, durante cêrca de dois anos, os pais deixam de comer amendoim e bananas. Além disso, muitas vêzes, até a criança ter quase seis anos, o pai abstem-se daqueles alimentos animais que nunca são comidos pela mulher, principalmente de anta, veado galheiro, ema e jacaré. Só sendo pagé pode comer de tudo. A mulher do pagé não tem, porém, êsse privilégio.

Os Tapirapé acreditam que a criança morre caso não sejam feitas as mencionadas abstenções. Dizem que então a morte não seria causada, como pensam em geral, por um feiticeiro mau, mas por aquilo que não devia ser comido e que se torna ruim quando comido. E acrescentam que para tais casos, os brancos têm muitos remédios que poderiam salvar a criança, ao passo que os Tapirapé não têm nenhum, de modo que, entre êles, a criança estaria perdida. A

carne de veado que lhes ofereci, muito cobiçado por todos os homens de Tampiitaua, talvez por ser caça que, embora abundante, é raramente morta por êles não têm arma de fogo, não era aceita pelos pais de crianças de um ano de idade. Mesmo Urukumy que, na qualidade de pagé, poderia comer essa carne, tomou a precaução de passá-la para outro, depois de amavelmente aceitá-la de mim.

A abstenção de bananas e amendoim é impressionante se considerarmos o importante papel desempenhado por êsses víveres na alimentação dos Tapirapé. É possível que a grande mortalidade das crianças nos primeiros dois anos de vida tivesse levado a preceitos tão pesados. Aliás, êsses índios afirmam que os vizinhos Karajá e os brancos comem de tudo quando seu filho está doente, ao passo que os pais tapirapé se alimentam, em tal caso, exclusivamente de farinha de mandioca e caui de milho e mandioca, mesmo que a criança já tenha mais de seis anos.

O comportamento dos pais índios em relação ao recém-nascido lembra, de certo modo, um costume dos colonos de S. Bonifácio, no Estado de Santa Catarina, provenientes na maioria da Vestfalia. Segundo Francisco S. G. Schaden (30), os pais de família, dessa localidade, acompanhados de sua mulher, visitam no domingo depois do parto, a mulher que deu à luz, não podendo recusar, por ocasião do chamado "Kindchenkaffee", um gole de aguardente, porque do contrário, dizem, o recém-nascido ficaria sem poder urinar. Vemos, portanto, que nesse caso, o bem-estar da criança depende do comportamento dos amigos dos pais.

Há tribos sul-americanas que não permitem ao pai, nos primeiros dias depois do parto, ir caçar (cf. Koch-Grunberg 2 *III* 136). Fui informado de que o Tapirapé, nessas condições, caça e até mesmo acompanhado da mulher logo que esta possa.

Wagley e Galvão (3 172) afirmam que os pais tapirapé devem abster-se de relações sexuais até que a criança esteja "desmamada". Talvez queiram referir-se com esta palavra ("weaned" no original inglês) ao momento em que a criança começa a tomar outros alimentos além do leite materno, pois êste é tomado, sendo possível, durante dois, três e mais anos. É verdade que os Chamakoko me informaram que entre êles, a mulher se abstem de relações sexuais durante dois anos depois do parto (Baldus *1* 54). Mas pode ser que nisso influa o fato de êstes índios do Chaco não serem sedentários como os Tapirapé, de modo que pretendem com tal abstenção evitar o grave obstáculo para as caminhadas contínuas de terem cada ano um filho. Dos Taulipang refere Koch-Grunberg (2 III 136 e 137) que o pai, durante um ano inteiro depois do nascimento do filho, não pode ter relações nem com a mãe da criança nem com outra mulher, pois do contrário, "o umbigo do filho se incha ou a uretra entope e a criança tem de morrer".

Parece que os Tapirapé acreditam em concepção mágica, embora saibam ser a gravidez consequência das relações sexuais. Em 31 de março de 1942 contou-me o Dr. Wagley o seguinte: Nos primeiros tempos em que estêve em Tampiitaua, ouviu de repente: Lá vem Dotoí". Sabia que era êste o nome com que as mulheres e crianças da aldeia costumavam me tratar, acrescentando o diminutivo "i" ao título pelo qual o camarada Daniel me chamava. Wagley, surprêso,

virou-se e viu aproximar-se não o colega de São Paulo, mas um menino tapirapé. "Onde está Dotoi?" perguntou. Indicaram-lhe o menino. "Mas Dotoi está longe", objetou. Então ensinaram-lhe que o menino também se chamava Dotoi, por ser filho do Dotoi de São Paulo. E como prova dessa relação de parentesco mostraram ao etnólogo que o menino, como seu longínquo genitor, não tinha buraco no lábio inferior para uso do tembetá, como se vê nos meninos tapirapé da sua idade. Numa obra cientificamente sêca como esta, não é preciso tomar em consideração o que Wagley então pensou de mim e se êle comparou a côr da pele do Dotoi II com a das outras crianças ao redor. Basta dizer que êle é meu amigo e o norte-americano mais compreensivo que conheço. Naturalmente não deixou de perceber que a idade do menino correspondia mais ou menos ao número de anos passados desde a minha estadia em Tampiitaua. Verificou também que Vuanomanchí estava desempenhando o papel de pai do rapazinho. E Vuanomanchí tinha sido meu amigo íntimo, em 1935.

Algumas semanas mais tarde, Wagley soube que o "espírito do filho" é trazido para a mulher por um pagé bom durante as excursões que êle costuma fazer no sonho. Os Tapirapé não ignoravam a minha capacidade de "sonhar de Tampiitaua até São Paulo", isto é, de realizar tão longa viagem enquanto meu corpo estava dormindo numa rêde pendurada na casa de Kamairahó. Não duvidavam ser eu um grande pagé. É claro, pois, que me consideraram habilitado para trazer espíritos de criança. O fato de eu ter sido considerado como portador do espírito do filho de Vuanomanchí deve ser tido, antes de tudo, como reconhecimento dos laços de simpatia existentes entre êste índio e mim.

Em oposição a certos outros índios, por exemplo, aos Guaikuru descritos por Sánchez Labrador (II 30), que matam os gêmeos recém-nascidos, os Tapirapé gostam de tais nascimentos duplos. Marido e mulher desta tribo tupi comem bananas inconhas a fim de que lhes nasçam gêmeos, de preferência um casalzinho. Chamam *apekunia* tanto aos gêmeos como a tais filipinas, usando aquele têrmo também quando há três bananas dentro da mesma casca. Kamairahó disse com referência a tal banana tripla que ela consiste num menino e em duas meninas. Nunca os Tapirapé ouviram falar no nascimento de três gêmeos humanos.

À vista de seu comportamento em relação aos gêmeos poder-se-ia talvez supor ter sido a vida pouco sedentária que levou os Guaikuru ao infanticídio, enquanto que os Tapirapé, como lavradores apegados à gleba, gostam de ter muitos filhos, conservando todos que nascem. Indubitàvelmente, o modo de vida daqueles índios caçadores e nômades da bacia do Paraguai contribuiu para que matassem recém-nascidos. Por outro lado, porém, parece que os Tapirapé tampouco deixam viver tôdas as crianças. Segundo fui informado, acham ruim ter um casal mais de três filhos e mais de dois do mesmo sexo, matando, por isso, os que excedem êsses números. Wagley e Galvão (3 172) confirmam essas informações, acrescentando que a criança destinada a morrer é enterrada num buraco escavado para as páreas dentro da casa. Como aliás, já mostrou o capítulo V, havia em Tampiitaua, no ano de 1935, só um casal com três filhos, procedentes do próprio matrimônio e nenhum com mais. Os filhos eram um menino-

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de cêrca de quatro anos, uma menina de aproximadamente onze anos e outra de menos de um ano.

Acêrca dos Karajá afirma Lipkind (2 187) que abstenções são exigidas de ambos os pais, antes e depois do parto, havendo "a well-developed couvade" baseada na noção de uma intima conexão entre a criança e o pai. Menciona ainda que "no intercourse is allowed during the period of lactation" (ib.). Uma descrição do "sobreparto do homem" entre os Bakairi do Culiseu encontra-se em von den Stein (2 334-335). Krause (2 401) refere a couvade entre os Kayapó. Esse costume muito espalhado entre indios sul-americanos chamou já a atenção dos antigos cronistas do Brasil. Simão de Vasconcellos (pag. LXXXII), por exemplo, escreve: "As fecundas acabão de parir, e como se o não fizessem, continuão em seu mesmo serviço, e occupação, como d'antes. Porém os maridos (cousa ridícula) em seu lugar, lanção-se na rede, e são visitados de seus amigos, como o houvera de ser a mulher: a elles curão, dão as potagens, e comidas sadias; e tem certo tempo de recolhimento, no qual não convem sahir fóra, nem trabalhar, por não empecer à criança". Vicente de Salvador (37) observa: "A mulher em acabando de parir, se vai lavar ao rio, e o marido se deita em a rede mui coberto, que não dê o vento, onde está em dieta, até que se seque o umbigo ao filho, e ali o vêm os amigos a visitar como a doente, nem ha poder lhes tirar esta superstição, porque dizem que com isto se preservam de muitas enfermidades a si e à criança..." Métraux (3 100-101) menciona ainda outros autores que se referem à couvade entre os Tupinambá, indicando, além desta, mais algumas tribos tupi-guarani nas quais foi encontrado êsse costume.

Vemos, portanto, que os Tapirapé se parecem com os Karajá e Kayapó, com índios da parte superior da bacia do Xingu, bem como com os Tupinambá e outras tribos tupi por praticarem a couvade.

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# OS TAPIRAPÉ

## TRIBO TUPI NO BRASIL CENTRAL

(Especial para a "REVISTA DO ARQUIVO")

(*Continuação*) HERBERT BALDUS

Em tapirapé *herang* significa "nome", correspondendo a *héra* em Montoya (2 II 154) e *céra* em Stradelli (413). Informaram-me os habitantes de Tampiitaua que, entre êles, é a mãe quem dá o nome ao recém-nascido e quem, depois do parto, ao amanhecer, fura com alfinete de osso o lábio inferior e os lóbulos das orelhas do menino.

Lipkind (2 187) escreve acêrca dos Karajá: "The child gets two sets of names, one male and one female, as soon as the mother is known to be pregnant. These are one's own names given by grandparents of both lines". Lemos em Gabriel Soares de Sousa (370): "Como nascem os filhos aos Tupinambás, logo lhes põem o nome que lhe parece..." Hans Staden (r 2) narra o que presenciou quando os Tupinambá deram o primeiro nome a um recém-nascido, nome de um avoengo da criança, pois trazer tais nomes era considerado favorável ao desenvolvimento do menino. Sôbre o nome que convinha dar, o pai conferenciou com os vizinhos.

Não há dois ou mais Tapirapé que tenham o mesmo nome ao mesmo tempo. Só de poucos consegui averiguar o significado. Nomes de animais predominam entre as mulheres. Havia em 1935 uma de mais de quarenta anos chamada Purangkei, isto é, "puraquezinho" ou "peixinho elétrico". Outra de cêrca de trinta e cinco anos se chamava Tamanuaí, "tamanduá-bandeira" com

1: Baldus SP22 Tapirapé



o sufixo diminutivo *i*, e uma velha de mais ou menos quarenta e cinco anos tinha o nome Anampai, sendo *anampá* o peixe tuvira. Uma menina de onze anos chamava-se Chanevuyra, isto é, "raia d'água doce" e outra de seis anos Tanchahó, designação do porco do mato "queixada". Em 1947 havia uma menina de um ano cujo nome, Kal, significa "macaco-prego". Entre os homens encontrei em 1935 apenas um cujo nome pude identificar como designativo animal, aliás em sentido genérico: era Vuyrai, isto é, "passarinho", significado que tinha certa graça ao ver-se o corpo robusto e grosso dêste índio. Outros nomes traduzíveis, além dos de animais, são o de Kanuana, menina de oito anos, que significa "trovão" e "chocalho de cabaça", e os de dois meninos de dois e quatro anos, que vi em 1947, a saber, Yvytú, "vento" e Ekonomíchinga, "menino branco".

Os nomes dos Tupinambá eram, segundo Gabriel Soares de Sousa (370), "de alimárias, peixes, aves, árvores, mantimentos, peças de armas, e d'outras coisas diversas", segundo Staden (r 1), de "animais silvestres" e, segundo Vicente de Salvador (41), "de animais, de plantas ou do que se lhes antolha".

Êste último autor (ib.) observa, ainda, acêrca daqueles índios: "... não têm por valor o matar senão quebram as cabeças, ainda que seja dos mortos por outros, e quantas cabeças quebram tantos nomes tomam, largando o que o pai lhes deu no nascimento... mas o nome que tomaram não o descobrem (ainda que lho roguem) se não com grandes festas de vinho e cantares em seu louvor..."

Acontecia às vêzes que, perguntando eu pelo nome de determinado Tapirapé, êste dizia um nome e qualquer outro dos presentes dizia outro. Indagando, então, pelo nome mais usado, era sempre informado de que Tapirapé adulto costuma tem "muitos" nomes. Segundo as minhas observações, porém, cada um era chamado, em geral, por um único nome que, durante todo o tempo da minha visita em 1935, continuava sendo o mesmo. Mas isso não desmente aquelas informações, pois de fato, o Tapirapé recebe, além do nome que lhe é dado por ocasião do nascimento, outros, embora por motivos bem diferentes daqueles que levaram à multiplicação dos nomes entre os Tupinambá. O Rev. Kegel assistiu, em setembro, a uma reunião festiva que me descreveu da maneira seguinte: Depois do por do sol e havendo luar, os homens, dispostos em dois grupos, se sentavam em esteiras na praça de Tampiitaua, ficando um grupo frente ao outro. Entre os dois grupos ficava de pé um dos líderes da aldeia, inventando nomes. Cada vez que lhe vinha à mente um nome, chamava um dos presentes, andava pra lá e pra cá, e cantarolava um verso em que aparecia o novo nome da pessoa chamada, cujo significado era algumas vêzes jocoso e outras vezes sério.

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Kamairabó, o líder principal, contou-me que, em três diferentes idades, tinha tido sucessivamente os seguintes nomes: Pancheengvi, Ananavuytingi e Kanchoarioi. Só depois da morte do pai tinha tomado o seu atual nome que era o nome dêsse e de todos os seus ascendentes masculinos em linha paterna. Acrescentou que só então se casou. Declarou, ainda, que todos os Tapirapé têm, como êle, sucessivamente, diversos nomes na infância e na idade adulta.

Pode ser que os recebessem, mas não os usavam, como mostrarei: em 1947 identifiquei em Tampiitaua 9 indivíduos masculinos e 6 femininos e, com certas dúvidas, mais 1 masculino e 7 femininos dos Tapirapé que eu tinha encontrado por ocasião da minha visita anterior. Em 1935, eu tinha calculado a idade dos 9 indivíduos do primero grupo em 8, 12, 12, 17, 18, 20, 20, 26 e 38 anos; dos 6 femininos do mesmo grupo em 1½, 4-5, 20, 25, 28 e 30; do indivíduo masculino identificado com certas dúvidas em 4 anos; dos 7 indivíduos femininos nas mesmas condições em 3, 6, 7, 7, 13, 20 e 26 anos. Pois, de todos êsses 23 indivíduos, só 3 usavam, em 1947, nomes totalmente diferentes dos que tinham usado em 1935. Aliás, todos os Tapirapés que Wagley reconheceu em fotos tiradas por mim em 1935, tinham em 1939 ainda o mesmo nome que usavam no dia em que foram fotografados. Algumas ligeiras diferenças fonéticas entre os nomes de determinadas pessoas, registrados por mim em 1935 e em 1947, provàvelmente ou são produzidas por divergência na pronúncia dos informantes ou não existem fora do ouvido do pesquisador. Como em 1935, também em 1947 foram-me indicados, em certos casos, dois nomes em vez de um. Um rapaz que, em 1935, como menino de doze anos, sòmente tinha o nome Tampiri, chamava-se em 1947 Tampiri-Chamaneyma. Uma mulher, cujo nome escrevi, em 1935, Airuvitynga (sendo *tynga* como *chinga*: branco) era, doze anos depois, como senhora idosa e espôsa de outro marido, chamada Eirova-Chaeroi (devendo o *i* final em Airuvi sua existência a razões eufônicas e sendo, no restante, esta palavra idêntica a Eirova).

Os três indivíduos, porém, que tinham mudado totalmente de nome, chamavam-se, por ocasião da minha primeira visita, Tanupanchos, Panchai e Kovyra. O primeiro, em 1947, homem de quarenta e cinco a cinquenta anos, tinha tomado o nome de seu irmão menor Kamanané, que falecera depois de 1935. O segundo, que em 1947 aparentava cêrca de trinta e cinco anos, tendo se tornado pagé e homem de tendências despóticas, tinha passado a chamar-se Vuatanamy, isto é, o nome do falecido médico-feiticeiro que em 1935 era o mais duro dos líderes de Tampiitaua. O novo Vuatanamy não morava, neste ano, na casa do primeiro, tinha

cêrca de vinte anos menos que êle e, pelo que sei, não era seu parente chegado. Em 1935, Kovyra, menino de cêrca de oito anos, já era considerado uma espécie de futuro sucessor do líder principal Kamairahó e, em alusão a isso, chamado às vezes, em tom de brincadeira, com o nome dêste, acrescentado o sufixo diminutivo *i*. Em 1947 não usava mais o seu próprio nome de menino mas era chamado exclusivamente pelo nome daquele líder falecido desde algum tempo, conservando, porém, o diminutivo, pois era ainda moço e sem o pêso político do ilustre morto.

Um belo dia, conversando com Kamairahó sôbre a "festa de dar nomes" acima mencionada, queixei-me de não ter recebido, como o Rev. Kegel, um nome tapirapé e isso pelo simples fato dêsse meu companheiro ter tido ensejo de assistir àquela reunião festiva e eu não. O índio imediatamente deu-me o seu próprio nome. Yves d'Evreux (221) escreve acêrca dos Tupinambá do Maranhão: "Ils ont aussi vne autre façon de donner des noms, & c'est lors qu'ils vous ayment bien, & font grand estat de vous, en vous imposant leur propre nom". A troca de nomes por razões de estima e amizade é um costume encontrado entre tribos de diversas partes da América do Sul. Com referência à tribo aruak dos Guaná, observa Sánchez Labrador (II 241): "Un cacique anciano y principal del pueblo de los Chanás que lo envió antes, sabiendo que me hallaba en el toldo de Epaquiní me envió de regalo su proprio nombre, que es Nemó; para que sea por él conocido entre sus vasallos, y obedecido como él mismo. Pediame que le enviasse yo el mio. Hicelo con el mismo mensajero, y le dije que se llamaba José." No Culiseu, von den Steinen (*2* 125 e 129) trocou por amizade seu nome com um homem da tribo tupi dos Aoetõ e com um chefe da tribo aruak dos Mehinaku. Koch-Grünberg (*2* III 146) fêz o mesmo com um cacique da tribo karaib dos Taulipáng da região do Roroima e menciona, ainda, o costume de trocar o nome por amizade como divulgado entre os Karaib insulanos, os Arowak e os Warrau.

Convém acrescentar que eu, naturalmente, dei também o meu nome a Kamairahó. Tais trocas de nomes têm, de certo modo, pelo menos entre os Tapirapé, caráter de brincadeira. Assim, só algumas vêzes e com sorrisos fui chamado Kamairahó e nunca ouvi aplicarem ao Rev. Kegel o seu nome tapirapé nem ao líder índio o meu.

Certamente não se pode afirmar que os Tapirapé escondem seu nome ou algum de seus nomes, como o fizeram os Tupinambá, segundo a observação acima citada de Vicente do Salvador. Os habitantes de Tampiitaua me disseram com aparente prazer os seus nomes e muitos repetiam várias vêzes o próprio nome até que eu o pronunciasse satisfatòriamente, perguntando-me ainda por êle

nos dias seguintes para ver se eu o tinha aprendido bem. Distinguiam-se a êsse respeito dos Kayapó, que segundo Krause (2 401), não dizem o próprio nome, podendo êste viajante sabe-lo sòmente por intermédio de outrem e pronunciado em voz muita baixa. Os Karajá nunca puseram dificuldade em comunicar-me os próprios nomes. Têm, como os Tapirapé, muito desejo de saber os nossos, perguntando, logo na chegada do visitante, pelo seu nome, pelo nome de sua mulher, de seus filhos e de outros parentes.

Por outro lado, muitos dos habitantes de Tampiitaua não sabam os nomes de seus pais falecidos e quase todos ignoravam os dos avós e de outros parentes que não viviam mais, de modo que não podemos afirmar que os Tapirapé sejam tão interessados em sua própria genealogia como, por exemplo, a tribo kaingang dos chamados Botocudos de Santa Catarina, Xokleng ou Aveikoma, estudada por Henry (50).

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# OS TAPIRAPÉ

## TRIBO TUPI DO BRASIL CENTRAL

(Especial para a "REVISTA DO ARQUIVO")

HERBERT BALDUS

(continuação)

## INFANCIA

O padre Fernão Cardim (310) escreveu com referência aos Tupinambá: "Os pais não têm coisa que mais amem, que os filhos, e quem a seus filhos faz algum bem tem dos pais quanto quer." Grosso modo, esta frase poderia referir-se a quase tôdas as tribos do Brasil e, entre elas, aos Tapirapé. Tal amor manifesta-se na compreensão com que os adultos tratam as crianças. A uma pergunta do filho, o pai índio nunca responderia: "Isto é coisa de gente grande que você não pode entender", destruindo assim, a modo de certos pais brancos, a confiança com que o menino procura o amigo mais instruído. O pai índio não fala com ar de superioridade e assim não se abre aquêle abismo divisório que, entre nós, freqüentemente separa as crianças dos adultos.

Aliás, já antes da criança chegar à idade de pedir explicações, o Tapirapé mostra, em relação a ela, seu espírito de paciência. Nunca esquecerei a atitude de Vuanomanchí quando uma criancinha sentada no seu colo, urinou nas suas pernas nuas. Nada de agitação! o digno pai de família nem sequer se levantou. Tomou do chão um pedaço de palha, empurrando com êste o líquido. Não se limpou esfregando nem lavando. Não disse palavra nem fêz movimento que pudesse molestar a criança.

Nunca também esquecerei o comportamento de Maeyma durante a doença de sua filhinha. Muitas mulheres estavam chorando ao redor da rêde da menina e Maeyma era o único homem que chorava. Sentado na sua rêde cobria o rosto com as mãos e soluçava. Parecia ter emagrecido no curto tempo em que a criança ficara doente. Como convém ao pai cuidadoso, nada comeu, nesse tempo, além de um pouco de caui de milho e farinha de mandioca. No dia seguinte, tendo aparentemente melhorado a menina, Maeyma, deitado na rêde, a segurava como uma coisa quebradiça e quando movia, às vezes, as mãos, as movia com embaraço.

Na tribo dos Tapirapé, como em muitas outras tribos índias, a ligação íntima e constante entre filho e pais é reconhecida e respeitada pelos últimos por meio das abstenções a que se submetem em prol da criança durante longo tempo e não só quando esta adoece. Também a época dos contactos físicos dura mais que, em geral, entre nós. Embora seja exagerada a afirmação de frei Vicente de Salvador (37), segundo a qual certas mães tupinambá davam de mamar aos filhos "sete ou oito anos", podemos supor que, a êsse respeito, se deu entre êsses Tupi, o mesmo que observamos entre os Tapirapé e numerosas outras tribos do Brasil, isto é, uma criança que já, sem a guarda dos adultos, brinca correndo com outras crianças, se sacia ainda nos seios maternos. As crianças karajá, segundo Lipkind (2 187), dormem com a mãe até desmamar. Em Tampiitaua encontrei, dormindo com ambos os pais na mesma rêde, em 1935, 1 menino e 1 menina de 1 ano, 2 meninas de 3 anos e 1 menina de 4 anos, e, em 1947, 2 meninas de 1 ano; dormindo com a mãe, em 1935, 1 menina de poucos meses, 1 menina de menos de um ano, 1 menina de mais de um ano e 1 menino de 3 anos, e, em 1947, 1 menino de 1 ano, 1 menino de 2 e 1 menino de 4 anos; dormindo com o pai, sendo que a mãe dormia numa rêde pegada, com criança menor, em 1935, 1 menina e 1 menino de 4 anos e 1 menina de 6 anos, e, em 1947, 1 menino de 2 anos; ainda no mesmo ano, dormindo com o pai, homem de 35 anos de idade, 1 menina de aproximadamente 10 anos, enquanto a mulher, grávida de cêrca de sete meses, que não era a mãe da menina, estava deitada na rêde pegada; e, em 1935, dormindo com a irmã maior da mãe, 1 menino de 6 anos, enquanto a mãe dormia em outra casa com o marido, que não era pai do menino.

Com carinho especial os Tapirapé enfeitam as crianças. Mostrei no capítulo VI (fot. 13), como já antes do nascimento do filho preparam *tamaakwá* para seus tornozelos. Vindo à luz, tratam de guarnecê-lo com os adornos tradicionais da tribo, pen-

durando-lhe no pescoço, além disso, missangas obtidas dos brancos. Estas, como qualquer outra coisa que lhe dão, são respeitadas, então, como sendo propriedade da criança. Um colecionador de museu teria, às vêzes, dificuldade em obter um objeto do qual dispõe exclusivamente uma criança ainda não bastante crescida para poder entender o seu desejo.

Fiquei comovido quando vi uma mãe tapirapé que atravessava a praça da aldeia, procurar proteger contra o forte sol do meio-dia seu filhinho de poucos meses. Apertava-o contra o ventre e corria profundamente curvada, de modo que a criança estava na sombra produzida pelo corpo nu da mulher. Só ao alcançar a maloca a mãe voltou a erguer-se e a carregar a criança nos braços.

Em geral, a criança de Tampiitaua, quando carregada, cavalga no quadril do adulto e êste a segura com a mão. O mesmo vemos entre os Karajá (cf. também Krause 2 276). Em ambas as tribos não observei o uso de charpas de carregar crianças, de que, aliás, já tratei com certos pormenores no capítulo VI. Embora as mulheres tupinambá, segundo Fernão Cardim (170) transportassem os filhos "metidos nuns pedaços de rêdes", carregavam-nos à maneira tapirapé "como ciganas escanchados no quadril". E como entre os habitantes de Tampiitaua, também entre os antigos Tupi orientais, segundo Vicente de Salvador (37), eram tanto as mães como os maridos que traziam o filho ao colo.

Referindo-se aos Taulipáng, Koch-Grünberg (2 III 147) observa que os pais raríssimas vêzes falam rispidamente ao filho ou lhe batem, acrescentando: "Nunca vi punição exemplar". Isso poderia ser dito, também, a respeito de quase tôdas as tribos do Brasil e, especialmente, acêrca dos Tapirapé. Dos Tupinambá observa Fernão Cardim (170) que não davam ao filho "nenhum género de castigo". Entre os Karajá, segundo Lipkind (2 187), "sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularity recalcitrant children". Os pais tapirapé costumam rir-se da criança que chora, salvo se estiver doente.

Em 1935 encontrei em Tampiitaua 9 órfãos de pai e mãe com menos de 10 anos de idade sendo 6 meninos, a saber, 1 de 3, 3 de 5 e 2 de 8 anos, e 3 meninas que tinham entre 6 e 8 anos. Destas últimas, uma tinha sua rêde ao lado da do irmão do pai, e outra tinha a sua na casa da madrasta. Um dos meninos de 5 anos tinha a rêde ao lado da rêde da irmã do pai. Não achei parentes chegados dos outros 6 órfãos. O menor dêstes, o menino de 3 anos, não tinha sorte invejável. Servia de joguete à aldeia, sendo vítima dos bons e maus humores de cada um. Andava sujo e triste. Os órfãos maiores, porém, não estavam em tal estado lamentável, não se distinguindo no comportamento,

das outras crianças da mesma idade. Segundo Wagley e Galvão (*4* 76), na tribo tupi dos Tenetehara (Guajajara) do Maranhão, só os orfãos masculinos são descuidados. Em 1947 encontrei em Tampiitaua um único órfão de pai e mãe com menos de 10 anos de idade. Era um menino de cêrca de dois anos. Quando os Kayapó, pouco depois da minha visita assaltaram a aldeia, foi capturado por êles. O fato de ser a única criança roubada por essa ocasião, talvez contribua para caracterizar a situação dos órfãos de menos de quatro anos.

Contrastando com estas crianças insuficientemente protegidas encontramos, entre os Tapirapé, uma figura que se distingue da criança comum por ser tratada com muito mais atenção e mimo. Em 1935 era Ampitania a "criança preferida". Esta menina de quatro a cinco anos era realmente a princesinha de Tampiitaua. Sempre se mostrava delicada e polida, revelando cada vez novos encantos. Andava muito mais enfeitada que outras crianças, usando além dos enfeites de algodão pintados de urucu, penugem branca colada no corpo e vários colares de missanga. Estava alternadamente em companhia dos dois homens mais importantes da aldeia, passando um dia e uma noite com Kamairahó e sua mulher, e o dia e a noite seguintes com Vuatanamy e espôsa. Morava, portanto, nas duas casas maiores e com os líderes que, de certo modo, eram rivais. Tinha assim, sem dúvida, função unificadora. Kamairahó fez questão de dizer-me, repetidamente, descender ela de "capitães", chamando assim a minha atenção para o "sangue azul" da menina. Aliás, êle mesmo parece ter sido também "criança preferida" (cf. Wagley 4 23).

A instituição da "criança preferida" existe igualmente entre os Karajá, segundo minha averiguação feita em 1935 (cf. Baldus *7* 83) e confirmada, anos mais tarde, por Lipkind (*2* 186). Êstes índios do Araguaia têm têrmo especial para tais crianças, denominando-as *ioló*.

Entre os Tapirapé como em tôdas as outras tribos sul-americanas que visitei, observei o comportamento das crianças entre si e em relação com os adultos, o qual se distingue profundamente do comportamento das crianças que conheci na Alemanha. Estas aparentavam, por assim dizer, muito mais "infantilidade" que as crianças índias e também muitas crianças neo-brasileiras. Seu interêsse pelo mundo dos adultos era menor, por ser-lhes êsse mundo menos acessível do que para as crianças das selvas e cidades do Brasil. Por não discutirem com os adultos em pé de igualdade, comportamento muito comum entre as crianças daqui, as crianças educadas no autoritarismo alemão do começo do nosso século não tinham tanto "ar de adulto". A atitude da criança

índia é determinada, porém, não só pela liberdade de que goza, como muitas crianças neo-brasileiras, mas também por dois outros fatores que sempre a tornam parecidas com os adultos: 1) entre índios, as atividades da criança se assemelham muito mais às dos adultos do que entre nós, nunca representando espécies de trabalhos diferentes das executadas pelos pais; 2) a criança índia possui propriedade particular desde a mais tenra idade, propriedade da qual ela e exclusivamente ela pode dispor à vontade.

Ao rigor com que é respeitada a propriedade da criança já aludimos acima. No tocante aos trabalhos pode-se dizer que as crianças tapirapé aprendem brincando aquilo que é o trabalho dos adultos. O menino de três anos já tem um pequeno arco com flechas, cujo tamanho corresponde ao tamanho do dono. A menina de três anos já possui uma pequena peneira, cujo tamanho corresponde ao tamanho da dona. Assim, os dois vão pescar como um casal adulto, o pequeno homem flechando os peixes, a pequena mulher recolhendo-os na peneira. Naturalmente, o tamanho dos peixes coresponde também ao tamanho dos pescadores. Voltando à casa põem os peixinhos na brasa, assando-os. Depois os comem, mostrando assim que Tapirapé de três anos já sabe tratar da vida. Crescendo menino e menina, crescem arco e peneira também, até alcançarem, estando os donos na puberdade, o o tamanho dum arco de homem e duma peneira de mulher. E assim se dá com tudo que é manejado por êsses índios, a saber, com cacetes, cestos, pilões, fusos e outros utensílios. Isso, porém, não significa que os meninos, antes da puberdade, participem tão sèriamente da vida econômica como as meninas que, desde pequenas, enquanto os meninos vadiam, ajudam freqüentemente a mãe, na medida das fôrças e capacidades de sua idade, representando, assim, um fator cada vêz mais produtivo.

Naturalmente, as crianças tapirapé imitam os adultos não só nos trabalhos. Desde cedo já praticam o sorriso por assim dizer automático, que caracteriza êsses índios, um certo coquetismo e aquilo que mais agita a alma de sua tribo, isto é, a dança e o canto. Vi meninos de quatro a sete anos fabricarem para si máscaras de dança com fôlha de banana-brava, colocá-las na cabeça e, então, dançarem e cantarem de modo correspondente à espécie da máscara usada. Na aldeia karajá de Santa Isabel assisti em 1947 a cenas semelhantes.

Podemos dizer das crianças desta aldeia da ilha do Bananal, de Tampiitana e de muitas outras tabas brasileiras, o mesmo que Fernão Cardim (175) escreveu com referências aos Tupinambá: "... os meninos são alegres e dados a folgar e folgão com muita quietação e amizade, que entre êles não se ouvem nomes ruins, nem

1: Baldus SP22 Tapirapé



pulhas, nem chamarem nomes aos pais e mães, e raramente quando jogão se desconcertão, nem desavêm por cousa alguma, e raramente dão uns nos outros, nem pelejão..." Autores modernos nos falam, de modo semelhante, das crianças agradáveis que encontraram entre índios sul-americanos (cf. por exemplo, Koch-Grünberg *2* III 147). Crianças pequenas de ambos os sexos, até cêrca de cinco anos de idade, são chamadas *antaí* em tapirapé. No vocabulário nheengatú de Stradelli (656) encontramos o seguinte verbete: "Taína — criança. Nome que serve para os dois sexos durante os primeiros annos de vida, até que comecem a andar e fallar, quando já tenham recebido um nome, e já comecem a especializar-se nos respectivos serviços, porque então passa o menino a ser curumi e a menina, cunhantaí." Os Tapirapé usam, além disso, os têrmos *ampyki* para o menininho e *pityngí* para a menininha. Yves d'Evreux (86), tratando dos "degraus" de idade dos Tupinambá do Maranhão, escreve: "Le premier degré supposé commun aux mascles & aux femelles sortans immediatement du ventre de leurs meres, appellé du mot, *Peïtan*..." Em Montoya (*2* 384) lemos: "Niña, o niño hasta tres años, *Mitang*."

De cêrca de seis até perto de doze anos, isto é, até a primeira menstruação da menina e o comêço da puberdade do rapazinho, os Tapirapé chamam aquela de *kutantaí* e êsse de *ekonomi*. Montoya (*2* I 383 e 377) dá *Cuña toi* para "niña hasta diez años" e *Cunumi* para "Muchacho".

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
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## SECTION OF ANTHROPOLOGY

### October 28, 1940

Doctor Charles Wagley, Columbia University: *The Effects of Depopulation upon Social Organization as Illustrated by the Tapirape Indians.*

121 In recent years, there has been an increasing interest in the general processes of culture change resulting from contacts between European and native peoples. Such studies are part of the study of "acculturation," a term recently defined by Professors Linton, Redfield, and Herskovits: "The crux of the definition lies in the phrase, 'Those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact.'"[1] This period of continuous first-hand contact historically follows upon a period of sporadic contact between the native peoples and some few Europeans (fur traders, explorers, missionaries, and even occasional single settlers), which in a sense has prepared the ground for a more intense influence of European culture when relations between the two peoples have become continuous. Few ethnologists have witnessed this period of sporadic contact and histories have little to tell us of it. But during this period, borrowing of European material culture generally occurs. Often the value system of the native culture is shifted, as objects having minor value take on major value for purposes of trade. Of great importance is the introduction of foreign disease, which frequently wipes out large numbers, or even the major part of the native population.

105 The Tapirape Indians, among whom the author lived for more than a year,[2] are a Tupi speaking people living between the Araguaya and Xingu Rivers of Central Brazil near an affluent of the Araguaya which bears their name. They are a forest people and their village lies some fifty miles back from the

[1] Linton, Ralph: *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, p. 464.

[2] This research extended from January 1939 to June 1940, and was made possible by a grant from the Social Science Research Council, Columbia University.

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Tapirape River. They have had only sporadic contact with Europeans. About 1909, the first Brazilians visited them in their village, and, each July or August since 1914, the Dominican priests meet them at a port on the Tapirape River and bring them presents—axes, hoes, salt, etc. Between 1930 and 1935, a Scotch Protestant missionary made three trips to the village, staying there two to three months at a stretch. During the dry season, the Tapirape regularly go down to the river for fishing and collecting turtle eggs and to wait in hope that the Dominican priests will come with a new supply of presents. There they sometimes meet trappers and hunters, and occasionally a Brazilian hunter will make the long trip to their village as an adventure, or—rarely— a Tapirape will go back with a missionary or hunter to the Araguaya—some 200 miles away—and return to the village loaded with presents and tall stories. These few contacts, the only ones which these people have had with Europeans, have nevertheless affected the Tapirape culture profoundly and in many ways. For lack of time, however, I shall describe only the effects resulting from the introduction of foreign diseases, which even antedated European contact, and the consequent wiping out of the great part of the Tapirape population.

In the memory of one Tapirape informant, there were five villages (about 1890), each of which must have contained well over two hundred people. The introduction of smallpox about 1895[3] caused one village to disband, since most of the inhabitants had died. About 1900, another European disease, probably influenza, caused a second village to break up through loss of people. Yellow fever must have taken its toll among the Tapirape at various times, as it did among the neighboring Caraja Indians, and, in 1920, the world-wide influenza epidemic came belatedly to the Araguaya and on to the Tapirape. In 1932, the survivors of a third village, depopulated by disease, joined the most southern village, Tampitawa, and, during my residence there in 1939, the survivors of a fourth village joined us. As a result of this wholesale depopulation from disease, there remained only one village

[3] Probably through the Caraja.

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and only 147 inhabitants. This is an extraordinary example of the ravages of European diseases among a native American people. 161 165

Tampitawa (Village of the Tapir) is composed, therefore, of a residue from all of the five original villages. All of the customs and ceremony attached to inter-village relations have of course disappeared. People remember their former village affiliation, or that of their parents. They still speak of a person as being "the son of Fish Village," but village loyalty, once strong, has disappeared. Formerly, villages were basically endogamous, but some marriage outside of the village did take place. Today, only three people can say that they are descendants of people from Tapir Village. Ancient inter-village antagonism existed, especially between Tapir and the village which joined with it in 1900. Today, this conflict is only remembered under the stress of some quarrel and is referred to only as a taunt. 621 161 [578]

Depopulation has had little effect on the economic life of the Tapirapé. They are basically a forest agricultural people with large plantations. Manioc is their staple. Plantations are large enough, and the economic organization fluid enough, to allow for the support of large numbers of refugees for a year or so until they can make gardens for themselves. Refugees have joined one of the large households, at present eight, each with some twenty-five to thirty people. Formerly these households were matrilineal groups headed by a man of high prestige. His wife's relatives formed the matrilineal group and he demanded labor from his numerous sons-in-law (husbands of daughters of wife, including extended "daughters"). The coming of refugees disrupted these matrilocal households. If a refugee woman lacked a close female kin, her husband often arranged for habitation with a friend or a relative of his. Men of high status offered the hospitality of their houses to incoming men of rank. Today, therefore, many reassortments of relatives live under one roof, and two and even three separate groups of female relatives live under as many older men, whereas formerly they would have formed one household under the leadership of one household head. In no one case, does a man control a complete household as he would have done under the old system. 178 [241] 592 621 161 [607]

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The men's moieties form the basis for Tapirape ceremonial 178
and for cooperative gardening and hunting. Each moiety is 561
divided into three age grades. Thus, in the village, there are two 616
groups of "boys" and "youths" (up to sixteen years of age), two 161
of mature men or "warriors" (up to approximately 45), and two groups of "older men." Really old and inactive men give up moiety activity and have no affiliation. A boy belongs automatically to the moiety of his father and formerly he progressed through the three age grades of that moiety. All ceremonies involve the moiety age grades, which dance against each other, race against each other, and give reciprocal feast exchanges. Cooperative hunts and clearing of the forest likewise involve reciprocal activities. However, with the great loss of population, and especially a loss of men of the oldest age group, this organization was thrown out of balance. In order to continue ceremonial life, several youths, who were spoken of as "lazy" and who were not capable hunters or workers, passed into the "older men's" age groups, in which there is little active cooperative hunting and gardening, in order to give those groups sufficient numbers for ceremonial activity. This rapid passing from boys' age grade to that of older men has influenced native thought in two ways:—First, young men are losing the idea of automatic progression through the three age grades, and there is a tendency now to think that the better young men become "warriors," while less capable ones pass rapidly to the older men's group. Second, the 554
older men's age grades, formerly the groups of highest prestige, tend to be looked on with little favor, and only those individuals are thought of with respect who have status for other reasons.

Depopulation has also affected the second Tapirape social 178
grouping—the feast groups. These are made up of all men and 571
women. They are matrilocal for women and patrilocal for men. 574
These feast groups meet periodically during the dry season for 161
ceremonial meals. At present, three of the original ten feast groups have disappeared because of lack of members.

Chieftainship has changed under the influence of both depop- 178
ulation and the sporadic contacts with Brazilians. All men of 622
161

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ALL MEN OF
status are, today, called "capitaoes" (The Tapirape use the Portuguese word. There is no equivalent in their language.) These "capitaoes" are village elders (who were village "favorite children" in their youth, and therefore people of prestige), leaders of the warriors, age grades, and able shamans. Formerly, there were only two village elders, two warrior leaders, and, ideally, two favorite children in a village. Today, with congregation of people from all villages in one, several "noble" families are present and there is an oversupply of "capitaoes." 178 622 161 554

Marriage arrangements, too, have been affected by depopulation. At present, there are some ten men of marriageable age, for whom there are no possible wives, and immediate families are so broken up that there are no possible groups of women to care for those unattached men. A man must have a wife to cook for him and perform women's tasks. To do any woman's work would play complete havoc with a man's personal prestige, which is a matter of greatest importance. Most of these Tapirape men have solved their problem by contracting convenient "social" marriages with extremely young girls. They attach themselves to a household, in which they perform a man's customary economic duties, and, in turn, their mothers-in-law do women's work for them. 178 582 161 [462] [554]

Lack of time prevents mention of many other aspects of native life pertaining to marriage, kinship, and leadership, which have been profoundly affected by depopulation. Possibly, in other cultures, the effects of introduced disease have not been quite so disastrous, nor the loss of people so important to the social life, as in the case of the Tapirape. Without a doubt, however, wherever there have been sporadic contacts with Europeans, these or other alien factors have been introduced and have caused important changes in the structure of native life. 178 161

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CHARLES WAGLEY

# TAPIRAPÉ SOCIAL AND CULTURE CHANGE, 1940-1953

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# TAPIRAPÉ SOCIAL AND CULTURE CHANGE 1940-1953

by

CHARLES WAGLEY

The Tapirapé are a Tupi-speaking tribe whose aboriginal habitat lay between the Araguaya and Xingu rivers in central Brazil. Tapirapé society and culture, as it existed before 1940, has been described by Herbert Baldus and the present author in a series of articles and monographs.[1] In 1940, when I left the Tapirapé village after approximately eighteen months of residence and research, I was convinced that Tapirapé society was rapidly disintegrating and that it would soon cease to exist as a distinct organized unit. At that time, although Tapirapé culture was essentially unchanged from its aboriginal condition, severe depopulation had so disrupted the social structure that the society seemed no longer to satisfy the minimal conditions for group survival.[2] A mere 147 individuals grouped in but one village were all that remained in 1940 of this tribe that once had numbered at least one thousand people living in five large villages. In 1953, when I returned for a short visit of three weeks with the Tapirapé Indians in their new village at the mouth of the Tapirapé River on the Araguaya, I found but 51 individuals. The rapid process of depopulation

1. Cf. Herbert Baldus, *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, São Paulo, 1937, and "Os Tapirapé, tribo Tupi no Brasil Central," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, Vols. XCVI-CV, CVII-CXXVII, São Paulo, 1944-49; and Charles Wagley, "Tapirapé Shamanism," *Boletim do Museu Nacional, Antropologia*, N.° 3, Rio, 1943.

2. Charles Wagley, "The Effects of Depopulation upon Social Organization as Illustrated by the Tapirapé Indians," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Series II, Vol. 3, N.° 1, pp. 12-16, New York, 1940.

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161 178 had continued during the last thirteen years. Yet I found that even with so small a population Tapirapé society still functioned as an organised unit and Tapirapé culture persisted, although highly modified by the events of the last thirteen years. Several points of theoretical importance can be learned from recent Tapirapé history and from some observations on social and cultural changes since 1940.

175 [127] The sketchy outline of Tapirapé history between 1940 and 1953, which I have been able to piece together with the help of the Indians themselves, of Sr. Valentim Gomes (the officer of the post of the Brazilian Indian Service which services the Tapirapé, and my companion during both visits to the tribe in 1939-40), and of a published report by Herbert Baldus,[2] indicates the tremendous shocks this society has suffered in the last decade. Briefly, this history is as follows: In 1941, just a year after my 1940 visit, a serious epidemic broke out in the [731 578] Tapirapé village in which I had lived. As usual, following an epidemic during which there is a series of deaths, dissension broke out within the village. A well-known shaman was killed and a group of Tapirapé ("perhaps thirty in number") fled the village to the Brazilian town of Furo de Pedra, some two hundred kilometers from their village. It is reported that at least two people died during this trip and that the group returned to their village infected with common colds. By August of 1940, Sr. Gomes was able to ascertain that twenty-six people had died since June of the same year. In September of 175 648 1941 an Indian Post for the protection of the Tapirapé was opened, but it was established at the mouth of the Tapirapé River, near the Carajá whom the Tapirapé feared and near Brazilians from whom they contracted new infections. That year, a few Indians visited the Post but after the death of a young Tapirapé man at the Post and an unfortunate experience with a group of drunken Brazilian men, only rarely did a Tapirapé

2. "Tribus da Baria do Araguaia e o Serviço de Proteção aos Indios", in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, N. S., Vol. II, São Paulo, 1948, pp. 137-168.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



Indian venture to visit the Post. For almost three years, their only contact with Brazilian culture was via the Dominican priests and an occasional hunter who visited them upriver in their own village or at one of the ports along the Tapirapé River which they were accustomed to approach. For a few years, the Tapirapé lived in relative peace.

175
648
[797]

In 1947, the year when Herbert Baldus again visited the Tapirapé, two events took place which were crucial in the further disorganisation of their society. First, he encountered eight families of Brazilians at Porto Velho, half-way up the Tapirapé River, in an area which had always been traditional hunting and fishing territory of the Tapirapé. This was but the beginning of the steady occupation of the lands along the Tapirapé River by Brasilians; by 1953 it was estimated that 120 families were living along the river, and there were three cattle ranches at spots along the banks where the Indians often came to fish and hunt during the dry season. The vast and open *campos* along the Tapirapé River, which before 1940 simply teemed with game, now provided grazing lands for cattle. No longer was the contact of the Tapirapé with Brazilians sporadic and brief, but it had become continuous and frequent.

Secondly, it was in 1947 that the Tapirapé were attacked by the northern Kayapo as related by Baldus.[4] Four women were killed during the attack and two young women captured by the Kayapo, and the Tapirapé village was burned along with most of their belongings such as hammocks, utensils and tools. The entire Tapirapé group were driven by fear and hunger to the margins of the Tapirapé River where they depended upon a Brazilian rancher and the simple Brazilian frontiersmen for food. From 1947 until 1950, Tapirapé society as an organised unit might be said not to have existed; a group of families lived near a ranch on the Tapirapé River attempting to plant gardens in the narrow strip of forest along the river but they were mainly existing on what

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 142

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
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175 they might beg from the Brazilian. Another group of
648 families came to live at the Indian post near the mouth of the Tapirapé River, where the Indian officer helped them build temporary shelters and provided them with food. And earlier, before the Kayapo attack, a small group of families had broken from the main village to migrate to a distant village site called Čičutawa, far to the north.[4] During these years, ceremonial and religious life, normal family life, aboriginal economic activities, and in fact most of the regular activities of their society were either completely suspended or affected by a marginal existence to the Brazilian frontiersmen.

131 But in 1950 Tapirapé society was, in a sense, re-
166 -organized. As a result of the efforts of the Indian officer,
178 all of the remaining Tapirapé (except those who had
[648] migrated to the north) came together to form a village which they called *Tuwidho* (New Village), some six kilometers from the Post Heloísa Alberto Torres. By 1953 this village had been fully completed, and the Tapirapé had relatively large and productive gardens in the forest
361 some three or four kilometers from it. The village had
178 been constructed, as in aboriginal times, in a circle surrounding a large men's ceremonial house. The houses were in general of the aboriginal type, each housing several biological families. Ceremonials had begun again and, as before, the nights were filled with singing. Although considerably modified, normal Tapirapé social life was again possible. Although for a short period Tapirapé society might be said not to have existed, Tapirapé culture continued to live in the minds of these few remaining individuals and it allowed them, given the opportunity, to recreate, although in a much attenuated form, their social life. This is a striking example of the difference between a society and its culture.

177 But both Tapirapé society and Tapirapé culture had been considerably modified by the events of the last decade. There were striking differences in social

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128. This group has never been heard of since they left. It is the opinion of the remaining Tapirapé that they were killed by the Kayapo since Čičutawa is near Kayapo territory.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



organization, in technology, in ceremonial and religious 177
life, in economics and, in fact, in almost all realms of
life. In the space of a short paper it will be possible to
indicate only a few of these modifications. One of the 177
most striking changes has to do with the relations of 574
the Tapirapé with their traditional enemies, the Carajá. 648
In 1940 the Tapirapé told of their fear of the Carajá
who had attacked them several times in the past, and
Tapirapé men traveling along the Araguaya River with
the writer hid in the bottom of the boat in fear of their
traditional foe. No Tapirapé would have dared enter a
Carajá village without the protection of a Brazilian. But
in 1953 the new Tapirapé village was situated within
six or seven kilometers of a Carajá village. Two Tapirapé [582]
youths, for lack of Tapirapé women of marriageable age,
had married Carajá girls, and following the rule of ma-
trilocal residence which both Carajá and Tapirapé cul-
tures share they lived in the Carajá village and worked
with their in-laws. Each day during my 1953 visit there
were Carajá visitors in the Tapirapé village. They came [434]
to exchange fish, game or other items for Tapirapé ma-
nioc — for the Tapirapé are by tradition better gardeners
than the Carajá. A friendly Carajá even joined the Tapi-
rapé men to dance and sing during one of their ceremonials,
and one evening a group of Tapirapé accepted the invi-
tation of the Carajá to attend their wrestling matches
on the beach in front of the Carajá village. One must
conclude that old and traditional enmities and antago-
nisms between peoples can fade out easily and quickly
unless there are deep-seated economic or territorial bases
for such antagonisms.

Another striking change between the Tapirapé in 177
1940 and those of 1953 was their recent adaptation to +81
canoe travel. In 1940, the Tapirapé might have been
classified as "foot Indians". They neither made nor
owned canoes. Many Tapirapé were unable to swim.
They were all most inept when forced to travel by canoe.
In 1953, six Tapirapé men owned canoes they had acquir- 177
ed from the Carajá, some had to make canoes, and 501

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



177 several had become excellent canoe-men. Small Tapirapé
[50] boys spent a large part of the day, as do Carajá boys, swimming in the nearby river. Thus, within about a decade, the Tapirapé had shifted from "foot Indians" (one of the criteria for Marginal Cultures, according to the *Handbook of South American Indians*[4]) to "canoe Indians" (a criterion for Tropical Forest Cultures according to the same source). Such criteria as the mode of transportation obviously have little historical depth and are thus of little value for classificatory purposes.

177 In 1940, the most important individuals in Tapirapé
756 society were the shamans or *pančes*; the tribe depended upon them for protection against dangerous supernaturals, cures for illness, and even bringing the spirits of children so that women would conceive. But in 1953 not one individual in the Tapirapé village would admit that he was a *pančr*. Opronunxui and Antonio Pereira, two Tapirapé men between 30 and 40 years of age, were said to be able to "cure" a little, but they had none of the formidable powers of the old *pančes*. "The *pančes* have ended," said the Tapirapé. As a result, they are today more vulnerable to the dangerous supernaturals, but they are also free from the deadly effects of sorcery which they believed the old shamans practiced and had caused their rapid population decline. In fact, the suspicion of shamans and the relatively frequent execution of those suspected of sorcery made shamanism such a dangerous occupation that no one wishes to take up that once honored profession.
[771] But without shamans Tapirapé religion has lost its central figures, and much of the old religious knowledge will be
[797] lost to Tapirapé culture. Without the full knowledge of their own religion, the Tapirapé are today more vulnerable to the teachings of missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, who are now active among them.

177 With so few members, Tapirapé culture is "passing through a narrow funnel" so to speak; in other words,

[4] Bulletin 143, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 1, 1946; also see Ibid., vol. 3, pp. 679, 1948.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
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with so few people holding the status positions of aboriginal Tapirapé society much specialized knowledge will be lost. This is true of shamanism, as explained above, and it is true of the weaving of baskets for which Tapirapé men were justly famous before 1940. In 1953, only two men of the tribe knew the art of basket making. In aboriginal times, it was a technique which men learned after adolescence (Tapirapé boys were not expected to learn the manly arts), and with the death of so many older men and the disintegration of Tapirapé society, few young men were able to study. Both of the young men who did learn produced baskets which in 1940 would have been considered distinctly inferior and few of the young men in 1953 showed an inclination to learn the art. Like many other aspects of the culture, Tapirapé basketry will probably be a "lost art" within a generation. 177 177 285 [968] [983]

Before 1940, one of the striking aspects of Tapirapé culture recorded by both Baldus and myself was the complex set of rules governing food taboos. According to aboriginal Tapirapé culture, women and children are forbidden to eat venison as well as many other specific meats. Nowadays the Tapirapé frequently have beef, which they receive by trade from the Brazilian around the Indian post. As might be suspected, beef is equated with venison and it is taboo to Tapirapé women. Likewise, Tapirapé men who are the fathers of small children may eat neither venison nor beef. One Tapirapé male explained that "Even when we were hungry our women would not eat beef." But in view of their experience with other cultures (i. e., Carajá and Brazilian), such taboos are growing weaker. Hidden from their husbands, several Tapirapé women tested beef for the first time when offered it by the wife of the Indian officer, and several females have taken to eating it (and even venison) at the Indian Post pleading that their secret be kept from their husbands. And one Tapirapé male, the father of an infant, argued while eating venison that the taboo was not a logical one. Food taboos are still kept but 177 262 [439] [784]

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



177 the possibility of comparison, of observing other forms
262 of behavior which were formerly closed to them, now stimulates change in Tapirapé culture.

177 Numerous other modifications in the Tapirapé way of life might be reported. In 1953, a few Tapirapé col-
[454] lected money which they kept as they formerly kept
[436] red parrot feathers in a bamboo container, but they have only vague ideas of its value. Two men own rifles but
[471] they have little idea of how to keep them in order. Men
[291] wear trousers when they visit the Indian Post, but they might at any time calmly remove them in the presence of the missionaries, and women have learned quickly to put on a wrap-around skirt when Brazilian men approach. These and a series of other changes might be quickly noted as having occurred between 1940 and 1953.

177 Still, Tapirapé culture has remained remarkably stable
178 in face of the violent disruption of Tapirapé society during this last decade. Tapirapé culture has been modified by borrowing and by loss of trait and pattern due to the reduction of population and the disorganization of the society. Tapirapé society, with fewer people and new influences, has now changed more than Tapirapé culture. Certainly society and culture are intimately related phenomena but the history of the Tapirapé during the last thirteen years indicates the value of distinguishing between social change on the one hand and culture change on the other. For a period the Tapirapé lived as members of a distinct society, but their culture persisted, and with this knowledge they have been able to recreate, at least temporarily, their organized social unit.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 1

Ashanglêm — Ornamento de cabeça para a cerimônia do Trovão

Ashanglêm — Headdress for the Thunder Ceremony

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4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 2

Um jovem pajé, em estado de transe, quando realizava o circuito da aldeia durante a sessão diurna da cerimônia do Trovão. Está acompanhado por dois jovens prontos a ampará-lo, se ele cair.

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A young shaman, in a trenced state, as he makes the village circuit during the day session of the Thunder Ceremony. He is accompanied by two young men ready to catch him if he should fall.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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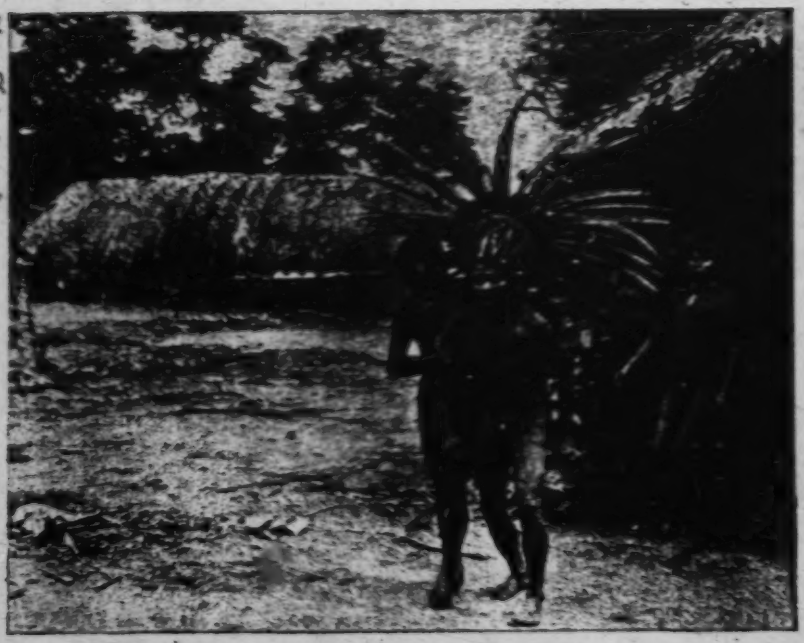

Fig. 3

Jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Está doente por engolir fumaça de tabaco e próximo a um estado de transe. Cais antes de alcançar a segunda casa do círculo.

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Young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. He fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 4

Outro jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Também está doente por engolir fumaça de tabaco, e próximo a um estado de transe. Como o da Fig. 3, cais antes de alcançar a segunda casa do circuito.

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Another young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill too from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. Like the other of Fig. 3 he fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 5

Kamairal (Veja Apêndice), um jovem pagé, vacilando na metade do circuito da aldeia.

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Kamairal (see Appendix), a young shaman, staggering half way around the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 6

De repente, ficou rigido e caiu para a frente, sendo agarrado pelos dois rapazes que o guiavam.

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Suddenly he stiffened and fell forward caught by the young men who had been leading him.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 7

O poderoso pagé Urukumé era seguido por numerosos jovens quando fez o circuito pela aldeia, usando o ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Como decoração, usou um pedaço de fazenda vermelha, que lhe fôra presenteado pelo etnólogo.

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The powerful shaman, Urukumu, was followed by numerous young men when he made the village circuit wearing the ceremonial headdress. He wore a piece of red cotton cloth given him by the ethnologist as decoration.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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786
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Fig. 8

Ele era "forte", não necessitando de ajuda, porém, quando foi abatido pelos seres do Trovão, os jovens estavam próximos para ampará-lo na queda.

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He was "strong" and did not need aid but when he was struck by the beings of Thunder, the young men were nearby to catch him when he fell.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 9

Sempre que um pagé caía inconciente, os jovens que o acompanhavam lhe removiam rápidamente o ornamento da cabeça e o levantavam nos ombros para carregá-lo através do circuito da aldeia. Nesse ocasião, a espôsa de Kamairabo estava preocupada com êle e veio apalpar-lhe a face.

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Whenever a shaman fell unconscious, the young men accompanying him quickly removed the headdress and raised him upon their shoulders to carry him through the village circle. On this occasion, Kamairabo's wife was worried about him and came to feel of his face.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 10

O corpo da maioria dos pagés ficava rígido, quando, em estado de inconciência, eram carregados pelo circuito da aldeia, de volta à casa em que se iniciara a cerimônia. Nesta fotografia, três rapazes carregam fàcilmente o corpo rígido de Pantert, um dos poderosos pagés, após ter sido abatido pelos seres do Trovão.

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The bodies of most shamans were rigid in their unconscious state as they were being carried through the village circle back to the first house. In this picture, three young men easily carry the rigid body of Pantert, one of the powerful shamans, after he had been stricken by the beings of Thunder.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 11

Os mesmos tapeiras, carregando Pastori.

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The same young men carrying Pastori.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Fig. 12

Os dois pagés engolem fumaça de tabaco, preparando-se para a fase final da cerimônia do Trovão, em que livram o povo do perigo. A população da aldeia ainda não se reúniu. Cada homem tem o cachimbo na mão, e o jovem, à direita, está engulindo fumaça do cachimbo.

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The two shamans swallowing tobacco smoke in preparation for the final phase of the Thunder ceremony when they rid the people of danger. The village populace has not yet gathered. Each man holds his pipe in his hand and the young man on the right is gulping smoke from his pipe.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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## EXPLICAÇÃO DA FIG. 13

660 A — Casa situada a sudoeste, em que se realiza a fase vesperal (ocaso) da cerimônia.

B — Lugar de dança, onde ocorre a fase final da cerimônia, ao fim do quarto dia.

C — Casa grande cerimonial dos homens.

→ Direção que segue o pagé, "no circuito da aldeia", na fase diurna da cerimônia.

:::::: Trilhas feitas especialmente para a cerimônia.

—‖—‖— Portas temporárias, abertas nas casas, para permitir o "circuito da aldeia".

—| |— Portas permanentes das casas.

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361
796 A — Dwelling situated at SW in which the evening phase (sunset) of the ceremony takes place.

B — Dance grounds, where the final phase of the ceremony takes place, at the end of the fourth day.

C — Men's ceremonial house.

→ Direction the shaman takes in his village circuit during the day time phase of the ceremony.

:::::: Path made especially for the ceremony.

—‖—‖— Temporary doors opened in each house to form the village circuit.

—| |— Permanent house doors.

[p. 54]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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PLANTA DA ALDEIA — MAP OF THE VILLAGE

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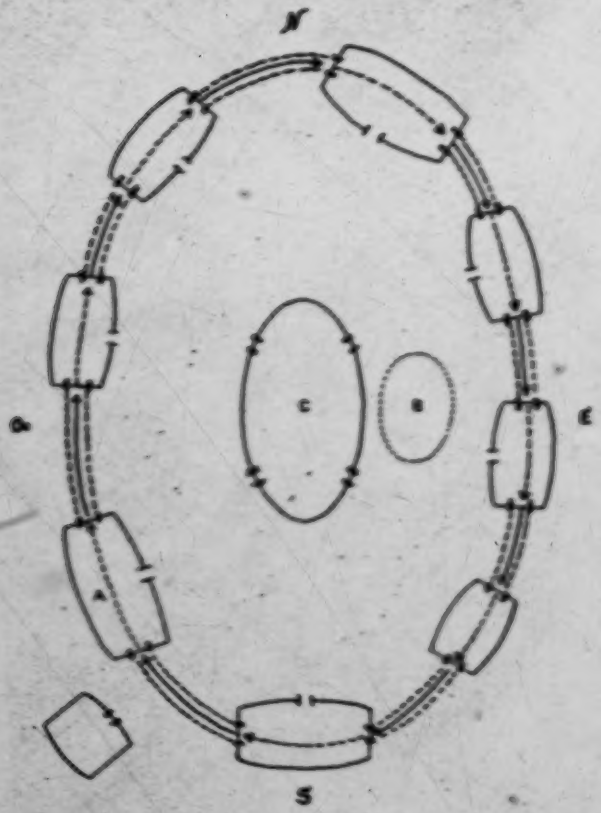


Fig. 13

Disposição das nove casas da aldeia, com as portas provisórias para o circuito da Cerimônia do Trovão.

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Arrangement of the nine dwellings of the village, with the temporary side doors opened to form the circuit for the Thunder ceremony.

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4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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# TAPIRAPÉ SHAMANISM

Charles Wagley
Columbia University — Museu Nacional

The present article is part of a more extensive study on Tapirapé life now in preparation. The material was collected during two periods of residence in the Tapirapé village of Tampiitawa, the first from May to September 1939, and the second from November 1939, to May 1940. The field work among the Tapirapé was made possible by a grant from the Columbia University Social Science Research Council and was carried on under the direction of Dr. Ralph Linton of the Columbia University Department of Anthropology. In Brazil, the expeditions to the Tapirapé were made under the auspices of the Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro. The ethnographical collections gathered during both trips were added to the rich material on Brazilian Indian life belonging to that institution. I wish to thank the Director and the staff of the Museu Nacional for the many facilities and full cooperation which made possible both expeditions. 117 121 122

During the month of April 1940, while in the Tapirapé village, I was joined by two students from Museu Nacional. This month was spent in training these men in field techniques for the collecting of ethnographical material. This was the beginning of a training program in ethnographical field methods, which proceeded through 1941 and 1942. On a grant from the Committee for Inter-American Intellectual and Artistic Relations, I returned to Brazil to work at the Museu Nacional, in July 1941, for this purpose. At the Museu I gave a three 122

[p. 57]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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122 months course in field methods, and from November 1941 to April 42 the writer and three students of the Museu Nacional made ethnographical studies among the Guajajara Indians, in the State of Maranhão. For this reason I have the pleasure of publishing the results of my researches in Brazil, in the Boletim do Museu Nacional.

C. W.
April 1942

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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## INTRODUCTION

101
The Tapirapé Indians are a Tupí-speaking tribe living in Central 131
Brazil west of the Araguaya River. Their villages formerly extended [197]
some two hundred miles to the north of the Tapirapé River, an affluent [178]
of the Araguaya; but today their one remaining village lies west of the
Araguaya, about forty miles north of the Tapirapé and 160 miles from
the point of union of the two rivers. This settlement contains a total 161
population that does not exceed 150 people, the residue of five villages
that probably existed so late as the turn of the century and that are
said to have had a population of about two hundred people each. A
progressive population decline has followed the acquiring of diseases
from contact with the neighboring Carajá Indians of the Araguaya River
and from European visitors. Such contacts, however, have left their aborigi-
nal culture little changed.

The Tapirapé are properly a forest people, maintaining an agricultural 241
life on clearings hewed from the great tropical forest. Their cultivated 462
fields are large producing manioc (both *Manihot manihot* and the sweet
species *Manihot palmata aypi*), maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, yams,
kará (*Dioscorea sp.*), cotton, and bananas.

The dry months of June through September of each year are devoted [132]
to clearing the garden sites. This work is done by men, frequently
working individually, sometimes in communal labor formed by the men's
society groups (1). When the clearing is done collectively, the large [423]
field is divided into individual plots which become individual property;

(1) There is an excellent description of this communal activity, called *apatxire* by the Tapirapé in Herbert Baldus, 1937, "Os grupos de esmer e os grupos de trabalho dos Tapirapé", in *Revista de Etnologia Brasileira*, pp. 98-111. São Paulo.

[p. 61]
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4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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241 and planting, which begins after the first light rains of October, is done
462 individually and principally by the men. Cotton and peanuts, however,
[423] are women's crops. The women plant these in their husband's garden plots and harvest them themselves. While a new garden plot is cleared each year, a particular garden plot is generally used for two years and then abandoned. A man plants such crops as maize, beans, and peppers on the plot the first year and as they are harvested, he replants the plot with manioc. Maize is harvested from the end of December through February, the season of heaviest rains; while other crops are harvested at the end of the rains in May and June.

[241] Large gardens with many different crops guarantee to the Tapi-
262 rapé a variety and abundance of garden stuff, but meat and fish are
22 definitely luxuries. People in the village could not remember a time when there had been real hunger among them, but they were frequently hungry for meat and fish. This lack in the diet is supplied by frequent trips to the near-by Tapirapé River and the grass plains that border it where fish and game, principally wild pork (*Tagassu pecari*), deer, peccary (*Tagassu tajacu*), water fowl, and tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*) are found in abundance. During the dry season these plains abound in piqui (*Caryocar villosum*), palm nuts especially andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), used for body oil — and other wild fruits.

556 Among the Tapirapé wealth is not reckoned in terms of basic sub-
435 sistance, for these goods are so easy to obtain as to be considered with little regard. The possessions that lend real distinction of wealth are such luxury articles as the breast and tail feathers of the red parrot (*Ara chloroptera?*), beads, and pieces of hardware acquired through contact with white men or trading with other Indians. These goods are accordingly the most valued media of exchange in the community. Other goods used for a medium of exchange were urucú (*Bixa orellana*), tobacco, extra hammocks, decorated gourds, string for binding feathers to arrows, and cane arrow shafts.

361 The houses of a Tapirapé village form a circle around a great central ceremonial men's house. There are nine of these large thatch dwellings with rounded roofs in the modern Tapirapé village: four to eight simple families (father, mother, and children) share a house. Each simple family
591 has a section of the unpartitioned house where they lead a domestic life
592 separate from the others. Residence is matrilocal and the women of such a household are closely related by kinship; yet each large household has

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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a male leader, a man of prestige, who is usually the husband of one the older women of the female kinship group. Apart from these residential groupings, the Tapirapé are divided in two other ways. 591 592

First, all Tapirapé men belong to one of the two patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties (2) and each moiety is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths, two groups of adult men of warrior age, and two groups of older men. Each of these groups bears the name of a mythical bird, the word wéd — bird — itself being used as the generic name for the groups. These wéd function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites: parallel groups also dance against one another in the ceremonials and offer reciprocal feasts to each other. The warrior-age group of each of these moieties has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and other communal work and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. 561 616 [476] [535] [574]

Both men and women of the Tapirapé are also divided into eight "feasting" groups called ñtéápawé — literally "fire all to eat" (3). Men belong to their father's feasting group and women to their mother's. Feasting groups are not only non-exogamic but people prefer to marry with their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry names of the mythological heads of the legendary original eight households of the first Tapirapé village. On occasion during the dry season the feast groups meet at sunset on the dance plaza for a ceremonial feast, each member bringing his or her contribution to the common meal (4). 574 571 582 [773]

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(2) Baldus (op. cit. pp. 95-98) did not recognize these wéd groups as age groups of men's ceremonial moieties. He calls them grupos de trabalho (work groups). He reports these wéd groups among the adult men and writes that formerly there had been these corresponding groups among the boys of the tribe. Nowadays the Tapirapé are so few that lacking older men, younger men pass permanently into the older men's wéd group in order to give the necessary balance for ceremonials. This presents the picture of several groups of equal ages; thus accounting, perhaps, for the divergence of opinion on this subject. Careful checking with informants, and observation of dances, hunts, races and wrestling matches when Tapirapé men were grouped according to moiety divisions led me to the definite conviction that there are age groupings of men's ceremonial moieties as described above. [314]

(3) Baldus (op. cit., p. 98).

(4) Baldus calls the ñtéápawé "grupos de comer" (eating groups). He reports seven feast groups functioning in 1937. He vividly describes a ceremonial meal on pages 91 to 95 of his work already cited.

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601 The kinship system is perhaps a more important factor in assuring
602 solidarity to the Tapirapé than either the moieties or the household groups. Tapirapé kinship is bilateral; the chief principle of the system being that all persons of one generation who are related through either mother or father, no matter how distantly, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of persons calling each other siblings are also siblings. The mother's "sisters" are called mother and the father's "brothers", father. The mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, the children of a man's brothers are considered sons and daughters of the man himself, and the children of a woman's sisters are considered her children. Children of a man's sister or a woman's brother are given special terms.

The wide inclusiveness of these kinship affiliation makes it possible for an individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers — and in former days those of other villages — by terms of close relationship. Siblings are under obligation to lend aid to one another when it is needed and, in the case of sorcery, to avenge wrong done to any of them. The
[782] kinship system accordingly provides an important bond of solidarity within this society which lacks strong centralized control to hold it together.

## SOURCE OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

775 A multitude of spirits populate the unseen world of the Tapirapé.
776 These spirits, known by the generic term of *anãnga* (5), are of two general types: ghosts, *anãnga ãnawra*, the disembodied souls of the dead; and second, malevolent beings of many classes and descriptions. Ghosts inhabit abandoned village sites where they relive their earthly lives, yet frequently they travel about at night and, especially during the rainy season, they come near the village of the living, for "they are cold" and come near human habitations to get warm. People are accordingly afraid to venture beyond the village plaza at night. Now and again, ghosts appear to living people, frightening them, sometimes throwing a dust-like substance over them and causing them to fall insensible.

775 Several people fell from fright upon seeing a ghost during my
[781] visit. One woman saw a ghost "bathing in the stream" when she

(5) This is the *anhangá* or *agnaos* of the Portuguese and French chroniclers who wrote about the Tupi.

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west to the small brook to drink water after dark. She said that the ghost approached and struck her. A man walking in his garden after dark saw the ghost of a known person, some years dead. "It was white and his eyes had fallen out. He still had some flesh and he had urucú in his hair" (6). Yet another man also met a ghost which was "white with big holes instead of eyes". Ghosts of individuals who have been dead many years "have no flesh; they have only bones". The ghosts that appear to the living follow the pattern of the gradual disintegration of the body. 775

Ghosts gather around a new grave to carry away the soul at time of burial; so they are especially dangerous to people at the time of funerals. When a Tapirapé dies, men carry machetes and mirrors to the wake for protection against the ghosts. If ghosts see their reflections in mirrors, they are frightened away. 775 764

The principal encounters of the Tapirapé with ghosts are in dreams. Dreamers sometimes visit them in their villages and at times learn from them new ceremonial songs which they hear in the traditional Tapirapé ceremonials that the ghosts continue to carry on after they have left the village of the living. 775 767

After an indeterminate period the ghosts themselves die and their spirits then become changed into animals. The spirit of the dead ghost of a man of prestige may become a toad (*Pipa pipa*); that of a common man a dove. Among the other animals into which spirits of dead ghosts become changed are frogs, deer, paca (*Cuniculus paca*). 775 925 [554]

Besides the ghosts there are an infinite number and many different species of *anitinga* of the demonic class, all generally living at a great distance deep in the forest. It is fortunate that their dwellings are so distant, for these creatures are very dangerous, killing Tapirapé whenever possible. In legendary times these demonic beings were more numerous than at present and killed many Tapirapé, but Wará, a powerful shaman and legendary hero, engaged in a constant warfare of wits with them and succeeded in killing many of them. He destroyed the dangerous *awaká anká* by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed far behind them as they walked through the forest. He also killed the *mangi anká*, the beings that clubbed men to death and drank their blood. 776 [773]

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(6) The Tapirapé paint the hair of a corpse with a thick coat of urucú in preparation for burial. [302 764]

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776 Some of these demons of the forest are now "pets" of the Tapirapé, and are no longer dangerous to them. The comparatively harmless *ancinga*, in a sense domesticated by Tapirapé men, come at intervals throughout the year to live in the large central men's house. While an [C35] *ancinga* is inhabiting this ceremonial house, Tapirapé men sing and [C30] dance with masks representing the visiting spirit (7).

756 Knowledge of the supernatural world is gained chiefly through the 787 dream experiences of shamans or *pančé*, for among the Tapirapé shamanistic power derives from dreams and from powers revealed in them. [D78] Dreams are believed to be journeys. The *iangá*, the soul, may free itself [D79] from the *eté*, the body, in sleep, and move freely in time and space. Obviously anyone may dream but frequent dreaming is evidence of shamanistic power. Laymen who dream very much are afraid, for they do not belong in this supernatural world, or they believe that they should become shamans.

Campukwi, who was not a shaman, indicated this fear in telling me his dream experience. When he saw dangerous *ancinga* in his dream, he had no recourse but to run: "I am not a shaman. I was afraid. I ran. They would have killed me". Only shamans have the supernatural power to move freely in this dream-world of ghosts and demons. A shaman is never afraid in his dream travels, for ghosts are his friends and the power of a shaman grows in proportion as he fraternizes with the demonic spirits of the forest. After a dream-visit from a shaman, breeds of demonic spirits may become his familiars, obedient to his calls for aid. Turning himself into a bird or launching himself through the air in his "canoe" a half gourd, he travels to the villages of ghosts, to the houses of demonic spirits, or to such temporal places as the Brazilian settlements or Carajá villages on the Araguaya River. Then, too, time is no obstacle: in a sleep of a few minutes he may experience three or four days of dream adventure.

756 The dream experience of Ikanacowi, a powerful shaman who died 776 a few years before my visit, will illustrate these points. In his dream he 787 walked far to the shores of a large lake deep in the jungle. There he heard dogs barking and ran in the direction from which the noise came until he met several forest spirits of the breed called *mangi anká*. They

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[D77] (7) The men's masked dance cult, kept as a secret from the women, is not [C63] obviously found among Tupi tribes. In this case it has obviously been borrowed from [D79] the Tapirapé's neighbors, the Carajá.

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were tearing a bat out of a tree for food. These talked with Ikanancowi and invited him to return to their village, which was situated upon the lake. In the village he saw *periquitos* (Psittacidae) and many socó (*Butorides* sp.), birds which they keep as pets. The *anciinga* had several pots of *kani* (8) and invited Ikanancowi to eat with them. He refused for he saw that their *kani* was made from human blood. Ikanancowi watched one spirit drink of the *kani* and saw him vomit blood immediately afterwards; the shaman saw a second spirit drink from another pot and immediately spurt blood from his anus. He saw the *munpi anká* vomit up their entrails and throw them upon the ground, but he soon saw that this was only a trick; they would not die, for they had more intestines. After this visit the *munpi anká* called Ikanancowi father and he called them his sons; he visited them in his dreams frequently and he had *munpi anká* near him always. When Ikanancowi danced and sang in the annual shamanistic ceremony against Thunder (see page 84), he painted his chest and chin red with urucu, representing the *kani* of blood which drools from the mouths of the *munpi anká* after they vomit and he called these spirits to his aid in his songs. Other shamans have had familiar spirits but none have had such dangerous spirits as the *munpi anká*: "people were very much afraid of Ikanancowi, for these *anciinga* are very dangerous".

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787
[302
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In another dream told to me a shaman met the forest spirits called *orêya*. These have long hair wound in a mass on top of their heads and they carry one arrow for the bows with which they kill men. The *orêya* were about to shoot the shaman, but when he shouted, "No, I am a shaman", they did not harm him. Instead they gave him food and helped him return through the deep forest to the village. Another shaman had *anciinga* and *awa* as his familiars. These forest demons have protruding eyes and sharp pointed chins. They kill Tapirapé by grabbing them from behind as they walk unsuspectingly through the forest, clapping their hands over the victim's mouth and driving their pointed chins into the back of his neck. A man caught by one of these *anciinga* dies gurgling and staring, unable to speak; so, although found alive he may never explain what happened to him. A shaman with such dangerous familiars as these protects the laity by keeping his spirits under control.

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(8) *Kani* is a thick soup-like drink prepared most usually from maize, sometimes from several kinds of manioc. It is never alcoholic among the Tapirapé. [272]

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756 One powerful shaman may have several demonic familiars and his
776 responsibility and prestige grow with their numbers and strength. Pantori,
787 perhaps the most powerful shaman living in 1940, had several hordes of familiars garnered from his dreams. He was, of course, accustomed to visiting the villages of ghosts and frequently saw and talked with ghosts in his nightly dreams. He had visited the *anapi ancénga*, beings with huge penises with which they kill people by sodomy and by copulation. Pantori travelled once in his dreams over a high mountain ridge to the north of the Tapirapé country where he visited with the ghosts of the hostile Gê-speaking Kayapo. These enemy ghosts too became his familiars and he says that they will warn him if and when the living Kayapo plan to attack the Tapirapé. Again, in one of his dreams, Pantori travelled two days through a thick forest through which no paths led. Suddenly he found himself at the mouth of the Tapirapé River where it runs into the Araguaya. Inside a near-by hill he visited *anacówa*, the large red parrot from which supernatural beings and the souls of dead shamans pluck their everlasting supply of red feathers for decoration (9).

[753] Pantori also visited the forest demons called *peropi awa*, who have the power to send fevers to the Tapirapé. About this visit to their "house" he related the following: "I saw many pets. They have periquitos, parrots, many pets... I had not seen them before. I saw there a paca. The paca was cold: it was shivering. The paca had fever [chills]. I knew that the Tapirapé would all have fever. I told many people that this would occur but there was nothing I could do about it". During his many dream travels Pantori has also visited Maratawa, the home of heroic ancestors and deceased shamans and he has looked down upon many Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya River.

756 There are certain of the shamans who are said to make frequent trips
787 to the sky in their "canoes" and to count powerful celestial phenomena
821 among their powers. The Milky Way was spoken of as the "Road of the *Pauiê*". Once when comparing his powers with those of another shaman, a shaman told me that he dreamed only on earth level and so was not so powerful as the other who frequently travelled in the sky. The other, he said, "had visited *é ôco*, the Pleiades, and *kapia zawona*,

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(9) Ancestor heroes. Thunder as a supernatural, and souls of dead shamans are always described as having a plentiful supply of red feathers — something that a living Tapirapé envies.

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the Jaguar of the Skies". When this shaman dies, it is thought that many terrestrial jaguars, sent by the Jaguar of the Skies, will haunt the confines of the village. I was told, too, that when the powerful shaman Wautanam died the "sun was large and red with the blood of the shaman"; it was "hot" and "angry" because a shaman had died. 821 756 787 [825]

## SORCERY

The Tapirapé tell of great battles between strong shamans, each supported by his own retinue of powers. During my stay with the Tapirapé there were rumors of a possible combat between Urukumu and Pantori, the two strongest shamans. Many people believed that it would be caused by the death of a warm personal friend of Pantori through the suspected sorcery by Urukumu. One man even described how the thought that the combat would take place. "Pantori will smoke much tobacco (10) and then he will go to his hammock to sleep. He will go [in his dream] in his "canoe" to the top of a high mountain. From there he will look about until he sees [the soul of] Urukumu. From there Pantori will throw his *ankangiténa* (11); will wrap itself around [the soul of] Urukumu, carrying him off into the sky". Now the various familiar powers of both shamans hasten to their aid; it was at this point that the narrator, visualizing the possible battle of powers, listed the powers that would come to the aid of each shaman. A shaman whose soul has thus been captured by another falls prey to chills and fevers and soon dies, with his last breath whispering in song that he leaves the earth and possibly even telling gasping the name of the shaman who caused his death. Both shamans involved in the rumored combat denied knowledge or intention to wage it. 754 787 756 [276]

As might be expected, the same methods said to be used by shamans against one another may also be used against the layman. Shamans are believed to steal souls that are wandering in dream journeys. The shaman may send his *ankangiténa* to strike the soul of his victim over

(10) See page 72 for the use of tobacco in curers, as stimulants, to induce dreams, and for shamanistic ceremonies.

(11) The *ankangiténa* is a ceremonial headdress made of three or four long and broadness of a parrot and worn by the Tapirapé down the back tied to the short "pig tail" headdress (See Fig. 1 on page 41). [956 295]

757 the hand or to tie it up and carry it off. The one whose soul is thus
787 either incapacitated or imprisoned soon dies. A shaman may call upon
756 his familiar demonic spirits of the forest to deal with a chosen victim or may in his dreams shoot a victim's spirit with small arrows causing at times death and at times only boils. Still another method of attack is for the shaman to throw a fishbone (*ipiré kunga*) or gnawing worms (*mukie or dowé*) into his victim's body causing illness and death.
[755] The treatment of illness consists of removing from the victim's body these malignant arrows, fishbones, and worms that are the cause of illness.

757 In illness and other misfortune, sorcery is always suspected by
756 the Tapirapé and some shaman is accordingly always believed responsible. Sorcery, however, is believed to be the action of shamans in dreams, and although such a negative statement can obviously not be substantiated, it seems never to be consciously practised. But there
[789] is, so far as the writer knows, no use of incantations or mechanical devices for the deliberate inducing of sympathetic magic.

683 All Tapirapé are thought, however, to die by sorcery and at each
761 death suspicion turns toward a shaman (12). At the death of a child
756 or woman of low status, suspicion may arise and then soon die down
[759] but when the deceased is a man of status, his brothers, sons, or sisters' sons become violent in their grief and may murder the shaman toward whom suspicion points. Sometimes, after a long series of deaths, suspicion is fixed upon one famous and strong shaman and the Tapirapé decide informally that he must be killed. In such cases the revenge-murder occurs within the first few days after a death when the relatives are "sad" (13). If the first depression of mourning wears off without violence to the shaman, the anger toward him passes and he is out of danger. Thus, after a man of rather high status had died both Urubamu and Wautanamu, *pajés* of sufficient power to be suspected of causing his death, both left the village, ostensibly on fishing trips, staying away until the brothers of the deceased had calmed down again.

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[753] (12) Informants readily admitted that people may be infected by others, as in the case of the common cold, which they recognize as a disease from whites but it is believed that a person who has a cold slowly gets well if no sorcery is working against him. Death is caused only by sorcery.

[192 153] (13) A Tapirapé uses the word "*tembiuba*" to describe the condition of anger and sadness.

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The eight living men (*marátzunkanera* or "killers") who had 683
killed *pančés* attest to the frequency of revenge killing of shamans because of suspected sorcery. Within the memory of one informant, Kamaiurá, who was approximately forty years old, ten shamans had been killed (14). During his youth he had killed a shaman, *Pančewáni*, because he believed him responsible for his younger brother's death. Going to the shaman's house the second night after his brother's death, Kamaiurá found the shaman asleep and killed him with several arrows through the abdomen. According to various informants, the epidemic of deaths that had been occuring then came to a halt, thus proving *Pančewáni*'s guilt. In another case the killer hid in the forest and shot the suspected shaman as he passed on his way to his garden: still another shaman was clubbed to death as he sat with his family in the village plaza. Two living "killers" had murdered women shamans by [756
clubbing them to death. *Kuíaančé* (*kuían*, woman; *pančé*, shaman) 562]
generally die by violence, according to informants: women shamans "are dangerous". They dream more than men [shamans] and they kill many Tapirapé [in dreams]", said one man. Ironically, all three of the more powerful shamans living today, at least two of whom are currently in danger because they are considered powerful enough to be suspected of "evil dreaming", murdered shamans during their youth (15).

Informants could not remember any one occasion when a shaman 593
thus murdered was avenged by his relatives; yet informants did say that 683
a shaman with several adult brothers — true siblings — strong enough 756

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(14) The span of this man's life has seen the tremendous depopulation of [161]
the Tapirapé from imported diseases; thus it represents an abnormal period with more than the usual number of deaths and perhaps, therefore, an unusual number of revenge murders of shamans.

(15) As I write this paper, a letter comes from Valentim Gomes, my guide, and companion during both trips to the Tapirapé. I quote in part this letter translated from Portuguese: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirape on the twenty-sixth of July [1941]. They were all in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, etc. — There were few humans".

"But I am sorry to say that when we left there [in May, 1940] twenty-nine [165]
adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Campakwé, the best informant in the village. Also Urubuzinho had been killed by the young Tapirapé I called Antonio". (During my stay the Tapirapé had several times spoken of the necessity of liquidating Urubuzinho and several had predicted that it would occur).

683 to avenge him, is generally not murdered (16). A strong shaman makes
[593] an effort to have a strong family group about him for protection. Intoxi-
[256] cants could not remember that murdered shamans had ever been reveng-
ed by their familiar spirits, although one man made the point that
shamans were murdered only by persons under the influence of great
anger or grief, for people normally are afraid of the familiars of shamans.
683 Special rites are observed by anyone who has murdered a shaman, to
783 protect him and the rest of the tribe against possible danger. On the day
following the murder the *maránzunkanéia* must retire to his hammock
and here eat of a white clay, *iwé ĩinga*, and drink until he vomits of a
[927] brew made of boiling a man's leg ornament in water. Vomiting cleanses
[30] his body "of the blood of the shaman". The killer must paint his entire
body black with *genipa* (*Genipa americana*) and put red urucu paint
in his hair; he should also scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back
[981] with teeth of the dog fish, just as he did in the ceremony he had per-
formed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult. Then, each year
at the annual ceremony during the harvests in May and June, all who
have killed shamans must drink of kauiú (17) until they vomit, so cleans-
ing themselves of the shaman's blood for the period until the next
harvest.

## DUTIES OF THE SHAMAN

276 Among the Tapirapé tobacco is a sacred plant necessary for curing
and for all shamanistic activities; yet, while it is found widely near Tapi-
rapé village and near their gardens, it is not strictly a cultivated plant.
People know where a patch of tobacco grows and go there to pick it.
Occasionally they transplant tobacco nearer to their houses or to their
gardens but for the most part the patches seed themselves. When an

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[578] (16) When I left the Tapirapé in May, 1940, a grudge existed between two
[621] men of high status because of the murder of a shaman. Kamaiurá disliked, avoided,
and criticized Kanaiká because he had killed Kaulwaní, Kamaiurá's wife's father.
The antagonism was never overt. When they met they treated each other formally
and coldly. Other Tapirapé told me that Kamaiurá's wife continually gossiped
about the behavior of Kanaiká's wife, "because her husband had killed Kamaiurá's
father".

[272] (17) A brew made of a few grains of maize and much water. It is believed
[279] to be poisonous.

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when an individual discovers a new patch of tobacco, he hastily builds a low fence around it to inform others that it belongs to him. This native tobacco is smoked by laymen in short tubular pipes made of wood or clay and by shamans in long clay pipes, sometimes 30 centimetres long. 276 [423]

Tobacco is used for leisure-time smoking for pleasure: but its principal uses among the Tapirapé are as a stimulant and as a medicine. Each night after a long day's work or while traveling or hunting, Tapirapé men blow smoke over their tired legs, arms, and backs and sometimes men can be seen fumigating their tired wives or companions. They accompany the fumigation of their bodies with massage, rubbing their arms and legs toward the extremities. Tiredness and soreness are considered extraneous substances acquired during the day through exercise and it is believed they may be massaged and fumigated from the body. [517] [278] [953 827]

Treatment of the sick is the shaman's most common duty and the use of tobacco is always a necessary prelude and accompaniment to this. Unless the illness is serious enough to warrant immediate treatment, shamans always cure in the late evening. A shaman comes to his patient, and squats near the patient's hammock, his first act is always to light his pipe. When the patient has a fever or has fallen unconscious from the sight of a ghost, the principal method of treatment is by massage. The shaman blows smoke over the entire body of the patient; then he blows smoke over his own hands, spits into them, and massages the patient slowly and firmly, always toward the extremities of the body. He shows that he is removing a foreign substance by a quick movement of his hands as he reaches the end of an arm or leg. 955 [276]

The more frequent method of curing, however, is by the extraction of a malignant object (18) by sucking. The shaman squats alongside the hammock of his patient and begins to "eat smoke" — swallow large gulps of tobacco smoke from his pipe. He forces the smoke with great intakes of breath deep down into his stomach; soon he becomes intoxicated and nauseated; he vomits violently and smoke spews from his stomach. He groans and clears his throat in the manner of a person gagging with nausea but unable to vomit. By sucking back what he vomits he accumulates saliva in his mouth (19).

(18) Pathogenic, venomous, unknown which are injected into body by sorcery. [954]

(19) It hardly need be said that pajés do not eat before curing in this manner, but prefer to cure with an empty stomach.

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755 In the midst of this process he stops several times to suck on the body of his patient and finally, with one awful heave, he spews all the accumulated material on the ground. He then marches in this mess for the intrusive object that has been causing the illness. Never once did I see a shaman show the intrusive object to observers. As one treatment a Tapirapé *pané* usually repeats this process of "eating smoke", sucking, and vomiting several times. Sometimes, when a man of prestige is ill, two or even three shamans will cure side by side in this manner and the noise of violent vomiting resounds throughout the village.

[824]

One other method of curing was observed. During an epidemic of fever Pantori made a collective cure to drive fever out of the village and disinfect the people of the village against it. Two men were dispatched to collect wild honey; this was then mixed with water, making a weak honey mixture. Pantori, after first smoking for a time, went from house to house taking the honey mixture in his mouth and spraying it over the house and its occupants. He carefully sprayed and massaged the patients who had fever and removed the foreign substance from their bodies. For several hours he worked, spraying both the inside and outside of the houses, including the central ceremonial house of the men. It was explained that the honey alone did not have a therapeutic effect against fever but sprayed from the mouth of a *pané* it drove away fevers.

755 795 828 Shamans also protect the Tapirapé against ghosts. All people who see ghosts faint from fright or from the white substance with which the ghost covers their body. Shamans were called to blow smoke over them and to massage this substance from their bodies. During one funeral dance the shaman Pantori "saw many ghosts" in the environs of the village, recognizing some as long-dead relatives of the deceased. By blowing tobacco smoke about and by going among the ghosts with a large mirror he drove them away before they did any harm.

756 842 82 Shamans are necessary in several other life situations other than illness. For instance, shamans are thought among the Tapirapé to control the pregnancy of women. While pregnancy is known to be related to sexual intercourse, conception is thought to take place only when a shaman "brings a child to a woman". Several species of birds,

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of fish, of insects, and several natural phenomena, especially thunder, have children: that is, they are thought to control "spirits of children" (20). A shaman steals, or more simply, takes spirits of children from these sources and brings them to a woman while she sleeps. Parents who wish children can bring presents to a *panié* to "make him dream and bring a child to them". Most Tapirapé parents can identify the source of their children and the shaman who brought them. One father explained that he had taken honey to the *panié* Urukumu, making him dream, and that Urukumu had then traveled to the house of Thunder and brought back a child to his wife. Another gave a present of fish to a shaman who brought back a child from the small fish called pitay (*Leporinus* sp.); and yet another gave honey to a *panié* who brought back a child from the horsefly (Tabanidae). 756 82 842

To the Tapirapé all good and likewise all evil can be laid at the door of the shaman. Consequently a phenomenon such as barrenness is always the fault of the shaman. A barren woman or a man with no children by his wife must have "quarrelled much with the *panié*". For example, it was clear to Kamairabo that his failure to have children by the three wives with whom he had lived during his lifetime was due to the shaman: "They do not want me to have a child", he said. He had no suspicion concerning his own sterility, even though his present and third wife had had a daughter by her first husband: for according to Tapirapé belief, all men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are biological fathers of child, and Kamairabo was in this manner the "father" of several children. 756 842 [837]

The safety of Tapirapé men depends upon the power of their shaman during the period each October and November when they must swim while they fish and shoot turtles: for in this region of Brazil rivers are infested with alligators, sting rays (*Potamotrygon histrix*), and the carnivorous fish called piranha (Serrasalminae). The Tapirapé also believe that large snakes lurk in deep pools of the rivers ready to wrap themselves around men and pull them beneath the water. During the year men will not swim in deep water unless it is absolutely necessary 225 756 481 825

(20) Thunder, eagle, monkeys, wild pigs, jacú (*Penelope* sp.), jaboti (*Peropteis* sp.), fish or called tucunaré (*Cichla ocellaris*), pacú (*Myletes* sp.), and piranha (*Pygocentrus*), and jaboti (*Podocnemis* sp.), were listed as sources of "spirits of children".

4: Wagley K-8 (1939-1940) 1943
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825 and they will fish only in shallow clear rapids. When they must swim
481 to catch turtles, a shaman guarantees their safety. A powerful shaman
756 dreams. He travels to the river, ties he jaws of the alligators with wires,
825 strikes the *piranha* across their teeth so they cannot bite, and ties up the large snakes into knots with their own tails.

756 The abundance of the food supply may also become the respon-
825 sibility of the shaman. Some powerful shamans have the ability to control the movements and the increase of the bands of pigs. These
[787] shamans visit in their dreams the "home of wild pigs" near the Tapi-
[103] rapé River on a hill called by them *Towaipawé* — Ringed tail of the coati (*Nasua* sp.). There the shaman has sexual intercourse with female pigs, causing large increase in the bands. Those pigs that run fastest and are hardest to kill are these "children of the *panié*". The
[976] shaman's control over the movement of bands of pigs comes through his control over the ancinga called *ampukiga* — "crying spirits". Wild pigs are said to be "pets" of these spirits and follow them about.
[629] Shamans who are powerful enough capture these spirits and take them, followed by their pets, to an appointed place where Tapirapé men wait to kill the pigs. None of the living shamans was believed to be capable of these controls over the wild pigs and several of the Indians blamed the recent lack of success of hunting expeditions and the apparent scarcity of pigs on the declining power of the shamans.

756 The dream journeys of the shamans also give them the power of
787 prophecy, as was indicated by Panoré's vision of the fever in the village of the *pempé* dam. Such dream experiences are not limited to the demonic world but sometimes occur in other earthly regions. The shaman may visit Carajá villages or Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya, where he sometimes learns facts of great interest or importance to his fellow-villagers. When Panoré visited the Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya River for the first time, he said that he recognized faces that he saw for he had been to these places many times in his dream. When I returned to the Tapirapé village after three months' absence, one shaman claimed to have prophecied my arrival to the day. He had traveled in his dream, he said, to the Araguaya River and had seen my canoe moving up the Tapirapé River. Another in the same way foresaw the arrival of a young Tapirapé who was returning from se-

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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veral weeks on the Araguaya. Frequently shamans, through their dreams, learn and then tell the Tapirapé where large bands of wild pigs can be found and advise them how to approach the band (21). 756 787 [224]

The cleansing of food may be accomplished by the shaman by tasting it or by blowing smoke or his breath over it. Several times each year these rites are performed over the first fruits of harvests to insure their safety before the people taste the crop. In December the first ears of the new maize are picked and presented to a strong shaman who then gives them to his wife to cook. At sundown of the day on which this is done the shaman walks to the central plaza followed by his wife, who carries the cooked maize and places it in a pile before him, ready for the ceremonies that will follow. In 1939, Pantori was the shaman who initiated this ceremony and he was joined by five other proved shamans. The people of the village gathered about this group of shamans who sat in a circle facing the maize. One by one the shamans took deep draughts from their burning pipes and blew the smoke over the maize. Then, one by one again, each pinched off a few grains from an ear and ate them. When the last had tasted the new maize, the ceremony was ended. The youngsters of the village then fell upon the pile of maize; the crop had been tasted by the shamans and found free from danger for the people. The next day maize was eaten in all houses. 276 756 796 241

A similar ceremony is performed in August or September with the first wild honey of the season, and again about January or February when new corn is ground to make the thick beverage kani. I did not hear of such "tasting of first fruits" by shamans for other garden crops and informants were unable to remember any one occasion when shamans had found new maize or honey too dangerous for consumption by the people. [222]

Again, each year in the first months of the rainy season when the new crop of maize is threatened by the first heavy rains and electrical storms, Tapirapé shamans assist "light" against Thunder and his ac- 756 787

(21) Many such prophecies are found wanting, and several times I heard people speak of a shaman's prophecy as a "lie". Other prophecies are only made known to people after events have proved them true.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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756 759 sions in order to protect the gardens and even the people themselves from his violence. This four-day ceremony is the culmination of shamanistic activity among the Tapirapé and its most exotic and violent manifestation (22).

## SOCIAL POSITION OF THE SHAMAN

559 622 The Tapirapé do not have chieftains with highly centralized authority. Instead one finds among them respected individuals who are described modestly by the Tapirapé with the Portuguese term "capitão". Such men of great prestige have in every instance gained the respect of their fellow villagers in one or more — usually at least two — of three ways.

622 559 858 First, an individual may be singled out by his parents, who must themselves be people of some prestige for especial treatment as a žetikakuta, a favored child (23). Parents bestow upon such a child a series of important names which in themselves carry respect and he is taught with special care the myths, songs, dances, and manual techniques of the tribe. His parents may wait upon him, bringing him water to drink and to wash himself with and preparing special foods for him. Special care is taken in oiling and painting his body and elaborate decorations are made for him to wear during the annual harvest ceremonies, for the žetikakuta are the central figures in part of this ceremony. Again, his body decorations are more elaborate than those of an ordinary youth when he dances during the ceremony of reaching maturity (24).

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(22) See page 84 for a detailed treatment of Thunder as a supernatural and of the Thunder Ceremony.

(23) I use the masculine pronoun, for most žetikakuta are boys, although girls have been selected for this special treatment within the memory of my informants. Usually there are two more "favored children" in the village, one from each moiety.

(24) On this subject of žetikakuta, I again disagree with Baldus. He reports a "chefe principal" and a "vice-chefe". He considers such offices hereditary, the eldest son of the chief becoming chief and the next eldest becoming vice-chief (op. cit. page 31). But I believe the impression of primogeniture was created only by the fact that important names and the position of žetikakuta were generally passed on by parents to their eldest child and the parents of outstanding importance

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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Secondly, an individual may gain respect through being chosen as a leader of the warrior-age group of his ceremonial society. His companions may select him as their "walking leader" — anté ówa — or as their "song leader" — ammilá ówa — because of his special abilities in hunting, gardening, manual technique, singing, or dancing. It frequently happens that these chosen leaders were ciriákóetu when they were children, for the special treatment and educational advantages given such children develop qualities of leadership. 554 561 622 [858]

The third and most important road to prestige lies in shamanism. It has been shown that the Tapirapé depend upon their shamans to control the dangerous spirit world, to remove danger from first fruits, to predict the future, to bring spirits of children to their parents, and to cure the ill. In all life situations where chance or the unpredictable figure the Tapirapé depend markedly upon their shamans. Thus the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman (25). This prestige is reflected in the concepts of a separate afterlife for shamans and in the identification of ancestral culture heroes as shamans. Informants telling of Petuto, the bringer of such phenomena as fire and daylight to the Tapirapé, and of Ware, who killed so many dangerous animals, frequently referred to them as "great shamans". While a Tapirapé layman becomes a disembodied soul at death, the afterlife of a shaman is but a continuation of his present life under ideal circumstances. His soul goes to Maratawa (26), the home of the culture heroes. This home of the privileged dead lies far to the north- 555 622 756 775 [773]

were the men who generally produced ciriákóetu. The man whom Baldus reported as "chefe principal", carried an important name, had been a favored child, had been a "song-leader" of his work, and was currently a shaman of some power, and I believe held his position because of these things and had not inherited it. Wamtumum, whom Baldus mentions as "vice-chefe", had also before his death in 1940, been a shaman and a "walking leader". [cite]

(25) The unusual importance of the shaman to the Tapirapé was well put by one of my informants: "Without our pajé, all we Tapirapé die".

(26) If a shaman meets death by murder, his trip to Maratawa is delayed. He goes temporarily to another "home of shamans" in the west until his wounds are healed; only then does he go to Maratawa. If his skull has been crushed by a club, a new cranium of metal is made for him at this temporary residence. A "metal" cranium is obviously an introduced concept yet informants were not able to explain of what material the new cranium might have been made before metal was known to the Tapirapé.

555 west "where the earth ends and the water begins" and where the sun
622 returns to sleep after its travels across the sky. In Maratawa shamans
756 have an inexhaustible supply of tobacco, many red parrot feathers,
775 much manioc, meat, bananas, meat, and all the other necessities and
[766] luxuries of life. Frequently a shaman is buried with a pipe filled with tobacco in his mouth, so that he may have smoke to drive out fatigue on the trip to Maratawa; and sometimes food is buried with the body so he may eat, for the journey to Maratawa is long.

556 Aside from these non-material considerations, there is one very
756 real factor which insures social respect to the Tapirapé shaman. Shamans are in general the wealthiest men among the Tapirapé. Although they may at times receive meat or honey for their cures or as presents for bringing the spirits of children to parents, payments to them are usually in those luxury goods that are the marks of wealth. It was readily observed that the beads and hardware which I gave as presents to the Tapirapé soon passed into the hands of shamans as payments for cures.

756 Payments to the shamans for curing the ill depend upon the seriousness of the illness and upon what the patient or his family has to offer. Frequently a shaman names his fee when his cure has been successful, asking for specific objects, for he knows full well what each family owns. Unsuccessful cures are never paid. For example, for the treatment of his sister's son and of his daughter, who were both sick at once, Kamaiwiha, a shaman himself, called three shamans and paid each the price that he asked. He paid one, Pantori, a machete and two strings of beads; to another, Urukumu, he gave an axe, a pocket knife, a pair of scissors, and five red feathers of a red parrot; he gave only four strings of beads to Kamairui, who was considered a shaman of less power than the other two. Another young man with few possessions gave five arrows to a shaman who successfully treated his wife; still another paid the breast feathers from his parrot and four string of
[262] beads to a shaman. When Tawaniuma killed a paca, the meat of
[224] which is highly prized by the Tapirapé, he gave some to his companion of the hunt and divided the rest between two shamans who had treated his small daughter successfully. Neither shaman had to ask for any specific gift or payment. People often complain to others about the
[379] high price they had to pay to a shaman, but generally they pay what is

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asked. "Stinginess" is a severe accusation among these people and to complain mildly about a high price is one way of announcing one's liberality. 577 756

Liberality is a necessary quality for a man of prestige. At the time of the annual harvest ceremonies, shamans and all other men of prestige must give gifts to all those who drink of *kauiá* (27). Gift giving at this time proves their liberality and validates their prestige. At this time then there is a siphoning off of wealth from the shamans, but throughout the rest of the year fees and gifts channel it back into their hands. 431 554 756 577

## ROAD TO SHAMANISM

Among the Tapirapé, *panités* are essentially those people who dream much and who, in their dreams, travel widely in the supernatural world, achieving familiarity with the supernatural. At the time of my visit there were six men recognized as fullfledged shamans who were called upon to treat the sick and to perform various ceremonials. Pantení and Urukumu, were the two clearly outstanding: these assumed leadership in shamanistic ceremonies and were the ones most frequently called for cures. Besides these six recognized shamans, there were four young men working to develop shamanistic power to gain recognition as shamans. 956 [987]

Within the memory of persons living in the village there had been three women shamans, but there were none, either practicing as recognized shamans or working as novices, during my visit. The women shamans were remembered as having been especially malevolent. They are supposed to dream more than the men and work much harm to the people. People who recalled the women shamans explained that when they had sung in the annual ceremony of calling and fighting Thunder they had sung the part of the music usually sung by the shamans' wives and their husbands had sung the usual men shamans' parts. The women *panités* had smoked and fallen in trances as the male shamans do. Nothing possible to men shamans appeared to be beyond the power of the women. None of them was described as masculine in behavior: [562]

(27) See footnote 17 on p. 72.

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756 on the contrary, they were described as "good wives", and one of them was remembered as small and particularly attractive.

756 828 [736] Certain people regardless of sex are early recognized as future shamans because of their natural inclination to dream. Several informants, for example, told me that a young boy, an orphan, and therefore badly cared for, would certainly be a powerful shaman. He turned and talked in his sleep and had been known to cry during a nightmare. He remembered few of his dreams but did tell of seeing the spirit of his mother, and described an evil spirit which he met during a dream. One of the present powerful shamans is said to have been such a youngster with a predilection for dreaming. Such youngsters are nervous and sensitive: yet no distinct personality traits were observed among adult 756 shamans. Shamans are frequently emaciated and thin, attributable [828] perhaps to their constant use of tobacco and the resulting nausea, and one shaman, now dead, was described by informants as a nervous ascetic interested only in the supernatural world.

276 756 787 Persons lacking this predilection for dreaming, but with aspirations to shamanism, may solicit dreams. Each year during the days of the dry season all young men who aspire to shamanism, even those who have shown potentialities during boyhood, gather each evening in the central plaza of the village to seek dreams. A novice sits upon the ground near a pané, his mentor, and swallows smoke from his mentor's pipe until violent vomiting occurs. When the novices are too ill to hold the pipe, the shaman holds it for them, forcing them to continue "eating smoke". Generally the neophites fall backwards unconscious and ill from the smoke: during this state they may dream. In any case, when they regain their senses, the pipe is again placed in their mouth until they fall backwards ill and unconscious once more. The process may be repeated several times over a period of two or three hours. Later, when the novice retires to his hammock for the night, he may expect a dream.

756 Such sessions occur each night during the few weeks before the Thunder ceremony and a serious novice should attend all sessions. [839] During this period he refrains from sexual intercourse because it will hinder his dreaming: he also refrains from bathing and so becomes [848] grimy. He must not eat of those animals which "walk at night", such [862] as the jabuti tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) and the monkey, because he must be friendly with all creatures he may meet in his nocturnal dream travels. He should eat manioc flour, yams, pepper, and such bland

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meats as jacu, cuati (*Nasua* sp.), peccary, mutum (*Crax* sp.), and chicken; of other foods he must eat sparingly or not at all. The novices are "tired" and "thin"; many do not continue after the first few nights because they "are lazy" or because "they are afraid". Campukwi, my informant, did not continue because he did not like the dirt, the nausea from tobacco, the lack of food, and the sexual continence. 756 [262]

Other novices, more successful and more persistent, do dream. At first they see smoky forms of ghosts and sometimes forest demons; they as yet do not know how to talk with such spirits. Usually, the first season or two during which a young man seeks dreams, he may expect mild dreams. After several seasons the novice may see dangerous forest demons in his unconscious states and he may talk with ghosts. Traditionally, young Tapirapé shamans become wild and uncontrollable when they have their first dangerous dreams. They are reported sometimes to stand up suddenly from their induced unconscious state and run wildly through the village, sometimes killing chickens, dogs, and parrots, or breaking pottery. Although no novices "ran" in this way during the 1940 training period, an informant described the state of a young shaman who "ran" several years ago. "He jumped up." He shouted and ran through the village. He carried a club in his hand (usually weapons are placed well out of reach). He killed two chickens and broke through the side of a house. He killed his brother's dog. All the women and children ran from the village, afraid. Finally, Macumi grabbed him but he was strong and he hit Macumi with a club and blood ran down Macumi's face. Many men came and held him and Urukumu (his mentor) blew smoke over him", thus bringing him back to his senses. He had seen dangerous spirits and "was afraid", informants told me. This reaction is common for those who show potentialities toward shamanism. 756 787

The mere fact that young shaman has several dangerous dreams does not make him a proved shaman. He must take part in the "fight" against the beings of Thunder, and by the side of his mentor he may attempt cures. If successful, he may be called now and again by people for cures. With a reputation for several cures and with continual dreaming, during which he has supernatural encounters, he builds up his reputation as a shaman over a period of many years. Pantsi and Urukumu were about fifty years old when I visited them; informants gave no indication that their power was expected to decline with old age. 756 [886]

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## THE THUNDER CEREMONY

[771] In common with many Tupi peoples the Tapirapé consider thunder
776 as a powerful supernatural. He is called *Kanawana* by the Tapirapé.
[921] Kanawana lives in his house at Maratawa surrounded by his various
[778] supernaturaries. He has with him the souls of deceased Tapirapé shamans
[818] (*pancé-tinawira*), messengers called *awanprawa* that carry news to
these *pancé tinawira*, and finally, *tupi* (28).

*Tupi* are described as small anthropomorphic beings about the size of a man's head. Their bodies are covered with downy white hair, and they wear European beads, little headdresses of parrot feathers, and lip plugs. They travel with great swiftness through the air small "canoes", which are only halves of gourds, and they carry with them red feathers and beads to use as arrows to shoot at Tapirapé. Sometimes *tupi* are referred to as "pets" of Thunder and sometimes as his children: but in any case, they are many and do his bidding.

776 Each year in approximately late December and January, when,
921 there are heavy thunder showers, lightning, and strong winds, the Tapirapé believe that Thunder *is* angry. The noise of the storm is the rumbling of his *tupi's* canoes and the lightning is their speeding arrows. Once, when a strong wind ripped off part of the roof of a house, Tapirapé men were frightened because they knew that *pancé-tinawira* sent by Thunder had caused the wind. At this time each year shamans "call Thunder" and match their powers against him. In frenzied intoxi-
[768] cation from gulping tobacco smoke, constant singing and dancing, they fall into trances during which they travel to the house of Thunder. Shamans and the courageous laymen who take part in this ceremony are struck down by *tupi's* arrows and fall writhing upon the ground. Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies against Thunder and his beings.

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(28) *Tupi* is obviously the Tapirapé equivalent of *Tupan*, the word recorded as used by the Tupinambá and other coastal Tupi. Among the coastal Tupi *Tupan* was the supernatural being who caused the thunder and lightning. Tupan was so important that the early Catholic missionaries used the word for God. See Alfred Métraux's, 1928, *La Religion des Tupinambá*, pages 52-56. Paris. Note, however, that among the Tapirapé *tupi* are merely creatures of Thunder.

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In January 1940 this ceremony was announced without warning 276
by Pastori, one of the two powerful shamans of the village. One morn- 533
ing very early while it was still night, he woke up, lighted his pipe 796
and began to swallow tobacco smoke as he would when performing a cure. Then he began to sing, accompanied by his wife who sang in a higher counterpuntal key. His song called Thunder to come to the village and announced that he would see *tapi* and *panié*-dancers the next day. His song that "many Tapirapé would die" (29). By daybreak he had finished his song and all those who had waked to hear were asleep again. The village knew that Pastori had begun the ceremony by challenging Thunder and by noon on that day Urukumu, another powerful shaman, took up the song — swallowing smoke, vomiting, and singing accompanied by his wife. After an hour or more, Urukumu relaxed into his hammock and the song was taken up first by one and then by another shaman or novice to shamanism; until sunset this singing continued.

At sunset shamans and novices came one by one to the dance ground in front of the ceremonial house and repeated the performances of swallowing smoke until intoxicated. In turn, then, each of these stood up with his wife, the two facing each other and about five feet apart, and sang together. By nightfall this cycle of singing in the plaza was ended. Thunder had been called and his creatures would appear in the village on the next day.

For the three following days during which the ceremonies con- 796
tinued, sunset always marked a distinct change in the activities. There seemed always to be two distinct phases of the ceremony — one for the daylight hours and the other for the twilight.

Early on the morning of the second day of the ceremonies that I witnessed, preparations were made for the daytime activities. In each of the nine dwellings a door was broken through each side wall at the point nearest to the neighboring house. Paths were then swept between the houses, leading from one of these new doors to another and so forming a circular path about the village and passing through each house. The inhabitants of the largest of the dwellings (*A* on the ac-

(29) To "die" in this ceremony is to fall in a trance from the effect of the tapi's smoke. During this trance the soul leaves the body and travels to the house of Thunder.

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796 companying map of the village. (Fig. 13), which was to the southwest, moved their belongings back against the wall, clearing the house floor of their cooking hearths and taking down their hammocks. This house was to be the central point of the ceremonies to come.

276 796 About midday Panteri, in his house, began again to sing and gulp smoke from his pipe. After he had become ill and intoxicated, he came with his wife out of one of the new side doors of his house, "eating smoke" as he came. From this door the couple moved in a clockwise direction along the circular path until they came to the center of the next house. There they stopped, faced each other, and sang, Panteri punctuating his song with deep draughts from his pipe and vomiting. At each house they repeated this performance. When they reached their [53] own house again, Panteri took up two ceremonial rattles decorated with parrot feathers and the couple continued on a second round of the village houses. After making this circuit four times they stopped in their own house, where Panteri relaxed into his hammock. The rattles were left in the southwest house on the last circuit.

276 786 796 Urukumu and his wife then made four similar trips about the new circular path. After he had finished, a young shaman took up the ceremony, but he was not able to complete even one round without help. After singing in several houses he began to stagger as he walked and stumbled blindly into house posts; he was noticeably in a state of trance. Young men led him from house to house. Suddenly he [47] shrieked, his body stiffened, and he fell to the ground. His muscles quivered for a few moments and then his body became rigid. He had lost his battle. He had seen *tapi* and been shot by their arrows, for he did not have the strength of Panteri or Urukumu. Several young men immediately raised him up on their shoulders and carried him through the remaining houses of the circuit, depositing him finally in the southwestern house. One of the powerful shamans was then called, and he massaged and blew smoke over the prostrate young shaman's body until life again appeared in it.

Throughout the remainder of the afternoon aspirants to shamanism and several other laymen took up the ceremony of calling Thunder by traveling the ceremonial circuit of the village. At one time there were three men moving with their wives over this circular route. Some never reached a trance state because "they did not know how to eat smoke" or because "*tapi* did not hear their songs". Several novices

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"saw *topi*" and were struck down as the young shaman had been 147
earlier that day. One shaman novice, staggering blindly and vomiting 276
violently, tried to break away from the young men who were partially 786
supporting him. When they caught him, he fell immediately to the 796
ground. Finally, toward sundown, Pastori took up his song again. He still was "stronger than *topi*" and was able to perform his song without falling into a trance.

At sundown men began to gather in the house which had been 276
cleared. Some twenty men came to take part in this phase of the 533
ceremonies. The bulk of the village population was gathered inside the 796
house, crouched close against the walls, or outside looking through the doors.

The two powerful shamans, Urukumu and Pastori, stood in the middle of the floor facing each other. They lighted their long pipes and began to swallow smoke. At the back of the room were two young men with the ceremonial rattles that the shamans had used earlier. These young men were in positions of particular danger, for their rattles attracted the special attention of Thunder's creatures. In front of them Ikwetwantori, a young man noted for his singing, stood on a bench and began to sing the songs of Thunder; they played accompaniment for his songs on the rattles. A young boy sat behind them and [534]
beat time to the song with a hollow trunk of bamboo. Now and again young men standing against the walls took up a chorus with the solo singer. The shamans kept going to the young men with the rattles, offering them smoke to swallow from their pipes until they were unsteady on their feet. At times they were able to stay on their feet only when they were held up. They then began walking back and forth to the front of the house, shaking the rattles towards the roof threateningly, challenging *topi* and *panté-tinawera* to come.

Shamans now offered their pipes to their novices and to laymen. 276
The two shamans also soon began walking back and forth the length 796
of the house, first alone and then each taking a novice with him. One by one men joined the shamans as they moved up and down the house. By now all were thoroughly intoxicated and the atmosphere grew tense. All spewed out smoke until it fairly engulfed them as they moved vomiting and reeling about. Everyone took up a grunting [533]
chant of "Hew, hew!" Some carried mirrors and red parrot feathers [293]
as weapons against the *topi*. The two chief shamans carried machetes

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276 and at each end of the house they would stop, the group behind them,
796 and motion threateningly toward the roof, defying *tupí* and *panité*-
[533] answers to come. During all this time the singing continued with its accompaniment of rattles and the hollow bamboo tube, except for intervals when some performer collapsed.

276 Suddenly Panteri stopped his marching back and forth, retired a
796 few steps, and pointed to the corner of the house. It was explained to
776 me that he had seen *panité*-answers sent by Thunder. He rushed to the far end of the house and pointed again: he saw a *tupí*. He moved backwards in fright; then appeared to threaten, point, run in fright, and finally retreat, completely confused by numerous enemies.

Suddenly one young shaman broke away from the group and ran through the circle of the houses like a hunted animal, dodging about and staring with glazed eyes. He fell to the ground, rolling on his side and groaning. His body twitched and then became rigid. His wife, who had been standing among the spectators, rushed to his aid and dragged him out of the path of the group. She propped him up in a sitting position against her legs. Several others fell in this manner, struck down by the beings of Thunder and were dragged to the sidelines where someone blew smoke over them and massaged them. With this treatment he soon regained consciousness, yet they remained reclining upon the ground because they were "weak from the fight".

276 Finally, as it grew dark outside, Panteri, still leading those men
796 who had not been struck down, pointed directly over his head. Urukuma looked where Panteri had pointed, put his hands over the back of his neck, and ran quickly from side to side, dodging. "There are many *panité*-answers and many *tupí* in the house", onde of the Indians told me. At this point all the men who were participating in the ceremony fell suddenly to the ground; only Panteri and Urukuma were strong enough to stand before the forces of Thunder. The wives of the fallen men came to their aid and other men fumigated and massaged them.

One by one they came "to life". It was explained that "we die and tobacco brings back life. Without tobacco Thunder would kill us".

796 All men who had participated in the ceremony now returned to
[533] their own houses by way of the circuit path, stopping for a moment in each house to perform again the ceremonial singing. Two young boys brought this phase of the ceremony to an end by picking up the

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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ceremonial castles which had fallen to the ground and running with them around the whole circuit of the village. 796

The third and fourth days of the ceremony followed closely the pattern of this day, but there were some important variations. On the last two days a new danger was added, accounting for more violent actions that occurred then. During these days each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate headdress — the *anhangitana*. This headdress enlarges Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer (30). Without exception all who wore the headdress, even Pantsi and Urukumu, fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder and genuine fear was shown by all those who wore it. 293 796 786

Before a man could put the headdress on his head, a shaman waved it slowly before his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific "heat." When Urukumu wore the *anhangitana*, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circle of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Pantsi. Pantsi likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song and when he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Pantsi related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: "I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun: it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a *tapi*). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus he would have vanquished the *tapi*) but it left the house. Then all was dark. (He had not defeated the *tapi* and it had consequently shot him with his arrow) I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days and I climbed a large mountain on the 787 796

(30) Red parrot feathers are "hot like fire", say the Tapirapé: the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house. [821] [825] [753]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



787 other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw
796 Thunder; he is big and his body is covered with white hair. He had
many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many tupi and many souls of
[796] shamans near him. I did not talk but returned fast". He added later
[796] that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in
the other-world; he would have died.

796 A few novices, and now and again a rare layman, wore the
headdress and people marveled at their courage. Most Tapirapé men,
however, did not have the courage to wear it.

796 The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown
786 phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days of the ceremony.
At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the
powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Pantori grabbed
the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the
air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately,
stricken by a *panié-tinovéra*. Urukumu picked up the headdress. He
too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him. The two
young boys, as before, ran through the circle of houses at the end of
the day's ceremony, but this time they carried both the rattles and the
headdress. The participants, on regaining consciousness, returned sing-
ing to their houses.

796 On the fourth and last day of the ceremony, an additional ceremony
followed the usual evening performance. As the ceremony ended, the
two strong shamans walked out of the house to the dance ground,
taking the rattles and the headdress. There they and several others re-
enacted, but with less violence, the ceremony just completed in the
dwelling house. Following this perfomance, all the men of the village
gathered, facing north "toward the house of Thunder", and Pantori
walked across the plaza away from the group, toward the north, shak-
[798] ing the rattles over his head. Returning to the group, he touched several
men on the head with the rattles, much as a priest performs a blessing
with a crucifix. He repeated this performance until finally all the men
who had taken any part in the ceremony had received this "blessing".
Women, then children, came forward to be touched with the rattles.
Thus they were freed of danger from Thunder. After this, I was told,
Thunder goes far away to his house until next year.

[533] That evening men sang the songs of the *ančinga niwiró*, the spirits
535 that come to live in the dance house after Thunder has gone. Late
796

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



that same evening the men danced single file over the circuit, starting from the large house where the principal ceremonies had been held. As they danced, they sang that Thunder had gone and all was safe again (31).

During the four-day period of the combat against Thunder and his creatures sexual intercourse had been taboo; but on the night after Thunder leaves "all Tapirapé will have intercourse with their wives and many women will become pregnant". Traditionally, women are fewer with their favours for a few days after this ceremony. People, however, sometimes break the taboo against sexual intercourse during the period of Thunder's visit and so bring trouble on themselves and their tribe. Pauteri reported: "I was weak when I returned from Thunder's house. Many mosquitos drank my blood on the road. This was because Tapirapé men were with their wives. I dreamed that night and saw many Tapirapé having intercourse and knew that Tapirapé would be bitten by many mosquitos when they called Thunder".

## CONCLUSIONS

It is apparent that in studying Tapirapé shamanism we are concerned with patterns which are part of a deep-seated New World shamanistic complex found widespread in both North and South America — from the Eskimo to the Ona and Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego. Among the Tupi-guarani peoples, however, shamanism has been an unusual factor in their cultural history. Dr. Alfred Métraux has shown that the numerous and distant migrations of Tupi-Guarani tribes in post-Columbian times were frequently instigated my powerful shamans (32).

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(31) During this serpent dance, one may steal of corn which are hanging from rafters in the houses through which they pass. Youngsters did steal some corn and women ran after them trying to get it back. There was now much gaiety and laughter.

(32) "Soubre la vénération et l'autorité dont ces magiciens bénéficiaient, peuvent expliquer la facilité avec laquelle des tribus entières ont consenti à abandonner leurs villages et leur territoire à la recherche d'un pays parement fabuleux" (in Alfred Métraux. 1931. "Les hommes-dieux chez les Chiriguano et dans l'Amérique du Sud", *in Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán*. T. II. p. 66).

See also the same author's: 1927. "Les migrations historiques des Tupy-Guarany" *in Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*. Nouvelle Série. T. XIX.

4: Wagley L-S [1939-1968] 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



171 In another study, Dr. Métraux emphasizes the extraordinary powers of
756 the Tupinambá shamans and states that among the coastal Tupi of Brazil shamans at times held "great secular powers (33). Another Curt Nimuendaju writes that the basic organization of the Apapocúva-Guarani, before European contact, was the voluntary subordination to their shaman-chiefs and points out that the failure to recognize their power was the cause of repeated failures to unite the Guarani in "aldeamentos" (34). My own recent work among the Tupi-speaking Guajajara of the Rio Pindaré of Northeastern Brazil leads me to the opinion that, especially before European administrators gave them secular chiefs, Guajajara shamans exercised such strong religious and social controls over their people. The emphasis upon the role of the shaman in Tapirapé culture shows, therefore, a marked affinity with other Tupi-Guarani peoples.

## APPENDIX

756 A few added examples of individual overt reactions of persons during the Thunder ceremony may clarify and illustrate several points of the ceremony I have summarized below several from my field notebooks.

*Case of Kamaiwáho*

Kamaiwáho is a man of great prestige and has been a *pajé* for many years, although never a strong one. He says, "I have never seen many dangerous *anitinga*: I dream and travel only on (the level of) the earth", explaining that he does not travel through the sky in this
756 dreams as do Pupuwé and Urukumu. Kamaiwáho did not take part in
781 the Thunder ceremony for the first two days, explaining that he was
796 afraid; he said he was too old and too weak to meet the dangerous *topé*. On the third day, however, he took part in the day phase, against the protestations of his wife who cried in fear for him. Each time he made the village circuit wearing the headdress of red parrot feathers, he fell hard and without completing his circuit. Once after a seizure and a hard

(33) Alfred Métraux. 1928. "La Religion des Tupinambás, et ses rapports avec celle des autres tribus Tupy-Guarany", p. 82. Paris.

(34) Curt Nimuendaju. 1914. "Die Sagen von der Erschaffung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocúva-Guarani", in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, T. 46, pp. 337-338. Berlin.

(35) Charles Wagley. 1943. "Notas sobre aculturação entre os Guajajara" (portuguese translation from the unpublished original Brief notes on acculturation among the Guajajara) in *Boletim do Museu Nacional* (Rio de Janeiro), Nova Série, Antropologia N. 2.

fell, he struggled to his feet and tried to run. The young men who followed him seized him. Informants explained that in such a state he might have run wildly through the village, breaking property and causing bodily harm to others, in the same way that young novice shamans "run". Afterwards Kanaizabo told me that he would never again take part in this ceremony because Thunder might stay his soul during a visit to Thunder's house and cause his death. 756 781 796 [761]

*Case of Panini*

Panini is a young shaman who has been treating the sick for several years. He took part in all the ceremonies during the first two days. During the sundown phase of the third day, he touched the headdress, then being carried by Urukumu, screamed, fell backwards, and in falling, broke open his scalp against one of the house poles. Upon regaining consciousness an hour or so later, he said that he remembered nothing. All that he knew, he explained, was that he returned from a dreamtrip covered with blood.

*Case of Anawani*

Anawani is a layman, notably the laziest of the village and thus unmarried. He took part in only one sundown phase of the Thunder ceremony, openly admitting that he was afraid to continue. During that one session Anawani caught hold of Panteri several times as he moved back and forth with the group. Each time that he did this he fell at once to the ground, screaming. It was explained that to touch a powerful *panié* during the process of the ceremony is dangerous: for the shaman attracts the arrows of *topi*. [561. 589]

*Case of Kanacipã*

Kanacipã is a novice and is considered a potentially powerful shaman. He vomited violently during each phase of the ceremony and during the sundown phases he staggered about bumping into house poles. When he was pressed by a group, he invariably fell to the ground. Several other men were seized thus when pressed by a group. During one of the sessions of the ceremony, it took about a half hour to bring Kanacipã out of this seizure. His wife began the crying chant characteristic of funerals while Urukumu massaged and fumigated him. She cried out that he was dead several times before she saw him returning to consciousness. [764 533]

4: Wagley K-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



*Case of Ipewangi*

756 Ipewangi, a young man of about twenty years of age, is a novice in
781 shamanism. During one of his dreams, stimulated by "eating smoke"
796 he saw anhinga but was unable to identify which ones they were. During the Thunder ceremony, however, he decorated his body as did the anhinga he had seen in his dream. He painted a cross with urucu
[302] on his chest and wore feathers of the white vulture (urubú-ori — *Sarcoramphus papa*) down the sides of his arms. As a protective mea-
[351] sure he carried a mirror with him during all ceremonies for, like ghosts of the dead, the beings of Thunder are frightened if they see their own image in a mirror. During one sundown session Ipewangi fell crying wildly, and scratching his body frantically from head to foot, as if the itching were unbearable, letting out blood-curdling screams. This behavior was seen several times during the ceremony in other persons. The
[327] itching, informants told me, comes from many invisible fleas which jump from any dog on to the body of a person participating in the ceremony.
[231] Dogs, therefore, are securely tied to house posts or to trees at the edge of the village during the four days of the Thunder ceremony but they, of course, escape now and again.

*Case of Campukwi*

Campukwi, a young man of about twenty-four years of age, says that he does not want to be a shaman because "Tapirapé have killed many shamans". He took part rather casually in several of the phases of the ceremony: he "ate smoke" and moved about with the group in the evening session when the creatures of Thunder were being called. At the end of the session, when the powerful shamans saw "many tapi", he fell, struck down with the rest of the group. Campukwi's wife was not present but his sister came to his side to help him. She looked at him carefully and laughingly said that he was faking. She kicked him and left him instead of helping him to the sidelines. Campukwi stood up, laughed, and left the group.

Now and again through the ceremonies spectators made such observations concerning participants whose reactions seemed doubtful. Some participants did now and again pretend and people laughed at them. It was all taken in a spirit of fun.

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S:Baldus E-S (1935) 1937 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

# The Eating Groups and Work Groups among the Tapirapé

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[Os grupos de comer e os grupos de trabalho dos Tapirapé]

Herbert Baldus

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Translated from the Portuguese by Ariane Brunel

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1960

[Title Page]

128 [Ed., p. 86 and all but the last two lines of p. 87 are not translated.]

[87] In the pages that follow I wish to discuss a social institution
121 of the Tapirapé, the like of which I have not yet found [88] either among the other tribes I have visited or in the literature. I call it "eating groups." [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

The social significance of this organization into "eating groups"
264 derives from their purpose, which is as follows. Sometimes it happens
224 that the produce of the hunt or of the harvest, which among these Indians may be eaten by either sex and also by the children (for exam-
[262] ple, wild pig, curassow, guan, turtle, honey, etc.), is too sizable for the hunter's family and not sizable enough to be shared justly and advantageously with the entire population of the village. In such a case, to avoid a less equitable act, the distribution is made among the mem-
574 bers of the eating group to which the hunter belongs.

476
264 At the time of my stay among the Tapirapé, they were divided
551 into seven eating groups [89]. They say that in the old days the groups were more numerous. The names of the existing groups are Txankanépéra [Tr., the Portuguese x equals English sh], Pananivũũna, Maniitivuéra, Kãũnõõ, Tãũãupéra, Ãmpirampé, Avãinki'. Whenever I asked for an explanation of their meaning, I was merely given the word tãtãupãũã. Undoubtedly, however, some of the group names are related to the names of animals and plants, Txankanépéra with txankané (alligator), Maniitivuéra with mandiivũnã (a variety of manioc), Ãvãinki' with vũãikiãã (a variety of manioc). This may be
[771] a vestige of totemic ideas, although they are not manifested in the behavior of the group members. For example, the attitude of the Txankanépéra group members toward the alligator is no different from that of the members of other groups. It is true that at the common
551 feasts each person is called by the name of the group and also is what
476 the name represents. Thus, for example, a member of the
264 Txankanépéra group will say, "Txe Txankanépéra," which means both "I am called Txankanépéra" and "I am Txankanépéra," and says to his group-fellow, male or female, "Ané Txankanépéra ('You are called Txankanépéra,' or 'You are Txankanépéra')."

192 Tãtãupãũã designates both the common feast of a group and the
574 institution of eating groups in general. When I asked the Tapirapé what
476 they called themselves as a community, I got the answer "Ampiãũã"
264 (a word that means "man" in the Tupí of the Amazon) and the statement
[101]

192 that all participants in the tãtĩupũã [90] are called this. Nothing
476 could point up the importance of the institution more effectively than
574 this observation. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]
264
[101]

The word tãtĩ is used both by the Tapirapé and by the Karajá
171 [Caraja] to designate cultivated bananas in general. It also means
124 "fire" in their language, as in all Tupí-Guaraní tongues, and it differs
[194] from these only in its nasalization, an element which is peculiar to the Tapirapé language as a whole.

[192] The word upũã means "everything eaten."

The word tãtĩupũã may mean that the fire went out, or that everything that was near the fire was eaten.

264 Every individual belongs to the same eating group through life.
476 Sons belong to their father's group, daughters to their mother's.
574 The eating groups are not important to marriage; some of the
[611] men belong to the same group as their wives, while others belong to a different group.

[91] The principal chief, Kamairabó, was a Txankanépéra, while
123 the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ', was a Pananĩvũĩna. As I lived in
[622] Kamairabó's household and belonged, in a way, to his family, I also became a Txankanépéra, and they explained to me that as a consequence my own relatives, although absent, had also become Txankanépéra.

264 Within their group, all members regard one another as brothers
476 and sisters.
574
[609] Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life, namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group companions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond oc-
[621] casionally bringing together the inhabitants of different houses from birth to death.

264 At certain times the entire population of the village gathers to-
574 gether for the tãtĩupũã, which at such times is not really a feast
621 carried out to meet the obligations imposed by the consumption-group organization, but a veritable banquet.

On July 3, the time of the kãuihó, or "bad kãuĩ" (literally, "big kãuĩ" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the
[252] chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kãuĩ, which formerly was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was warm and so good that I ate my fill.

264 [96] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of
574 various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets.
476 These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kamanoí, owing to
their small numbers, had joined the Ávainki' to form a single group.
All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group.
[562] There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce
and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of karí [Tr.,
a kind of yam], peanut karí, etc. Before that, there was a great
431 distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom
574 he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such
[622] as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of
[177] this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better
use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay
264 the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted to-
476 gether, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they
574 [554] pleased. Kamairabó, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk
123 of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother.
We called each other "Tkankanépéra," and Ampitínya, his little
[597] adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Anó Tkankanó-
péra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other
groups also called me "Tkankanépéra," and I called them by the name
of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

264 [98] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that
574 there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots
535 and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The
plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the
[776] good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kaúibó and
vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness,
132 the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season
with its "good shadows," summer.

574 They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they
796 also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tatáupáua of an
224 eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Ávainki' had killed
264 with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting
476 the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group.
574 [462] In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts,

264 476 574 [224] much as the head and legs, which they gave to those members of their family who did not belong to the same eating group.

The feasting had already begun before the sun was up. In the [345] [562] [952] takána, the large dance house, which is essentially a men's house and thus as a rule not visited by women, the Ãvãinki˝ of both sexes sat [96] on straw mats stretched for the purpose around large pots containing the roasted pig. The animal was cut up in such a way that the pieces could easily be held in the hand.

When I appeared, they all graciously invited me to help myself. [123] I declined, stating that I was a Txankanfpéra, and in view of this they did not insist further.

Naturally, members of other eating groups may ask the feast participants for a piece. Custom, however, demands that they withdraw after receiving what they requested. Only members of the same group may sit in the circle surrounding the pots. As a rule, however, a member of another group does not come to the people who are feasting and ask for a piece.

123 264 476 574 In any case, I did not want to carry my pride in being a Txankanfpéra too far, and therefore I accepted the invitation of a special friend, Vuãnomantxí, whose wife had prepared the bulk of the food for the Ãvãinki˝ and thus earned the pig's head for her family. While she sat with her group-fellows in the takána, her husband and son, and a few other persons who were not relatives but who belonged to the family, so to speak, because they were the only other occupants of the small hut, lay across their hammocks and chewed contentedly. When I came in, Vuãnomantxí tore from the pig's head the piece that he considered the best and offered it to me. I began to chew on it, and this required much fortitude because the meat was very tough. [95] When my chin began to hurt badly and I was certain that I had swallowed enough of those awful bites, I craved a bonus and asked for the brains. My friend smiled--he always had a friendly smile for me, thoroughly joyous and relaxed--and gave me to understand that my tastes were not inferior to those of the most illustrious Tapirapé. Then, with his athletic strength, he broke open the skull, handed me the bulk of the brains, and stuffed the rest into his mouth.

Before the sun was up, only the pig's bones remained in Vuãnomantxi 264 476 house and in the takána.

Aside from the tatãupãua, there is another institution which also [574] [611] involves eating in hereditary groups. It is called apatxirũ. Its purpose,

264 476 however, is totally different from that of the tãtãupsũã. It is not a group organization for consumption, but for production. For this reason, also, the feasts in specific groups associated with this institution are merely accessory.

The social significance of apatxirũ resides in the possibility of sharing a collective task in such a way that no member of the tribe will [461] feel discredited by an unfair assignment. This is done by turning work into a festive occasion and a sports competition.

"When there is a lot of water everywhere in the rainy season, the [776] [291] ãũvanaĩ 'shadows' live in the takãna. Their headdress and breechcloth are of muriti leaves, but their headdress does not have any macaw [535] feathers. [96] They dance through the entire rainy season. At that time, there are no other 'shadows' (antxĩna) but them. Unlike other 'shadows,' these do not live in the hills or in the waters, but only in the takãna. They do not sing, but only grunt in a low voice. During [261] the moons of the great rains, the belly does not get as full as during the dry season. But the ãũvanaĩ have to eat. Then they go to the gardens and 'steal.' They take what they stole to the takãna, where they eat it. In the apatxirũ, we prepare the gardens where they seek their food. They 'steal' only from those gardens that are prepared for them alone. The ãũvanaĩ are not evil. All Tapirapé men are ãũvanaĩ.

Such is, in summary, the information I received when I asked the purpose of the common gardens prepared in the apatxirũ.

For the apatxirũ, all Tapirapé men are divided into three work-groups called vuĩra. The word vuĩra means "bird," and the name of [551] each group designates a mythical bird which is represented not only by the group as a whole but by each of its individual members. They are called Tãnãvé, Anantxĩ, and Vuirantxinió.

The Tãnãvé group was the smallest one at the time of my visit, [624] but it included the individuals of highest social status: the principal chief, Kamairabó; the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ'; the chief and most [123] eminent sorcerer--medicine man, Urukumĩ'; and myself. (Naturally, Kamairabó stated immediately that I would be a Tãnãvé like himself.)

[97] Each of the three work groups has two leaders called ãmaĩva. 264 The ãmaĩva of the Tãnãvé were Vũãtanamĩ' and Urukumĩ'. (Although 622 Kamairabó was also a Tãnãvé, he seemed to be the head of all three 476 groups in his capacity as principal chief. He is also the only one whose 651 private plot is prepared by the village inhabitants as a collective endeavor, while the private plots of other tribal members are prepared

only by their respective owners. I do not know, however, whether the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the preparation of the principal chief's garden.)

The ãntaiva of the Anantxã were the chief Tanupantxóa and Vuĩraí, and those of the Vuirantxinió were the chief Kamairã and the sorcerer--medicine man Maninohó.

In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were called Vuanankóra, Vuirantxína, and Vuĩrantxinoí. The last one is now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tãnãvé or Anantxã belong to the first one, and the sons of the Vuirantxinió to the second one. The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were Vuirantxinió. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work-group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution, for "the women and girls stay home when the men do collective work."

[98] They say that each apatxirã group has its specific ornament for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I was not with the Tapirapé. The Tãnãvé wear three large red macaw feathers hanging from the head onto the back. The Anantxã also wear three large macaw feathers in the same fashion, but two are from the blue and yellow macaw and only the middle one is red; in addition, they wear on their arms the white breast fluff of the king vulture. The Vuirantxinió are not differentiated from the Tãnãvé. The Vuanankóra wear smaller red feathers from the tail of the macaw, hanging from the head onto the back. The Vuirantxína are similarly adorned and also wear macaw fluff on their arms.

Concerning the word apatxirã, Curt Nimuendajú wrote me as follows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word apatxirã is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is omitted.]

[99] On July 30, Kamairahó invited me to go with him to the apatxirã. On the previous day, Chief Tanupantxóa had already begun the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working

476 under the leadership of the ãntaiva of the Anantxã, Tanupantxóa and Vuĩrã. Here the Anantxã were present in larger numbers than the other groups, for they were, so to speak, the contractors of this particular apatxirã. No division into three groups was evident, however, as the work progressed. All the Tãnãvé, Anantxã, and Vuirantxinió mixed together at random.

Tanupantxóa marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those spots without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax. [554] He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others.

Ãntaiva of other groups were also present and working, such as Urukumĩ of the Tãnãvé and Kamairã of the Vuirantxinió. Vuãtanamĩ had gone to his garden. As usual, he probably wanted to avoid meeting Kamairahó, whom he hated. Maninohó had stayed home. Kamairahó sat on a felled tree and watched. [578]

[100] Each man, as soon as he felt the desire to work, chose a tree for himself, as he pleased, in the vicinity of the ãntaiva, and the contest began. It did not seem to be a contest against the fellow workers, a fight to win over the others by achieving more, but a joyous contest against the timber and the big forest, against the forest as a whole, for it was not merely a matter of conquering each tree individually with the brute strength of the arms, but also a matter of strategy. First an incision in a good number of trees was made in such a way that they would all fall in the same direction when their tottering neighbor leaned against them from the opposite direction. Only then was a forest giant felled, and felled in such a way that it dragged with it to the ground its fellows weakened by the ax. 313 476

After extreme exertion for a while, each man would rest until he felt like resuming his task. They were all quite diligent. 461

The Indian works according to a different rhythm than that followed by the men of our civilization. He does not carry out the same task every day, at a certain time and for a certain period of time, but gives himself up with all his senses and all his strength to whatever task seems to him most necessary at the moment and best suited to his creative urge. When he does this, he does not spare himself but persists in his heavy work until he is completely exhausted. For example, he gives himself to the felling of trees with such fanaticism that on the following day he can hardly get out of his hammock owing to the muscular pain. [101] As soon as he feels a little better, he carves a bow stave or weaves a basket. Suddenly, he feels a craving for

461 bananas. If he has no bananas left at home, the man goes to the garden to get a new supply. He returns staggering under an enormous load, for he brings as much as he can carry. And although by this [147] time he is already tired enough to lie down in the hammock again, he may fulfill his duties as a dancer and singer throughout the night, duties that demand of a single man the rested legs and lungs of five strong males. [Ed., the remainder of p. 101, pp. 102-194, and the first paragraph on p. 105 are omitted.]

[105] On the other hand, it is true that there are great differences among the various tribes as far as industriousness is concerned. The Tapirapé may be pointed out as being especially "diligent." At the [262] time of my stay among them, they had an abundance of food, and in spite of this they worked very hard in their gardens and gave themselves up with no less zeal and perseverance to their dances and songs. 177 In this tribe, which is still distant from our civilization, the introduction of iron tools that began dozens of years ago through their eastern 182 neighbors, the Karajá, and the lack of war-like activities or bem had an effect directly opposite to that generated [by the same factors] in the Indians civilized by us, that is to say, deprived of their cultural independence. These two factors did not hinder the vital force or impair the creative urge of the Indians, but in fact guaranteed their subsistence and increased their well-being. If, in spite of this, symptoms of degeneration are apparent among the Tapirapé, [106] the causes must be sought elsewhere. This, however, is not the proper context to discuss them. [Ed., all but the last sentence of the subsequent paragraph is omitted.]

When watching a collective task among the Indians, such as the 476 apatxirú of the Tapirapé, one has the impression that the joy with which 461 it is done increases their strength.

As I watched the men, most of them endowed with the physique [147] of our adolescents, conquering piece after piece of the huge forest around them, I observed none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness and tediousness which characterize so much of the collective work among us. Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side.

Those who needed rest sat on the felled trunks. They sat very close together as they have the habit of doing. They talked, and some of [276] them smoked a pipe. Suddenly there would be a lot of shouting, they 476 would all scatter with a show of joy as the moan of live timber was heard, [107] and a green giant would lean slowly and crash with a

476 thundering noise, dragging along in its fall its weaker companions.

Every once in a while, a voice was heard behind the trees. One [222] could not see who it was, but the call sounded very close. Immediately, the boys rushed to the spot where the voice came from. Soon they returned with their arms full of bananas. They ran jubilantly toward us and distributed them.

These bananas reached a length of 30 centimeters and a middle [137] circumference of 15 to 20 centimeters. The men brought them in [482] hampers close to the working area, but never came out of the woods into the garden with their load.

The skin of the bananas was black, and their flesh was already 252 brownish and too soft. This is the condition in which the Tapirapé 262 like them best. The fruits are gathered when green and buried at the [322] spot where they grew. The Karajá do the same thing. In the sun- [171] heated ground, the bananas reach the desired state of rottenness more quickly than if they were kept at home. Then, too, they are warm when taken out of the ground, and this endears them further to the Indians.

They are not peeled in order to be eaten. The tough skin is 264 opened a little at one of the tips, the tip is placed between the lips, and the skin slowly emptied by squeezing it with the fingers so that the pulp gradually enters the mouth. Kamairahó ate one banana after another. As for myself, I found them nauseating.

[108] The sun was already quite low when we left. We forged 264 ahead at a rapid pace, one behind the other on the narrow trail. We 476 were not far from the village when the path opened onto a small, 462 cleared, triangular space. The women sat in the corners of this space 574 and watched us in silence. The women and girls had split into three groups which tallied with the work groups of their husbands and fathers. They had placed pots of food in the area in the same arrangement. [262] There were banana kãuĩ, peanut kãni, cottonseed kãuĩ, toasted kará, and many other good things. Each group ate only from the pots placed for it at a specific spot. There were smaller quantities for the Tãnãvé, because they were fewer. I was invited from all sides, and since I [123] was very hungry I did not spare the other two groups. Only when I was beginning to be satiated did I put down, with a great show of surprise, the pot of banana soup of the Anantxá from which I had just partaken, and declared that I was a Tãnãvé. This fact, however, did not seem to be of great importance to my hosts.

264 The pots were soon emptied. Then the women and girls came,
462 picked them up, and took them home. The men followed. The
476 Anantxá walked first, with the Vuirantxinió behind them and the
Tãnãvé last. They kept this order, and sent me back to the rear when
[123] I stepped--not unintentionally--in the midst of the Vuirantxinió.

[109] As soon as the village was in sight, things began to move.
535 The men ran straight to the takána and paired up for the dance. The
women and girls showed no interest in this and for the most part had
already gone to their huts.

The dancing pairs stood in a dense cluster in front of the entrance. In each pair, as was customary, one of the men held his arm across the other's shoulders, while his companion held his arm across the other's hips. Both held a club, bush knife, or bow in the other hand. In the midst of the group stood the leading pair, Tanupantxóa and Vuirá', the ãntaĭva of the Anantxá. The Anantxá had now mixed with the Vuirantxinió. Of the Tãnãvé, only Kamairahó, Urukumĭ', and I had come. We stayed nearby as onlookers.

First, the men danced for a while on the same spot. As usual, they pawed the ground, all at the same time and always with the same foot, alternating from right to left, keeping their knees slightly bent and the middle part of the body slightly bent forward. Then the leading pair gradually moved away from the spot. They danced with small steps out of the takána. The others followed in the same fashion. They all moved, one pair after the other, slowly, toward the house of Vuãtanamĭ', singing with sounds and shouts rather than words.

When they reached the house of the second leader, the procession broke up. They did not scatter, however, but remained close to-
526 gether. [110] The race began. It is called ãhéui, which means "I
883 run." The adolescents, who were in their initiation year and hence had their faces and bodies completely blackened with genipap, ran two at a time in a straight line across the dance plaza to the back of Kamairahó's house. Actually, there was no spot to be reached first by the winner, and there was no applause from the spectators. It might almost be said that there was no winner. As a rule, indeed, the
[156] desire to be singled out or to single out someone is not manifested by these Indians and is probably even regarded by them as a danger to the harmony of the community. These races seemed to be merely runs to be made as fast as possible across the plaza to convince the boys themselves of their own ability. As soon as the two runners reached

Ta 526 883 Kamairahó's house, they renewed their mutual holds and smiled graciously at each other (1).

Ta Ti [171] Ti 526

1. In a letter of February 20, 1936, Curt Nimuendajú wrote to me about the Timbira, a Gê tribe: "The Timbira also have a paired race across the village plaza (which is 300 meters in diameter). It is usually held following a more important ceremony. It is called ka-kaípũa (ka, 'village plaza,' and kaipũa, 'across')."

Ta 526 Later, some of the men also took part in the test, even the "old hunter" Kantxovanî. When darkness fell, they all went home. Only a dozen pairs had run altogether, for they had started out when the sun had already sunk behind the forest.

Ta 476 [535] [526] [111] On the following afternoon there was another apatxirũ at a different spot. The participants were so few that there was no dancing or racing. Two days later, a bigger apatxirũ was held with all the features, this time to the northwest of the village. Thus, apatxirũ are held on different days and at different places. Not all the men take part. Some work for themselves in their gardens, and others stay home. [Ed., Plates 1-26 are omitted since they concern tribes other than the Tapirapé.]

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Plate 27.

Tapirapé Dance of Men and Women.

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Plate 28.

Tapirapé Masked Dance.

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Plate 29.

Tapirapé Boys.

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Plate 30.

Tapirapé: the Race at Nightfall following the apatxird.

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Plate 31.

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Tapirapé Woman
Pounding Urucú.

Plate 32.

Tapirapé Masked Dancer.

5: Baldus SP22 Tapirape

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[p. 86]

# OS GRUPOS DE COMER E OS GRUPOS DE TRABALHO DOS TAPIRAPE'

Em junho de 1935, depois de ter subido, durante oito dias, o Rio Tapirapé, afluente esquerdo do Rio Araguaya, numa canôa dos indios Karajá, e depois de ter marchado a pé mais dois dias, em direção ao norte através de campos, pantanais e matos, alcancei Tampiitáũã, a "aldeia das antas". Cento e trinta indivíduos de uma tribu tupí moravam lá, 69 masculinos e 61 femininos. Era o resto dos indios Tapirapé.

Mõĩtáũã, a "aldeia do taquari", foi em 1932, assaltada e destruida pelos vizinhos do norte, os Kayapó, e os poucos sobreviventes se refugiaram em Tampiitáũã.

As tres outras aldeias dos Tapirapé abandonaram a sua independencia, mudando-se os habitantes para Tampiitáũã por uma causa digna de nota: por não existirem mais médicos-feiticeiros entre êles.

O difícilimo acêsso a suas povoações situadas numa floresta imensa e, em grande parte, sempre inundada, explica porque não tinham sido os Tapirapé, até a minha chegada, estudados por nenhum etnólogo. Morei até o mez de agosto em casa do seu chefe principal, tendo a

nem entre as outras tribus que visitei, nem na literatura. Dou-lhe o nome de "grupos de comer".

E' verdade que, como o Snr. Curt Nimuendajú me comunicou numa carta de 30 de dezembro de 1935, os indios Canellas do Estado de Maranhão, por êle visitados, têm uma instituição social que ele chama de "grupos da praça" (*Platzgruppen*), e cada um dos seis grupos da praça, aos quais só pertencem individuos masculinos, recebe, por ocasião da iniciação dos adolescentes, das parentas dos iniciados, como pagamento do seu trabalho na construção dos quartos de reclusão, certa quantidade de viveres vegetais, a qual é então, dentro de cada grupo, repartida em partes iguais entre os membros. Essa instituição da mencionada tribu gê não tem, no entanto, semelhança alguma com os grupos de comer dos Tapirapé.

A importancia para a vida social dessa organisação em "grupos de comer" depreende-se da sua finalidade, a saber: acontece, ás vezes, que o produto da caça ou colheita, que entre estes indios pode ser consumido por ambos os sexos e tambem pelas crianças (por exemplo: o porco do mato, mutum, jacú, tartaruga, mel, etc.), é grande demais para a familia do caçador e pequeno demais para ser distribuido com justiça e proveito por toda a povoação da aldeia; nesse caso e precisamente para evitar um ato menos equitativo, faz-se a distribuição pelo grupo de comer, do qual faz parte o respectivo caçador.

Por occasião da minha presença entre os Tapirapé, estavam eles divididos em sete grupos de comer.

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boa sorte de tomar parte numa série de festas que nem todos os anos são celebradas por eles.

As comparações da cultura espiritual e material dos Tapirapé com o que nos foi relatado pelos antigos autores como Hans Staden, Jean de Léry, André Thevet, Fernão Cardim, Gabriel Soares de Souza, Yves d'Evreux, Claude d'Abbeville, Simão de Vasconcellos e outros, sobre a população tupí da costa brasileira no século XVI e XVII, põem fóra de dúvida que os habitantes de Tampiitãũã são parentes chegados desses Tupí.

A. Métraux (Migrations historiques des Tupí-Guaraní, Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, 1927, XIX, pag. 25) tinha objetado a isto: "Le mot qu'ils (les Tapirapé) emploient pour désigner la banane est emprunté aux Karajá. Or en 1557, les Tupinamba de Rio avaient déjà reçu des bananes, comme nous l'apprend Léry et ils l'appelaient 'Pacoaire' comme la plupart des Tupí-Guaraní, ce qui exclurait la possibilité d'identifier les Tapirapé aux Tamoyo".

As minhas investigações demonstraram, porém, que os Tapirapé, designam, é certo, as bananas cultivadas em geral com o termo de "txãtá" ou "tãtá" o que se parece com a palavra karajá indicativa das mesmas frutas, mas chamam a banana brava de "pããnkuá" e uma das seis qualidades de bananas cultivadas por eles de "abebakinamãé".

Desejo tratar, a seguir, de uma instituição social dos Tapirapé, para a qual ainda não encontrei semelhanças,

Contam que antigamente havia maior numero de grupos. Os nomes dos grupos existentes são: Txankanépéra, Pananlvũána, Manĩltivuéra, Kãũũãnõĩ, Tãũãũpéra, Ampirampé, Avãinkĩ'. Quando pedia que me explicassem a sua significação, diziam-me sempre sómente a palavra tãtáupáũã. Seguramente, porém, alguns nomes dos grupos tem relação com nomes de animais e plantas, assim Txankanépéra com txankané (jacaré), Manĩltivuéra com mandiĩvúnã (especie de mandioca), Avãinkĩ' com vũãĩkĩ'rã (especie de mandioca). Talvez isto seja um resto de idéias totêmicas, embora não se manifeste no comportamento dos membros do grupo; por exemplo, os membros do grupo Txankanépéra não têm, a respeito do jacaré, posição diversa da dos membros dos outros grupos. E' verdade que, por ocasião do banquete comum, cada um é chamado segundo o seu grupo, e é tambem o que este nome representa. Assim, por exemplo, um membro do grupo Txankanépéra diz então: "Txé Txankanépéra", o que significa tanto "Chamo-me Txankanépéra" como "Sou Txankanépéra", e diz ao seu companheiro de grupo ou á sua companheira de grupo: "Ané Txankanépéra", "Chamas-te Txankanépéra" ou "Ês Txankanépéra".

Tãtáupáũã designa tanto o banquete comum de um grupo como a instituição dos grupos de comer em geral. Quando perguntei aos Tapirapé como se chamam a si mesmos, em conjunto, recebi a resposta: "Ampiáũã" (palavra que significa "varão" no tupi do Amazonas) e a declaração de que todos os participantes do tãtáupáũã

se chamam assim. Nada pode caraterizar melhor a importancia desta instituição do que esta observação. A tribu tupí ainda não explorada que mora ao sudoeste de Tampiitáũã, além do rio Tapirapé, sendo chamada pelos Tapirapé de Ampaneá, e que segundo as indicações deles tem a mesma cultura que os Tapirapé, é tambem chamada de Mãé-ãmpláũã. (Além disso, é designada tambem como todas as que falam tupí, por txané, quer dizer: "nós" [incluindo o apostrofado] ou "nosso").

A palavra tãtá é usada não só pelos Tapirapé como pelos Karajá para a designação das bananas cultivadas em geral. Significa tambem, na sua como em todas as linguas tupí-guaraní, "fogo"; e difere, na pronunciação, da mesma palavra dos outros representantes deste grupo lingüistico, sómente pela nasalação, diferença que distingue tambem em geral o tapirapé.

A palavra upáũã significa: "comido tudo".

A palavra tãtáupáũã póde significar que o fogo apagou ou que se comeu tudo que estava perto do fogo.

Cada individuo pertence por toda a vida ao mesmo grupo de comer; os filhos pertencem ao grupo do pai, as filhas ao grupo da mãe.

Os grupos de comer não tem importancia para o casamento; assim, acontece que alguns homens pertencem ao mesmo grupo que suas mulheres, e os outros homens a outro grupo.

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O chefe principal Kamairahó era Txankanépéra, o segundo chefe Vũãtanamĩ' era Pananĩvũãna. Como eu vivia junto com Kamairahó e pertencia, de certa maneira, á família dele, fiquei tambem Txankanépéra; e me explicaram que, por isso, tambem os meus parentes, apezar de ausentes, ficaram sendo Txankanépéra.

Dentro do seu grupo, todos os membros consideram uns aos outros como irmãos e irmãs.

Mais um ponto importante dos grupos de comer para a vida social: e é que a gente, por ocasião do banquete comum, está sentada junto e sempre unida àqueles companheiros de grupo, com os quais, talvez, fóra destas ocasiões, nunca mais se reune. Esta instituição forma, por conseguinte, um laço que de tempos a tempos, do nascimento à morte, liga uns aos outros os habitantes das diferentes casas.

Em certas épocas, a povoação inteira da aldeia se reune ao mesmo tempo para o tãtáupáũã, que não é então, na verdade, banquete realizado para a satisfação das obrigações impostas pela organização grupal de consumo, e sim um verdadeiro agape.

A 3 de julho estava-se no fim do tempo do kãũihó, do "kãũi ruim" (literalmente: kãũi grande). De tarde, os chefes deram a todos de sua casa kãũi de amendoim, que antes só era mastigado pelas mulheres dos chefes e não por outras mulheres. Era quente e tão bom que comi a fartar.

Ao pôr do sol do dia seguinte, grandes potes e pratos com diferentes viveres foram levados á praça de dançar e lá colocados em seis grupos. Estes grupos correspondiam aos grupos de comer; os Kãũãnõi, por causa do seu numero diminuto, tinham-se reunido com os Ãvãinkl' para formar um grupo só. Todos que podiam traziam alguma cousa de comer para seu grupo. Havia bananas, amendoim, farinha de amendoim, peixes cozidos, caldo de peixe com farinha de mandioca apimentada, varias espécies de kará, kãũi de amendoim etc. Antes, havia grande distribuição de presentes. Cada qual presenteava os que queria ou estimava especialmente, com uma parte das suas preciosidades, contas de perolas e cousas semelhantes. Os chefes recebiam a maior parte. Um homem tinha recebido tres tesouras; e não sabia senão usá-las como enfeite pendente.

Depois, os grupos de comer sentaram-se ao redor dos seus potes. Ao lado deles estava a cinza de fogos apagados. Os membros de cada grupo acocoravam-se mesclados uns com outros, homens, mulheres e crianças, comendo de tudo á vontade. Kamairahó, o chefe principal, recebeu a melhor parte, um pedaço de galinha, e na sua cortezia habitual repartiu-o comigo, seu irmão. E chamamo-nos um ao outro de Txankanépéra; e Ampitánya, sua filhinha adoptiva que estava sentada entre nos dois, gritou-me: "Ané Txankanépéra", e chamei-a com a mesma palavra. E a gente dos outros grupos chamou-me tambem de Txankanépéra, e chamei a êles com os nomes dos seus grupos. Estávamos todos muito alegres.

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Todos os participantes deste agape estavam sentados tão perto um do outro que não ficava distancia alguma entre os grupos.

Dentro dum quarto de hora tudo estava comido. Os potes e pratos foram retirados, e a gente separou-se. A noite entrou. A praça pertenceu de novo ás mascaras dançantes. Representaram "as sombras boas". Todas as "sombras ruins" tinham tomado kãũihó e tinham desaparecido. O máo tempo de chuva, com a fome e as doenças, o "inverno" dos brasileiros do norte, tinha acabado. Agora começava o tempo seco com as suas "sombras boas": o verão".

Dizem que tambem em tempo da colheita, ali por setembro, é realizado um desses banquetes comuns de todos os grupos de comer.

No dia 15 de julho ofereceu-se-me ocasião de observar o tãtáupáũã dum grupo de comer. No dia anterior um homem dos Ávãinkĩ' tinha morto a cacete um porco de mato detido pelos cachorros. Coube então às mulheres pertencentes a êste grupo de comer, a tarefa de moquear a carne em casa. Como pagamento deste trabalho podiam retêr em casa certas partes, por exemplo a cabeça e as pernas, dando-as àqueles da sua familia que não eram do mesmo grupo de comer.

Já antes de nascer o sol começou o banquete. Na takína, na grande casa de dança, que é propriamente a casa dos homens e, por isso, em geral não freqüentada pelas mulheres, os Ávãinkĩ' de ambos os sexos estavam senta-

dos em esteiras estendidas para este fim ao redor de grandes potes com o porco moqueado. O animal estava dividido de tal maneira que os pedaços podiam ser comodamente tomados na mão.

Quando me aproximei, todos, amáveis, imediatamente me convidaram a servir-me. Excusei-me, declarando ser Txankanépéra, à vista do que não se insistiu mais.

Naturalmente, membros de outros grupos de comer podem pedir, aos participantes do banquete, um pedaço. Mas o costume exige que se afastem depois de ter recebido o desejado. Na roda ao redor dos potes, só membros do mesmo grupo podem estar sentados. Em geral, porém, um membro de outro grupo não se aproxima dos banqueteadores com êsse desejo.

Em todo o caso, porém, não quiz exagerar o meu orgulho de ser Txankanépéra e por isso aceitei o convite dum amigo especial, Vuãnomantxí, cuja mulher tinha preparado a maior parte da comida dos Avãinkl', ganhando assim para os seus a cabeça do porco. Enquanto ela, agora, estava sentada com os companheiros do grupo na takína, o marido e o filho dela e tambem algumas pessoas que não eram parentes, mas que, sendo os unicos outros habitantes da pequena cabana, pertenciam, por assim dizer, á familia, estavam deitados atravessados nas redes, mastigando com prazer. Quando entrei, Vuãnomantxí arrancou da cabeça do porco um pedaço que julgou o melhor e ofereceu-m'o. Comecei a mastiga-lo, necessitando para isto de muita bravura porque a carne era muito dura.

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Quando o queixo já me doia bastante, tendo eu alcançado a convicção de ter engulido a quantidade necessaria dêsses terríveis bocados, quiz obter um premio e pedi o miolo. Meu amigo sorriu-se — para mim ele tinha sempre um sorriso de camaradagem profundamente alegre e desembaraçado — e deu-me a entender que eu não tinha gosto peior do que os mais ilustres Tapirapé. Depois disso rompeu com a sua força atletica o craneo, entregou-me a maior parte do miolo e meteu o resto na boca.

O sol ainda não tinha aparecido quando, tanto na casa de Vuãnomantxi como na takána, do porco só restavam os ossos.

Além do tãtáupáũã ha mais uma instituição na qual tambem se come em grupos hereditarios. Chama-se apatxirú. Seu fim, porém, é completamente diferente do fim do tãtáupáũã. Não é uma organização grupal de consumo, mas de produção. Por isso, tambem, nesta instituição o banquete em grupos determinados é circunstancia meramente acessoria.

A importancia do apatxirú para a vida social consiste na posibilidade de distribuir um trabalho coletivo de tal maneira que nenhum membro da tribu possa sentir-se desprestigiado por um áto menos justo, o que se obtem fazendo do trabalho uma festa com concurrencia esportiva.

"Quando em tempo da chuva muita agua está em todas as partes, moram na takána as 'sombras' ãũvanai. O seu toucado de cabeça e a sua tanga são fabricados de folhas do burití, mas o toucado não tem penas de arara.

Dansam durante toda a época da chuva. Neste tempo, além deles, não ha outras 'sombras' (antxína). Não moram tãopouco como as outras 'sombras' ou no morro ou na agua, mas só na takána. Não cantam, apenas grunhem em voz baixa. Nas luas das grandes chuvas, a barriga não fica tão cheia como no tempo seco. Mas os ãũvanaí precisam de comer. Então vão às roças e 'roubam'. Levam o roubo para a takána, onde o comem. No apatxirú se faz as roças nas quais procuram a comida. 'Roubam' só dessas roças, que só para eles são feitas. Os ãũvanaí não são ruins. Todos os homens dos Tapirapé são ãũvanaí".

São estas, em resumo, as informações que recebi perguntando pelo destino das roças comuns feitas no apatxirú.

Para o apatxirú todos os homens dos Tapirapé são divididos em tres grupos de trabalho chamados vuĩra. A palavra vuĩra significa: passaro, e os nomes de cada um dos grupos designam passaros miticos, dos quais cada um é corporificado tanto pelo grupo correspondente, na sua totalidade como tambem por seus membros em separado. Chamam-se Tãnãvé, Anantxá, Vuirantxinió.

O grupo Tãnãvé foi durante a minha demora o menor em numero, mas as pessoas socialmente mais elevadas pertenciam a ele: o chefe principal Kamairahó, o segundo chefe Vũãtanamĩ', o chefe e médico-feiticeiro mais eminente Urukumĩ' e eu. (E' natural que Kamairahó tivesse declarado imediatamente que eu seria Tãnãvé como ele.)

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Cada um dos tres grupos de trabalho tem dois cabeças chamados ãntaĭva. Os ãntaĭva dos Tãnãvé eram Vũãtanamĭ' e Urukumĭ'. (Se bem que Kamairahó tambem era Tãnãvé, parecia, na sua qualidade de chefe principal, ser o superior de todos os tres grupos. Tambem é o unico cuja roça particular é feita pelos habitantes da aldeia em trabalho comum, enquanto que as roças particulares dos outros membros da tribu são feitas sómente pelos respetivos proprietarios. É verdade que não sei se na preparação da roça do chefe principal aparecem tambem os tres grupos de que tratamos aqui.)

Os ãntaĭva dos Anantxá eram o chefe Tanupantxóa e Vuĭraĭ, os dos Vuirantxinió o chefe Kamairá e o médico-feiticeiro Maninohó.

A estes tres grupos de trabalho dos homens pertenciam antigamente tres grupos pelos quais os meninos da tribu eram divididos. Chamaram-se Vuanankóra, Vuirantxína, Vuĭrantxinoĭ. Hoje, o ultimo está extinto. Ao primeiro pertencem os meninos cujos pais são Tãnãvé ou Anantxá, ao segundo os filhos dos Vuirantxinió. Tambem o terceiro grupo era formado, antigamente, por meninos cujos pais eram Vuirantxinió. Dizem que com a sua iniciação o adolescente passa ao grupo de trabalho do pai ficando, então, membro dele até a morte.

Os grupos dos meninos acompanham os tres grupos de trabalho dos homens em todas as suas acções. O sexo feminino não pertence a esta instituição, porque "as mulheres e meninas ficam em casa quando os homens saem para o trabalho comum".

Dizem que cada grupo de apatxirú tem o seu adorno determinado para certas danças, as quais, porém, costumam ser realizadas em época do ano que não coincide com a que passei entre os Tapirapé. A saber: os Tãnãvé usam, pendentes da cabeça para as costas, tres grandes penas vermelhas de arara; os Anantxá levam, da mesma maneira, tres grandes penas de arára, das quais duas são, porém, azues e amarelas do canindé, e só no meio destas está uma vermelha do arara-piranga; além disso, têm nos braços os frouxeis brancos do peito do urubú-rei; os Vuirantxinió não se distinguem dos Tãnãvé; os Vuanankóra levam, pendentes da cabeça para as costas, penas vermelhas menores, da cauda da arara; os Vuirantxína tem o mesmo ornato e além disso, levam ainda nos braços os frouxeis da arara.

Sobre a designação apatxirú, o Snr. Curt Nimuendajú escreveu-me, numa carta de 20 de fevereiro de 1936, o seguinte: "A palavra apatxirú dos Tapirapé é a designação usual em tupí para a reunião de gente para um trabalho comum (ordinariamente para uma pessoa daquela gente). Montoya diz: potyrõ: poner manos á la obra. Provavelmente, a palavra é composta de po-tĩ: mano recia, e rõ, idem quod rũ: poner (Montoya). Os Apapokuva-Guaraní tem uma forma muito semelhante. Na Lingua geral do norte, a palavra é putirú. "Réunion, rassemblement pour faire vite un travail", traduz P. Tastevin *(La langue Tapihiya)*. Do guaraní e da Lingua geral do norte, a palavra foi adoptada no mesmo sentido pela moderna lingua popular portuguesa do Brasil. No Pará e no

Amazonas, a gente diz "puchirum", em São Paulo e nos Estados vizinhos "motirão". O primeiro *a* em apatxirú podia ser o prefixo pronominal da primeira pessoa singular".

No dia 30 de julho Kamairahó me convidou para ir com ele ao apatxirú. O dia precedente, já o chefe Tanupantxóa com muitos homens tinha começado o corte de arvores comum.

De tarde marchamos cerca de uma hora em direção a leste atravez do mato até chegar ao lugar onde se trabalhava sob a direção dos ãntaïva dos Anantxá Tanupantxóa e Vuïrai. Os Anantxá aqui estavam em numero maior do que os outros grupos, porque eram, por assim dizer, os empresarios deste apatxirú. Mas não se podia observar uma divisão nos tres grupos durante o trabalho; todos os Tãnãvé, Anantxá e Vuirantxinió estavam ou moviam-se, sem ordem, mesclados uns com outros.

Tanupantxóa determinou os pedaços do mato que deviam ser abatidos, indo, sem dizer palavra, para os lugares em questão e começando lá a bater com o machado numa arvore. Pelo fato de trabalhar mais do que os outros mostrou ser êle o cabeça.

Tambem ãntaïva de outros grupos estavam presentes e trabalhavam, assim Urukumï' dos Tãnãvé e Kamairá dos Vuirantxinió. Vũãtanamï' tinha ido á sua roça; provavelmente queria evitar, como de costume, encontrar-se com Kamairahó, que ele odiava. Maninohó tinha ficado em casa. Kamairahó sentou-se num tronco cortado como espectador.

Cada qual logo que sentiu vontade de trabalhar, escolheu para si, como bem lhe pareceu, uma arvore nas circunvizinhanças do ãntaíva e começou o combate. Mas não parecia ser combate contra os companheiros da obra, combate para vencer os outros pelo maior resultado do trabalho, senão combate alegre contra a madeira e contra o grande mato. Contra o mato em conjunto porque não se tratava de vencer cada arvore de per si pela força bruta dos braços, mas tambem pela estrategia: primeiramente fez-se uma incisão num bom numero de arvores de tal maneira que elas todas tinham de cair na mesma direção quando o seu vizinho caduco se apoiava nelas na direção oposta, e só depois se derrubou um gigante da selva, e de tal geito que ele arrastou comsigo para o chão os seus irmãos debilitados pelo machado.

O homem, depois de ter trabalhado assim por certo tempo, até o extremo esforço, descansava até sentir vontade de continuar com o trabalho. Todos eram muito aplicados.

O indio trabalha segundo ritmo diferente do adotado pelo homem da nossa civilização. Não faz a mesma tarefa cada dia, a hora determinada e por duração determinada, mas dedica-se, de cada vez, com todos os sentidos e todas as forças à tarefa que lhe parece a mais necessaria no momento e a mais adequada á sua vontade creadora. Fazendo isto, não economiza a si mesmo, mas permanece com um trabalho pesado até esgotar-se por completo. Entrega-se, por exemplo, com tanto fanatismo à derrubada de arvores que, no dia seguinte, devido a dores musculares

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quasi não pode sair da rede. Logo que melhora um pouco, talha a vara de um arco ou tece uma cesta. De repente, faz-se sentir o apetite de bananas. Se não tem mais bananas em casa, o homem vai à roça para buscar nova provisão. Volta cambaleando sob carga imensa, porque traz tanto quanto pode carregar. E se bem que ele então já de novo esteja fatigado para deitar-se na rede, pode acontecer que, a noite inteira, cumpra ainda com o seu dever como dansarino e cantador, dever que exige, de um homem só, as pernas e os pulmões descançados de cinco homens fortes.

Dizer-se que o indio é preguiçoso demonstra falta de compreensão de parte daqueles que julgando os povos que ainda se conservam em outras condições da vida, não são capazes de livrar-se das maneiras de considerar que parecem necessárias à existencia da nossa civilização. Talvez os que assim pensam tenham visto o indio ficar deitado na rede durante um dia ou dois sem fazer nada, enquanto a mulher, sempre diligente, ora pilava o milho, ora fiava e tecia ou cozinhava, ora ia buscar agua no corrego. Esta gente não sabia que o homem tinha voltado pouco antes de uma grande caçada ou que, durante toda uma semana, tinha abalado o chão dansando e o ar, cantando.

Ou então se relatam fatos duma tribu cuja cultura já está corrompida pela nossa civilização, e dizem: "Vivemos como missionarios entre esta tribu, não um dia nem dois, mas vinte-e-cinco anos inteiros. Por conseguinte, temos o direito de afirmar: O indio é preguiçoso por natureza". —

Esquecem-se de que dois fatores têm, na maior parte, privado o homem indio na nossa civilização do dominio das suas atividades: a introdução de instrumentos de ferro e o fim do estado de guerra. Com os instrumentos de ferro, o homem consegue hoje em poucas horas o mesmo para que, antigamente, necessitava dias e semanas; enquanto que os trabalhos da mulher não são de maneira alguma influenciados por eles. E desde que não existe mais necessidade para o homem de estar sempre pronto para a luta contra vizinhos inimigos, ainda mais a divisão de trabalho entre os sexos tornou-se absurda. Em tais situações culturais perturbadas, os homens aparecem muitas vezes como indolentes e as mulheres como a unica parte trabalhadora ou a parte que tem o trabalho mais pesado.

Como especialmente "preguiçosos" são considerados, hoje, por exemplo, os Karajá do Araguaya. Mas se se pondera que imensa quantidade de trabalho deve ter sido necessaria, antigamente, a indios navegantes, para fabricar, de um gigante da selva, por meio do machado de pedra, a grande canoa na qual vive a familia inteira ou, muitas vezes, algumas familias, — se se considera isso, concordar-se-á em que naquele tempo, provavelmente, o homem trabalhou rijamente.

Esperar dos indios um abandono espontaneo e imediato da sua divisão de trabalho, não corresponderá a esperar que, entre nós, de repente, os homens tomassem a seu cargo os trabalhos das mulheres? Entre nós não ha "trabalho de mulher" que não seja ou tenha sido feito, em alguma parte e em algum tempo, tambem por homens;

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não consideramos até os trabalhos mais importantes que na nossa vida domestica geralmente cabem ás mulheres, como, por exemplo, cozinhar e costurar, de maneira alguma como ocupações carateristicamente femininas, logo que pensamos no cozinheiro e no alfaiate. Nas poucas tribus de indios, porém, nas quais certos homens fazem trabalho de mulher, são estes ou escravos ou mentalmente anormais. É verdade que determinados trabalhos, por exemplo o entrelaçar ou o fiar e tecer, são executados numa tribu pelos homens e noutra pelas mulheres; nunca, porém, um sexo tentará invadir o tradicional dominio de trabalho do outro sexo. Porque, nas simples condições sociais dos povos naturais, isto é, nas condições que não são tão complicadas como as nossas devido à diversidade e mistura de camadas sociais, a divisão do trabalho entre os sexos é a base da cultura, cuja perturbação, causada por u'a mudança, prejudica muito e pode até extinguir a independência material e espiritual da pequena unidade social, porque cada uma dessas mudanças atinge a todos os membros dessa unidade.

O indio arrancado da sua cultura e impelido para nossa civilização, encontra-se numa situação semelhante á do lavrador ou trabalhador industrial europeu cuja atividade se tornou superflua graças à introdução de novas maquinas. Em ambos os casos a mudança do processo da produção diminuiu o trabalho manual, sem abrir aos forçosamente ociosos novo campo para o emprego das suas capacidades tradicionais e adquiridas. A força vital do homem, assim inibida, pode tomar dois caminhos: revoltar-

se contra o impedimento ou exhaurir-se diante dele. Por meio da revolta contra o processo mudado da produção dentro da sua unidade social, a força vital do individuo pode recuperar plena atividade, mas só á custa da força vital da propria unidade social a cuja atividade ela se opõe. Esse caminho significa, pois, a luta social, a fragmentação da unidade social em partes contrarias uma à outra; e é, por isso, possivel no caso do lavrador ou trabalhador industrial europeu porque este só representa determinado grupo dentro da sua unidade social, sendo, como é, uma parte do total. É impossivel, porém, no caso do indio, porque neste caso toda a unidade social foi tocada pela mudança do processo da produção de uma maneira que impede a atividade da força vital, de modo que a oposição seria uma oposição do total contra o total, quer dizer, contra si mesma; e porque, provavelmente, não se pode contar que uma tribu de indios destrua os instrumentos de ferro para poder trabalhar novamente com o cepilho de casca de caracol, com o cinzel de dente de roedor e com o machado de pedra.

A força vital do indio arrancado da sua cultura e impelido para a nossa civilização tem, pois, de exhaurir-se. De fato, esse indio cairá naquilo que chamamos de preguiça, e que não é senão falta da força vital. Não só aquele que cria uma obra visivel não é preguiçoso, mas tãopouco aquele que brinca, sonha, goza e ama. Quem tem prazer em viver, é tão pouco "preguiçoso" como um animal livre ou uma planta. O indio, na nossa civilisação, perde o prazer da vida.

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Naturalmente ha tambem entre os indios ainda não influenciados por nós alguns de força vital especialmente grande e outros de força vital menor, "diligentes" e "preguiçosos". São gradações individuais como as que existem entre nós. De maneira alguma, porém, pode-se dizer que uma tribu de indios que se mantem como unidade cultural independente, é "preguiçosa". Porque numa dessas tribus a vontade criadora, a força vital não impedida produz, muito mais do que as necessidades exigem, aqueles bens materiais e espirituais cuja existencia constitue a cultura.

De outro lado, é verdade que ha tambem entre as diversas tribus diferenças notaveis na realização do trabalho. Assim, podem-se apontar os Tapirapé como especialmente "diligentes". Tinham, no tempo da minha estada entre eles, abundancia de viveres; trabalhavam, apezar disto, com o maior esforço nas suas roças e dedicavam-se com não menor zelo e perseverança ás suas danças e cantos. Aqui, nesta tribu ainda distante da nossa civilização, a introdução de instrumentos de ferro que já, ha decenios, começou por intermedio dos vizinhos orientais, dos Karajá, e a falta de atividade e disposição guerreiras tiveram o efeito justamente contrario ao produzido nos indios civilizados por nós, isto é, privados de sua independencia cultural. Não impediram a força vital, não prejudicaram a vontade criadora, mas asseguraram o sustento e augmentaram o bem estar. Se, apezar disto, sintomas de degeneração se manifestam entre os Tapirapé,

outras são as causas. Não é esta, porém, a ocasião de discorrer sobre elas.

As crianças indias aprendem brincando aquilo que constitue o trabalho dos adultos. Os meninos imitam os homens, as meninas, as mulheres. As crianças maiores auxiliam consideravelmente os adultos. Desta maneira, pouco a pouco, conforme o crescimento das forças e capacidades, o jogo torna-se trabalho. Mas, nesse processo de evolução o limite entre o jogo e o trabalho é tão pouco evidente como aquele abismo divisorio entre crianças e adultos, que existe entre nos, mas não se faz sentir entre os indios. O trabalho não oprime como atividade extorquida. Conserva sempre como o jogo, o carater de ocupação desejada pelo próprio participante. E observando entre os indios um trabalho comum, o apatxirú dos Tapirapé, por exemplo, parece-nos que nele a alegria aumenta a força.

Quando vi os homens, na maior parte com o físico de adolescentes, vencerem pedaço por pedaço o gigantesco mato ao redor, nada notei da gravidade ás vezes sombria e da monotonia que entre nós caraterizam tantos trabalhos comuns. Gritos alegres soavam e gagarlhadas faziam-se ouvir por todo o lado.

Nos troncos cortados estavam sentados os que necessitavam de descanço. Como é seu costume, chegavam-se muito um ao outro. Palestravam, e alguns cachimbavam. De repente havia grande gritaria, todos debandavam com demonstrações de alegria, percebia-se o gemer da madeira

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cheia de vida, e um colosso verde inclinava-se de vagar e desabava com estrondo, arrastando na sua queda seus companheiros mais fracos.

De vez em quando vinha uma voz de trás das arvores. Não se via quem era, mas sabia-se que ela estava muito perto. Imediatamente os rapazes precipitavam-se para o lugar de onde vinha a voz. Dentro de pouco reapareciam com braçadas de bananas; corriam jubilosos ao nosso encontro e as distribuiam.

Eram bananas, que alcançavam um comprimento de 30 cms. e no meio uma circumferencia de 15 a 20 cms. Homens traziam-nas em canastras para perto do lugar de trabalho, nunca, porém, sahiam com a sua carga fóra do bosque para a roça.

A casca das bananas era preta, e a sua massa estava já tirante ao pardo e mole demais. Tem, nesse estado, o melhor sabor para os Tapirapé. As frutas são recolhidas quando verdes e enterradas lá, onde crescem. Os Karajá procedem da mesma forma. No solo aquecido pelo sol, as bananas alcançam mais depressa o estado desejado de podridão do que se guardadas em casa. Tambem estão quentes quando a gente as tira da terra; mais uma razão de preferencia para o paladar dos indios.

Para ser comidas não são descascadas; abre-se um pouco a casca coriacea numa das pontas, toma-se essa ponta entre os labios e esvazia-se então de vagar a casca apertando-a com os dedos, de maneira que a massa entra pouco a pouco na boca. Kamairahó comeu uma banana atrás da outra; quanto a mim, achei-as nauseabundas.

O sol já estava bastante baixo quando partimos. Um atrás do outro marchamos em passo acelerado pelo atalho estreito. A aldeia não estava muito longe, quando o caminho se abria para uma pequena praça limpa, triangular. Nos cantos desta praça as mulheres estavam sentadas olhando-nos silenciosamente. As mulheres e meninas tinham-se separado em tres partes, que correspondiam aos grupos de trabalho dos seus maridos e pais. Tinham posto na praça, em ordem igual, potes com comida. Havia kãũí de bananas, kãũí de amendoim, kãũí de sementes de algodão, kará tostado e muitas outras cousas boas. Cada grupo comia só dos potes que haviam sido postos para ele em lugar determinado. Para os Tãnãvé havia menor quantidade, porque eram em menor número. Fui convidado de todos os lados, e por ter muita fome não poupei absolutamente os dois outros grupos. Só quando comecei a ficar saciado, pus no chão com espanto pronunciado o pote de sopa de bananas dos Anantxá, do qual ha pouco tinha bebido, e assegurei ser Tãnãvé. Para os meus hospedeiros, porém, este fato não pareceu ter grande importancia.

Logo os potes ficaram vazios. Então as mulheres e meninas aproximaram-se, retiraram-nos e foram com eles para casa. Os homens seguiram-nas. Os Anantxá marchavam como primeiros, atrás deles os Vuirantxinió, e os Tãnãvé eram os ultimos. Mantinham-se em ordem, e me mandaram para tras quando andei — não sem intenção — no meio dos Vuirantxinió.

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Logo que a aldeia chegou á vista, tudo se pôs em atividade. Os homens correram diretamente á takána colocando-se lá em pares para a dança. As mulheres e meninas não mostraram interesse nisto e já tinham ido, na maior parte, para as suas cabanas.

Os pares de dansarinos estavam em densa massa em frente da entrada. Em cada par, de maneira usual, um tinha o braço nos hombros do outro, e este, por sua vez, tinha o seu no quadril do homem que estava a seu lado; ambos tinham na outra mão o cacete, o facão ou o arco. No meio do bando estava o par dirigente Tanupantxóa e Vuïraí, os ãntaïva dos Anantxá. Os Anantxá agora tinham-se misturado com os Vuirantxinió. Dos Tãnãvé, só Kamairahó, Urukumï' e eu tinhamos aparecido; ficamos perto como espectadores.

Primeiramente, dansou-se algum tempo no mesmo lugar. Como de costume, patearam o chão, todos sempre ao mesmo tempo com o mesmo pé, alternadamente com o direito e com o esquerdo, conservando os joelhos um pouco curvados e a parte media do corpo levemente inclinada para a frente. Depois o par dirigente da dansa afastou-se, pouco a pouco, do lugar: dansou com passos pequenos para fóra da takána. Os outros seguiram-no do mesmo modo. Todos se moveram, um par atrás do outro, de vagar, em direção à casa de Vũãtanamï', cantando em diversos sons, gritos, e não palavras.

Alcançada a casa do segundo chefe, a procissão dissolveu-se. Mas não se separaram, ficando perto uns dos

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outros. A corrida começou. Chama-se ãhéũĩ, e quer dizer "eu corro". De cada vez dois dos adolescentes que estavam no ano da iniciação e tinham, por isso, o rosto e o corpo completamente enegrecido de genipapo, corriam em linha recta atravez da praça de dansa até atrás da casa de Kamairahó. Não existia propriamente um ponto que devesse ser alcançado primeiramente pelo vencedor, não havia aplauso do publico; quasi se podia dizer: não havia vencedor. Porque a vontade de distinguir-se ou distinguir alguem perante outrem não se manifesta, em geral, nestes indios e é considerada por eles, provavelmente, até como um perigo para a harmonia da comunidade. Parecia tratar-se sómente de corridas que eram feitas tão de pressa quanto possivel atravez da praça e que isto fosse apenas para se convencerem da sua propria capacidade. Logo que os dois corredores alcançavam a casa de Kamairahó, adaptavam-se um ao outro, sorrindo um para o outro amigavelmente (2).

Mais tarde, tambem alguns homens participaram da prova, até o "velho caçador" Kantxovaní. Quando escureceu, todos foram para casa. Ao todo apenas uma duzia de pares tinha corrido, porque haviam começado quando o sol já tinha desaparecido atraz do mato.

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(2) Em carta de 20 de fevereiro de 1936, o snr. Curt Nimuendajú me escrevera sobre a tribu gê dos Timbira: «Os Timbira possuem tambem a corrida em pares atravez da praça da aldeia (que tem 300 mts. de diametro). Sucede ordinariamente a outra cerimonia maior. Chama-se ka-kaipúa (ka: praça da aldeia, kaipúa: atravez).»

5; Baldus SP22 Tapirape



Na tarde seguinte havia outra vez apatxirú, mas noutro lugar. O numero dos participantes era tão pequeno que não havia dansa nem corrida. Dois dias mais tarde, realizou-se um apatxirú maior com todos os carateristicos, desta vez ao noroeste da aldeia. Assim, faz-se apatxirú em diferentes dias e em diversos lugares. Nem todos os homens tomam parte; alguns trabalham para si na sua roça, outros ficam em casa.

[p. 112 - 342 have not been processed]

27. Tapirapé: danse de hommes et femmes

28. Tapirapé: danse de mécaron

[p. 342 N]

[p. 342 A to M have not been processed]

29.
Tapirapé: [illegible]

28. Tapirapé: a corrida ao mulheres depois do apontrió

[p. 342 o]

21.
Tapirapé: mulher pilando [illegible]

22.
Tapirapé: demônio da [illegible]

[p 342 P]

# 116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Library texts . . . . . 500

6: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1948 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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# The Tribes of the Araguaia Basin and the Indian Service
[Tribos da bacia do Araguaia e o Serviço de Proteção aos Índios]

Herbert Baldus

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São Paulo, 1948

Translated from the Portuguese by Ariane Brunel

Human Relations Area Files

1960

[Title page]

121 [137] Having been invited by Dr. Modesto Donatini Dias da
[122] Cruz, Director of the Indian Service, to represent the São Paulo Museum and the Free School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo on the team he organized to inspect the Indian posts and to explore certain areas of central Brazil, I imparted to him in a report dated October 31, 1947, the observations made in the course of the journey carried out during the months of June, July, and August of the same year, as well as a few suggestions on the matter. The following pages are a reproduction of this report with a few modifications and additions.

## I. The Tapirapé

On July 19, 1947, we counted 62 inhabitants in the Tapirapé vil-
162 lage of Tampiitsúa, 59 of whom were subjected to a medical exami-
621 nation by my traveling companion, Dr. Harolodo Cândido de Oliveira. The following table provides the age and sex ratios:

| | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 years and under | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| from 6 to 15 years | 7 | 3 | 10 |
| from 16 to 30 years | 14 | 17 | 31 |
| over 30 years old | 6 | 4 | 10 |
| Total | 32 | 27 | 59 |

It is to be assumed that the three who evaded the examination were boys. In addition, we found at Pôrto Velho a Tapirapé woman over 30 years old who was living among the frontier people.

In 1935, Tampiitsúa had 130 inhabitants, 69 of them male and 61 female.

It should be mentioned that since that time certain individuals
[166] have emigrated to Txitxutsúa, another Tapirapé village located quite a distance away. Their number, however, seems to be inferior to that of persons who have moved from there to Tampiitsúa. According to various [138] reports, Txitxutsúa is much smaller than this village,
[161] so that today the entire Tapirapé tribe probably does not exceed 100 members.

162 What strikes us in the above table is, on the one hand, the small number of children in relation to adults (18 individuals through 15 years of age and 41 over 15 years of age), and, on the other hand, [165] the brevity of the life span (only ten individuals were over 30). Only one man and one woman were slightly over 40.

According to the reports that I received in October, 1947, from [115] Mr. Valentim Gomes, the man in charge of the Indian post Heloísa Alberto Torres, and from Father M. H. Lelong at Conceição do Araguaia, the numerical ratios listed above underwent modifications [726] caused by the Kaiapó [Cayapo] attack on Tampiitáua at the end of August, in the course of which three women were killed and two women and one boy were abducted. Of the 59 individuals examined, therefore, there remained 31 males and 22 females.

Aside from illness, the custom of killing newborn children under [847] certain circumstances contributes to the decimation of the tribe.

Of the changes in Tapirapé culture which occurred since my first 178 visit 12 years ago, I wish to mention primarily the scarcity of 262 vegetable foods. The literature on these peaceful and industrious 241 Tupi Indians contains numerous references to their large plots. I may add that in the quantity and variety of their garden produce they outstripped not only the neighboring tribes but also the frontier people. In 1935, in the months of June to August, I found the village provided abundantly with the most delicious bananas, five varieties of manioc and numerous other tubers, beans, peanuts, and maize. In 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little cará [Tr., a variety of yam], or manioc cake. The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts, for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such [574] a change in the food situation affects the tribal behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality.

It is true that this may also have resulted in part from contact 177 with the neighboring Whites who have settled on the Tapirapé River [648] over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their 177 body is undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. 291 Thus, instead of satisfying the appetites of their Indian visitors, they

177 are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural
291 rather than physical one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitáua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them are completely clothed.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actually
177 experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their new
262 neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the number
[161] of Tampiitáua inhabitants has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following [139] were not lacking, however. "Now the Tapirapé only eat small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs."

These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the
[261] dry season, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna as well as the human beings in the region have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the
[136] frontiersmen, by settling permanently in all the habitable places along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at
[361] certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitáua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers.

When I ascended the length of the Tapirapé River in a canoe in
311 1935, its banks were uninhabited. There was a single inhabitant at the river mouth, and he manned, so to speak, the most advanced
648 post of our civilization. In July, 1947, there were eight houses in Pôrto Velho, which stands more or less at the middle point of the navigable stretch, that is, 15 or 18 leagues from the mouth, and nearly all of their occupants came from the state of Pará and had lived previously at various spots on the Araguaia.

Their settlement, and with it the occupation of the Indian lands, began about five years ago and presents aspects characteristic of the processes that were repeated, with certain variations, throughout the colonization of Brazil. Their leader is a farmer by the name of Lucio

648 Penna da Luz, who lives at Mato Verde, a hamlet established in 1934 on the Mato Grosso side of the Araguaia about 15 leagues above the mouth of the Tapirapé. In the course of time, it became known that it was relatively easy to move cattle from this river to Mato Verde, the land journey from Pôrto Velho being made in a day and a half. Thus, inhabitants of Furo de Pedra and of the mouth of the Tapirapé River ascended this watercourse and settled on its left bank.

When, a few years ago, all regular boat transportation on the middle Araguaia came to a stop after the dissolution of the enterprise that handled the service with motor launches, life in those two locations deteriorated to the point of despair, for there was no longer any outlet for local products. In the entire area, there remained but one man who bought them: Mr. Lúcio. He was and remains the chief supplier of the principal goods needed by the frontiersmen: salt, and some fabric for clothing. Furthermore, he gives them credit. They sell to this man, who owns an outboard motor, a house covered with tiles, and thousands of head of cattle, what little rice and manioc flour they have left over and an occasional cow out of the half dozen that constitute their wealth. They speak well of the man and regard him as their greatest benefactor.

Mutual attraction led Mr. Lucio and his clientele to meet halfway. He set up a ranch on the upper Tapirapé, and the people from the mouth of this river and from Furo de Pedra settled more or less nearby, that is, at Pôrto Velho and inland and up-river from it. As happens to most of the Araguaia settlements, however, the yearly floods trap [140] the new dwellings on the Tapirapé River, so that here too, for months on end, the canoe replaces the horse for visits to neighbors. Naturally, in such an environment, the cultivation of the soil remains quite restricted, and this, incidentally, suits the nomadic bent of these small herders of cattle, who tend to exploit the soil extensively rather than intensively. This type of frontiersman, who originated on the fringes of our society and who has been for centuries the vanguard of our civilization in the penetration of Brazil, proceeds forward, ever forward, leaving behind him the huge empty spaces so characteristic of this country. He calls sertão bruto ["raw wilderness"] the land which is not yet familiar to him and to his fellows, and when he settles upon it, he regards it as his without any qualms. His ethnocentrism prevents him from understanding that the wilderness which has not yet

648 been explored by the Whites nevertheless has its owners. Those owners, that is, the Indians, do not as a rule overstep the boundaries of their own territory and strictly respect adjoining areas unless they intend to make war or to trade. Since ethnocentrism is the very human tendency to regard all things exclusively from the standpoint of one's own people, as though, with their concepts, they were the center of the world, it is not surprising that what seems "raw" to us often is not so to men of another culture. This attitude leads people of limited intellectual horizons, such as the frontiersmen, to regard the differences between themselves and the Indians as so enormous that the latter do not seem to be "people." Taking this as a premise, they act with impeccable logic when they conclude that the land of the aborigines is untenanted. And the authorities who ratify this conclusion prove themselves equally ethnocentric.

Far be it from me to depict the inhabitants of the Tapirapé River as furious invaders. They are humble people, movingly naive, who represent what is conventionally called "good people." It seems that it is not only for reasons of numerical inferiority that they seek peace with the Indians by treating them with kindness. In spite of this, of course, shocks are unavoidable. There are encounters where no blood is shed. Economic interests are met in the hunting and fishing zone of the Tapirapé, and the latter are deprived of protein. The interests which spread gonorrhea among the Karajá [Caraja] are of a different sort. In both cases, however, the Indians concerned are so pleasant that these encounters, in spite of their baleful consequences for the tribes concerned, are at worst "mild shocks" to the frontiersmen as compared with those they suffered from Indians of quite a different temper, namely, the Kaiapó and Chavante.

These Chavante and Kaiapó are Gê Indians, that is, they belong to the large group of tribes that offered greater resistance and gave greater frights to the White intruders than most other Brazilian Indians. They usually find the clash of solid clubs preferable to idle talk. [101] Tapirapé territory is wedged in between them. The northern Kaiapõ are feared more than the Chavante, and in fact the number of their victims is larger than that of the strangers who lost their lives in [726] Chavante territory. Furthermore, the Kaiapó not only march on the Araguaia to do away with the frontiersmen and their houses, but also march south and attack Tampiitáua, as I shall mention later.

648 [141] The superiority complex, a characteristic product of ethnocentrism, is not lacking among the new inhabitants of the Tapirapé River. These people, who are called caboclo [backwoodsmen] by the city dwellers of Rio and São Paulo, in turn call the Indians by this term, thus following the custom of the north Brazilians. To us, caboclo is the man who goes barefoot. To those shoeless frontiersmen, however, caboclo is the man who does not even bother to wear pants. Although pants and shoes delimit the cultural distance that separates them from the Indians on the one hand and from us on the other hand, there is one fact that marks them as members of our society and of no other. These poor conquerors of the unknown are not exempt from taxes. They have to pay them in heads of cattle.

Concerning this, one should mention the historic settlement of São José, an aggregation of about 30 houses, swarming with disease and misery, located at one of the most beautiful spots on the Araguaia. The inhabitants pay taxes of various sorts and say that the government does nothing for them. They pay a school tax, for example, but they have no school. Our companion, Dr. Haroldo Cândido de Oliveira, was the first doctor to visit them in 20 years. When the launch of the Indian Service goes by, these forlorn inhabitants of Goiás get a few medicines.

What would contribute to the frontiersman's feeling of superiority over the Indian, however, aside from the pants and the taxes, the taxes which enable him to belong to the capitalist world? Rifles are already found among the Karajá. And the Indians of the Araguaia are better fed, wash more often, and, as disclosed by the medical examination, suffer less from malaria and enjoy better general health than the so-called "civilized people" around them, who are for the most part, incidentally, Negroes and mulattoes. As an ethnocentric man, however, the frontiersman regards everything that differs from his own culture as inferior. The cultural differences between him and the Indian extend so thoroughly to every aspect of life, moreover, that they almost conceal the similarities caused by the identical geographical environment and by the fact that both groups belong to the same human species. Such tasty Indian dishes as the peanut, [262] maize, and manioc soups, masticated by the women to saccharify [252] them with the saliva, are, to the frontiersman, "filthy stuff" from which he turns in disgust. Tapirapé houses, covered with palm and

648 Tapirapé houses, covered with palm and
[342] "wild banana" leaves, a sturdy protection against heat, cold, and rain, are worth nothing in the eyes of those who own earthen walls. The language which they do not understand seems as ugly to them as all the strange customs seem ridiculous or horrifying, be they facial painting, masked dances, or the practices of the sorcerers--medicine men. This does not prevent them from being no less "primitive" than the Indians in certain aspects of their material culture. In Pôrto Velho, for example, a family from Conceição used a tree trunk with hollowed-out steps as a ladder, thus resembling in this respect the Oiampi [Oyampi] Indians of Guiana who reach their raised houses by similar contraptions.

Retreating before the White intruders with the transfer of
726 Tampiitáua, the Tapirapé fell once more into the hands of that neighbor who has probably been for centuries the Number One enemy of their tribe. In 1935 they had already shown their fear openly at night, asking me not to let go of my revolver when I lay down in my net so as to be ready to defend them from the Kaiapó, who [142] had attacked and destroyed another village of theirs three years earlier and killed most of its inhabitants. When I reached Pôrto Velho last July, the same preoccupation had seized the frontiersmen. They spoke of the nearness of the Kaiapó in the same terms as it had been mentioned 12 years earlier in Tampiitáua. These rumors were confirmed by the presence of three families who had come from the plains near Conceição do Araguaia. They said that they had left it only out of fear of those Indians, who had killed seven persons in the previous year.

Unfortunately, the expected danger was not imaginary. A few weeks after our last visit, the Kaiapó attacked Tampiitáua. Details
[115] of this tragic occurrence are related in a letter I received from Father
[648] M. H. Lelong (1). In it we read that the village was sacked and burned
[727]

1. Conceição do Araguaia, 11 October 1947
Dear Professor:

I am the Frenchman you met on the Araguaia as you went up from the Tapirapé toward Leopoldina.

I know how interested you were in this small group of attractive Indians, and thus, after arriving at Conceição the day before yesterday, I hasten to send you the news, which is very sad.

726 During the last days of August, Cayapo warriors--Gorotirés evidently--attacked the Tapirapé village while all the men were at Lake Tucunaré. Only the women, children, and the old man Camaraé were left. They killed two women and a young girl: Eirõa, wife of Tampiri, Amoou, wife of Perera, and Tamamãtchoa, and abducted a woman, a young girl, and a small boy: Iparénahí, wife of Camaraé, Amarai, daughter of Pereira, and Uãcuré, son of Eirõa (please excuse the transcription of these Tupy [Tupi] words). The old man shot his arrows, and the Cayapo "braves" fled after burning down two houses.

[648] Father Palha and I found the frightened population at Pôrto Velho, where they had sought
727 refuge, lacking everything, hungry, disheartened. In short, a heart-rending sight similar to what I have seen in Europe. We convinced the Tapirapés to go to their village. The women were afraid and tried to dissuade the men. Seven left with us, and four stuck it out to the end. We found this charming little village, which you were the last to visit along with Dr. Haroldo, savagely looted. We brought back the cudgels that were used in the slaughter. I shall describe them to you and give you many other details of this event. The Cayapos had returned that very morning to continue the looting. Unfortunately, we did not come upon them. We remained one day and one night. The three Tapirapés took up a load of cotton and flour (they have no more hammocks and suffer a great deal) and set fire to their village to prevent the enemy from utilizing it further. It was rather tragic. We

[166] returned to Pôrto Velho. They intend to settle a few leagues from São João. I saw the large
648 plots of these good, industrious, peaceful

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people, and it is a pity. Ten armed men would suffice to clear the territory of these assassins, but no one does anything about it. I shall leave in three or four days for Maraba, where I shall catch the plane. I hope to proceed directly to São Paulo, where I shall promptly look you up to see whether it would be possible to obtain urgent help for these poor Tapirapés.

I hope to see you soon and send you, esteemed Professor, my sincerest regards.

(S) M. H. Lelong, O.P.

[Translated from French.]

648 727 and that the survivors sought refuge in Porto Velho, where they lack foodstuffs, sleeping hammocks, cotton to make new hammocks, agricultural tools, and kitchen implements (2).

2. I have omitted those parts of my report in which I emphasized the need to send help to the survivors. The man who saved them was Mr. Lucio Penna da Luz, who gave them shelter and food. In September, 1948, Mr. Harald Schultz, Assistant in Ethnology at the São Paulo Museum, found the majority of them living in sheds at the São Pedro ranch, the property of Mr. Lucio, located on the right bank of the Tapirapé.

[166]

648 An urgent measure to be taken is the establishment of a post on the upper Tapirapé River. Up to now, the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres [143], located at the mouth of that river, was intended to protect the Tapirapé Indians. It turned out to be inadequate for the purpose because it was too far removed from the habitat of the tribe. On the other hand, as early as 1942, when I commented on the attempts to resettle the Tapirapé at that spot on the Araguaia, I called attention to the fact that "the immediate and continuous contact of these Indians with the most varied representatives of our civilization, which would be inevitable if the above-mentioned project were to be

648 carried out, would bring about the certain annihilation of this peaceful Tupi tribe" (Sociologia, Vol. 4, p. 407). In this respect, indeed, the Tapirapé are unlike the true masters of the Araguaia, namely, the Karajá, who have been in contact with the Whites for centuries and who have seemingly developed, at least to some extent, a certain physical and mental resistance to them.

The impracticality of settling the Tapirapé at the mouth of the river of the same name does not imply the abandonment of the Heloisa Alberto Torres post. This post is indispensable not only to protect the northern Karajá group that is settled there and the other groups living down the Araguaia, but also to control the entrance to the Tapirapé River.

As a location for the future protective post of the Tapirapé, I would suggest the spot on the left bank called Pôrto Frederico by the frontiersmen in memory of my traveling companion of 1935, a British missionary who built a shelter there. It is located on a steep bank half a league from São Domingos, the spot where the Dominicans from Conceição do Araguaia usually land on their apostolic journeys. It is the last place where it is possible to moor a boat on the navigable stretch, for there is a waterfall not far above it. Here the trail begins, [487] perhaps several centuries old, that connects the river with the great forest inhabited by the Tapirapé from distant times, the edge of which may be reached in one day on foot or horseback during the dry season. A canoe with a motor at the stern takes two days, traveling from morning to nightfall, from Pôrto Frederico down to the mouth of the river, and usually takes no longer going up since the current is weak. Pôrto Velho is reached similarly in one day.

Apparently, Mr. Lucio Penna da Luz also noticed the advantages of Pôrto Frederico. When we arrived there on July 17, 1947, we found two families of vaqueros who had arrived on the previous day. On the orders of that rancher, they had already erected the framework of their future dwelling and they were preparing palm leaves to cover it. They explained that they had come to set up a ranch on these lands, and that their master intended to establish yet another one up-river, so that the entire margin of the Tapirapé River which has belonged so far to the Indians of the same name would now be occupied.

An Indian post established at Pôrto Frederico or its vicinity would not serve only to guard the territory set aside for the Tapirapé and to

648 offer them a refuge in case of northern Kaiapó advances or attacks. It might also preclude the entry of adventurers into the lands to the south and west, which are assumed to be inhabited by the Akué-Chavante and by the Tupi tribe of the Ampaneã (in this respect, cf. my works, "Uma ponte etnográfica entre o Xingu e o Araguaia, [An ethnographic bridge between the Xingu and the Araguaia]," [113] Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 43, São Paulo, 1938, and "Os Tapirapé, tribo tupi no Brasil Central [The Tapirapé, a Tupi tribe of Central Brazil]," ibid., Vol. 100, São Paulo, 1945).

[911] [144] Since the Tapirapé are traditionally forest Indians, we must consider the possibility of establishing the new post in the vicinity of the recently burned village, that is, at the edge of the great forest. I regard this possibility as extremely slight owing to the difficulties of communication during the yearly floods that cover the savanna and the forest ground.

Another possible way of protecting the Tapirapé would be to gather them into a post to be established on Bananal Island. The advantage here would be their localization in a Federal territory intended exclusively as a reservation for the local Indians and more easily accessible than the upper Tapirapé River. On the other hand, this very accessibility might make it difficult to preserve the tribe as an ethnic entity. In addition, the following factors must be con-
131 sidered: although some Tapirapé groups, according to certain sources,
182 lived for a while on Bananal Island more than 100 years ago, everything indicates that the bulk of the tribe has lived in its present habitat since the eighteenth century (cf. my study of this question in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 98, São Paulo, 1944), and the Tapirapé, therefore, are physically and culturally adapted to this environment and capable of preserving their culture within it. It should
619 be added that in this case, also, the contact between the inhabitants of
166 Tampiitsua and Tritrutsua would be retained, and with it the possibility of marrying outside the village or moving from one village to the other as a result of disappointments, political factors, etc. (1).

649 166 1. In a report on his visit to the Tapirapé that took place in September, 1948, Mr. Harald Schultz tells me that "none of the Tapirapé like the idea of being transferred to a spot near

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[166]

Conceição do Araguaia, as was Father Luiz Palha's plan." He says that these Indians wish to build a village near the houses of the above-mentioned São Pedro ranch, on the right margin of the Tapirapé, and he adds: "If the Indian Service is not in a position to establish a post for the Tapirapé Indians, it would be worth studying the possibility of entrusting Mr. Lucio da Luz with their protection. Mr. Lucio da Luz is a man of great means, and he would not be primarily interested in the meager wages of a man-in-charge or whatever he might be to those Indians, but would do this rather out of the humanitarian feelings which he seems to possess."

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Whatever the case may be, there are three basic needs to be considered in any resettlement of the Tapirapé: 1) the existence of an extensive forest adequate for the large gardens of this essentially farming tribe; 2) the exclusion of all representatives of our civilization who are not employees of the Indian Service, anthropologists, or physicians associated with the Service; 3) the exclusion of members of other aboriginal tribes.

I believe that Father Lelong is correct when he writes in his letter with reference to the Kaiapó who invaded Tapirapé territory: "Ten armed men would suffice to clear the territory of these assassins." These ten men, however, should be under the orders of the Indian Service so as to catch the culprits in the slaughter without shedding blood and take them to the idyllic penitentiary established at the Indian post of Icatu in the state of São Paulo. One of the most urgent tasks is unquestionably the lasting pacification of the northern Kaiapó who, unlike the Akué-Chavante, have the habit of leaving the traditional boundaries of their territory to attack harmless neighbors (cf. what I wrote about this in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 102, São Paulo, 1945, pp. 123-130).

6:Baldus--13 E-5 (1935,1947)1948 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Plate 1

Fig. 1. Young Tapirapé woman with body painting characteristic of women.

Fig. 2. Tapirapé youth with frizzy hair, forearm ornaments, and body painting.

6: Baldus--14 E-5 (1935,1947) 1948 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Plate 2

Fig. 3. Tapirapé youth with another type of body painting.

Fig. 4. Young Tapirapé woman with body painting characteristic of women.

Fig. 5. Tapirapé man named Irãvuy, with body painting.

Fig. 6. Tapirapé youth with body painting and forearm ornaments.

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G: Baldus--G E-5 (1935,1947) 1948 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Plate 4

Fig. 7. Tapirapé girl with the ornaments characteristic of immature girls.

Fig. 8. Tapirapé youth.

Fig. 9. Tanupantxóa-Kamanané, about 45 years old, and in 1947 the oldest Tapirapé. He defended his village alone against the Kaiapó.

Fig. 10. Tapirapé youth making a wax doll.

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6: Baldus--18 E-5 (1935, 1947) 1948 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Plate 6.

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Fig. 11. Tapirapé children playing on the beach at Pôrto Velho.

6: Baldus SP22 Tapirape

# REVISTA DO MUSEU PAULISTA

NOVA SERIE

VOLUME II

YALE UNIVERSITY

[TITLE PAGE]

SÃO PAULO
1948

# TRIBOS DA BACIA DO ARAGUAIA E O SERVIÇO DE PROTEÇÃO AOS ÍNDIOS

por
HERBERT BALDUS

Tendo sido convidado pelo sr. dr. Modesto Donatini Dias da Cruz, diretor do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, para representar o Museu Paulista e a Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo na equipe por êle organizada para a inspeção de Postos Indígenas e penetração de certas regiões do Brasil Central, expuz-lhe em relatório datado em 31 de outubro de 1947, minhas observações feitas durante a viagem realizada nos meses de junho, julho e agosto do mesmo ano, bem como algumas sugestões a respeito. As páginas seguintes reproduzem êsse relatório com algumas modificações e acréscimos.

## I
## OS TAPIRAPÉ

Em 19 de julho de 1947 contamos na aldeia tapirapé de Tampiitáua 62 habitantes, sendo 59 submetidos a exame médico pelo meu companheiro de viagem, dr. Haroldo Cândido de Oliveira. O quadro seguinte mostra as relações de idade e sexo:

| | Homens | Mulheres | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| até 5 anos | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| de 6 a 15 anos | 7 | 3 | 10 |
| de 16 a 30 anos | 14 | 17 | 31 |
| de mais de 30 anos | 6 | 4 | 10 |
| Total | 32 | 27 | 59 |

É de supor serem meninos os 3 que escaparam ao exame. Além disso encontramos em Pôrto Velho uma Tapirapé de mais de 30 anos, vivendo entre os sertanejos.

Em 1935, Tampiitáua tinha 130 habitantes, sendo 69 do sexo masculino e 61 do sexo feminino.

Convém mencionar que, desde então, certos indivíduos emigraram para Tritxutáua, outra aldeia tapirapé muito distante. Mas seu número parece ser inferior ao daqueles que vieram de lá para Tampiitáua. Segundo diver-

sas informações, Tzitxutáua é muito menor do que essa aldeia, de modo que hoje, provàvelmente, tôda a tribo tapirapé não terá mais de cem componentes.

O que impressiona no quadro acima apresentado é, por um lado, o número reduzido de crianças em relação ao dos adultos (18 indivíduos de 0 a 15 anos e 41 de mais de 15 anos) e, por outro, a pouca duração de vida (10 indivíduos de mais de 30 anos). Algo mais de 40 anos tinham só um homem e u'a mulher.

Segundo notícias que, em outubro de 1947, recebi do sr. Valentim Gomes, encarregado do Posto Indígena Heloisa Alberto Torres, e de Frei M. H. Lelong, de Conceição do Araguaia, as relações numéricas acima referidas sofreram modificações causadas pelo ataque dos Kaiapó a Tampiitáua, realizado em fins de agosto, no qual foram mortas 3 mulheres e roubadas 2 e 1 menino. Restaram, portanto, dos 59 indivíduos examinados, 31 do sexo masculino e 22 do sexo feminino.

Para exterminar a tribo contribui ainda, além de doenças, o costume de matar, em determinadas circunstâncias, os recém-nascidos.

Das alterações na cultura tapirapé sucedidas desde a minha primeira visita, feita há doze anos, quero mencionar, principalmente, o desaparecimento da fartura de alimentos vegetais. Na literatura sôbre êsses pacíficos e laboriosos Tupi, há muitas referências a suas grandes roças. Posso acrescentar que, pela quantidade e variedade de sua produção agrícola, êles superavam não só as tribos vizinhas, mas também os sertanejos. Em 1935, nos meses de junho a agosto, vi a aldeia cheia das mais saborosas bananas, de cinco variedades de mandioca e numerosos outros tubérculos, de favas, amendoim e milho. Em 1947, na mesma época do ano, percorrendo tôdas as casas, quase não achei nada disso. Tinha se tornado difícil obter umas bananas, um pouco de cará e beiju. A diminuição de tudo mostrava-se até no tamanho do amendoim, sendo o comprimento de seus legumes e sementes reduzido quase à metade, devido, aparentemente, à qualidade da terra das novas roças. Naturalmente, tal mudança na situação alimentar influi sôbre o padrão de comportamento tribal, reprimindo, por exemplo, a hospitalidade tapirapé, outrora ilimitada.

É verdade que, para isto talvez tenha contribuido também o contacto com os vizinhos brancos que, nos últimos anos, se estabeleceram no rio Tapirapé. Geralmente, êstes sertanejos, ou não têm nada para oferecer, ou vendem as sobras de seus produtos para poderem comprar sal e roupas. Seu corpo é subnutrido, mas a cultura os obriga vestí-lo. Assim, não lhes resta outra coisa do que, em vez de satisfazer as necessidades do estômago das visitas índias, criar mais uma necessidade para elas: a necessidade puramente cultural, e não física, de cobrir-se. Em 1935, tôdas as mulheres de Tampiitáua andavam completamente nuas. Agora, muitas usam, em presença dos brancos, trapos amarrados na cintura e algumas, vestidos inteiros.

É difícil afirmar se os Tapirapé já sentem realmente uma redução dos víveres animais causada por aqueles novos vizinhos. O que deve ser considerado a respeito, é o fato da diminuição do número de habitantes de sua taba ter sido mais rápida que o aumento dos moradores do rio. Não faltavam,

porém, queixas do seguinte teor: "Tapirapé só come peixe pequeno; não pode mais comer tucunaré e tartaruga e ovos dela."

Estas palavras aludem à ocupação do rio inteiro pelos sertanejos que, com isso, se apoderaram da fonte principal de proteína animal e gorduras. Convém lembrar, ainda, que anualmente, no tempo da sêca, em que desaparecem córregos e lagos, a fauna e com ela também os sêres humanos da região têm de concentrar-se naquele curso d'água para poderem matar sêde e fome. Não resta dúvida que os sertanejos, fixando-se para sempre em todos os lugares habitáveis do rio e tornando-se cada vez mais numerosos, diminuirão constantemente a caça e a pesca que os índios só em determinada época do ano costumavam aproveitar. Em todo caso, o fato de Tampiltáua, nos últimos tempos, ter sido transferida para mais longe do rio e mais para o norte, parece evidenciar que os Tapirapé se sentiam ameaçados pela proximidade dos povoadores brancos.

Quando, em 1935, subi numa ubá todo o Tapirapé, as margens estavam deshabitadas, havendo um único morador na foz, que, por assim dizer, lá ocupava o pôsto mais avançado da nossa civilização. Em julho de 1947 existiam em Pôrto Velho, que fica mais ou menos no meio do trecho navegável, isto é, numa distância de 15 a 18 léguas da boca, oito casas cujos habitantes eram quase todos paraenses e viveram antes em diversos lugares do Araguaia.

O povoamento e, com isso, a ocupação das terras dos índios por essa gente começou há cêrca de cinco anos e representa aspectos característicos de processos repetidos, com certas variantes, durante a colonização do Brasil. O líder é um fazendeiro de nome Lucio Penna da Luz, que mora em Mato Verde, vilarejo formado em 1934 na margem mato-grossense do Araguaia e a cêrca de quinze léguas acima da foz do Tapirapé. No decorrer do tempo, tornou-se conhecido o fato de ser relativamente fácil levar gado dêste rio a Mato Verde, fazendo-se a viagem por terra de Pôrto Velho até lá, em um dia e meio. Assim, moradores de Furo de Pedra e da barra do Tapirapé subiram êste rio para estabelecer-se na margem esquerda.

Quando, há alguns anos, tôda a navegação regular do meio Araguaia cessou devido à dissolução da empresa que fazia êsses transportes com barcos a motor, a vida nos mencionados dois lugares piorou até o desespêro, pois não havia mais saída para os seus produtos. Ficava em tôda a zona um único homem que os comprava: o sr. Lúcio. Êle era e é também o principal fornecedor das principais mercadorias das quais os sertanejos necessitam: sal e algum pano para se vestir. E dá fiado. Êles vendem a êsse dono de um motor, de uma casa de telhas e de milhares de cabeças de gado, o pouco de arroz e farinha de mandioca que lhes sobra, e alguma rez da meia dúzia que constitue a sua fortuna. E falam bem do homem, considerando-o o seu maior benfeitor.

A atração mútua levou o sr. Lucio e a clientela a encontrarem-se no meio do caminho. Êle instalou uma fazenda no alto Tapirapé e a gente da barra dêste rio e de Furo de Pedra estabeleceu-se mais ou menos pegado, isto é, em Pôrto Velho e de lá terra a dentro e rio acima. Mas como sucede com a maioria dos povoados do Araguaia, as inundações anuais cercam igualmente

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as moradas novas do rio Tapirapé, de modo que também aqui, durante longos meses, a canoa substitui o cavalo nas visitas ao vizinho. Naturalmente, em tal ambiente o amanho do solo continua muito restrito, o que, aliás, corresponde à índole nômade dêsses pequenos criadores de gado com sua tendência para o aproveitamento extensivo e não intensivo da terra. Assim, êsse tipo de sertanejo nascido à margem da nossa sociedade e formando, há séculos, a vanguarda da nossa civilização na penetração do Brasil, vai para a frente, sempre para a frente, deixando atrás de si os enormes espaços vazios tão característicos dêste país. Êle chama de "sertão bruto" a terra ainda não bem conhecida por êle e pelos seus semelhantes, e ao estabelecer-se, nela, não tem escrúpulos de considerá-la sua. É o etnocentrismo que o impede de compreender o fato de todo o sertão não percorrido pelo branco ter dono. E êste dono, isto é, o índio, não costuma passar, em geral, os limites de seu território, respeitando escrupulosamente os confinantes, se não pretende guerrear ou comerciar. Sendo o etnocentrismo a tendência muito humana de se encarar tôdas as cousas exclusivamente sob o ponto de vista do próprio povo como se êste, com os seus conceitos, fosse o centro do mundo, não é de extranhar que, amiúde aquilo que se afigura como "bruto" para nós, não o é para homens de outra cultura. Semelhante atitude leva pessoas com horizonte intelectual tão limitado como o dos sertanejos a ver as diferenças entre si e os índios de tal modo avultadas que êstes não lhes parecem ser "gente". Tomando isso como premissa, agem com lógica impecável se concluem ser devoluta a terra dos aborígenes. E as autoridades que ratificam esta conclusão, não se mostram menos etnocêntricas.

Longe de mim seja pintar os ocupantes do Tapirapé como invasores furibundos. São pessoas humildes e de ingenuidade comovente, representando o que se convencionou designar como "gente boa". Parece que não é só pela própria inferioridade numérica que procuram ter paz com os índios tratando-os com benignidade. Apesar disso, naturalmente, os choques são inevitáveis. Há os encontros em que não corre sangue. Interêsses econômicos encontram-se na zona de caça e pesca dos Tapirapé e êstes ficam privados de proteína. São de outra espécie os interêsses que propagam a gonorréa entre os Karajá. Mas em ambos os casos trata-se de índios tão amáveis que êsses encontros, apesar de suas consequências funestas para as tribos, apresentam-se aos sertanejos quando muito, como "choques moles" em comparação com os que sofreram de índios de têmpera bem diversa, a saber, dos Kaiapó e Chavante.

Estes Chavante e Kaiapó são Gê, isto é, pertencem ao grande grupo de tribos que mais resistência ofereceu e mais medo deu aos intrusos brancos, do que a maior parte dos outros selvícolas do Brasil. Acham, geralmente, o embate de sólidos cacetes preferível à conversa-fiada. O território tapirapé está encravado entre êles. Mais temidos do que os Chavante são os Kaiapó do norte, sendo, de fato, o número de suas vítimas maior do que o dos estranhos que perderam a vida penetrando em terra chavante. Acresce que os Kaiapó não sòmente avançam em direção ao Araguaia para acabar com os sertanejos e suas casas. Marcham para o sul atacando Tampiitáua ,como exporei mais adiante.

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O complexo de superioridade, produto característico do etnocentrismo, não falta também aos novos habitantes do Tapirapé. Esta gente, à qual o povo das cidades do Rio e S. Paulo dá o nome de caboclos, chama assim, por sua vez, aos índios, seguindo com isso o costume dos nortistas. O que nós tratamos de caboclo, anda com o pé no chão. Para aqueles sertanejos sem sapatos, porém, caboclo é aquele que nem sequer faz questão de usar calça. Mas ainda que calça e sapato marquem as distâncias culturais que os separam, por um lado, do índio, e, por outro de nós, há um fato que os faz membros da nossa sociedade e de nenhuma outra. Êstes pobres conquistadores do desconhecido não estão isentos de impostos. Têm de pagá-lo por cabeça de gado.

A êsse respeito convém mencionar a histórica povoação de S. José, aglomeração de cêrca de trinta casas, cheia de doença e miséria, situada num dos mais lindos lugares do Araguaia. Os habitantes pagam impostos de diversas espécies e dizem que o govêrno não faz nada por êles. Pagam, por exemplo, imposto escolar sem ter escola. O nosso companheiro dr. Haroldo Cândido de Oliveira era o primeiro médico a visitá-los nos últimos vinte anos. Quando a lancha do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios passa, êsses goianos abandonados recebem algum remédio.

Mas o que poderia contribuir, além da calça e do imposto, para fazer o sertanejo sentir-se superior ao índio? Aquele imposto que o habilita a pertencer ao mundo capitalista? O rifle já existe entre os Karajá. E os índios do Araguaia são melhor alimentados, tomam mais banho e, como revelou o exame médico, têm menos maleita e mais saude geral do que os chamados "civilizados" ao seu redor, que, aliás, em grande parte, são negros e mulatos. Como homem etnocêntrico, porém, o sertanejo considera tudo que difere de sua própria cultura, como inferioridade. E as diferenças culturais entre êle e o índio abrangem a vida tôda tão profundamente que quase ocultam as semelhanças produzidas pela igualdade do ambiente geográfico e pelo fato de serem ambos, membros do mesmo gênero humano. Pratos gostosos do índio, como, por exemplo, as sopas de amendoim, milho ou mandioca, mastigadas pelas mulheres para serem sacarificadas com auxílio da saliva, são, para o sertanejo, "porcaria", da qual se afasta com nojo. As casas tapirapé, cobertas de folhas de palmeira e "banana brava", sólidas defesas contra o calor, o frio e a chuva, não valem nada aos olhos daquele que tem paredes de barro. A língua que êle não entende, é tão feia para êle como lhe parecem ridículos ou horripilantes todos os costumes estranhos, sejam êles pintura do rosto, uma dança de máscaras ou as práticas dos médico-feiticeiros. Isso não impede ser êle mesmo em certos aspectos da cultura material, não menos "primitivo" do que o índio. Em Pôrto Velho, por exemplo, uma família de Conceição usava como escada um tronco de árvore com degraus escavados, assemelhando-se a êsse respeito, aos índios Oiampi da Guiana, que por tal escada sobem às suas casas palafíticas.

Recuando perante os intrusos brancos pela transladação do Tampiitáua, os Tapirapé caíram de novo nas mãos daquele vizinho que, provàvelmente, desde séculos, é o inimigo número 1 de sua tribo. Já em 1935, mostraram, nas horas da noite, abertamente, o seu pavor, pedindo-me para não largar ao deitar-me na rede, o revolver, pronto para defendê-los dos Kaiapó que, três

anos antes, tinham assaltado e destruido outra aldeia sua, matando a maior parte dos habitantes. Quando cheguei a Pôrto Velho, em julho último, a mesma preocupação se tinha apoderado dos sertanejos. Falavam da aproximação dos Kaiapó, como dela se tinha falado, há doze anos, em Tampiitáua. Os boatos a respeito foram corroborados pela presença de três famílias provenientes dos Campos de Conceição do Araguaia. Diziam que tinham saído de lá sòmente por medo dêsses índios que, no ano passado, mataram sete pessoas.

Infelizmente, o perigo esperado não era imaginário. Poucas semanas depois da nossa última visita, os Kaiapó atacaram Tampiitáua. Pormenores dêste trágico acontecimento estão relatados na carta que recebi de Frei M.-H. Lelong (*). Nela se lê que a aldeia foi saqueada e queimada, estando os sobreviventes refugiados em Pôrto Velho, onde lhes faltam víveres para alimentar-se, redes para dormir, algodão para fabricar novas redes, instrumentos de lavoura e utensílios de cozinha(**).

Medida urgente a se tomar é a fundação de um Pôsto na parte superior do rio Tapirapé. Destinado a proteger os índios homônimos era, até agora,

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(*) Conceição do Araguaya, 11 octobre 1947

Monsieur le Professeur.

Je suis le Français que vous avez rencontré sur l'Araguaya lorsque vous remontiez du Tapirapé vers Léopoldina.

Je sais combien vous vous intéressez à ce petit groupe d'Indiens sympathiques; ceci arrive depuis avanthier à Conceição je m'empresse de vous adresser des nouvelles que sont bien tristes.

Dans les derniers jours du mois d'août des guerriers Cayapos — Gorotirés évidemment — ont attaqué le village tapirapé alors que tous les hommes étaient au lac des Tucunarés. Il ne restait que les femmes, les enfants et le vieux Camaraõ. Ils ont tué deux femmes et une jeune fille, Kirôa femme de Tampiri, Amoou femme de Pereira, et Tamandéchou et enlevé une femme, une jeune fille et un petit garçon: Iperéinhi, femme de Camaraõ, Amaoui fille de Pereira, et Uácuré, fils d'Kirôa (excuses la transcription de ces vocables tupys). Le vieux a décoché ses flèches, les "braves" Cayapos se sont enfuis, non sans brûler leurs cases. Avec le P. Palha, nous avons trouvé cette population apeurée réfugiée à Porto Velho, manquant de tout, ayant faim, démoralisée. Bref un spectacle navrant analogue à ce que j'ai vu en Europe. Nous avons décidé les Tapirapés à aller jusqu'à leur village. Les femmes avaient peur et détournaient les hommes. Sept sont partis avec nous et quatre ont été jusqu'au bout. Nous avons trouvé ce charmant petit village dont, avec le Docteur Harcha, vous avez été les derniers visiteurs, pillé sauvagement. Nous avons rapporté les cuvettes qui avaient servi au mamoro. Je vous les décrirai et vous donnerai beaucoup d'autres détails sur cette affaire. Les Cayapos étaient revenus le matin même pour continuer le pillage. Nous ne les avons malheureusement pas surpris. Nous sommes rentrés un jour et une nuit. Les trois Tapirapés ont pris une charge de coton et de farine (ils n'ont plus de hamacs et souffrent beaucoup) et ils ont mis le feu à leur village pour empêcher les ennemis de continuer à s'en servir. C'était assez tragique. Nous sommes rentrés à Porto Velho. Ils ont l'intention de s'installer à quelques lieues de São João. J'ai vu les grandes plantations de ces braves gens travailleurs et pacifiques, c'est une pitié. Il suffirait de dix hommes armés pour nettoyer le pays de ces ennemis, mais personne ne fait rien. Je pars d'ici trois ou quatre jours vers Morabe d'où je prendrai l'avion. J'espère aller directement à Saint Paul où je m'empresserai de vous rencontrer pour voir si l'on ne pourrait pas obtenir un secours urgent pour les pauvres Tapirapés.

Je vous dis à bientôt et vous prie de croire, Monsieur le Professeur, à mes sentiments les plus distingués

(a) *M. H. Lelong, O. P.*

(**) Reprimo ao fronte de meu relatório sob qual título a necessidade de se enviar socorro aos sobreviventes. Quem os salvou foi o sr. Lucio Pereira de Lira dando-lhes abrigo e comida. Em setembro de 1948, o sr. Harald Schultz, assistente de Etnologia do Museu Paulista, encontrou a maior parte dêles morando em ranchos do fazenda São Pedro, propriedade do sr. Lucio, situada na margem direita do Tapirapé.

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o Pôsto Indígena Heloisa Alberto Torres, situado, atualmente, na foz dêsse rio. Revelou-se inadequado para êste fim por estar afastado demais do habitat da tribo. Por outro lado, já em 1942, comentando as tentativas de aldear os Tapirapé nesse ponto do Araguaia, chamei a atenção para o fato de que "o contacto imediato e contínuo dêsses índios com os mais variados representantes da nossa civilização, contacto êsse inevitável ao realizar-se o mencionado projeto, trará o extermínio certo daquela pacífica tribo tupi." (SOCIOLOGIA, vol. IV, pág. 407). Pois os Tapirapé não estão, como os verdadeiros donos do Araguaia, a saber, os Karajá, em relações seculares com os brancos, as quais parecem tê-los habilitado física e psìquicamente, pelo menos em certa medida, para alguma resistência.

A inconveniência de localizar os Tapirapé na foz do rio homônimo não implica no abandono do Pôsto Heloisa Alberto Torres. Este é indispensável não só para a proteção do grupo dos Karajá do Norte, nele aldeado, e dos demais grupos que moram Araguaia abaixo, mas também para o controle da entrada no rio Tapirapé.

Como local do futuro Pôsto de Proteção aos índios Tapirapé parece-me recomendável o ponto da margem esquerda chamado de Pôrto Frederico pelos sertanejos em lembrança de meu companheiro de viagem de 1935, um missionário inglês que aí tinha construído um rancho. Fica num barranco distante meia légua de São Domingos, lugar até onde costumam chegar os dominicanos de Conceição do Araguaia, nas suas viagens apostólicas. É o último ponto para atracar, no trecho navegável, pois pouco acima há uma cachoeira. Daí parte o atalho talvez secular que liga o rio com a grande mata habitada, desde tempos remotos, pelos Tapirapé, permitindo alcançar a sua orla, na época da seca, num dia de marcha a pé ou a cavalo. Uma canoa com motor de popa desce em dois dias, viajando de manhã até o anoitecer, de Pôrto Frederico até a foz do rio, não gastando, geralmente, mais tempo na subida, pois a correnteza é fraca. Num dia está em Pôrto Velho.

Aparentemente, também o sr. Lucio Penna da Luz percebeu as vantagens de Pôrto Frederico. Chegando lá em 17 de julho de 1947, encontramos duas famílias de vaqueiros que tinham chegado no dia anterior. Por ordem desse fazendeiro, já tinham erigido o vigamento de sua futura morada e estavam preparando as folhas de palmeira para cobrí-la. Explicaram que tinham vindo para estabelecer uma fazenda nestas terras e que seu patrão pretendia instalar ainda outra, rio acima, de modo que ficaria ocupada tôda a margem do Tapirapé até agora pertencente aos índios homônimos.

O Pôsto Indígena a ser instalado em Pôrto Frederico ou nos arredores serviria não só para vigiar o território reservado aos Tapirapé e oferecer a êstes um refúgio em caso de avanços e ataques dos Kaiapó do norte. Poderia impedir, também, a invasão de aventureiros nas terras situadas ao sul e oeste que se supôs serem povoadas pelos Akué-Chavante e pela tribo tupi dos Ampanéá (cf. a respeito os meus trabalhos "Uma ponte etnográfica entre o Xingu e o Araguaia", Revista do Arquivo Municipal, vol. XLIII, S. Paulo, 1938 e "Os Tapirapé, tribo tupi no Brasil Central", ibidem, vol. C, S. Paulo, 1945).

Sendo os Tapirapé tradicionalmente índios da mata, é preciso ventilar a possibilidade de estabelecer o novo Pôsto nas proximidades da taba recenquistada, isto é, na boca da grande mata. Considero reduzidíssima essa possibilidade pelas dificuldades de comunicação durante as anuais enchentes que cobrem os campos e o solo das selvas.

Outra possibilidade de proteger os Tapirapé seria reuni-los num Pôsto a ser fundado na ilha do Bananal. As vantagens disto consistiriam em localizá-los num Território Federal destinado a ser exclusivamente reserva para os índios da região e acessível com maior facilidade do que o alto rio Tapirapé. Por outro lado, porém, justamente essa facilidade poderia dificultar a conservação da tribo como unidade étnica. Além disso deve ser considerado o seguinte: Ainda que certos grupos tapirapé, segundo algumas fontes, tivessem estado passageiramente na ilha do Bananal, há mais de cem anos, tudo indica que o grosso da tribo mora no seu atual habitat desde o século XVIII (cf. meu estudo a respeito na Revista do Arquivo Municipal, vol. XCVIII, S. Paulo, 1944), sendo os Tapirapé, portanto, física e culturalmente adaptados a este ambiente e em condições de preservar nele a sua cultura. Acresce que aí, também, as relações entre os habitantes de Tampiitáua e Txitxutáua podem continuar oferecendo possibilidades de casar fora da aldeia ou mudar de aldeia por desgostos, razões de política, etc.(*).

Seja como for: há três necessidades fundamentais a considerar em qualquer localização dos Tapirapé: — 1) A existência de uma grande mata própria para as extensas roças dessa tribo essencialmente agrícola; 2) O afastamento de todos os representantes da nossa civilização que não sejam funcionários do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, etnólogos ou médicos ligados a êste Serviço; 3) O afastamento de indivíduos de outras tribos indígenas.

Acho que o padre Lelong tem razão quando, na sua carta, escreve com referência aos Kaiapó que invadiram o território tapirapé: "Il suffirait de dix hommes armés, pour nettoyer le pays de ces assassins." Mas tais dez homens armados deveriam estar sob as ordens do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, para aprisionar sem derrame de sangue os culpados pelo morticínio e conduzi-los para a idílica penetenciária instalada no Pôsto Indígena de Icatu, Estado de S. Paulo. Uma das tarefas mais urgentes é, sem dúvida, a pacificação definitiva dos Kaiapó do norte que, em oposição aos Akuó-Chavante, costumam sair fora dos limites tradicionais de seu território para atacar os vizinhos inofensivos (cf. o que escrevi a respeito na Revista do Arquivo Municipal, vol. CII, S. Paulo 1945, pp. 123-130).

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(*) Em relatório sôbre sua visita aos Tapirapé feita em setembro de 1948, o sr. Harald Schultz me comunica que "nenhum dos Tapirapé simpatizava com a idéia de ser transferido para um lugar perto de Conceição do Araguaia, conforme era plano do Frei Luiz Pedro." Observa que êsses índios desejam construir aldeia perto das casas do mencionado fazendeiro S. Pedro, na margem direita do Tapirapé, e acrescenta: "Se o S. P. I. não estiver em condições de criar um pôsto junto dos índios Tapirapé, seria digno de estudo a possibilidade de interessar o sr. Lucio de Luz de proteger-los. O sr. Lucio de Luz é um homem de grandes posses, e não teria interesse em apenas ganhar as parcas vantagens como encarregado ou seja que for daqueles índios, antes o faria pelos sentimentos humanitários que, creio no fundo, possui."

Fig. 1. Moça tapirapé com a pintura do corpo característica das mulheres.

Fig. 2. Rapaz tapirapé com cabelo crespo, enfeites de antebraço e pintura do corpo.

Cp. 168-A]
Cpp. 145-148 NOT PROCESSED]

Fig. 3. Rapaz tapirapé com outra pintura do corpo.

Fig. 4. Moça tapirapé com a pintura do corpo característica das mulheres.

CP.1.58-B

Fig. 5. Homem tapirapé do nome Irêvoy, com pintura do corpo.

Fig. 6. Rapaz tapirapé com pinturas do corpo e enfeites nos antebraços

Fig. 6. Bapu tapiapé

Fig. 7. Mesma tapiapé com os cabelos cortados dos lapelos.

[p. 168 D]

Fig. 9. Tamapantáb-Kamaxanã, com cêra de quarupá e chaus nova e, em 1947, o mais velho Tapirapé. Dedicando abdômen e seu chefe contra os Kaiapó.

Fig. 10. Rapaz tapirapé fabricando bonecos de cera.

Fig. 11. Crianças tapirapé brincando na praia de Porto Velho.

[p. 168 F]

7: Baldus E-5 (1935) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

000 The Concept of Time among the Brazilian Indians
[O conceito do tempo entre os índios do Brasil]

Herbert Baldus

Revista do Arquivo Municipal
Vol. 71, pp. 87-93
São Paulo, 1940

Translated from the Portuguese by Ariane Brunel

Human Relations Area Files

1960

[Title page]

[Ed., pp. 87-88 are not translated.]

000 [89] In Mühlmann (p. 344) we read: "In Polynesia, the new year was reckoned from the beginning of the fishing season, and since this period of time coincided with the appearance of the Pleiades above the horizon, a fruitful half-year, mata-li'i-i-nia, that is, 'Pleiades above,' was distinguished from an unfruitful or less fruitful half-year, mata-li'i-i-raro, that is, 'Pleiades below.' A Pleiadic year was also known in India."

2 It is also worth mentioning Métraux's observation (p. 51) that the Pleiades seem to have been the object of special beliefs among the Tupinambá, who were convinced, according to an unpublished manuscript by Thevet, that they fostered the growth of manioc, the staple of their diet. One of the most beautiful legends of the Taulipáng, a Karaíb [Carib] tribe of the Roroima, relates how the Pleiades came to the sky and also mentions their function as heralds of the rainy season that brings an abundance of food with the appearance of shoals of fish moving upstream to spawn (Koch-Grünberg, p. 13).

Among the Tapirapé, I did not find anything corresponding to 805 this Indian and Polynesian culture trait [Tr., the Tapirapé do lend importance to the Pleiades]. It is true that of all the events in the yearly cycle, the rainy season is of greatest interest to these Indians. They did not tell me anything about the Pleiades, however. The rainy season is to them the opposite of what it is to the Taulipáng, namely, not the time of well-being, but, in the words of the Tapirapé, the time of evil shadows, of baleful spirits. It is character- [181] istic of the timid nature of these Tupí Indians that they lend greatest [221] importance to the time of greatest distress, instead of centering their [132] thoughts on the dry season, which is to them the pleasant time of abundant vegetable and animal foods and thus the time of health and pleasure in being alive. [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 89 and the first paragraph, as well as the first three sentences of the second paragraph, on p. 90 are omitted.]

[90] The Tapirapé could not tell me the number of days in the 821 lunar month, although they were familiar with the moon cycle and 192 called the new moon txãhi apát, "moon sleeps," or txãhi akantxím, "moon finished," and the full moon ãuvahó, ho being the augmentative suffix, and ãuva corresponding probably to the ãu, "lunar," listed by Montoya, and the yacy icáua, "full, fat moon," given by Stradelli. The first quarter, when the visible part is not yet very thick, is called

821 emekuantxíampaní, a word that refers to the thin, long tembetá
142 [Tr., lip plug] of the boys. To other stages of [91] visibility they gave the names itaxavãhãũpíri, eviyik, and akaemerũt, three terms whose meaning I was unable to determine and which must therefore be disregarded until further elucidated.

805 It became apparent that the Tapirapé are not in the habit of
192 reckoning time in terms of lunar months when I attempted to find out the duration they attribute to the span of time corresponding roughly to our year. They distinguished the following three periods: amína, "rain," the rainy season; amína akípaák, the end of the rainy season; and amína apám, "rain sleeps," the dry season. They attributed, still with some certainty, about five txãhi akantxím, "moon finished," to the first period, while their computations for the second period varied from one to five, and those for the "sleep of the rain" from three to eight. [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

Although they are not unfamiliar with the continuous alternation
[171] of day and night, the Brazilian Indians, to my knowledge, do not have words covering those two phases as a unit. The Tapirapé word ána merely designates the day from sunrise to sundown in contrast to the darkness of the night, and corresponds to ára in the above-cited Tupí dictionaries. For "night" the Tapirapé have the terms kanók (or kanúk), ípitún (or ípitúnã), and txãhi eni (or txãhi ãni), the first one designating nightfall or early evening, the second a dark, moon less [92] night, and the third a moonlit night or moonlight. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the first sentence of the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

It is not surprising that the concept of "midnight" is lacking among clockless people like the Tapirapé [Ed., the remainder of
114 the sentence is omitted]. The Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica
192 [Vocabulary of the Aboriginal Brazilian Language] lists the word
805 pigcarê with the translation, "the whole night, or throughout the night." I did not hear any similar term in Tapirapé, not even a word similar to pihá, another term for "night" listed by Montoya.

The Tapirapé word kaém, "daybreak," corresponds to coẽ in Montoya, coéma in the "Dicionário Brasiliano [Aboriginal Brazilian Dictionary]," coamutu in the Vocabulário na Lingua Brasílica, and coéma in Stradelli.

For "midday" the Tapirapé said atxavũapít. Montoya lists açayé, and the Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica, açajê. In Stradelli, the word "middle" is pytera.

192 According to my Tapirapé informants, "today" is in, "tomorrow"
805 is ãntxeivé, "yesterday" is designated by the number antxepé, "one," and "day before yesterday" by mõkóimi, "two." [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the exact and numerical reference to a past event seldom goes farther back than mõkóimi, "day before yester-
[802] day," since as a rule they do not count to mãpit, "three," preferring to say vuaitépe, "much "(in quantity), or mõ (or mũ), "far away" (a word that designates great distance, in space as well as [93] time, and that is perhaps related to mõmbiri, "far away," in Montoya). Concerning the future, on the other hand, they frequently say ãntxeivé, "tomorrow," although they may be referring to a time later than the following day.

Since not only the computations of time but its direct denomina-
805 tions as well are invariably abstract, however, it is more convenient to the Tapirapé mentality to use mostly indirect designations by grounding the references to past and future times in concrete phenomena.
[821] Thus, they indicate the time of day by extending their hand in the direction of the place where the sun was or will be at the time in ques-
[171] tion. By what I saw, and also by what Krause (p. 339) mentions, the Karajá [Caraja] proceed in the same fashion.

If certain events took place several weeks or months earlier, the
[824] Tapirapé pinpoint them chronologically by showing with the hand the degree of development of certain plants at the times in question, for example, the height of maize or sugar cane. If several years
[856] have gone by, the Tapirapé narrator extends his hand to the height that a certain person had reached at that time. This person is usually the narrator himself, if his age enables him to do so. If he is about 50 years old and thus stopped growing dozens of years ago, but wishes to indicate an event that occurred five years earlier, he will use a child five years old or older.

805 It should be mentioned, finally, that the words kaém, "daybreak,"
823 and kanúk, "nightfall," are also used for purposes of orientation in
[192] geographical space, the former meaning "east" and the latter "west." Judging by the explanations given to me by the Tapirapé, the concepts of "north" and "south" are lacking among them.

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7: Baldus SP22 Tapirape

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[TITLE PAGE]

# O CONCEITO DO TEMPO ENTRE OS INDIOS DO BRASIL

(Especial para a "REVISTA DO ARQUIVO")

HERBERT BALDUS
(Da Escola Livre de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo).

Dos antigos Tupi do litoral que, segundo Thevet (p. 148) "n'observent aucunement les heures du iour, ny les iours mesmes, ny les mois, ny les ans, mais content seulement par lunes", relata Simão de Vasconcellos (p. LXXVI) que notavam "os anos da vida pelos frutos das árvores que chamam acajús, ou pelo Setestrelo, que nasce em Maio, a que chamam Ceixú".

No século seguinte, isto é, no século XVIII, notícia mais minuciosa a êsse respeito foi dada no *Dicionário Português-Brasiliano e Brasiliano-Português*, onde, à página 158, lemos: "*Acajúroyy*: o ano. Como esta árvore só dá uma vez fruto ao ano, contra o costume das outras que dão sempre ou repetem, moveu os indios a contarem a sua idade pelos caroços que todos os anos se colhem e guardam, com muito cuidado em um pequeno cêsto feito para êste fim, onde cada ano lançam uma castanha. Também contam o ano pela constelação das Pléiades. Veja-se a palavra Ceixú. Como talvez os de agora não contem a sua idade com os caroços, bom será que se fale em pretérito".

[p. 87]

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Obra mais antiga do que o citado *Dicionário*, a saber: o *Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica*, traduz a palavra "ano" tanto pela designação das pléiadas que é ceixú, como pelo vocábulo roig que, segundo o mesmo livro, também significa "frio".

Nos célebres *Vocabulario y Tesoro de la lengua Guarani, ó mas bien Tupi*, de Montoya, primeiramente impressos em 1640, há para "año" os têrmos roi e quaracupucú, significando o primeiro, também: "frio" e "invierno", e o segundo: "sol largo" e "verano".

A obra de Montoya e o Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica não contêm a palavra acajú, pois referem-se, aparentemente, a partes meridionais da família linguística tupi, isto é, a idiomas de tribus em cujo território havia pouco ou nenhum cajueiro.

Os informes do autor do Dicionário Brasiliano e de Simão de Vasconcellos, porém, tratam de índios que achavam abundância do *Anacardium occidentale L.* nas arredores de suas aldeias e lhe deram a maior importância por fornecerem o sumo do fruto estimada bebida alcoólica e as castanhas um ótimo alimento. Na Amazônia usa-se, ainda hoje, o têrmo acajú para dizer "ano", pois no "Vocabulário Nheêngatú" de Stradelli (p. 358) encontramos o seguinte verbete: — "O ano, e mais raramente a fruta do cajú. O nome dado ao ano parece que lhe veio pelo fato de contarem os meses que o formam, de um amadurecimento a outro do cajú selvagem. O ano ainda hoje em muitas tribus é dividido em luas, designadas pelo nome da fruta que nela amadurece, da árvore que nela floresce, do peixe que nela aparece. Embora conheçam com agrupamentos e nomes diversos as constelações zodiacais, todavia nunca ouvi servirem-se delas para indicar o mês ou a estação; servem-se delas exclusivamente para regular-se e conhecer as horas da noite".

Não é a última frase de Stradelli que nos leva a duvidar das afirmações de Vasconcellos, do Dicionário Brasiliano e do Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica, a respeito do papel das pléiadas. E' verdade que, entre os Chamacoco, esta constelação regula, também, a noite, pois quando ela nasce, levantam-se êsses índios e preparam-se para o trabalho do dia, mesmo sendo pouco depois de meia noite (cf. Baldus: *Indianerstudien*, p. 142). Mas, por outra parte, há vários povos no mundo que, como os antigos Tupí, consideram tanto as pléiadas que os etnógrafos chegaram a lhes atribuir um "ano pleiadar". Segundo Lowie (p. 30), os Maori da Nova Zelândia faziam começar o ano como o novilúnio que seguia a apari-

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ção das plêiadas. Em Mühlmann (p. 344) lemos: "Na Polinésia contava-se o ano novo desde o começo da estação pluvosa e, coincidindo êste têrmo com a aparição das plêiadas em cima do horizonte, distinguia-se um meio ano fértil, *mata-li'i-i-nia*, isto é, *plêiadas em cima*, e um meio ano infértil, ou menos fértil, *mata-li'i-i-raro*, isto é, *plêiadas em baixo*. Um ano plêiadar conhecia-se, também, na Índia".

E' digna de nota, além disso, a observação de Métraux (p. 51) que os Tupinambá parecem ter tido as plêiadas por objeto de crenças especiais, estando convictos, segundo um manuscrito inédito de Thevet, que elas favorecessem o crescimento da mandioca, base de sua alimentação. Uma das mais belas lendas dos Tauliپáng, tribu karaib do Roraima, conta como as plêiadas vieram ao céu, mencionando, também, sua função como indicadores da época pluvosa que, com a chegada de piracemas, traz abundância de alimento (Koch-Grünberg, p. 13).

Entre os Tapirapé não encontrei nada que correspondesse ao referido traço cultural indiano e polinesiano. E' verdade que a estação chuvosa é de todos os acontecimentos de periodicidade anual aquêle que mais interêsse tem para êstes índios. Mas nada me disseram a respeito das plêiadas. A estação das chuvas representa para êles o contrário do que ela é para os Tauliپáng, a saber, não o tempo do bem estar, mas, como dizem os Tapirapé, o tempo das sombras ruins, dos espíritos funestos. Caracteriza a natureza acanhada dêstes Tupi o fato de darem êles a importância principal à época de suas máximas misérias, em vez de fazerem girar o pensamento ao redor da estação sêca que é, para êles, o tempo agradável da abundância de víveres vegetais e animais e, com isso, de saúde e prazer em viver.

Segundo Krause (p. 339) os Karajá "contam o ano de um baixar das águas até o outro". Isto é contar com coisa boa, pois quando as águas desceram, surgem as praias e alimentos de tôda espécie, desaparecem as pragas e torna-se o Araguaia um paraíso.

O que nos induz a pôr em dúvida as citadas afirmações sôbre o papel das plêiadas entre os antigos Tupi, é o mesmo que nos faz acreditar em Thevet quando êle diz observarem os Tupinambá, de modo algum, as horas, nem os dias, meses e anos. Conceitos de ano, mês e dia (no sentido da duração de uma rotação terrestre) são já abstrações desnecessárias para culturas como as dos Tupi. Aliás, aparecendo conjunções tão escrupulosas como as

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célebres calendários centro-americanos, nem sequer nas chamadas altas culturas andinas (cf. Krickeberg, p. 332), não é de esperar que achemos vestígios delas entre os povos naturais do Brasil. Onde, com efeito, entre estes índios, o horizonte econômico e político cria tão pouca necessidade de aperfeiçoar a arte de contar e a nomenclatura numérica, deve faltar, em geral, também a tendência para observações sistemáticas que levem a constatar o ano solar, calcular com êle e precisar sua duração. Se, a-pesar-disso, muitos autores falam de um conceito de ano entre povos naturais, é porque notaram, provàvelmente, que tais povos naturais ligavam importância a determinadas estações cujo número, em vista de elas aparecerem só uma vez durante cada elipse percorrida pela terra ao redor do sol, coincide com o número dos anos solares. Essas estações podem ser caracterizadas pela maturêza de uma fruta como o cajú, pela abundância de peixes, pelo frio ou pelo calor, pela chuva ou pela sêca, e tais caracteres podem ser postos em relação com fenômenos celestes como, por exemplo, a aparição das pléiadas. Em todo caso, êsses caracteres chamavam tanto a atenção que foram interpretados como marcação de ano, ou pelos povos naturais em questão que, ignorando o nosso conceito de ano, tentaram responder às perguntas a seu respeito, ou pelos próprios investigadores que, desconsiderando as diferenças étnicas, supuseram conhecimento de conceito correspondente. De fato, porém, os índios do Brasil, se bem que se interessam, conforme ao padrão de comportamento de sua tribo, mais por esta ou mais por aquela estação, não contam, em geral, quantas vêzes ela aparece, nem quanto ela dura. O conceito de ano, por seu lado, pode resultar, sòmente, de metódica computação.

O mesmo se dá, naturalmente, com o conceito de mês como duodécima parte do ano. Em todos os citados vocabulários encontramos a palavra "mês" traduzida pela designação tupi de "lua", sem referir, porém, se se trata, ùnicamente, do movimento sinódico. Aliás, também a duração dêste período não é calculada, em geral, pelos nossos índios. Os Tapirapé não sabiam dizer-me o número dos dias do mês lunar, ainda que conhecessem a periodicidade da lua, denominando o novilúnio: tsiã ãpiã, "lua dorme", ou: tsiã akantxin, "lua acabou", e o plenilúnio: ãtsabó, sendo ha o sufixo aumentativo, e correspondendo ãtsa, provàvelmente, ao ãã, "luzar", de Montoya, e ao yacy icãma, "lua cheia, gorda", de Stradelli. O quarto crescente, enquanto a parte visível não está, ainda, muito grossa, chama-se enekanxinaquel, têrmo que implica o fino e comprido tentetá de menino. A outros graus de

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visibilidade deram-se os nomes iaxavilidqiri, eviyik, akanatsi, três designações cujo sentido não pude averiguar e que, por isso, devem ficar em quarentena até novos esclarecimentos.

Que os Tapirapé não costumam conquistar por meses lunares, evidenciou-se quando tentei saber a duração atribuída por êles às épocas que, em suma, correspondem à duração do nosso ano. Distinguiam os seguintes três tempos: ammã, "chuva" o tempo pluvioso; ammã akqaik, o fim do tempo pluvioso; ammã apém, "chuva doente", o tempo seco. Atribuíram, ainda com certa firmeza, mais ou menos cinco taiãi akantaim, "lua acabou", à primeira época, vacilando os cálculos a respeito da segunda entre um e cinco, e, com referência ao "tempo da chuva", entre três e oito.

Se Thevet assevera que os Tapinambá "contam ordinàriamente por luares", dizendo, ao mesmo tempo, que não observam os anos, estou inclinado a admitir que calculavam, como em meu caso o fizeram os Tapirapé, só a pedido ou por sugestão do interrogante.

Se Stradelli, referindo-se, provàvelmente, a índios da Amazônia visitados por êle, afirma que "o ano ainda hoje em muitas tribos é dividido em luas, designadas pelo nome da fruta que nela amadurece, da árvore que nela floresce, do peixe que nela aparece", devemos supor que, neste caso, como no dos Mariloqa, não se trate de meses lunares exatamente computados, mas de uma série de épocas de periodicidade anual coincidentes, mais ou menos, com os movimentos sinódicos. Segundo Lowie (p. 39), entre índios do sul de Arizona cujo "ano" começa com o desabrochamento das árvores em fins de janeiro, têm doze meses lunares com nomes de chuva, mas não se preocupam de sua duração. Isso, com certeza, significa não sòmente que a diferença de quase cinco dias entre o ano solar e o ano lunar deixa de ser considerada, mas também que o número dos dias do mês não tenha importância alguma. Stradelli, aliás, nem sequer alude ao número dos meses.

A-pesar-de não ignorarem a mudança contínua entre dia e noite, os índios do Brasil, pelo que sei, não têm palavras que compreendam êstes dois tempos como unidade. O vocábulo tapirapé ãm designa, sòmente, o dia desde o nascer até o pôr do sol, em oposição às trevas da noite, e corresponde ao ãm dos cinzelos divinatórios tupi. Para "noite" os Tapirapé têm os termos kamik (ou: kamik), ẽpãm (ou: ẽpãmã), taiãi ení (ou: taiãi ãmã, significando o primeiro: o anoitecer, a tarde do dia; o segundo: a noite

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escura e sem lua; o trovão; a noite com lua, o luar. Correspondem em Montoya: cuarú, pytũ yaci ci, no Dicionário Brasileiro: cuarúna, pytúna, yacy ruaty, no Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica: curuna, pituna (ou: pigtuna), Inigrunlig, e em Strudelli: cuirúna, pituna, yacy-ruaty.

Segundo êste último autor, pituna compreende só o espaço de tempo do pôr do sol à meia noite, denominando-se esta: pituú (ou: pyuũ), chamando-se o período da meia noite até ao amanhecer pituna-pyrá, e designando-se a noite de luar: yacy pituna. Não é de estranhar que o conceito de "meia noite" falte entre gente sem religião como os Tapirapé, e se encontrarmos as expressões pituri (ou pituryi) em Montoya e pycuji (ou: picuji) no Dicionário Brasílico, devemos lembrar-nos que foram escritas por missionários de mentalidade europeia, para o uso de confrades dispostos a introduzir boa parte dessa mentalidade nos catecúmenos indios. Aliás, o Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica traz a palavra picuji com a tradução: "Noite triste, ou triste a noite". Não está termo semelhante em tapirapé, mas aparece uma voz parecida com pitu, entre designações de "noite" citada por Montoya.

Ao vocábulo tapirapé: kuiru, "madrugada", corresponde em Montoya: cui, no Dicionário Brasílico: cuiruna, no Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica: cuiruna, e em Strudelli: cuiruna.

Para "meio dia", os Tapirapé usam dizer: ararúpiá. Montoya diz: aqyji, e o Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica: aqiji. Em Strudelli, o vocábulo "meio" é: pytera.

Segundo nosso informante tapirapé, "hoje" é: ũ; "amanhã": kuruiré; "ontem" é designado pelo número: ararapé: 1, e "anteontem" por: ararúiná: 2. "Hoje", "amanhã" e "ontem" são, em Montoya: ang (ang ára: hoje, todo o dia não passado), cyrumá, cirúcuri; no Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica: jú, ojú, jú (hoje, pretérito), cuú (hoje, futuro), cirú (ou: cirúde), curu, em Strudelli: ná (ou: nú), urumá, curu. Oturi na Karajá diz, em português: "durante dois", para designar "depois de amanhã".

Entre os Tapirapé, a cuara e amanhã indicação do tempo de um acontecimento passado irá, curumuru, além de anteontem, "anteontem", pois, em geral, não contam até mais: 3, período diz: vuaúpe, "muito" (em quantidade), ou: mú (ou: mú), "longe" (designando uma palavra grande distância, tanto no tempo como no

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espaço e estabelecendo aproximada, talvez, com número, "breve", de Montoya. Por outro lado, a respeito de períodos futuros dizem, frequentemente, *kuruwá*, "amanhã", *ar ley* que pertence mais tempo depois do dia seguinte.

Como, porém, não somente as computações, mas também todas as denominações diretas do tempo nunca deixam de ser abstrato, contrário à mentalidade dos Tapirapé mais, principalmente, designações indiretas baseando em fenômenos concretos a indicação de períodos passados e futuros. Assim marcam o tempo do dia, estendendo a mão em direção à posição que o sol ocupará ou ocupará no momento em questão. Pelo que vi e como, também, Krause (p. 39[illegible]) mostrou, os Karajá procedem da mesma maneira.

Se acontecimentos se deram há semanas ou meses, os Tapirapé determinam cronologicamente, demonstrando com a mão o grau do desenvolvimento de certas plantas nos épocas em questão, por exemplo, a altura do milho ou da cana de açúcar. Tendo perdido já anos, o marinheiro tapirapé estende a mão na altura que certa pessoa tinha alcançado naquele tempo, sendo esta pessoa, em geral, o próprio marinheiro, quando em idade o habilita para tal demonstração. Se ele tem cerca de cinquenta anos, tendo deixado de crescer, por isso, há décimos, mas quiser indicar um tempo passado há cinco anos, servir-lhe-á uma criança de cinco anos para cima.

Seja, por fim, mencionado que as palavras karai, "madrugada", e kanik, "anoitecer", servem, também, para a orientação no espaço geográfico, significando a primeira: "este", e a segunda: "oeste". Conforme as explicações que me deram os Tapirapé, os cemitérios de norte e sul são cemitérios para eles.

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## MEN AND CULTURES

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# THE FEAR IN TAPIRAPÉ CULTURE

*Herbert Baldus*

121 Fear, although its biological aspects connect mankind with the animals, assumes among ourselves characteristics which by tradition vary from people to people, that is, cultural traits. Socially determined differences exist in the exteriorization of fear as well as in its causes.

In certain cultures one should not show fear; in others there is nothing to prevent one from exhibiting it. There are peoples and cultural epochs which like to see their women habitually frightened and so to establish a contrast with the calmness of the men. In many South American tribes the women easily weep, *tremble, cry or groan because of any danger, real or supposed, and are or pretend* to be especially frightened by certain masked dancers and other ceremonies performed by the men.[1] Goethe, in "Faust," when Margaret faints, exclaiming "Nachbarin! Euer Fläschchen!" ("Neighbour, your smelling-bottle!"), alludes to a common custom of his time in Europe. The modern European woman who no longer uses smelling-salts shows that such manifestations of terror are not conditioned by nature, but by culture. As regards the real female constitution it may be mentioned that "in an important study made during World War II, *Psychological Effects of War on Citizen and Soldier* (1942), Dr. R. D. Gillespie reported that in the heavily bombed areas of London and Kent almost 70 per cent more men broke down and became psychiatric casualties than women!"[2]

In certain cultures death is feared, in others, not. Circumstances which produce feelings of inadequacy and consequently fear in certain societies don't exist in others. The so-called "imaginary fear"[3] which creates phantoms is found among most primitive peoples and is generally limited, among the peoples with European languages, to the less educated classes.

152 171 The Tapirapé differ from other South American tribes by exteriorizing the fear in both sexes, by the frequency and ease of such exteriorization, and by the multiplicity of causes for fear. The naturalness with which on several occasions Kamaiurá, the most important Tapirapé leader, said to me: "Akyiná, I am *afraid*," is only comparable with the almost automatic manner of the Tapirapé's using the interjection "Akí" when feeling any pain, even the sting of a mosquito later. This caused me to think frequently of the contrast presented in all that by Indians I knew in the Paraguayan Chaco, for instance of the apparent impassibility of the Chamacokos. It is true that the Tapirapé calm down with the same ease with which they are alarmed. A few words of mine were enough to make Kamaiurá laugh again, speaking carelessly with his wife about other things. I had the impression that among the Chaco Indians the emotions penetrated deeper, while among the Tapirapé they were like slight circles on the surface of a pond into which a little stone had been thrown, circles which soon disappear into the distance.

152 396 But among these Tupian Indians of the Araguaya basin, the exteriorization of fear is not restricted to interjections. We find it expressed in attitudes and institutions. We feel it, although masked, in the mechanical smile with which, from earliest infancy, they greet the person who speaks to them. We suspect it still in other aspects of their characteristics.

[p. 396]

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Fear was present in the formalization of quarrels full of hatred, a formalization which obliged the opponents to avoid direct contact. They had to remain hidden from one another and not interrupt the speech of their antagonist, but only reply when he had finished. One such quarrel began in the afternoon of June 27, 1933. Kamairahó lay in his hammock with open eyes and didn't answer when several people called him. Maninohó, the eldest man of the neighbouring house, begins to pronounce insults. He stays inside his house. The entrances of the houses are so arranged that it is impossible to look from the interior of one house into the interior of another.[4] Kamairahó's wife stays outside between the two houses without looking towards either of them. She faces the men's house in the centre of the village and replies to Maninohó with extraordinary gravity, in a level voice and with calm gestures. They are discussing a question of shamanism. Maninohó seems to be doing the provoking. The other persons present continue with their habitual activities, neither laughing nor speaking. After a while Maninohó's aggressiveness seems to increase. Kamairahó's wife joins her husband and the eldest man of her house places himself close to the entrance but inside, holding a club and railing violently in a loud and monotonous voice. When he finishes, profound silence rules for some moments. Then the other replies in the same tone. Never does one interrupt the other. This rule is also observed when two Tapirapé women have a quarrel as well as among other South American tribes.[5] The quarrel between the two men, one always hidden from the other, lasted until sunset. Late that night the old man of Kamairahó's house, where I was also living, asked me for my electric torch and went with his wife for water by a very roundabout way in order to avoid the proximity of Maninohó's house. These precautionary measures—the lamp, the company of his wife, and the détour—reveal clearly the fear he had of the adversary. Supposing then that fear has contributed to create the institution of formalized quarrels we may consider it a factor of socialization. But is it only a tribal behaviour pattern or also fear that causes the victim of theft to abstain from any exteriorized reaction? Frequently I observed that the theft of some thing obtained from the white men, for instance a necklace of glass beads, was known immediately in the whole village; the victim, however, suffers in silence without any demonstration and doesn't attempt any revenge.

152 576 578 [361] 152 578 [203] [674]

As an institution which is essentially a product of fear appears that of the shamans. Nonexistent in certain South American tribes and little developed in others, it is so important to the Tapirapé that they informed me of certain local groups having renounced their independence and joined the inhabitants of another village because there were no more shamans among them.[6] This becomes credible when one considers Charles Wagley's[7] quotation of one of his informants' words: "Without our pajé, all we Tapirapé die." According to the same author,[8] "the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman." This means that the first place in Tapirapé society belongs to the person who defends the community against the ever terrible dangers of the supernatural world. It is collective fear which gives him this status. But the easy and continuous contact with the forces of destruction makes the shaman for his part also a man to be feared, and consequently exposes him to other dangers, to dangers which we would not call supernatural. When cases of death occur in the village, and especially several in a short time, it is usual to attribute the cause to a shaman and therefore many shamans are murdered. Then it is also collective fear which, in such cases, moves a Tapirapé to defend the community

152 756 182

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132 152 756 against the supposed menace and to kill the shaman who is suspected of having become an evil sorcerer.

152 184 648 Though, also as regards the institution of shamanism, fear works out as a factor of socialization by exercising the dangers to the tribal life, we cannot say the same about the fear which produces in many Tapirapé a disposition to adapt themselves complacently to the white man. During my stay in 1935, in the village called Tampiitawa, I could distinguish clearly between the great group of timorous people led by Kamairabó who received with open arms all that came from our civilization, and a smaller group composed of decided and valorous people who didn't want anything to do with us. So there were two opposite trends in their "foreign policy" and consequently germs of tribal disintegration.

123 152 595 Of the direct causes of fear I want to mention the following: The Tapirapé were alarmed by my fury when I saw a man whipping his wife. To relate this case means to confess a most ethnocentric and therefore in no way ethnological behaviour. But I think that in order to be an ethnologist it is necessary to be able not to be an ethnologist in certain situations. At noon on July 15 I see that [592] behind the house in which I was living with Kamairabó and thirty other [562] Indians, the athletic Inamorée, nearly twenty-two years old, is beating a woman. With a cane and the blade of his bush-knife he is whipping his wife. She is so small and tender that she seems to be a child in spite of being perhaps twenty years old. I run towards the couple to interfere. The little woman is weeping despairingly, but doesn't go away. The man tries to tug her towards the house which is their house and mine also. She struggles. There he enters the house. Finally she follows. I enter also. The man holds the knife. I have nothing in my hands, but I am bound by my upbringing; I am the weapon of my culture and my culture is my weapon. I say to Inamorée that people do not beat a woman like a dog. (I refer to this animal because frequently, among the Tapirapé, it can only thus be prevented from eating the people's food.) Inamorée pronounces insults and his wife sobs. Now I explain to all the people present that beating a woman is a bad thing. Later, when I am sitting together with Kamairabó and his wife, I tell them that if a white man should whip his wife, another white man would kill him with a revolver. Jokingly I add: "If you, Kamairabó, beat your wife, I have to kill you with my revolver." With these words I go away.

[576] 123 152 After a while Kamairabó passed me with a depressed face. I ask him: "Where are you going?" Without smiling he answers: "I am afraid of you." I embrace him, I kiss him impetuously in the Tapirapé manner, that is, rubbing my nose against his nose; but all this is in vain. He waits patiently until I let him go, continues walking, and tells the men and women whom he is passing that he is afraid of me, the white man who kills those who beat women. May I observe here that I always went around without a weapon among the Tapirapé, keeping the revolver, as Kamairabó knew, in my hammock hanging close to his hammock, and even there the revolver was at hand only to be at the disposal of the same Kamairabó in order to protect him against the event of nocturnal attack by the Kayapó Indians, the most terrible neighbours. Kamairabó enters his house and immediately from there sounds an agitated and long talk. With the speed of lightning the news spreads through the village that Kamairabó is afraid of me and is lying in his hammock and that I would kill with a revolver the husbands who whip their wives. A middle-aged woman joins me, saying: "I am afraid of you." I assure her again that I am not bad, that, on the con-

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



trary, I am good, and in order to demonstrate it, I embrace cordially a man on 123
her side so that I don't need to embrace her. And I say to my English companion 152
who at this moment joins me: "Certain research-workers who were killed by the Indians with whom they lived, as, for instance, Boggiani among the Chamakoko, were murdered only through fear." At that instant, as if he had understood my words, the man I have just embraced asks me if the Shavante really have killed the white man by the name of Father John and if they have murdered him with a club. I don't know from where the Tapirapé had received this information and if his question represented a reaction or only conversation. What I know is that the man couldn't have understood my comment about the murders through fear.

An hour later I see Kamairahó going to the brook carrying two calabash [431]
rattles which he had obtained from the Karajá neighbours, but never used. I follow him and ask him what he intends to do with the rattles. He explains that they are dirty and that he wants to clean them with water, and adds: "When you go away and I remain here, the rattles will go with you." He continues with a mournful face. Besides, everyone looks sad, and when I enter our hut, I am [576]
not received as usual with the friendly exclamation: "You arrive!" But, looking to this or that person, I immediately receive a polite smile. Even at night Kamairahó says to the Englishman that he is still afraid of me, and when my companion reassures him, confirming the jocose character of my threat, he is [574]
invited immediately by Kamairahó to eat bananas and by other inhabitants of the house to have kauí, a fermented drink, in payment for this consolation. Meanwhile Inamoréo, who had beaten his wife, has already gone peacefully to [593]
sleep with her in the hammock and explains later that he whipped her only with the arrow—which is not true. I invite Kamairahó for a dinner of deer. He eats well, but with a sad face complaining of a headache. He receives aspirin.

It is necessary to consider that the fear described above may have been caused less by the threat with the revolver than by the agitated manner with which I expressed my indignation and which contrasts with Tapirapé behaviour. Even Kamairahó's wife, who used to quarrel much, always pronounced insults in a monotonous voice and with apparent calm, quite different, for instance, from the Karajá women who shout without reserve. But it may be mentioned that the Tapirapé were also afraid of the Englishman when a woman had stolen a great quantity of kitchen oil from him, putting it in her hair, and when dogs of the village tore his towel to pieces. And my companion was less explosive than I!

Graver causes of fear are the Kayapó attacks. I have already mentioned that, 152
on account of these, I was asked to sleep armed. When a rumour maker is 648
talking about the approach of these Indians, all the village is immediately alarmed. And there are reasons for this, because in 1947, soon after my second visit to the Tapirapé, these warlike neighbours assaulted the village, plundered it, and burned it, killing and kidnapping women.

Fear was produced also by the eclipse of the moon on 15th of June, 1935. 152
When at night I was awakened with the words "chahy vuy" "moon blood," all 821
the people were dejected and the men were talking only in low tones. Really, the moon appears dark red like congealed blood. Next day everybody was still preoccupied with the phenomenon, considering it a bad omen of carnage.

But while the eclipse was an uncommon cause of fear, there were other 152
causes in every moment and in any place, for the Tapirapé lives surrounded 775
by malevolent spirits. Here is the so-called "imaginary fear" regarding which Mira y López[9] observes that "even the bravest warriors, able to throw themselves

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in the open against a rampart of fire or lances, recede terrified in view of the suspicion of a tenuous and invisible enemy." In fact, the Tapirapé who opposes the jaguar with only bow and club as I had occasion to observe, and who is not afraid of dying, as they frequently assured me, is terrified by the presence of the souls of the dead and of other bad beings. It is not only the soul of a dead shaman which causes fear. I knew a kind father who became afraid of the soul of his beloved little child when this was deceased. And whoever is not a shaman feels a dread of dreaming while asleep, because during the dream he has to travel through the dangerous supernatural world. And not infrequently boys who wanted to drink water at night in the nearby brook asked me to go with them, because a ghost had been seen taking a bath. Unfortunately, whenever I arrived, the well-scrubbed ghost had already gone away. Frequently the boys sang loudly when going to the brook at night in order to calm their fear as I have observed in Europe when children went for something in a dark cellar.

Although the Tapirapé didn't react in any way against the fear produced by the eclipse, they were not always so passive as regards the fear caused by the white men, the Kayapó, and the spirits. When my English companion fell ill, they didn't hesitate in demanding his departure, and when a little girl of the house where I was living fell sick, all the people around me wore a threatening air as if I had been the magic author of the disease. The fear inspired by the Kayapó was combated not only by the Tapirapé holding clubs during the nocturnal collective dances, but also by their parodying their neighbours by a pantomime which represented a supposed attack against peaceful tribesmen. The fear of the spirits gives not only great prestige to the shaman, official protector against them, but also puts in the hand of every Tapirapé a torch which he agitates without interruption if by night he has to go out of the house in order to relieve himself.

So for the frightened Tapirapé also, life is struggle, action and reaction, fear and wrath. And this fearful people is the gayest I ever found in my life, and Kamairahó, the pessimist who more than anyone declared himself to be afraid, had a glad smile on his face everytime when I saw him awake in the morning.

*São Paulo, Brazil.*

## Notes

1. Cf. Herbert Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*. S. Paulo, 1937, pp. 156–158.
2. Ashley Montagu: *The Natural Superiority of Women*. London, 1954, p. 92.
3. Emilio Mira y López: *Quatro gigantes da alma*. 3a. edição, Rio de Janeiro, 1955, pp. 39–40.
4. Cf. Herbert Baldus: Os Tapirapé. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, 110: 192, 1946. S. Paulo.
5. Cf. Amilcar A. Botelho de Magalhães: *Pelos sertões do Brasil*, 2a. edição, S. Paulo, 1941, pp. 497–498; Martin Gusinde: *Die Feuerlandindianer, I: Die Selk'nam*, Mödling bei Wien, 1931, pp. 456–458.
6. Cf. Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, p. 86.
7. Xamanismo tapirapé (Tapirapé Shamanism), *Boletim do Museu Nacional*, n.s., Antropologia, 3: 78, 1943. Rio de Janeiro.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Op. cit., p. 39.

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# WORLD VIEW OF THE TAPIRAPE INDIANS

By Charles Wagley

101 The Tapirape live in Central Brazil north of the Tapirape River, a
[131] western affluent of the Araguaya River. They are a Tupi-speaking people
isolated from other peoples speaking the same language. Culturally they
[197] are related more closely to the Tupi-speaking people of the coast than to
those of the head waters of the Xingu River. The only peoples with whom
they have had contacts within historic times are their northern neighbors,
the Gês-speaking Northern Kayapo and the Carajá (including the Javahe
branch) of the Araguaya. Because of hostility with both these neighboring
[648] peoples, the Tapirape have withdrawn farther from the Anguaya and
have contacts at present with the Carajá only through occasional European
visitors. Introduced disease, acquired from these visitors and earlier from
[161] the Carajá, have reduced the Tapirape from five large villages (originally
more than two hundred per village) to one with less than 150 people. Con-
[177] tacts with Europeans, however, have been short and few, leaving the Tapi-
rape aboriginal culture little changed.

According to Tapirape tradition, they came to their present home from
173 the north and east.[1] One group of them lived on the Araguaya and for a
823 time shared a common village with the Javahe branch of the Carajá. The
Tapirape are traditionally interested in country to the east, not to the west.
It is to the east that Maratawa, the "home of the gods," lies, and in this
[772] direction, too, is the home of two legendary peoples: the Wanchira, a can-
nibalistic tribe which ate a famous mythical ancestor of the Tapirape, and
the "other Tapirape," speaking the same language and sharing the same
culture. East of the Araguaya River there is said to be another large river
and great mountains where various supernaturals live.

648 Formerly, Tapirape who were captives of the Carajá returned to tell of
that country and people, and in modern times Tapirape have visited both
Carajá and Kayapo, as well as various Brazilian settlements on the Ara-
guaya. No foreign or hostile tribes prevent them from wandering west-
[484] ward into the open country toward the Xingu River, but it is a region of
little interest to them, and they never travel far in this direction. Of the
823 Xingu River and people, they know only what Brazilian visitors have told

[1] According to Métraux, the Tapirape were known to have been on the Araguaya as early
114 as the 18th century. He believes the Tapirape to be fugitives from the coast of Brazil, probably
174 from the vicinity of Rio, possibly from the Tamoyo. Certainly they came from the east, but
my material points to a migration from the northeast rather than from the southeast, as would
be the case if migration had been from the forests of Rio. Métraux, *Alfred*, Migrations Hi-
storiques des Tupi-Guarani, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N.S.* 19, 24
(1927).

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them. "Is it true," they ask, pointing westward, "that there is another Ara- 823
guaya (large river) there?"

The Tapirape know well their traditional country—that territory north of the Tapirape River to the River Preto, and west to the Araguaya. They know the plains country which borders the Tapirape River and the tropical [361]
forest to the north where formerly their five villages stretched in a line some fifty to seventy-five miles apart. At least once during a man's life it [574]
was customary to visit all these villages, and before setting out he would acquaint himself with the rivers, hills, and good hunting places along the trail. At the present time, since the Tapirape are a sedentary agricultural [241]
people, depending upon large gardens of maniac, corn, yams, and bananas, rather than upon hunting as the chief basis of their food supply, and since [494]
they have no trade, they do little travelling. The spatial limit of their direct experience is small.

Knowledge of the horizons beyond their direct experience—of far off 773
places and people, of the supernatural and spirit worlds, of the heavens, of the origins of peoples and things, comes to them only through stories of their legendary heroes, or through experiences of their shamans. Myths relate the creation, adventures, and travels of a series of ancestor culture heroes who took the form of civilizing gods.[3] Tapirape shamans travel [756]
widely in their dreams; they whisk off to far places—to the Araguaya, to [487]
the heavens, to the home of Thunder (see p. 257)—in their "canoes" (opened gourds used as eating utensils by the Tapirape), or they may take [415]
the form of a bird as they travel in dreams. Since a Tapirape has this great wealth of vicarious experience to draw upon, he never answers for himself [823]
when asked of those realms beyond his knowledge. Instead he tells of the exploits of a legendary culture hero, or of the travels of a shaman "who has been there."

The Tapirape are thus equipped with a wide range of second-hand ex- 772
perience. They have no concept of a closed or limited universe. New 823
knowledge either adds to, or fits into, their second-hand knowledge of a broad universe. Thus a Tapirape youth, seeing for the first time the large rock formation at the mouth of the Tapirape River, identified it as the place in which Panchai, a contemporary shaman, had seen the tremendous red parrots from which the supernaturals pluck feathers. Similarly, one travelling on the Araguaya recognized the large rapids below Santa Maria do Araguaya as those created by Kanwahu, a culture hero, to com-

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[3] Métraux, Alfred, La Religion des Tupinambá (1928), p. 7: "Pour les Tupinambá, comme pour la plupart des tribus sud-américaines, certains personnages doués d'une puissance supérieure à celle du commun des magiciens ont été les artisans du monde tel qu'il se présentait à leurs yeux, mais ils en sont été souvent moins les créateurs que les transformateurs. Je veux dire par là que, même s'ils ont créé le ciel, les astres, et la mer leur œuvre est toujours partielle et incomplète, ne s'achevant que postérieurement à la suite d'incidents divers."

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823 memorate the spot where he had eaten plentifully of fish. The Tapirape
772 view of the world is an expanding one; the people are eager to acquire more knowledge, as is attested by their numerous questions about one's home and one's people, about the sea, the mountains, and distant places.

773 In point of time, the Tapirape consider the present as the third world. Twice people were destroyed, once by flood and once by universal fire. Before these catastrophes, there were pre-Tapirape called Karanjuntuwera. These people lacked the many refinements which were later brought to the Tapirape by their culture heroes. They ate several varieties of wild seeds, they did not have maize, manioc or any modern garden plants, and they lacked the bow and arrow. The Tapirape are not certain whether the Karanjuntuwera lived before or after the flood, but when the great deluge came, one man and one woman climbed a small palm tree which grew as rapidly as the water rose, carrying them above the flood. After they had been there some time the man began to spear fish and snakes[3] which swarmed in the waters, using the long narrow palm leaves as spears. As he killed a fish or snake, the waters gradually diminished and finally ran back into the river beds.

Four ancestors escaped the second destruction[4] of people—the universal fire. These ancestors took the form of birds: there were two *jacu* which were men, and one periquito and one *mutum*, both women.[5] These escaped underground and from the union of the two couples came "men" or *ampa*
[101] *awa*, as modern Tapirape call themselves.[6]

"Culture heroes" were primarily instrumental in making the Tapirape
773 world what it is. When and in what order these heroes came is not stated.
776 Among them was Petura, a supernatural ancestor and great trickster. He stole fire from the vultures, day or dawn from the night owls, and *genipa*[7] from monkeys. These he brought as gifts to the Tapirape. Finally Petura
776 went far to the northeast "where the earth ends and water begins" to live
[775] in Maratawa,[8] the home of all Tapirape culture heroes, of shamans after
[756] death, and of the sun and the moon. There he lives today. He never dies,

[3] From these primordial flood snakes, say the Tapirape, descended their neighbors and enemies, the Carajá. "They (the snakes) had circles under their eyes" (the tribal face tattooing of Carajá).

[4] The sequence of fire and flood does not seem to be clear in legends. Two informants placed the fire before the flood. People during both epochs are spoken of as Karanjuntuwera.

[136] [5] *Jacu*: edible forest fowl, about the size of a large chicken, genus *Penelope*, several species. Periquito: *Pyrrhura rufiata*. *Mutum*: *Crax lecter*.

[6] See Baldus, Herbert, Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira, pp. 207-210.

[7] *Genipa rubiacea* or *Genipa americana*: fruit from which black body dye is made.

[823] [8] Several informants described Maratawa as an island. To the Tapirape, the lighted sky is encircled by black sky and on all sides below the edges of the lighted sky "where the black sky begins", the earth ends and water begins. Thus earth is a large island surrounded by water on all sides. The Tapirape are quite willing to grant, however, that beyond this water may be another earth.

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but lives and re-lives his life cycle as the cycle of the seasons. In the early 776
rains of October to January, Petura is a small boy. During the heavy rains 132
of January to March, he is an adolescent youth. He is a young warrior as
the rains diminish in April to June, and as the year draws to its close for
the Tapirape during the remaining dry months, Petura becomes old. Then
as the year begins again with the first refreshing rains of October, he
begins a new life cycle. This is the agricultural year for the Tapirape. They [221]
plant when he is young (October) and harvest as he matures (in May and
June).

Petura was not the only hero who benefited the Tapirape. To the "home 773
of the gods" travelled Tomatociri and Mukwura II, other ancestor heroes,
in search of their father Mukwura. There Mukwura gave his son, Toma-
tociri, the bow and arrow which he brought back to the Tapirape. There, [176]
too—and this is typical of Tapirape readjustment to newly-learned knowl-
edge—the younger brother Mukwura II was given fire arms which he
transmitted to his descendants, the Europeans or Tori.[9]

Shamans are equated with these ancestor heroes. If shamans die a non- 756
violent death, they go immediately to Maratawa where they live plenti- 775
fully supplied with food, tobacco, and all aids to the good life. If they die 772
violently, however (i.e., are suspected of sorcery and killed by the Tapi-
rape) they go to another home of shamans in the west. This is the "house [821]
of the winds" where the heavy winds blowing from the southwest come
during the late dry season. They are given an artificial face, and they stay
here until they heal before going east to join their companions in Mara-
tawa. Only shamans and culture heroes continue after life in the form that [776]
they had on earth.

It is chiefly through shamans that the Tapirape know of the sun, moon 756
and other heavenly bodies. A shaman had seen the sun "close by." The 821
sun, he said, is an old man with no hair on his head. He travels through
the heavens wearing a large head-dress of red parrot feathers, and since
red parrot feathers are "hot," the head-dress gives off heat. Each night,
after limping through his daily orbit (for the "sky is rough" and the sun
continually has thorns in his feet) he returns underground to the east to
his house at Maratawa.[10] There he eats very little and in a short time sets
out again. The morning after Wamanamu, a shaman, had died, several
Tapirape saw that the sun was red; it was very "hot" and angry because a
shaman had died. 821

As the sun is male, so the moon is female. Both are thought of as people, 776

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[9] I was unable to get the original of this story before the obvious change was made to make it fit with new conditions. It is similar, however, to a Tupinamba story recorded by Thevet and quoted by Métraux (*ibid.*, p. 11), which tells of Arouerie and Tamendonare, twin sons of Sumay. [711]

[10] See Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 14, for Sipaia version.

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776 and in myth the sun is called Ancerika and the moon Tamparawa, both
821 names of people. According to the Tapirape, the moon is sister to the sun
773 and is married to Anchopeteri, a culture hero who was instrumental in
776 dividing all birds into two groups,[11] and who taught Tapirape how to
821 wrestle and sing many songs. Because of sexual misbehavior, Sun is said to have slapped Moon full in the face with his hand which was wet with black *genipa* dye, thus the marks on the face of the moon are explained.

Two large planets were formerly Tapirape culture bearers. Apuwenonu[12] (Venus) came down from the sky one night after having watched Anuntero, a Tapirape woman, for a long time, and lived with the Tapirape. At night he was a young man, husband of Anuntero, but by day he appeared to people as a decrepit old man. He taught Anuntero how to plant cotton and how to spin. He taught the Tapirape[13] how to plant their modern garden products, maize, manioc, *cará*, yams. Finally Apuwenonu returned to the sky, taking with him his earthly son by Anuntero who is called Imauawango (Jupiter). Today, the Tapirape point to these two planets, recounting their story and saying, "Apuwenonu is young at night when he is in the sky, but by day he is old again as he was when he left us."

Many other constellations are known, but of importance in story are
821 possibly only that called by the Tapirape "the jaguar,"[14] and the Pleiades.[15]
787 One shaman told me that he had travelled (in dreams) to visit this jaguar. He was "friendly" with it, he said, and if he should be killed, the jaguar of the sky would send many real jaguars to prey upon the Tapirape. "Men would be afraid to step into the forest at night." The jaguar had become one of his retinue of familiar powers which would aid him in struggles with other shamans.

821 The Pleiades are important calendrically. They are watched anxiously
805 and impatiently as the rains diminish, and their disappearance over the
796 western horizon in May signals the end of the rains. This is the time for

[616] [811] [825] [11] At the present time men's moieties are divided into three age grades. Each age grade of each moiety carries the name of a bird: one being species of small *papagaio*, and the other species of white water birds. According to myth, these groups derived from similar divisions of the bird world in which Anchopeteri lived.

[171] [12] This is probably identical with Monan (or Maire-monan, according to Métraux), civilizing god of Tupinambá, who created earth, people, birds and animals, and finally taught the Tupinambá to distinguish useful plants. He was put to death by men, at which time he was transformed into a star "with two of his companions." Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 11.

[13] One text calls them Karajumowera (per-Tapirape) at this time (see p. 254).

[171] [14] Ancient Guarani said that there was a very large tiger or dog which on certain occasions ate the sun and moon, causing an eclipse. Apapocuva-Guarani speak of a celestial jaguar; and the Chaco Indians explain the eclipse in this same manner. Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 90.

[171] [15] "Les Pleiades paraissaient avoir été chez les Tupinamba l'objet de croyances particulières. Ils avaient notamment la conviction qu'elles favorisaient la croissance du manioc." Métraux, Religion des Tupinambá, p. 91.

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the largest ceremonial of the year which marks the beginning of the dry 805
season and the harvest. Similarly, the position of the Pleiades is noted to 821
date the many ceremonies of the heavy rainy period (November to April). [796]
One shaman had visited the Pleiades, and they, too, can be counted upon
as a familiar power. The Milky Way is often referred to as the "path of the [787]
shaman," it is a well-beaten road over which the shaman travels through
the sky in his dreams.

In common with many Tupi peoples, nothing in the realm of natural [171]
phenomena is as important to the Tapirape as thunder. Among most Tupi, 821
Tupan is a god or an ancestor identified with thunder. He causes the 776
rumbling of thunder and flashes of lightning. Among the Tapirape, how-
ever, Thunder[16] is a separate entity, a supernatural who has many "crea-
tures" or *topá*. *Topá* are described as small beings about a hand's length in
size, with white hairy down over their bodies, and wearing a small head- [177]
dress of red parrot feathers, European beads, and a lip plug. Small wax [532]
dolls are made in imitation of them. They travel through the sky in small
"canoes," especially when there are strong wind and electric storms, and
they carry red wild flowers with which they shoot Tapirape in the stomach.
These arrows are hot "like fire." Sometimes *topá* are called "pets" of
Thunder, and again they are referred to as his "children." In addition to [775]
*topá*, Thunder has other supernaturaries, the souls of dead shamans, who [756]
live in the house of Thunder, commonly thought to be near Maratawa on
the summit of a large mountain.

Each year when approaching rains bring heavy thunder storms, light-
ning and strong winds, Thunder sends forth his beings. The noise of the
storm is caused by rumbling of *topá's* canoes, and flashes of lightning are
their speeding arrows. To protect the Tapirape, and also their gardens, 756
from the storm, shamans[17] "call Thunder," or "fight with *topá*." In a four- 796
day ceremony characterized by genuine fear, shamans gulp tobacco smoke
until they are ill and intoxicated, they sing "calling Thunder to come," and 821
chant until they "see" one or more *topá*, or souls of dead shamans,[18] fight 776
with them, and are struck down by their arrows. A shaman who fights a
*topá* tries to grab its small feather head-dress, take away its bow, or yank
out its lip plug, its most vulnerable feature.

Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies of fighting Thunder.
When a shaman is shot by *topá*, he falls screaming upon the ground, [781]
writhing and shaking, and then becomes unconscious. If men are not near

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[16] Thunder referred to as Kanawana (direct translation) is said to be called Pururuka, his personal name.

[17] Laymen and neophytes who have sufficient courage may also participate.

[18] In conversation and in songs, there is confusion between these beings. Although the above distinctions are definitely made, they are often referred to interchangeably. For example, a Tapirape may say, "*topá* cause lightning," or "Thunder is angry and makes lightning."

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756 to hold him, he may run wild through the village destroying property and
796 endangering people. To bring him back, smoke must be blown over him
921 by a shaman. While he is unconscious, he dreams and travels, sometimes
776 [781] visiting the house of Thunder.

787 "I smoked much and then I smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun and it came
756 toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They came and they left. I saw
921 Thunder. It was small and came (to the house) in a small canoe. It was Thunder's
772 child (a *tapé*). It wore a small headdress of parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug.
776 I reached to pull out the lip plug but it left." [The shaman did not conquer the *tapé* and he was shot down by an arrow while he was unconscious] . . . "all was dark. I saw many suns. I travelled singing as I walked. I spent three days walking. I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Kanawana. He was big and his body was covered with much hair. He had many red parrot feathers. There were many *tapé* and many souls of shamans. I did not talk but came back." [If he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have stayed (died), but he was properly treated with tobacco smoke and returned to consciousness.]

Through shamans and legends of culture heroes, the Tapirapé know, 775
too, of the multitude of "spirits" (*anchenge*) which populate the unseen world. These are of two general types: true spirits, disembodied souls of deceased Tapirapé;[18] and demons or malevolent beings of many classes.
[787] Shamans are accustomed to seeing true spirits in their dreams. These gen-
[756] erally inhabit abandoned village sites, where they re-live their earthly lives. When they die—the second death—they become frogs, deer, *pacu* and doves. Thus the toad is the spirit of a chief; the dove and *jacu* are spirits
[825] of men.[19] These ghosts cannot harm shamans who are accustomed to see-
[756] ing them, but sometimes the spirits attack and strike down defenseless laymen.[21] They also cluster around a man's bier to carry off the soul as soon as the body is buried.

There are infinite numbers of "spirits" of the individualized demoniac 776
class. Of these, some are "pets" which are not very dangerous, and which
[794] are represented by men in the mask dance cult.[22] Other species are very dangerous, but these are no longer seen by the layman. Formerly, these
773 were numerous, and killed many Tapirapé, but Ware, a culture hero and
776 powerful shaman, fought them and killed many. A man now points to the

[18] Speaking of Tupinambá, Métraux makes these same two categories of "supernatural beings" (*ayguara, aguia, ingange* and *anhanga*), *ibid.*, p. 51.
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[19] Animals which have, or are, spirits can be grouped together. These are taboo to some sex
825 and are groups, in a complicated dietary system.
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[21] Dogs can see spirits. When a dog howls, Tapirapé say, "He sees *anchenge* but we can't."

[22] At one time women may have been frightened by these "dangerous" spirits, but certainly at present everything in the men's cults is known to women, and they do not even pretend to be frightened.

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A man now points to the
southwestern horizon and says, "Were killed all spirits there; they are only 773
spirit souls now." (To the north and east, however, many demon spirits 776
are still alive and active.) Were engaged in a constant battle of wits with [823]
the spirit world. He killed many of the dangerous variety by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed behind them, and he also killed off another group of beings which clubbed men to death and drank their blood.

Sometimes shamans (*pawáke*) see malevolent beings in their dream 756
travels, and may even become friendly with them or receive their aid. For 776
example, one shaman told of wandering far in an unknown forest as he 787
dreamed, and of coming upon the spirits called *ovyu*, who have long hair wound in a mass, and who carry only one arrow with which they can kill a man. They were about to shoot him but he shouted "No, I am a shaman!" and they left him alone, gave him food and aided him to return. Only shamans can have such relations with these supernaturals. Tapirapé laymen are afraid to dream.

The shaman is indispensable to Tapirapé living, not only because he has 756
dealings with the spirit world, and through his wanderings enriches the 842
knowledge of men, but also because he is of value in many practical ways. Thus he controls the pregnancy of women. Pregnancy is known to relate to sexual intercourse, but conception comes only when a shaman brings a child to a woman. Thunder, and several types of birds, animals and fish, [825]
have "children," that is, spirits of children. The shaman brings one of these "spirits" to a woman, putting it inside her while she sleeps. A woman who wants a child can, for example, bring honey to a shaman. This will make [787]
him dream, and he will bring her a child. Similarly, a barren woman presumably "had quarrelled much with the shaman."

When Tapirapé swim, while fishing and shooting large turtles in the 756
Tapirapé River, their safety depends upon the shaman. In this section of 825
Brazil, rivers are full of alligators, *piranha* (carnivorous fish) and sting 751
rays, and according to Tapirapé belief, large snakes lurk in deep pools. [481]
Before men may swim safely the shaman must tie the jaws of the alligators, strike the *piranha* across their teeth so they will not bite, and tie up the tails of the large snakes. When Tapirapé go hunting, it is up to the [224]
shaman to tell them where packs of wild pigs will be found, or to lead them down to a good spot in the plains country.[28] Danger may lurk in all food; thus Tapirapé often take new corn, fresh meat, or any food, to have danger "blown" out of it by the shaman.

The universe for the Tapirapé is not finite or entirely known; it is 772
dangerous. Tales of culture heroes and experiences of shamans provide a 756
773

[28] When the Tapirapé have made kills of wild pigs, which are "you" of Thunder he will [821]
be angry and send a sudden rain or clouding of the sky. If a Tapirapé sees an unexpected [176]
rainbow in the sky he will say, "The shaman has been successful against Thunder" (i.e., in finding game).

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773 large framework into which all new knowledge can be fitted. And this
756 universe is dangerous. The shaman, by the use of his wisdom and insight,
his familiarity with celestial powers, spirits and far off places, is the only
758 intermediary between men and supernaturals. Through him, the Tapirapé
759 attempt to control their hostile and unpredictable world. Without the
shaman, as one informant said, "All Tapirapé would die."

*Columbia University.*

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# CULTURAL INFLUENCES ON POPULATION: A COMPARISON OF TWO TUPÍ TRIBES

by

CHARLES WAGLEY

Contact with European civilization has had a varied effect upon the population trends of native societies. Frequently conquest warfare, slavery, bad labor conditions, disruption of aboriginal subsistence methods, and above all foreign disease have brought a rapid population decline which has led in many cases to the total disappearance of aboriginal groups as distinct ethnic units. In other instances, native groups have made an adjustment to the new circumstances. After an initial epoch of sharp decline in population, a few native groups have not only regained their former population level but actually increased in number several times fold. The depopulation of many Melanesian Islands, the declination of the coastal Tupí speaking peoples of Brazil, and the rapid disintegration of the aboriginal groups of the Antilles are well known examples of sharp population decline following European contact from which the groups never recovered. The multiplication of the Navajo during the last century and the population growth of the Polynesian Island of Tikopia after European contact are examples of recovery and expansion. (1) [121]

In many cases, these differences in population trend following European contact may be explained in terms of the nature of contact with Europeans to which the different native groups have been subjected. Epidemics have varied in frequency and in intensity among native groups and the systematic exploitation of native peoples through slavery and other forms of enforced labor has taken heavier toll upon native population in some areas than in others. On the other hand, introduced crops, domesticated animals, new instruments, and new techniques have sometimes raised the aboriginal subsistence level and made possible an expansion of population.

Yet, the causes of such different trends in population among native groups after European contact cannot always be sought in the contact situation alone. The variables which allowed one group to absorb the shock of new disease and other disrupting accompaniments of European

(1) cf. Firth (1939) pp. 38-48.

[p. 95]

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contact and to revive, or which led to quasi — or total extinction of a people may also be found in the culture and the society of peoples concerned. Each culture has a population policy — — — an implicit or explicit set of cultural values relating to population size. The social structure of each society is closely interrelated with a specific population level. A modification of the external environment, such as that brought about by contact with Europeans, generally calls for change both in cultural values as well as in social structure. In addition to environment, technology, and other material factors, cultural values and social structure act also to determine population size and demographic trends in face of modified external circumstances. A rapid decrease in population due to new disease or an increase in population resulting from an increased food supply calls for adjustments in population policy (implicit or explicit) and in social structure. It is the purpose of the present paper to examine the relationship between these social and cultural factors and the population trends following European contact of two Tupí speaking tribes of Brazil.

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The two Tupí speaking tribes in question are the Tenetehara of northeastern Brazil and the Tapirapé of central Brazil. (2) After more than 300 years of contact with Luso-Brazilians the Tenetehara in 1945 still numbered some 3000 people —— not much less, if at all, than the aboriginal population. On the other hand, by 1947 the Tapirapé with less than forty years of sporadic and peaceful contact with Luso-Brazilians had been reduced to less than one hundred people, the remnant of an aboriginal population which must have numbered more than one thousand. While the Tenetehara still maintained a functioning social system and continued as a distinct ethnic group, Tapirapé society was in 1947 almost totally disorganized and the Tapirapé as a distinct people were clearly on the road to extinction. (3)

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A partial answer to this very different reaction to Luso-Brazilian contact may be found in the nature of the acculturation process which each has experienced. Although the first decades of Tenetehara relations with Europeans were marked by slave raids, massacres, and epidemics, the protection of the Jesuits during more than one century (1653-1759) seems to have given the Tenetehara time to make adjustments in their culture and society to changing external circumstances. The missionaries were able to prevent the movement of colonists into Tenetehara territory, and after the expulsion

(2) Brief descriptions of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara have been published elsewhere. Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1943 A, 1948 B, and 1949. Baldus, 1937, 1946-1948, 1948 B, 1948 C. The only directly pertinent descriptive data is present in this paper.

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(3) Cf. Wagley (1943) and Baldus (1948 ms. C). 1948 B, 1948 D, for discussion of Tapirapé depopulation and disorganization. Baldus (1948 D) pp. 137-138, who found the village called Tapirapé, inhabited by 130 individuals in 1938, and only 48 in 1947, mentions that during this lapse of time several individuals had emigrated to another Tapirapé village very far from Tapirapé, but that their number seems to be larger than the number of those who came from there to Tapirapé. According to information received by this author, the other village is smaller than Tapirapé, so that in 1947 the whole tribe probably numbered less than a hundred members. In the same year, shortly after Baldus' visit, the Tapirapé were attacked by Bayaná Indians and lost several individuals.

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of the Jesuits in 1759, the increased importation of African slaves into Maranhão eased the pressure for Indian slaves. Close relations with the missionaries, and later with the civil authorities and the rural Luso-Brazilian population, presented the Tenetehara with new culture patterns, new attitudes which either replaced aboriginal elements or were incorporated in their culture as alternative patterns. The missionaries urged larger families in order to have numerous converts to baptize. Warfare was prohibited in the area. (4) The Tenetehara learned that children might be useful in collecting balsam nuts for sale to Luso-Brazilians. Steel instruments and new plants (such as rice, bananas, lemons, etc.) made agriculture more productive. The sale of balsam nuts, copaiba oil, and other forest products brought the Tenetehara imported products. Although Tenetehara culture and society were modified, the aboriginal and the borrowed elements closely combined to form a new culture and a new social system which at least met the minimum requirements for survival.

The Tapirapé, on the other hand, have had only intermittent contact with Luso-Brazilians. Since about 1911, the Tapirapé have had occasional contact with Luso-Brazilians. A few Tapirapé have visited Luso-Brazilian settlements and missionary stations on the Araguaya River and a few Luso-Brazilians have visited Tapirapé villages. Tapirapé contact with Luso-Brazilians has been limited to relatively short periods and to small groups of people. They have acquired a few axes, hoes, some salt, cloth, knives and other material objects from their occasional visitors but, on the whole, their culture was little modified by borrowed patterns and elements from Luso-Brazilians. Yet the presence of Luso-Brazilians brought about a crucial modification in their environment. With the arrival of Luso-Brazilians in the area, the Tapirapé were subjected to a series of foreign diseases. If the memory of older Tapirapé informants may be trusted, foreign diseases (common colds, measles, and smallpox) came at first via the neighboring Karajá sometime before their first meeting with Luso-Brazilians. Since about 1911 to 1914, however foreign diseases acquired directly from Luso-Brazilians, has steadily decimated the Tapirapé. Unlike the Tenetehara, before the Tapirapé were presented with a broad segment of Luso-Brazilian culture, which might have provided them with alternative patterns and values with which they might have made adjustments to their new circumstances, they have been practically wiped out.

Still, the difference in population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact of these two tribes cannot be explained entirely in terms of the differences in the contact continuum. The first fifty years of contact between the Tenetehara and Europeans was more violent than anything the Tapirapé have experienced. In the early 17th century organized slave raiding parties penetrated into Tenetehara territory and armed forces such as the one led

(4) There are no indications that the Tenetehara shared the warfare-specialization complex of the Tupinambá, but the lower reaches of the Mearim-Grajaú-Pindaré River system and the island of Marajó at its mouth were inhabited by Tupinambá groups. Nimuendaju (1948), p. 38 ff. See also Fernandes (1948).

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by Santo Montel Pereira in 1816 made war upon the Tenetehara. Epidemics, which raged in the early 17th century among the Indian populations of northeast Brazil, certainly reached the Tenetehara. From time to time smallpox, measles, and other diseases have taken a heavy toll among these Indians. The impact of the dominant culture upon the Tenetehara was more intense than it has been upon the Tapirapé. In addition to differences in the nature of the contact continuum, factors inherent in the society and the culture of the two tribes were responsible for the reaction of these societies to long-duration contact and for the population trends which followed. Since the Tenetehara and the Tapirapé have historically related cultures sharing many patterns and institutions common to most Tupi speaking tribes, a comparison of the two societies and cultures should allow us to determine the variables responsible for their contrasting reactions.

The subsistence methods of the tribes were in aboriginal times basically similar. Both were tropical forest horticulturists depending upon hunting, fishing, and forest fruits to supplement their diet. For fishing, the Tenetehara had an advantage since their villages were normally situated near rivers and streams while the Tapirapé villages were located inland many kilometers from the river. In hunting, the Tapirapé had the advantage of nearby open plains country where hunting was more productive than in the tropical forest. Neither tribe had a land problem, the nearest village of the Karajá, who were Tapirapé neighbors, was at least two hundred kilometers away and the Timbira neighbors of the Tenetehara were sparsely people offering no competition for forest land. Both tribes during aboriginal times had sufficient territory to move their villages every five or six years when suitable garden sites near their villages had been used up by the slash-and-burn system of horticulture. The two tribes inhabited similar physical environments and they had approximately the same technological equipment to cope with it. Their technology and their subsistence methods must have limited the maximum population of any one village and there are indications that approximately two hundred people was the average village size for both groups. On the other hand, a lack of territory evidently did not enforce a limitation on the number of villages for the tribe. Yet while the Tapirapé had only five villages in aboriginal times many times that number are reported by early observers for the Tenetehara. Although specific data is not available, it seems that in aboriginal times Tapirapé population was relatively small and stable while the Tenetehara population was at least twice as large and probably expanding.

This difference in population level between the two tribes in aboriginal times was related to the population policies held by the two groups as well as to differences in social structure of the groups concerned. These cultural values relating to population level are explicit in attitudes toward family size and in positive actions to limit families. Among the Tenetehara infanticide is indicated only in the case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused

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abnormalities. Since there is a low incidence of twins and since in several known cases "abnormal" children have been allowed to live, infanticide has had little or no effect upon Tenetehara population trends. The Tenetehara tell of one or two formulas thought to produce abortion. The long taboos imposed on both parents during the pregnancy of the mother and during the early infancy of the child are a source of irritation and discomfort which would seem to tend to discourage large families. But, in general, there is little planned effort among the Tenetehara to limit family size. Men seem proud of several children; women are eager to bear children and they will leave a husband whom they believe to be sterile.

In contrast, the Tapirapé value small families. They take specific steps to limit their families and have explicit ideas as to maximum family size. Not only do the Tapirapé bury twins at birth as do the Tenetehara (and for similar reasons) but they believe that a woman should not have more than three live children. (5) In addition, the three children of a woman should not be of the same sex. In other words, if a woman has two living daughters and her third child is also a girl, it is usually buried at birth. Similarly, if she has two male children and her third is a male, infanticide is in order. Furthermore, all men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers to her child. More than two co-fathers leads to complications. All co-fathers are expected to observe taboos on sexual relations and on the eating of certain meats during the pregnancy of the woman and the early infancy of the child. If there are three, four, or more co-fathers one of them is certain to break these taboos thus endangering the health of the infant; consequently the woman is urged to bury the child. (6)

On an overt level, the Tapirapé justify these checks on population by saying, "We do not want this children" or "They would be hungry". They enlarge upon such statements by adding that it is difficult for a father to supply a large family with meat from hunting. In aboriginal times, manioc was plentiful and no one lacked the tubers with which to manufacture flour but meat was especially scarce during the rainy season when the forest is partially flooded and the paths to the savanna country are impassable. In addition, a complex set of food taboos make the job of supplying meat for a family more difficult. Children before adolescence are allowed to eat only specific meats and women are prohibited others. When a Tapirapé says "I am hungry" he generally means by implication

(5) Baldus (1946) vol. CXXXII, p. 16, was told the same regarding the limitation of number of children of the Tapirapé family, but the contrary in relation to twins. According to information given to him by these Indians, the Tapirapé appreciate twins and, therefore, husband and wife can have or desire between 3 or 4, with two twins in the same year.

(6) Ethnologists believed that these rules are followed in almost without exception. In 1939, during my residence in a Tapirapé village, one woman hesitated in burying her third male child to the horror. Less than a month after its birth, she appeared one day without the infant and announced that he had died of a cold. Another woman whose child had four fathers allowed the child to live only to have it die of an intestinal disorder. The villagers took a definite of - had - you - see attitude.

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Ta 262 Te 262 168 "hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is land was in the past just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size. Population control among the Tapirapé seems as to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

Ta 168 183 262

Ta 161 168 182 [165] This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new diseases for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

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Te Ta 596 591 612 Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapé, on the other hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial societies limited to men. Each society was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the Tapirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's societies and age grades and the "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic production and distribution. The marked dances with impersonation of

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Ta [535] 244 534 476 [796]

forest spirits performed by the men during the dry season were a function of the men's moieties. The "Feast Groups" met at intervals during the dry season at their traditional stations in the central plaza for ceremonial meals. At such times, as Herbert Baldus has shown, these "Feast Groups" functioned as a mechanism for food distribution in a season when more food was available than a family would normally consume. (7) The "Feast Groups" sometimes formed to collect honey and to hunt. The age grades of the men's moieties also frequently acted together economically; they organized work parties for clearing of large garden sites and they went out on large cooperative hunts after herds of wild pigs.

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In aboriginal Tapirapé society ceremonial life and many important cooperative subsistence activities were based upon this balanced set of associations. A Tapirapé village in order to ensure adequate representation in the various age grades of the men's moieties as well as in the "Feast Groups" by necessity had to consist of about 200 people or more. A small village of fifty to a hundred people, for example, would not have provided sufficient number of males of the proper ages to allow the age graded moieties to carry out their ceremonials nor to organize their cooperative subsistence activities. Tapirapé village organization was therefore not conducive to a process of "splitting off" of groups from one village to form another. The size of Tapirapé villages was limited by their technological equipment within their tropical forest environment yet the social structure made the formation of numerous small villages difficult. In contrast, the less formalized social structure of the Tenetehara allowed for villages of varying size within the limits of their ecological adjustment. Extended family groups easily might break off from a larger village to form a new settlement fully able to carry out the cooperative economic activities and even ceremonials of the society. This process is constantly occurring in contemporary Tenetehara society. When tensions arise between extended families, one group simply splits off from the parent village to join another or to form a separate village without serious effects on the ceremonial or economic system. Tenetehara social structure allowed a favorable condition for an expanding population after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected population.

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Tapirapé social structure seems also to have been more vulnerable to disorganization in face of a rapid change in population size. Rapid depopulation after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected the normal functioning of their highly segmented and balanced social structure. By 1940, the lack of men had thrown the system of reciprocal and competitive activities of the men's age-graded moieties out of balance. There were not enough men of the "elder" age-grade of either moiety nor of the young men "warrior" age-grade of one moiety to form functioning units to participate in cooperative garden clearing and to participate in group hunts. Several of the "Feast Groups" had been disbanded for lack of members

Ta [535] 244 534 476 [796]
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(7) Baldus (1937) p. 10 ff.

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of numbers. Ceremonials in 1940 had not been abandoned but they were performed in an attenuated and disheartened manner. There was little motivation to accumulate the meat, the forest fruits, and the garden products which important ceremonials require among the Tapirapé.

Ceremonials and cooperative economic activities in Tenetehara society are organized by extended family and kin groups. Lack of numbers, of course, creates difficulties in carrying out ceremonials and in organizing economic activities but it does not have the effect of disorganizing the society. Cooperation of large extended families in gardening and in collecting babassu nuts and copaiba oil is still the general pattern among the Tenetehara. Tenetehara social structure was malleable to change. Adjustment to new circumstances after Luso-Brazilian contact must have been easier for the Tenetehara than for the Tapirapé.

This brief comparison of the cultural values and of those aspects of social structure of the Tenetehara and of the Tapirapé in terms of their effect upon population size and on population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact suggest several general hypotheses. First, the available information concerning the population size of these two tribes in aboriginal times indicates that the Tenetehara were much more numerous than the Tapirapé. Yet both tribes were tropical forest peoples with roughly similar technological equipment. It seems to the writer that this difference in population size between the two tribes was functionally related to ideological values and to social structure and not to differences in technology and environment. In other words, such differences in population can hardly be interpreted strictly in Malthusian terms. While population potentials are certainly limited by food supply, the level of technology, the application of medical knowledge, and other material factors, social institutions and culturally derived values are influential in determining trends in population size within the limits set by such "natural" factors.

Second, the social structure and the cultural values of any society are functionally related to a given population level. With change in population size, both the cultural values regarding population size and social structure must be adjusted. The Tapirapé concept of family size remained unchanged in face of modified conditions (i.e. higher death-rate caused by foreign diseases) with the result that the adult population was no longer replaced by births. A rapidly declining population disrupted Tapirapé socio-ceremonial organization and affected the internal system of production and distribution. The Tenetehara with a more malleable social structure than that of the Tapirapé were able to survive the initial impact of Luso-Brazilian contact until the protection of the Jesuits allowed them to make necessary adjustments to the new circumstances.

Finally, this comparison between the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara calls to mind other primitive societies whose social structure must have been functionally related to population level and to demographic trends in face of European civilization. In Brazil, the Bororo (Eastern Timbira) with their complex moiety system and the Apinayé with their kin marriage

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classes, to mention only two examples, had social systems comparable to that of the Tapirapé. Such social structures depended upon a balanced representation of population in each of the numerous social units. A sudden decline of population might easily throw such highly segmented societies out of balance, so to speak. Without sufficient representation in one or more of these social units reciprocal socio-ceremonial affairs become impossible or may be carried out in a highly attenuated manner. Again, the social structure of the Karajá of the Araguaya River is based essentially upon extended family and kinship ties and lacks the highly segmented social units which cross cut villages and even family groups. Like that of the Tenetehara, Karajá social structure would seem to be less vulnerable to change in population size and more conducive to population growth. In addition to technological equipment and subsistence methods, social structure and cultural values also influence strongly the final adjustment of each society to its environment. Differences in social structure and of value systems between societies must be taken into account in studies of population size and of population trends in any natural area, such as the Tropical forest of South America.

Columbia University, New York.

## RESUMO

O autor compara a reação dos Tenetehara e Tapirapé ao contacto com os brancos no que diz respeito ao decrescimento da população e à organização social. Enquanto a primeira dessas tribos levantadas dos selvas tropicais do Brasil, depois de mais de trezentos anos de tal contacto, conta um número de conseqüentes produtivamente pouco inferior ao de antes, conservando sua função sua organização social, os Tapirapé se encontram em via de extinção física e desintegração social. O autor sabe que, por um lado, a tecnologia dessas tribos e seus métodos de subsistência devem ter limitado o número de habitantes de cada aldeia, não tendo havido, por outro lado, falta de espaço territorial para limitar o número das aldeias. Porque-tha que, conseqüentemente, a população tapirapé era relativamente pequena e estável, ao passo que a dos Tenetehara era, pelo menos, a deles dequate e, provavelmente, crescente. Essas últimas, em geral, não procuram restringir o tamanho da família a ponto dos Tapirapé quase a mulher não deve ter mais de três filhos. Embora os Tapirapé justifiquem seu limitação com falta de alimento, mais distúrbios e repulsa parecem ser outros fatores culturais. O autor procura mostrar a influência das instituições e valores culturais sôbre o tamanho das populações dentro dos limites postos pelos fatores alimentares, pelo conhecimento médico, pelo equipamento civilizador e por outros fatores materiais. Fica que a estrutura social e os valores culturais de cada sociedade são fundamentais relacionados com determinado tamanho de população, precisando ser considerados, por isso, em caso de mudança da situação demográfica.

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# A Tapirapé Comes of Age
[Um Tapirapé atinge a maioridade]

Charles Wagley

Revista do Museu Nacional
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Translated from the Portuguese by Arlette Brunel

Human Relations Area Files

1960

[Title page]

101 [16] The Tapirapé Indians live in central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a left tributary of the Araguaia located in the extreme south of the state of Pará. They speak a dialect of Tupi-Guarani, the most widespread aboriginal tongue in Brazil. In spite of a great decline in their population, they still possess a rich cultural tradition which is peculiar to them and which distinguishes them [173] from other tribes. Their customs and traditions are transmitted orally with great care from generation to generation. One of the most 861 interesting among them is the ceremony in which the youth assumes the status of a grown man. This change in status is marked by nearly all peoples. Among us, when a young man reaches the age of 21, he can vote, marry, sign documents, etc.; among many primitive groups, the youth proves that he has become an adult by undergoing torture or achieving success in the hunt.

Among the Tapirapé, this tradition is observed with a festival [302] of song and dance called "hair-tying," for henceforth the young man will wear his hair tied at the back of the neck in adult fashion. For 858 several years before the ceremony, the boy keeps his body painted [302] black with genipap, wears his hair cropped close to the head--"like a monkey," in the words of the Tapirapé-- is subjected to food restrictions, and has his arms and legs scarified until they bleed so he [304] will "grow strong." When he reaches 14 or 15 years of age, his [852] family decides that the time has come for him to become an adult.

88 At the close of the rainy season, the time of harvesting and [221] time of plenty for the tribe, the "hair-tying" ceremony is carried out. For months beforehand, the youth allows his hair to grow until it comes [302] down to his shoulders. Meanwhile, mother and aunts weave threads [462] (cords) to adorn him, while father and uncles collect feathers with [283] which they make elaborate ornaments. All Tapirapé youths become [237] adults through this rite; the sons of important men, however, and [554] those who were "favorite sons" (the Tapirapé elect certain children to preferential treatment) are much more richly attired than the others. The ceremony is costly to the family, and much time is needed beforehand to gather the necessary materials--macaw tail feathers, short [237] feathers of the blue macaw and parrot, breast fluff of wild ducks, cotton threads for the ornaments, and beads. All these items are [556] [955] valuable to the Tapirapé, who gauge their own wealth in these terms.

881 On the eve of the ritual, the preparations begin. The youth's
[302] body is painted black with genipap. On his face, a black line is drawn under the mouth and a circle under the eyes, which are elongated with a line at the corners. The father or uncles put the last
[946] touches on a large diadem. At dawn on the day of the ceremony, the youth is led to the large ceremonial house built in the center of the Tapirapé village, and his hair is set to support the large
[292] [237] ankungitana (diadem) made of numerous macaw, parrot, and duck feathers fastened to a base of muriti palm and hard wood and weighing about five kilograms. The hair is trimmed and tied into a roll
[302] on the nape of the neck with a cord at least five meters long, to provide a base for the fastening of the large diadem. The lower lip
[381] is adorned with a ceremonial quartz tembetá [Tr., cylindrical plug].

The ceremony itself begins late in the morning. For 24 hours
[535] the youth dances continually, surrounded by his fellow tribesmen and accompanied by the songs and dances of men and women. He dances ill at ease, for he is soon tired by the weight and discomfort of the
773 ornaments. Tapirapé tradition explains this ritual as a test of en-
881 durance for the young men. According to one legend, a Tapirapé ancestor called Xavanamu and his son Makanci were captured by an enemy tribe. Xavanamu was eaten, and his son was forced to dance under the weight of a large diadem and the numerous ornaments that covered his body. At the end of a long day of dancing, Makanci, who had retained his strength, managed to flee and disappeared into the woods followed closely by his foes. He vanished on reaching a large hollow trunk. Nowadays, Tapirapé youths wear ornaments similar to those left behind by their ancestor.

In 1941, when we witnessed the "hair-tying" of the youth
881 Kanctiampiõ, several Tapirapé predicted that he would cry "for he would become very tired during the night," but the boy stood up valiantly to the test. It is in another way, however, that men recall their initiation. One of them said, "When I danced, I was more beautiful than at any other time." It is true that at no other time of life does the individual get so much attention and make such a show with such rich ornaments. And this during adolescence!

Thus, the Tapirapé turn this ceremony into an opportunity for fun, which their men recall more or less in the same manner as our youths recall their first ball.

883 At the time that follows planting the young man must work in
884 the gardens, and henceforth he will participate in the hunt, thus proving his ability to marry and support a family.

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[Facing p. 16]

Tapirapé Indian in the Coming-of-age Dance.

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[TITLE PAGE]

11: Wagley SP22 Tapirapé

# Um Tapirapé atinge a maioridade

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no Brasil

[R16A]

OS ÍNDIOS Tapirapé habitam o Brasil central, ao norte do rio Tapirapé, afluente esquerdo do Araguaia, situado no extremo sul do Estado do Pará. Falam um dialeto tupi-guarani — a língua nativa mais difundida no Brasil. Apesar de grande declínio de população, ainda possuem uma rica tradição cultural, que lhes é própria e os destaca de outras tribos. Com grande carinho, transmitem oralmente, de geração a geração, costumes e tradições. Entre estas é das mais interessantes a cerimônia pela qual o jovem passa à condição de homem adulto. Essa passagem é assinalada em quase todos os povos. Entre nós, quando um jovem civilizado atinge os 21 anos de idade, pode votar, casar-se, assinar documentos, etc.; em muitos grupos primitivos, o jovem prova que se tornou adulto suportando torturas ou conseguindo êxito na caça.

Entre os Tapirapé, essa tradição é assinalada por um festival de canto e dança, chamado "amarrar o cabelo", pois que desde então o rapaz passará a usar o cabelo amarrado sôbre a nuca, à maneira dos adultos. Durante alguns anos que precedem a cerimônia, o jovem tem o corpo pintado de preto com genipapo, usa o cabelo cortado rente à cabeça — "como um macaco", no dizer dos Tapirapé — sujeita-se a restrições na alimentação, e tem os braços e pernas escarificados até sangrar, "para ficar forte". Quando êle atinge 14 ou 15 anos de idade, a família decide que é chegado o tempo de se tornar adulto.

Ao findar a estação das chuvas, época da colheita e consequente fartura para a tribo, realiza-se a cerimônia de "amarrar o cabelo". Meses antes, o jovem deixa o cabelo crescer até lhe cair pelos ombros. Durante êsse tempo, mãe e tias tecem fios (cordões) para enfeitá-lo, enquanto pai e tios colecionam penas com que fabricarão caprichosos ornatos. Todos os jovens Tapirapé se tornam adultos por meio dêsse rito; os filhos de homens importantes, pontes, e os que foram "filhos predilétos" (os Tapirapé elegem determinadas crianças para um tratamento preferencial) são muito mais ricamente ornamentados que os outros. A cerimônia é dispendiosa à família, sendo necessária muita antecedência para recolher o material — penas de cauda de arara, penas curtas de arara azul e de papagaio, penugem do peito de patos selvagens, fios de algodão para os ornamentos e miçangas. Todos êsses artigos são valiosos para os Tapirapé, que medem por êles a própria riqueza.

Na véspera do ritual, iniciam-se os preparativos. O corpo do jovem é pintado de preto, com genipapo. No rosto, é desenhada uma linha preta abaixo da bôca.

e um círculo sob os olhos, cujos cantos são alongados com um traço. O pai ou os tios ultimam a preparação de um grande diadema. Ao amanhecer do dia da cerimônia, o jovem é conduzido à grande casa cerimonial, edificada no centro da aldeia tapirapé, e o seu cabelo é preparado para receber o grande *ankangitasa* (diadema), fabricado de muitas penas de arara, papagaio e pato, presas a uma base de buriti e madeira dura, pesando cêrca de cinco quilos. O cabelo é aparado e amarrado num rôlo, sôbre a nuca, com uma corda de pelo menos cinco metros de comprimento, para fornecer base à fixação do grande diadema. O lábio inferior é ornado com um tembetá cerimonial de quartzo.

A cerimônia pròpriamente dita tem início com a manhã já avançada. Durante 24 horas o jovem dança seguidamente, cercado pelos companheiros de tribo, e acompanhado pelos cantos e danças de homens e mulheres. Dança pouco à vontade, não tardando a fatigá-lo o pêso e o desconfôrto dos ornamentos. A tradição tapirapé explica êsse ritual como uma prova de resistência para os seus jovens. Segundo uma lenda, um antepassado tapirapé, chamado *Xavanamu*, e seu filho *Makanci* foram capturados por uma tribo inimiga. *Xavanamu*, foi devorado, e o filho obrigado a dançar sob o pêso de um grande diadema, além de inúmeros ornamentos que lhe cobriam o corpo. Ao fim de um longo dia de dança, *Makanci*, ainda forte, logrou fugir, embrenhando-se pela floresta, seguido de perto pelos inimigos. Ao chegar a um grande tronco ôco, desapareceu. Hoje em dia os jovens tapirapés usam ornamentos semelhantes ao que seu antepassado abandonou.

Em 1941, quando assistimos ao "amarrar o cabelo" do jovem *Kancinampió*, vários Tapirapé predisseram que êle choraria, "pois ia ficar muito cansado durante a noite", mas o jovem resistiu valentèmente. Contudo, é de outra forma que os homens relembram a sua iniciação. Um dêles disse; "Quando eu dancei, estava mais belo que em qualquer outra ocasião". E' certo que em nenhuma outra época da vida o indivíduo recebe tantas atenções, se exibe tanto e com tão ricos ornamentos. E isto na adolescência!

Assim, os Tapirapé transformam esta cerimônia em oportunidade de divertimento, que seus homens recordam mais ou menos da mesma forma por que as moças jovens relembram o primeiro baile.

Na época que se segue ao plantio, êle deve trabalhar nas roças, participando daí por diante das caçadas, provando assim a capacidade para casar e sustentar família.

[P. 16 C]

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## THE TROPICAL FOREST TRIBES

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[TITLE PAGE]

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# THE TAPIRAPÉ

By Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvão

## INTRODUCTION

Isolated from other *Tupi-Guarani*-speaking people, the *Tapirapé* live in Central Brazil, west of the Araguaya River and north of the Tapirapé River, a western tributary flowing into the Araguaya near the northern tip of the Island of Bananal (lat. 2° S., long. 52° W.). According to tradition, the *Tapirapé* lived for a time on the banks of the Araguaya and Javahé Rivers with the *Carajá*. They quarreled, and the *Tapirapé* moved west to their present territory (map 1, *No. 1;* see Volume 1, map 7). At the beginning of last century, five *Tapirapé* villages formed a line stretching northward into *Cayapó* country beginning at a point a few miles back from the Tapirapé River about 150 miles from its mouth. The *Tapirapé* have always been at war with the *Cayapó*, except for a brief period. Each of these villages contained at least 200 individuals with a total *Tapirapé* population of about 1,000. Since 1900, however, there has been a terrific reduction of *Tapirapé* population.

In 1939, there was only one remaining *Tapirapé* village situated about 20 miles north of the Tapirapé River with a total population of 147 people. This decline in population is basically due to disease (smallpox, respiratorial diseases, etc.) acquired either directly from Neo-Brazilians or from the *Carajá*, who are continually in contact with Neo-Brazilians. *Tapirapé* groups have been also massacred on several occasions by both the *Carajá* and *Cayapó*.

The *Tapirapé* have had but few contacts, however, with Neo-Brazilians. Except for the demoralizing effect of depopulation, their culture has been little modified. Although stories are told of Neo-Brazilian hunters visiting the *Tapirapé* in 1909, the first registered contact with them was in 1912. During that year, Señor Mantecurt, leading an expedition of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service, visited the village nearest the Tapirapé River. In 1914, the Dominican priests visited the *Tapirapé*. From that date on, the Dominicans returned each year or so to a camp on the Tapirapé River for 3 or 4 days at a time and were met by the *Tapirapé*, to whom they distributed trade goods. About 1934, a Protestant missionary, Frederick Kiegel, made several trips, staying 2 or 3 months in a *Tapirapé* village. In 1935, the first trained ethnologist, Dr. Herbert Baldus, resided several months with the *Tapirapé*, and in 1939–40, Wagley spent 12 months with them making the study on which this article is based.

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## CULTURE

### SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

[137] The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth
133 and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive
152 rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

Farming.—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their
29 villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their
[194] large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, cará (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

[221] Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also
241 it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial society groups in a work
616 festival (apaĩrá). When communally prepared, the large clearings are
77 afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, gener-
[123] ally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apaĩrá, plots are allocated for ceremonial society leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaó) at the end
241 of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as
[162] the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, cará, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout
[422] the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted
with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clear-
[361] ings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

252 Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is
252 the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupí* groups, however, the

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*Tapirapé* do not use the tipiti (the long woven tube in which the water is 252
squeezed from poisonous manioc), but squeeze poisonous manioc with their hands. The pulp is then spread out on a platform in the sun to be thoroughly dried. The flour is toasted in a clay pot over a very hot fire.

Wild foods.—Meat is a definite luxury to the agricultural *Tapirapé*. 224
Monkeys, armadillos, forest fowls, cuati (*Nasua* sp.), and both kinds of peccary (*Tayassu tajacu* and *T. pecari*) are occasionally killed in the forest at any time during the year. The hunting and fishing season, [221]
however, is from June through October, when the savanna country is dry. The savannas are extraordinarily rich with game. Plains deer, wild pigs, peccary, and wild duck, and geese near the drying swamps are plentiful.

Fish are shot with the bow and arrow and stupefied with timbó 226
(*Piscidia piscatorum* or *Serjania* sp.) in the almost dry streams and lakes. The village is almost deserted in September and October, after garden 221
sites have been cleared and before planting. Men, women, and children move out to the plains country near the Tapirapé River and set up a temporary camp. They collect turtle eggs and kill turtles in the river. 222
They gather piqui fruit (*Caryocar villosum*), sucuruba (*Couepia guyanensis*), and other wild fruits, and, from October through November, they find wild honey both on the savannas and in the forest.

Hunting is done with the bow and arrow, but a club is used to finish [224]
the kill, especially wild pigs or jaguars.

## HOUSES AND VILLAGES

The houses of a *Tapirapé* village form an oval around a large ceremonial 361
men's house (tikana), which is forbidden to the women. Both the large men's house, approximately 20 by 65 feet (6 by 20 m.), and the residential 342
houses, averaging 13 by 33 feet (4 by 10 m.), have a quadrangular floor 345
plan with arched roofs made by bending flexible poles and tying them together over a roof beam (pl. 19, *bottom, left*). The walls and the roof are covered with leaves of buriti palm and wild banana.

In the surviving village, called Tampitawa, there were nine residential 592
houses, each housing from four to eight simple families. Each family occupies a determined sector of the house where they cook, keep their belongings, and hang their sleeping hammocks. Household utensils, such 422
as baskets, pots, hammocks, and gourds, are owned by the women of each simple family. Houses, though built by men, are said to be the property [423]
of the women of the house. The house frame is constructed cooperatively 342
by all the men of the house. Each man covers the portion to be used by his wife and children.

Ideally, residence is matrilocal, and the house is inhabited by a group [591]
of closely related women and their husbands. The household leader is 592
generally the husband of the oldest woman of the group (see p. 172). Owing perhaps to great depopulation and the accumulation of refugees

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592 from many villages in the new village, many combinations of relatives now form residential groups.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Both sexes are nude. Men tie the prepuce over the glans penis with a
302 palm fiber. Both men and women pull out pubic, axillary, and all facial hair. Even eyebrows are considered ugly. Men wear cotton string lip-
301 tures around their legs, just below the knee. Men, and sometimes women, wear large cotton wrist bands crocheted directly on to their arms. Young boys and girls sometimes wear similar ornaments on their ankles; these ornaments are painted with a thick coat of red urucú dye and have round coils, often 2 to 3 inches (5 to 7.5 cm.) wide. Necklaces of beads given by Neo-Brazilians are highly valued and used almost to excess. Men
[302] paint their feet and the calves of their legs red with urucú; both men and women trace a multitude of patterns on their body with black genipa dye.

304 Men have their lower lip pierced and wear a small wooden lip plug. Two years or so after women have begun sexual life, patterns in the form of a three-quarter moon are made on their faces by scarification with a paca
[305] (*Cuniculus paca*) tooth knife. Charcoal and plant juices are rubbed into the wounds to leave dark blue designs.

TRANSPORTATION

[501] The *Tapirapé* do not have canoes. All cargoes are carried by the men
482 in a carrying knapsack made from buriti-palm fibers strapped to their backs.

MANUFACTURES

286 Weaving.—Hammocks are made by women from native cotton spun on
482 wooden spindles. The technique used is the simple twine weaving used by the *Tupinamba* and other *Tupí* groups.

323 Ceramics.—At present, the art of ceramics is declining. Pottery is
482 usually for cooking, and is made by women. Sometimes it bears incised
531 geometrical decorations.

531 Gourds.—Gourds are decorated with geometric incisions.

Basketry.—The most highly developed basketry techniques among the
285 *Tapirapé* are woven and twilled. Two types of baskets are flexible and nonflexible ones; both are of buriti fiber. They generally have a quadrangular base and a narrow, round top, and are used mostly to store manioc or maize flour. Flat, round baskets are used as cotton containers
[53] or flour sieves. They are usually ornamented with motifs originating in the weave itself; frequently the finished basket is smeared with black genipa and odd strands are scraped off, giving a negative decorative effect.

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PLATE 18.—Tapirapé ceremonies and house construction. *Top, left:* Youth in preparation for puberty ceremony. The large, heavy headress of macaw feathers will be supported by the lock of hair wrapped in cotton cord. *Top, right:* Shaman wearing dangerous ceremonial headdress during Thunder ceremony. He is intoxicated by tobacco and in a trance state. *Bottom, left:* Construction of man's house. *Bottom, right:* Dance masks representing the "Crying Spirit," one of many forest spirits who are said to come to stay for a time in the man's ceremonial house. (Courtesy Charles Wagley.)

[p. 170 A]

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**Weapons.**—Bows have a circular cross section and average about 6 feet (2 m.) in length. The arrows are of cane about 5 feet (1.6 m.) long with heads of bone, hardwood, and the spur from the sting ray (*Potamotrygon histrix*). They have brilliant feathers, sometimes the red and blue feathers of the red macaw. Clubs are made of several polished hardwoods and are sometimes decorated near the handles with woven strands of cane fibers. 411

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Three distinct social groupings are basic in *Tapirapé* social organization: men's ceremonial societies, feast societies, and the kinship groups. 561 616

**Ceremonial societies.**—All *Tapirapé* men belong to one of the patrilineal ceremonial societies. Each of these societies is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths (those up to 15 years of age); two groups of men of warrior age (15 to 40 years); and two groups of older men (40 to 60 years). Each group bears the name of a bird, the word "wirã" (bird) being the generic name for the group. These age groups (Baldus, 1937, p. 96, calls them "work groups") function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites at the cooperative work festival; parallel groups also dance against each other in various ceremonials and reciprocally feast each other. Each moiety owns half of the men's house, and its portion is subdivided into sections owned by the three age grades. The warrior age group of each moiety has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and communal work, and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. As a man becomes elderly, he entirely drops out of the "bird" groups and is no longer affiliated, as he cannot take part in their economic and ceremonial activities. At present, the *Tapirapé* are so reduced in number that, lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's age grade in order to retain the necessary balance for ceremonials. [345] [423]

**Feast groups.**—Both men and women are divided into eight feasting groups called tãtãgawã (literally, "fire all to eat") Men belong to their fathers' feast group and women to their mothers'. Feast groups are not only nonexogamic, but people prefer to marry within their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry the names of the mythological heads of the original eight households of the first *Tapirapé* village. They unite at various times throughout the year for ceremonial meals. The feasts take place at traditional spots in the village plaza, at times when there is an abundance of honey, maize, or meat from the hunt. Each member brings his contribution. Baldus (1937, p. 88) calls these "eating groups," and emphasizes that they are consumers' groups providing a means of distributing food when more is available than a family can eat. Today only six groups meet for feasts, two being extinct for lack of members. 574 264 [582]

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601 **Kinship.**—Kinship is more important in furthering solidarity among
[612] the *Tapirapé* than either the moieties or the feast groups. *Tapirapé* kin-
[611] ship is bilateral, its chief principle being that all cousins, whether cross- or parallel-cousins, no matter how distant, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of people calling each other siblings are also called siblings. Mother's sisters are called mother, and father's brothers, father. Mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, a man's brothers' children are considered his sons and daughters, and a woman's sisters' children are her children. Children of a man's sisters or a woman's brothers are given special terms.

[622] The wide inclusiveness of kinship affiliation makes it possible for an
[778] individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers—and in former days many people in other villages—by terms of close relationship.

An older man of some prestige gathers around him by adoption as many
554 "daughters" or as many of his wife's "daughters" as possible. By the
581 marriage of these "daughters," he attracts a group of younger men within
597 his household who contribute constantly to his larder through the hunt and
592 garden activities. At present, only three of the nine houses in the village were formed in this way, but reduced numbers, we were told, forced various combinations of relatives to share a household.

## LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth.**—Although aware that pregnancy is brought about by sexual intercourse, the *Tapirapé* believe that conception takes place when a shaman, serving as intermediary, brings a "child spirit" to the woman. Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, and various fish and insects are supposed to contain child spirits.

843 When the woman is certain that she is pregnant, she tells her husband. They both paint their bodies with genipa and cover their hair with urucú. During the first few days of pregnancy, no restraints are imposed upon the child's parents, but as birth approaches, all sexual contact must cease.
[851] All men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers of the future child, together with the real father.

844 At childbirth the woman is assisted by her mother and sister and by two male relatives. The husband retires to his hammock and is forbidden to partake of any liquid refreshment.

847 Infanticide is practiced because it is considered bad to have more than three children, or two children of the same sex. The fourth child, or third of the same sex, of one mother is buried in a hole dug inside the residence for the afterbirth.

852 On the day after birth, a male child has his lower lip perforated. Until
304 the child is weaned, the parents must refrain from sexual relations and
851 must not eat salt, sugar, honey, or the meat of various animals and forest
262 fowls. Both boys and girls also are restricted in their meat diet. A son

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A 520

and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite child, being given special attention and education and being highly decorated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life. 559 658

**Puberty.**—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip-plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong. 582 [302] [301]

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, *top, left*). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance. [302] 581 [292]

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of women. [302] [582]

**Marriage.**—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antagonism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage marriage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people. 621 [578] [582] [578]

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule. 582

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him. [161] [182] [178] [591]

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Until the first child is born, marriage bonds are rather weak, but henceforth the marriage is comparatively stable. There are, however, frequent cases of adultery, and a guilty woman who is found out is beaten by her husband. When a marriage is dissolved, the man leaves the house, which is considered the wife's property, although built by him.

Upon a man's death, his widow remains in the house. After about 2 months of free sexual relations, she chooses a new husband.

**Death.**—The *Tapirapé* believe that death is brought about by sorcery and never by natural causes. Frequently, when the children of the deceased enjoyed sufficient prestige, they kill the sorcerer whom they suspect.

As soon as it is certain that the sick man will die, wailing begins in the form of a wailing dirge by both men and women. The men dance around the hammock of the dying or dead man, while the women remain seated on the ground. Burial takes place on the day after death. The corpse is stretched out on the hammock. Its feet and hands are decorated with urucú dye, and its face is painted black with genipa. The grave is dug in the dead man's house under the place where his hammock was usually hung. The body is buried in the hammock, which is set up in the grave between two poles. All contact with the earth is avoided. Personal possessions of the deceased are buried with him, except that all feather ornaments and bows and arrows are burned.

Five days after the funeral, the relatives walk in file to the ceremonial hut, where they leave the spirit of the dead man. The wailing goes on for many days, sometimes months, and always takes place at sunset. Close-cropped hair is a token of mourning for both sexes.

## ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

**Art.**—Obvious esthetic pleasure is derived from skillfully done basketwork; a good workman will destroy a basket which is not turning out well, even though it would serve as a receptacle. Gesso ore is made of highly colored feathers; feathers are both tied and stuck with resin and wax on to the object to be decorated. Elaborate geometric designs are painted on children's bodies with genipa. The incise work on gourds is also especially striking.

**Musical instruments.**—Gourd rattles are frequently used to keep time to singing. No sacred powers are attributed to rattles. During the shamanistic ceremony (p. 177), a bamboo trunk is pounded against the ground in time to the music.

**Music.**—By far the most important *Tapirapé* pastime is singing. A man with a good voice and a large repertoire of songs is much admired by the community. All ceremonies are, basically, singing festivals. Each ceremony during the year has a large set of specific songs: those to be sung by the shaman during the shamanistic "battle with Thunder" (p. 177);

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them for group singing during the harvest ceremonies and the ceremony 535
of kawi (p. 176); those for the masked dancers during the dry season;
and a very large number of songs specifically for the "Big Sing"
(*mashabdi*) during the latter part of the rainy season. During this
period (approximately March through April), singing takes place
throughout each night from sundown to sunrise. On these occasions, [64]
the singing leader and the men of one of the moieties introduce the verses
of each song and the refrain is then taken up by the men of the other
moiety and the women of the tribe. Women sing in a higher key than the
men and, generally, a phrase behind the men. The songs of the masked
dancers, each representing a supernatural being, differ stylistically from
those used on other occasions in being sung in a falsetto tone, in a manner [78]
similar to that of the neighboring *Carajá*. Many such songs have been [177]
admittedly learned from the *Carajá*.

Dancing.—Both men and women dance as they sing. In general, the 535
*Tapirapé* dance bending slightly forward, stamping out the time of the
music with one foot. Dancing differs greatly, however, according to the
occasion. During the harvest ceremonies, men dance in a line, side by [241]
side, each man's wife dancing directly behind him. During the group
singing of the "Big Sing," the men dance in moiety groups facing each
other, and women dance behind the moiety group of their husbands. On
one occasion during this time, men dance with women, side by side, with
a curious skipping step.

Games.—Men's moieties run foot races against each other after the 526
communal work festival (p. 168); they race in a straight line across the
village plaza. Wrestling takes place at one wet-season ceremony, and,
now and again, throughout the year as sport. The *Tapirapé* explain,
however, that the *Carajá* are better wrestlers and that it is more properly [171]
a *Carajá* sport. In wrestling, opponents stand face to face, grasping each
other about the neck, and attempt to force or to trip the other to the
ground. During one festival, men, one from each moiety at a time,
compete by throwing blunt-headed spears at each other. Gambling games [525]
are unknown.

Stimulants.—Native tobacco, though used for leisure-time smoking, is 276
principally a stimulant and medicine. A *Tapirapé* will not travel without 755
a supply of tobacco to blow smoke over his tired body at the end of the
day, in order to take out soreness and tiredness. Tobacco is necessary
to shamans in all their activities. They blow tobacco smoke over the
patient in curing (p. 177), and, to induce dreams and a trance, they
swallow large gulps of smoke until they become intoxicated and nauseated.
When people have seen ghosts, shamans fumigate them with tobacco [751]
smoke, in order to drive away the ghost's influence. Shamans fumigate 276
new maize, the first honey of the season and, sometimes, fresh meat to 756
drive out possible supernatural danger. This native tobacco is smoked [789]

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by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

## RELIGION

*Tapirapé* religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, anhanga (spirit or shadow).

The anhanga flowers, human spirits or ghosts (ahã or anhanga among the *Tapiracuba*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called anhanga, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Waré, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many anhanga, among whom were the awaiú anhã, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mumpiankã were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their ihamana. Several times the *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, *bottom, right*).

**Rites.**—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (anhanga) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest ceremonial (kaõ) and the ceremony of kawi (a souplike beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans

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are called upon to fight Thunder. This, the important *Tapirapé* ceremony, lasts for 4 days, and is the high point of shamanistic activity.

Kuwawara, the Thunder, lives on distant Marawawa surrounded by the souls of dead shamans and by the tupã (probably equivalent to the *Tupinambá* word, "tupan"), small anthropomorphic beings whose bodies are covered with white hair.

The tupã travel through space in their canoes (half gourds), the sound of which produces the noise of the storm. The arrows which the tupã shoot cause lightning. During the ceremony, the shamans, completely intoxicated by the tobacco and stimulated by the unceasing dancing and singing, fall into a trance (pl. 19, *top, right*) during which they travel to Thunder's house in order to fight him. Thunder sets the tupã against the shamans, who, wounded by the arrows of "Thunder's creatures," fall into unconsciousness.

### SHAMANISM

The *Tapirapé* can visualize the supernatural world through the reports of the dreams of their shamans, whose power grows in proportion to their ability to dream. A dream is a voyage, during which the soul frees itself of the body and travels through space. In these dreams the shamans travel to regions which are entirely unknown to the living, and in general are inhabited by spirits. With their powers, the shamans succeed in taming some of the spirits, who then become their familiar spirits. The power and prestige of the shaman (pané) depend on the number of his familiar spirits.

The *Tapirapé* speak of battles between shamans wherein each calls out his familiar spirits against the other while dreaming. More often, a shaman sets his familiar spirits upon laymen and kills them. A shaman may also kill his victim during a dream by throwing a malignant object, usually a piece of bone or a worm, into his body.

The victims of sorcery appeal to friendly shamans, who attempt to cure them by extracting the malignant object by suction, massage, and blowing tobacco. When many deaths occur simultaneously and the *Tapirapé* suspect a certain shaman of having caused them, they do not hesitate to kill him. One man recalled that during his lifetime 10 shamans suspected of sorcery had been killed. He himself had killed a shaman whom he suspected of having killed his brother. In spite of the constant suspicion surrounding them, the shamans do not employ mechanical techniques or sympathetic magic in sorcery.

The shamans make great use of tobacco, which is essential for healing and dreaming. They smoke it in large tubular clay pipes. Cures usually take place at dusk. The shaman squats by the patient's hammock and smokes for a long time, becoming intoxicated and blowing the smoke from the pipe over the patient's body. He then massages the patient,

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755 [276] rubbing toward the extremities of his body. If he fails to extract the malignant object in this fashion, he sucks it out, swallows it, then vomits it up.

At one time, during an epidemic of fever, a shaman used a different method. He prepared a mixture of honey and water, and, after much smoking, spewed it out over the patients and on the houses where there were sick people.

Besides healing, the shamans must protect the people against dangerous spirits (*anhangs*); they call forth "children's spirits" without which there can be no conception; they prevent wild animals from harming the *Tapirapé* during great hunting or fishing expeditions; and they increase the 756 [275] [189] [187] number of peccaries in the woods. It is also believed that they divine the future in their dreams.

The prestige of shamans is such among the *Tapirapé* that almost all leaders of communities as well as of ceremonial society groups and household heads are shamans. As shamans receive payment for successful cures, they accumulate many possessions which they redistribute at a yearly ceremonial. Liberality is essential to prestige in this society where avarice is particularly despised.

## MYTHOLOGY

773 *Tapirapé* myths fall into two categories: legends telling of the deeds of ancestral heroes, and tales of animals. In the latter, the tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) is noted for his shrewdness in his dealings with the [191] other animals of the jungle. These stories follow the general *Tupí* pattern.

Among the various *Tapirapé* heroes are Apêwesmas and Petura. The former descended from heaven and lived with the *Tapirapé*. He taught them to plant and harvest cotton, manioc, and maize. When he was old, Apêwesmas returned to heaven and changed himself into a star.

Petura stole fire from the buzzards and brought light to the *Tapirapé*, who until then had not seen day. It is also told of Petura that he stole hatchets and knives from the emu and gave them to the *Tapirapé*.

Tazawanmã is famous for a series of songs which tell of his adventures among the mythical *anpiawa*, enemies of the *Tapirapé*, who made him die a lingering death. Wanõina, a great shaman, had his whole house, including his family and belongings, transported to heaven by Kanawana, the Thunder. Waré was another shaman who killed many dangerous forest spirits.

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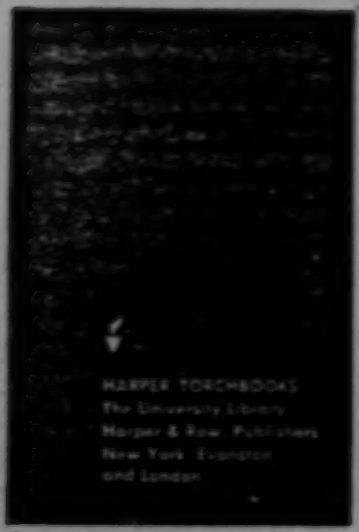


# In the Company of Man

## Twenty Portraits of Anthropological Informants

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# 14

## Champukwi of the Village of the Tapirs

Charles Wagley

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115 Champuki was not the first person who came to mind when a contribution to this volume was considered. I thought of Gregorio Martin, a dignified and wise old Mayan Indian of Santiago Chimaltenango in Guatemala, who in 1937 had taught me the way of life of his people. I thought of Camirang, the dynamic young chieftain whom I had known in 1941 in a village of Tenetehara Indians along the Pindaré River in northeastern Brazil. I thought also of Nhunduca, a gifted and witty storyteller from a small Amazon community, who in 1948 introduced me to the rich folklore of the Amazon *caboclo* or peasant. But then, among all the people I had known in the various primitive and peasant cultures in which I [954] have done ethnological research, I chose Champukwi, a man of no outstanding talent, yet talented all the same—a man of not the [123] highest prestige in his society, yet admired by all. For the brief span of about a year he was my most intimate friend.

115 I knew Champukwi some 20 years ago when I lived in his small 123 village of about 175 Tapirapé Indians in central Brazil. I must have [162] seen him at once, for presents were distributed to the whole popu- [620] lation on the day of my arrival in late April of 1939. But I did not [131] distinguish Champukwi as an individual, nor did he, at first, stand out in any way from the other men of his village. His name does not appear in the notes taken during my first month among the Tapirapé.

114 For me, and even more for Valentim Gomes, the Brazilian fron- [103] tiersman who was my companion and employee, the first weeks in the Village of the Tapirs, as the small settlement was known, were a period of grappling with a strange and often confusing world. 177 The Tapirapé Indians lived between the Araguaia and Xingú Rivers, [131] an area at that time almost entirely isolated from modern Brazil. They had been visited by only a few people from the "outside"—by one or two missionaries; by Herbert Baldus, a German-Brazilian anthropologist; and by a few frontiersmen from the Araguaia River. The nearest Brazilian settlement to the Village of the Tapirs was Furo de Pedra, a town of 400–500 persons that lay some 300 miles

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away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few 177
months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of [197]
Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and [191]
verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these 114
youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals 123
we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," [621]
the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses [361]
arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were [592]
each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the per- [551]
sonal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Maria-
pawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let
alone pronounce. 114

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study [122]
intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the wide- [197]
spread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least
passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms
of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed
explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which [241]
manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops
were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poison- [462]
ous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I [252]
watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture [323]
their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm- [285]
thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building [462]
was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly [345]
became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and [291]
the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude [834]
women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never
to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also [302]
to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed
their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on
their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many [126]
other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes
and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather 123
pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our
antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversa-
tions that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales
of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to persume that oneself is

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123 the subject of conversation when listening to a strange language.)
[199] Then, of course, our presence was materially valuable—for the salt, knives, needles, beads, mirrors, and other presents we brought were greatly appreciated. However, within a very short time some of these people began to emerge as individuals. Awanchowa, a small boy of about 6, followed me about and literally haunted our little house, staring at our large bag of salt which he ate with the same relish children in other cultures eat sweets. Then there was Tanui, a woman of middle age (whose hair was cropped short indicating that a near relative had recently died) who often brought us presents of food.
123 Gradually most of the villagers emerged as distinctive personalities
115 and among them was Champukwi. I cannot remember when I first came to know him as an individual, but his name begins to appear regularly in my field notebooks about one month after our arrival. Soon, he became my best informant, and after a time, an inseparable companion.

115 In 1939 Champukwi must have been about 25 years of age. He
[141] was tall for a Tapirapé male, measuring perhaps about 5 feet 6 inches, strongly built but lean, and weighing, I should judge, about
[302] 150 lbs. Like all Tapirapé men he wore his hair in bangs across his forehead with a braided pigtail tied at the back of his neck. He was somewhat of a dandy, for his feet and the calves of his legs
[301] were painted bright red every evening with *rucu*. From time to time he painted an intricate design on his body, and he wore crocheted
[554] disc-like wrist ornaments of cotton string dyed red. He was obviously a man of some prestige among men of his age, for youths and younger men treated him with deference, always finding a seat for him on the bench that was built against one wall of our house.
[799] I soon learned that he, too, had spent a short period at a mission
[191] station several years earlier and that he knew a few words of Portuguese. He was married and had a daughter about 2 years of age. His wife, hardly attractive according to my American tastes, appeared to be somewhat older than he, and was pregnant when we first met.

115 Champukwi seemed more patient than other Tapirapé with my at-
122 tempts to use his language and to seek information. He would repeat
[126] a word, a phrase, or a sentence several times so that I might write it down phonetically. He resorted to his meager Portuguese and even to mimicry to explain what was meant. His patience was of course

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requited by gifts of beads, hardware, and salt which I provided judiciously from time to time. After a few days, I began noting questions to be asked of Champukwi in the late afternoon when he now habitually visited our house. But this was the time that others also liked to visit. At this hour of the day our house was often crowded with men, women, children, and even pets—monkeys, parrots, and wild pigs—for which the Tapirapé along with other Brazilian tribes have an especial fondness. Such social gatherings were hardly conducive to the ethnological interview or even to the systematic recording of vocabulary. So I asked Champukwi if I might go with him to his garden. There, alternating between helping him cut brush from his garden site and sitting in the shade, I was able to conduct a kind of haphazard interview. Often, while he worked, I formulated questions in my halting Tapirapé and I was able by repetition to understand his answers. Although the Tapirapé villagers began to joke of Champukwi's new garden site as belonging to the two of us, these days were very valuable for my research.

Walking through the forest to and from Champukwi's garden, we often hunted for *jacu*, a large forest fowl rather like a chicken. I attempted to teach Champukwi how to use my .22 rifle, but he had difficulty understanding the gunsights and missed continually. He attempted to show me how to "see" the *jacu* hidden in the thick branches of the trees, but I seldom caught sight of the birds until they had flown. Thus, our complementary incapacities combined to make our hunting in the tropical forest quite unproductive, and in disgust Champukwi often resorted to his bow and arrow. Only later in the year, after he had practiced a great deal by shooting at tin cans did Champukwi master the use of the rifle, and this new-found skill greatly added to his prestige among the Tapirapé.

My abiding friendship with Champukwi perhaps really began when I came down with malaria about six weeks after our arrival. During the first few days of my illness, I was oblivious to my surroundings. I am told that while one *panché*, or medicine man, predicted my death, another tried to cure me by massage, by blowing tobacco smoke over my body, and by attempting to suck out the "object" that was causing the fever. Evidently his efforts—plus the atabrine tablets administered by Valentim Gomes—were successful, for my fever abated. I realized, however, that convalescence would be slow. Unable to leave the house for almost three weeks, I spent my days

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114 and evenings suspended in a large Brazilian hammock. In this state of enervation, I must have been the very picture of the languid white [123] man in the tropics. Each late afternoon our house became a gather- [974] ing place for the Tapirapé villagers, who came not only to visit with me (communication was still difficult) but also with each other, and 123 to gaze upon the belongings of the *tori* (non-Indian). My illness 538 proved to be a boon for ethnographic research. People were more patient with the sick anthropologist than with the well one. They told stories, not only for my benefit, but also to entertain each other. [993] In attempting to explain to me about a mythological culture hero, a man would find himself telling a myth to the attending audience. Thus, I heard (and saw) Tapirapé stories told as they should be—as dramatic forms spoken with vivacity and replete with mimicry of the animals that are so often characters in these folktales. With my still imperfect knowledge of Tapirapé I inevitably lost the thread of the story and it had to be retold to me more slowly.

115 Champukwi was a frequent visitor during these days of my con- 123 valescence. He came each morning on the way to his garden and 124 he became accustomed to drinking morning coffee with us. And, [512] each late afternoon after he had returned from his garden, he came "to talk"—often slowly retelling the stories and incidents that I had difficulty understanding the evening before. Several days during this period he did not work in his garden but sat for two or three hours talking. He learned when he should pause or repeat a phrase or [212] sentence in order that I might take notes. He came to understand what writing meant, discovering that what I wrote in my notebook I could repeat to him later. In time he appreciated the fact that I was not so much interested in learning the Tapirapé language as I was in comprehending the Tapirapé way of life. As so often is the case when a person understands and speaks a foreign language poorly, one communicates best with but a single person who is accustomed to one's mistakes and one's meager vocabulary. Thus, I could understand and make myself understood to Champukwi better than any [192] other Tapirapé. Moreover, because he spent long hours in our house, [126] he was learning Portuguese from Valentim Gomes, and this was an aid in helping me translate newly learned words and phrases in Tapirapé and even helped me understand his explanations of Tapirapé culture patterns. Champukwi thus consciously became my teacher, and others came to realize that he was teaching me. During

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the next two months we had daily sessions, some very brief and others lasting two or more hours. 115 123 124

In October of 1939, some six months after my arrival, I found it necessary to leave the Village of the Tapirs to go to Furo de Pedra for supplies and to collect mail that was held there for me. Valentim Gomes and I had come up the Tapirapé River, a tributary of the Araguaia, pulled by an outboard motor belonging to an anthropological colleague who had since returned to the United States. Now we had to paddle ourselves downstream. We could expect little help from the sluggish current and since the river was so low, it might be necessary to haul our canoe through shallows. Malaria had left me weak and I doubted that I was equal to this strenuous task. Several Tapirapé men, including Champukwi, were anxious to accompany us, but having Indians with us in Furo de Pedra was not advisable. First, they were susceptible to the common cold, which among relatively uncontaminated peoples such as these American aborigines often turns into a serious, and even fatal, disease. Second, unaccustomed to clothes, money, many foods, and other Brazilian customs and forms of etiquette, they would be totally dependent upon us during our stay in this frontier community. Nevertheless, the temptation to have my best informant with me during the trip and during our stay in Furo de Pedra was great and so we agreed to take Champukwi. 122 [164] [177]

The trip was made slowly. Two good frontiersmen in a light canoe could have made it in three days, but we took eight. Champukwi was of little help in the canoe; unlike the riverine tribes the Tapirapé are a forest people who know little about the water, and few of them had ever traveled by canoe. Champukwi was unusual in that he could swim. Although he had more endurance than I, his efforts at paddling endangered the equilibrium of our canoe. However, he could shoot fish with his bow and arrow. The dry season had driven game from the open savanna which borders the Tapirapé River so that we were able to kill deer, *mutum* (another species of large forest fowl), and a wild goose to supplement the less palatable fare we had brought with us. Each night we camped on a beach from which we were able to collect the eggs of a small turtle, the *tracaja*, that had been buried in the sand. Only the mosquitoes which swarmed during sundown and early evening marred our trip. The experience remains one of the most memorable 115 484 [481] [226] [224] [227] [136]

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Champukwi on the Trip to Furo de Pedra.

of my life, a feeling that was shared, I believe, by Valentim Gomes and by Champukwi.

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Champukwi adjusted to Furo de Pedra with amazing rapidity. His short visit as a youth to the mission station undoubtedly contributed to his quick adaptation although, to be sure, there were minor problems and incidents. The Brazilians of Furo de Pedra were accustomed to Indians, for nearby there was a village of semi-civilized Caraja Indians who frequently visited and traded in the settlement. Yet, Champukwi was a bit of a curiosity—the townspeople had seen only one other Tapirapé. The local Brazilians invited him into their homes and offered him coffee and sweets. Both Valentim Gomes and I watched over his movements with all the anxiety of overprotective parents for fear that he might be exposed to a respiratory infection (he did not contract any) or that the hospitality of the local Brazilians might persuade him to drink *cachaça* (sugar cane *aguardiente*). Alcoholic beverages were unknown to the Tapirapé who are unlike most South American groups in this respect.

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in this respect. According to Champukwi's own report, he tried *cachaça* only once in Furo de Pedra and (quite normally) found it distasteful and unpleasant. Yet there were moments that were awkward at the time however humorous they seem in retrospect. One day when I bought several dozen oranges in the street, Champukwi calmly removed the trousers that had been provided for him and made a sack to carry home the oranges by tying up the legs. In Furo de Pedra, he often went nude in the house we had rented for our stay. Even the Brazilian woman who came to prepare our meals became more or less accustomed to his nakedness, but sometimes he forgot to dress before sallying forth into the street. The rural Brazilian diet, derived in large measure from native Indian foods, seemed to please Champukwi, but he could not be comfortable eating at the table. He preferred during meals to sit across the room on a low stool.

Champukwi's reaction to this rural form of Brazilian civilization was not childlike in any way. He in turn became an ethnologist. He wanted to see the gardens that provided the food for so many people (Furo de Pedra had hardly more than 400 people at that time). He was fascinated by the sewing machines with which he saw the women working. He attended the Catholic ceremonies held in the little chapel. He saw pairs of men and women dance face to face in semblance of an intimate embrace. About these and other strange customs he had many questions. But like the inquisitive anthropologist who had come to live in his village, his own curiosity sometimes became obtrusive. He peered into the homes of people and sometimes entered uninvited. And he followed the Brazilian women to their rather isolated bathing spot in the Araguaia River to discover if there were any anatomical differences between these women and those in his village. He even made sexual advances to Brazilian women, actions which, if he had known, were very dangerous in view of the jealous zeal with which Brazilian males protect the honor of their wives and daughters. On the whole, however, Champukwi became quite a favorite of the local Brazilians during his two week visit to Furo de Pedra. His Portuguese improved while he visited in their homes, and he collected simple presents, such as fish hooks, bottles, tin cans, and the like, to take home with him. Even during this short period away from the village, my work with him continued. He told me of antagonisms, gossip, and schisms in the

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115 124 Tapirapé village which he would have hesitated to relate on home grounds. He told me of adulterous affairs in process and of the growing determination among one group of kinsmen to assassinate Urukumu, the powerful medicine man, because they suspected him of performing death-dealing sorcery.

After two weeks in Furo de Pedra, I found that it would be necessary for Valentim Gomes and me to go to Rio de Janeiro. It was not possible for Champukwi to accompany us and so I arranged for two Brazilian frontiersmen to return him to a point on the Tapirapé River from which he could easily hike to his village in a day. Valentim and I then began our slow trip up the Araguaia River to the motor road and thence to Rio de Janeiro. Two months later, rid of malaria and with a new stock of supplies, we returned to spend the long rainy months from November until the end of May in the Village of the Tapirs. Champukwi was there to welcome us, and he came each day to help repair and enlarge our house. We easily fell into our former friendly relationship, now strengthened by the experience in common of the trip to Furo de Pedra and by the feeling which many anthropologists have shared with the people of their communities—that anyone who returns is an "old friend."

115 123 My return to the village that November marked, in a sense, the end of what might be called the first phase of my relationship with Champukwi as friend and as anthropological informant. During the course of at least 200 hours of conversation (many of which may be methodologically dignified as interviews), I had learned much about Champukwi as a person as well as about Tapirapé culture. I knew that as a small boy he had come from Fish Village, where his parents had died, to live in the Village of the Tapirs. He had lived with his father's younger brother, Kamaira, who was the leader of a large household. He even confided to me his boyhood name; Tapirapé change their names several times during their lifetimes and mention of a person's first childhood name, generally that of a fish, an animal, or simply descriptive of some personal characteristic, causes laughter among the audience and considerable embarrassment to the individual. I knew that Champukwi had been married before he took his current wife, and that his first wife had died in childbirth. He revealed that her kinsmen had gossiped that her death was caused by his lack of respect for the food taboos imposed

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
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upon an expectant father. This same set of taboos now bothered him again. A series of foods, mainly meats and particularly venison, is prohibited to fathers of infants and to husbands of pregnant women. On two excursions to the savanna (which abounds with deer) Champukwi had eaten venison. Moreover, since the Tapirapé identified cattle with deer, and thus beef with venison, he had broken the taboo several additional times by partaking also of this forbidden meat. The rather scrawny conditon of his 2-year-old daughter, he feared, resulted from his faults. Just after our return to the village in early November, his wife gave birth to a second daughter. She had a difficult delivery, and he remembered his transgressions. Several village gossips, without knowing anything about his misdeeds, had nevertheless accused him of this breach of taboo.

Champukwi's home life was not a happy one. He was frequently in conflict with his second wife, who had, indeed, considerable basis for complaint. She could not claim that he was a poor provider, for Champukwi was a good hunter and a diligent gardener. But he confided to me that he did not find her attractive, or at least not as attractive as other women in the village. Champukwi had a lusty sense of humor and enjoyed joking with Valentim and me. In this mood he told of his many extramarital affairs, which were in truth but slightly concealed. I would in any event have heard of these liaisons; he gave his paramours beads which everyone in the village knew I had given him as presents. This practice caused trouble for the women because their husbands could readily identify the source of the gifts. It also created trouble for Champukwi at home. His wife complained of his affairs and on one occasion, according to Champukwi, she attacked him, grabbing him by his pigtail and squeezing his exposed testicles until he fell helpless into a hammock. On other occasions, she retaliated in a manner more usual for a Tapirapé woman—she simply refused to carry drinking water from the creek, to cook food for him, and to allow him to sleep in the hammock which she and Champukwi shared. For a Tapirapé man to carry drinking water, to cook, or to sleep on a mat is considered ridiculously funny. In other circumstances, Champukwi would have had to seek recourse with a female relative. However, to do so would be tantamount to a public announcement of his marital difficulties; the whole village would have known, to their considerable merriment and jest. But having *tori* friends in the village, Champukwi

[i.e. non-Indian — Analyst]

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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115 could come quietly to us at night to drink water, to ask for some-
593 thing to eat, and even to sleep in an extra hammock we had for
[837] visitors. His affairs were evidently extensive, for he once divided all of the adult women of the village into two categories—those "I know how to talk with" (i.e., to seduce) and those "I do not know how to talk with." There were many with whom he "could talk."

115 Unfortunately, by late November of 1939, I knew too much about
123 Champukwi's affairs either for his comfort or for mine. His wife
578 sometimes came to my house to ask if I knew where he had gone
[837] (I could generally guess), and once an irate husband even came to inquire of his whereabouts. His Don Juan activities had evidently increased. His friendship with me caused him trouble with other Tapirapé who were envious of the presents he received. The story was circulated that he had stolen a pair of scissors which, in fact,
[164] I had given to him. Moreover, several people caught colds, and he was accused of bringing the infection from Furo de Pedra (actually it was probably transmitted by the frontiersman who had helped transport us to the village in November). Champukwi sought
[345] revenge by cutting down one of the main supports of the men's
[358] house, which promptly caved in. No one died or was seriously injured and the destruction of the men's house was soon forgotten since it is normally rebuilt each year. However, people continued to criticize Champukwi, much of their criticism revolving around his
[984] relationship with me. There are no realms of esoteric secrets in Tapi-
[562] rapé culture (as there are in many cultures) that must not be re-
[796] vealed to an outsider; there is only the "secret" of the men from the women that the masked dancers are not supernatural beings but merely masquerading men, but I had been fully and openly brought into this "secret." I was, moreover, exceedingly careful in conversation never to refer to any bit of personal information that some
[203] informant, Champukwi or another, had told me. But rumors were rife in the small village—that I was angry and would soon leave (I was by then a valuable asset), that Champukwi told me lies about others, that I refused to give a bushknife to a household leader because Champukwi had urged me not to do so (I refused because I had already given him one bushknife), and the like.

115 Champukwi reacted moodily, often violently, to this situation. I
123 could no longer count on his visits nor on our research interviews. He now visited us with a glum look on his face, and when he was

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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115
not at once offered coffee, he left offended. But the very next day he [123]
might return, gay and joking, yet without his former patience for
teaching or explaining Tapirapé culture. Once he returned tired from [593]
a hunting trip, and, irritated by his wife, he beat her with the flat
side of his bushknife and marched off in anger, thoughtfully taking
the family hammock and a basket of manioc flour, to sleep four 115
nights in the forest near his garden. Soon afterwards, he left his 573
wife to take the wife of a younger man. This did not become a [839]
major scandal in the village. After some tense yet calm words be- [591]
tween the two men, it seemed clear that the young woman preferred [627]
Champukwi and the abandoned husband peacefully moved into the
men's house. Champukwi's former wife and their two young daugh- [586]
ters continued to live with her relatives as is the Tapirapé rule. But [602]
the switch of spouses caused tension between Champukwi and his
former wife's kinsmen, and between Champukwi and the abandoned
husband's kinsmen; and, to multiply his woes, he now had a new
set of in-laws to satisfy. For about a month thereafter I rarely saw [123]
Champukwi; he obviously avoided our house. When we met in the
village or in the men's house, he simply said that he was busy re-
pairing his house or hunting.

Discussing emotions with someone from a culture as widely dif- 115
ferent as Tapirapé is from my own was difficult, and the language 123
barrier was still a real one. Although my Tapirapé vocabulary was 154
increasing, it was hardly adequate to probe deeply into emotional [122]
responses; nor was Champukwi given to introspection. I shall prob-
ably never fully understand Champukwi's temporary rejection of me,
but the cause was probably both sociological and psychological.
First, his apparent influence with me and our close friendship had [578]
created antagonism on the part of other villagers. By rejecting the
outsider, he now hoped to reinstate himself in his own society. A [558]
second, deeper and more personal reason, contributed to his rejec-
tion of me; he had told me too much about himself, and feared that
he had lost face in the process. Also, it was obvious that I was grow-
ing less dependent upon him for knowledge as my facility with the
language improved and my information about the culture grew. Fi-
nally, the rejection was not one-sided. Now additional informants
were desirable for my research. Also, if I remember correctly (it is
not stated in my notebooks), I was annoyed by Champukwi's neg-
lect and disappointed by his lack of loyalty.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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115 When the heavy rains of late December and January set in, we
123 were all more or less confined to the village as the rivers and streams
124 rose to flood the savanna. What had been brooks in the tropical
[132] forest became wide streams, difficult, and sometimes dangerous, to
[133] ford. It rained many hours each day. The Tapirapé women and children spent most of the time in their dwellings, and the men and older boys lounged in the men's house. Our house again became a meeting place. And as this was of course an opportune time for interviewing, I joined the men in their club or entertained visitors at home. I began to see more of Champukwi—first, in the men's house and then as he again became a regular visitor at our house. Now, he brought his new (and younger) wife with him. He liked to sit up with us late at night after the other Tapirapé visitors had retired to their dwellings or to the men's house for the night-long sings that are customary during the season of heavy rains. Under the light of our gasoline lamp, we again took up our study of Tapirapé culture. Not once did he mention his period of antagonism except to complain that the Tapirapé gossip too much.

Sometime late in January there began what might be considered the second phase of my relationship with Champukwi. Our friendship was no less intimate than before, but our conversations and more formal interviews were not now as frequent. During the next months, Champukwi became almost my assistant, an entrepreneur of
115 Tapirapé culture. He continued to provide invaluable information,
123 but when I became interested in a subject of which he knew little,
124 he would recommend that I talk to someone else. Though he directed
756 me to Urukumu on the subject of medicine men or shamans, Cham-
[754] pukwi himself related dreams he had heard other shamans tell. He
683 explained that he did not want to become a shaman himself, for he had seen grieved relatives beat out the brains of Tapirapé shamans whom they suspected of causing a death by sorcery. He was not cer-
[782] tain, he said, whether such shamans had actually performed sorcery;
[975] but he reasoned that any shaman might come to such an end.
[976] Champukwi did have the frequent dreams that are indicative of one's powers to become a shaman and, in some of his dreams, he saw *anchunga*, the ghosts and supernaturals who are the aids of shamans. He had told only one or two of his kinsmen about this, and he did not want it to be known throughout the village lest there be pressure on him to train for shamanism.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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**Champukwi of the Village of the Tapir.**

Champukwi sketched for me the stories of Petura, the Tapirapé ancestral hero who stole fire from the King Vulture, daylight from the night owl, *genipa* (used for dye) from the monkeys, and other items for the Tapirapé. However, he persuaded Maeumi, an elder famous for his knowledge of mythology, to relate the details although he himself helped considerably to clarify for me the meaning of native phrases and to make the stories told by Maeumi more fully understandable. Champukwi also forewarned me of events that I might want to witness, events that without his warning I might have missed. Such were the wrestling matches which took place upon the return of a hunting party between those men who went on the hunt and those who remained at home. He told me of a particularly handsome basket a man had made, which I might want to add to my collection for the Brazilian National Museum. He came to tell me that a young woman in a neighboring house was in labor, thus enabling me to get a photograph of the newborn infant being washed in the stream, and he urged the men to celebrate for my benefit a ceremony which might easily have been omitted. Champukwi was no longer merely an informant. He became a participant in ethnographic research although, of course, he never thought of it in these terms. He seemed somehow to understand the anthropologist's task in studying his culture, and in the process he gained considerable objectivity about his own way of life.

Yet it must be said that Champukwi did not seem to discredit the norms, institutions, and beliefs of his own people. Although he saw Valentim and me walk safely down the path through the forest late at night, he steadfastly refused to do the same; for the path was a favorite haunt of the lonely ghosts of deceased Tapirapé who might harm the living. He reasoned that the *tori* were probably immune to this danger. When he was ill, he took the pills we urged upon him but he also called in the shaman. His curiosity about airplanes, automobiles, and "gigantic canoes" (passenger boats) which he saw pictured in the magazines we had brought with us, was great; but he boasted that the Tapirapé could walk farther and faster than any *tori* or even the Caraja (who are a canoe people). In fact, his interest in, and enthusiasm for, certain Tapirapé activities seemed to be heightened by our presence. Almost all Tapirapé ceremonials involve choral singing and Champukwi was a singing leader of one of the sections of the men's societies. He was always pleased when

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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115 He was always pleased when
123 we came to listen, particularly if we made the motions of joining in.
[526] He was an excellent wrestler in Tapirapé style, in which each opponent takes a firm grip on the pigtail of the other and attempts to throw him to the ground by tripping. Our wrestling match was brief although I was much taller than he; and his match with Valentim Gomes, who outweighed him by more than forty pounds, was
[186] a draw. Unlike so many who get a glimpse at a seemingly "superior" cultural world, Champukwi never became dissatisfied with his own way of life.

122 In June of 1940, my period of residence among the Tapirapé
123 Indians ended. The waters on the savanna which had to be crossed
[101] afoot to get to the Tapirapé River where our canoe was moored had not completely receded. Many Tapirapé friends, among them Champukwi, offered to carry our baggage, made lighter after a final dis-
122 tribution of gifts, down to the river. The night before our departure
123 a festival with the usual songfest was held to celebrate the final phase
881 of a ceremony during which a youth, this time the nephew of Kamiraho, became a man. Some Brazilian tribes make this occasion
[171] an ordeal by such means as applying a frame of stinging wasps to
[301] the body of the novice, but it is characteristic of the Tapirapé that
[302] the "ordeal" consists only of decorating the youth with a headdress of magnificent red macaw feathers, painting his body elaborately, and making him the center of dancing and singing—although the youth must himself dance continuously for a day and a night. Cham-
122 pukwi led the singing most of the night, but at dawn he came to
123 our house to supervise the packing of our belongings into the basket-like cases made of palm which are used for carrying loads of any kind. He divided the baggage among the younger men. Even some of the older household leaders decided to accompany us but they, of course, did not carry anything. Our trip was slow because everyone was tired after the all-night festival and because of the water through
[501] which we had to wade. At one point, rafts had to be made to trans-
[481] port our baggage across a still-swollen stream. Since the Tapirapé do not swim—or, like Champukwi, they swim but poorly—it was the job of the *tori* to swim and push the rafts. I had the honor of swimming across the stream, pushing the respected chieftain, Kamiraho. (How he got back, I shall never know.) After a day and a half, we reached the landing on the Tapirapé River, and the next

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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morning we embarked downriver. My last memory of Champukwi was of him standing on the bank waving in *tori* style until our boat made the curve of the river.

I did not return to visit the Tapirapé until 1953, but news of them came to me at intervals. Valentim Gomes returned to the region in 1941 as an officer of the Brazilian Indian Service, and his post was charged with the protection of the Tapirapé Indians. In his first year in this capacity, he wrote me: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the 26th of July [1941]. They were in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, and the like. There were plenty of bananas. But I am sorry to say that after we left them, twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Champukwi, the best informant in the village, and our best friend." Several slow exchanges of letters brought further details from Valentim. In some manner, perhaps through a visit from a Brazilian frontiersman, several Tapirapé had contracted common colds. Its fatalness to them is indicated by the name they give it—*ó-ó* (*ó* is the augmentative which might be translated as "big, big"). Since they have no knowledge of the process of contagion and have not acquired immunity to the common cold, the disease spread rapidly throughout the village. The Tapirapé realized, I knew, that colds and other diseases such as measles which they had suffered before, were derived from visitors. Yet they also believed that death resulted from evil magic or sorcery. Why do some people who are very sick from colds get well, they asked, while others who are no more ill, soon die? It is only because those who die are the victims of sorcery, they had explained to me. So, following many deaths, including that of a young man like Champukwi, who enjoyed prestige and had many kinsmen, I was not surprised to learn from Valentim Gomes that the powerful shaman, Urukumu, had been assassinated. As Champukwi had told me, suspicion of Urukumu had already been growing even during my residence in the village. After the death of Champukwi, one of his many "brothers" (actually a cousin but called by the same term as brother in Tapirapé) had entered Urukumu's house late at night and clubbed him to death. To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related

To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *Iwúterahú*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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the population—from a variety of informants selected for their different status positions in their society. He interviews, as far as is possible, men and women, young and old, rich and poor, individuals of high and low status, so that his picture of the culture may not be distorted. The anthropologist might (he seldom has done so) go so far as to keep a record of his subjective reactions in an attempt to achieve greater objectivity. Yet he is never the entirely detached observer he may fancy himself to be—nor am I sure that this should be so. Anthropological field research is a profoundly human endeavor. Faced over a long period by a number of individuals, some intelligent and some slow, some gay and some dour, some placid and some irritable, the anthropologist almost inevitably is involved in a complex set of human relations among another people just as he is by virtue of his membership in his own society. And each anthropologist is a distinctive personality and each undoubtedly handles in his own way his dual role as a sympathetic friend to key informants and as a scientific observer of a society and culture which is not his own. To me, Champukwi was, above all, a friend whom I shall remember always with warm affection.

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



## SECTION OF ANTHROPOLOGY

OCTOBER 28, 1940

DOCTOR CHARLES WAGLEY, Columbia University: *The Effects of Depopulation upon Social Organization as Illustrated by the Tapirapé Indians.*

121 In recent years, there has been an increasing interest in the general processes of culture change resulting from contacts between European and native peoples. Such studies are part of the study of "acculturation," a term recently defined by Professors Linton, Redfield, and Herskovits: "The crux of the definition lies in the phrase, 'Those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact.'"[1] This period of continuous first-hand contact historically follows upon a period of sporadic contact between the native peoples and some few Europeans (fur traders, explorers, missionaries, and even occasional single settlers), which in a sense has prepared the ground for a more intense influence of European culture when relations between the two peoples have become continuous. Few ethnologists have witnessed this period of sporadic contact and histories have little to tell us of it. But during this period, borrowing of European material culture generally occurs. Often the value system of the native culture is shifted, as objects having minor value take on major value for purposes of trade. Of great importance is the introduction of foreign disease, which frequently wipes out large numbers, or even the major part of the native population.

105 The Tapirapé Indians, among whom the author lived for more than a year,[2] are a Tupí speaking people living between the Araguaya and Xingu Rivers of Central Brazil near an affluent of the Araguaya which bears their name. They are a forest people and their village lies some fifty miles back from the

[1] Linton, Ralph: *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, p. 464.

[2] This research extended from January 1939 to June 1940, and was made possible by a grant from the Social Science Research Council, Columbia University.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

# TAPIRAPÉ SHAMANISM

Charles Wagley
Columbia University — Museu Nacional

The present article is part of a more extensive study on Tapirapé life now in preparation. The material was collected during two periods of residence in the Tapirapé village of Tampiitawa, the first from May to September 1939, and the second from November 1939, to May 1940. The field work among the Tapirapé was made possible by a grant from the Columbia University Social Science Research Council and was carried on under the direction of Dr. Ralph Linton of the Columbia University Department of Anthropology. In Brazil, the expeditions to the Tapirapé were made under the auspices of the Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro. The ethnographical collections gathered during both trips were added to the rich material on Brazilian Indian life belonging to that institution. I wish to thank the Director and the staff of the Museu Nacional for the many facilities and full cooperation which made possible both expeditions.

During the month of April 1940, while in the Tapirapé village, I was joined by two students from Museu Nacional. This month was spent in training these men in field techniques for the collecting of ethnographical material. This was the beginning of a training program in ethnographical field methods, which proceeded through 1941 and 1942. On a grant from the Committee for Inter-American Intellectual and Artistic Relations, I returned to Brazil to work at the Museu Nacional, in July 1941, for this purpose. At the Museu I gave a three

[p. 57]

128 [Ed., p. 86 and all but the last two lines of p. 87 are not translated.]

[87] In the pages that follow I wish to discuss a social institution
●121 of the Tapirapé, the like of which I have not yet found [88] either among the other tribes I have visited or in the literature. I call it "eating groups." [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

The social significance of this organization into "eating groups"
264 derives from their purpose, which is as follows. Sometimes it happens
224 that the produce of the hunt or of the harvest, which among these Indians may be eaten by either sex and also by the children (for exam-
[262] ple, wild pig, curassow, guan, turtle, honey, etc.), is too sizable for the hunter's family and not sizable enough to be shared justly and advantageously with the entire population of the village. In such a case, to avoid a less equitable act, the distribution is made among the mem-
574 bers of the eating group to which the hunter belongs.
476

At the time of my stay among the Tapirapé, they were divided
264 into seven eating groups [89]. They say that in the old days the groups
551 were more numerous. The names of the existing groups are Txankanépéra [Tr., the Portuguese x equals English sh], Pananivũãna, Maniitivuéra, Kãũũãnõĩ, Tãũãũpéra, Ãmpirampé, Avãinki'. Whenever I asked for an explanation of their meaning, I was merely given the word tãtáupáũã. Undoubtedly, however, some of the group names are related to the names of animals and plants, Txankanépéra with txankané (alligator), Maniitivuéra with mandiivúnã (a variety of manioc), Ãvãinki' with vũãiki'rã (a variety of manioc). This may be
[771] a vestige of totemic ideas, although they are not manifested in the behavior of the group members. For example, the attitude of the Txankanépéra group members toward the alligator is no different from that of the members of other groups. It is true that at the common
551 feasts each person is called by the name of the group and also is what
476 the name represents. Thus, for example, a member of the
264 Txankanépéra group will say, "Txe Txankanépéra," which means both "I am called Txankanépéra" and "I am Txankanépéra," and says to his group-fellow, male or female, "Ané Txankanépéra ('You are called Txankanépéra,' or 'You are Txankanépéra')."

192 Tãtáupáũã designates both the common feast of a group and the
574 institution of eating groups in general. When I asked the Tapirapé what
476 they called themselves as a community, I got the answer "Ampiãũã"
264 (a word that means "man" in the Tupí of the Amazon) and the statement
[101]

[137] Having been invited by Dr. Modesto Donatini Dias da Cruz, Director of the Indian Service, to represent the São Paulo Museum and the Free School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo on the team he organized to inspect the Indian posts and to explore certain areas of central Brazil, I imparted to him in a report dated October 31, 1947, the observations made in the course of the journey carried out during the months of June, July, and August of the same year, as well as a few suggestions on the matter. The following pages are a reproduction of this report with a few modifications and additions.

## I. The Tapirapé

On July 19, 1947, we counted 62 inhabitants in the Tapirapé village of Tampiitáua, 59 of whom were subjected to a medical examination by my traveling companion, Dr. Harolodo Cândido de Oliveira. The following table provides the age and sex ratios:

| | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 years and under | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| from 6 to 15 years | 7 | 3 | 10 |
| from 16 to 30 years | 14 | 17 | 31 |
| over 30 years old | 6 | 4 | 10 |
| Total | 32 | 27 | 59 |

It is to be assumed that the three who evaded the examination were boys. In addition, we found at Pôrto Velho a Tapirapé woman over 30 years old who was living among the frontier people.

In 1935, Tampiitáua had 130 inhabitants, 69 of them male and 61 female.

It should be mentioned that since that time certain individuals have emigrated to Txitxutáua, another Tapirapé village located quite a distance away. Their number, however, seems to be inferior to that of persons who have moved from there to Tampiitáua. According to various [138] reports, Txitxutáua is much smaller than this village, so that today the entire Tapirapé tribe probably does not exceed 100 members.

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

# THE FEAR IN TAPIRAPÉ CULTURE

*Herbert Baldus*

121 Fear, although its biological aspects connect mankind with the animals, assumes among ourselves characteristics which by tradition vary from people to people, that is, cultural traits. Socially determined differences exist in the exteriorization of fear as well as in its causes.

In certain cultures one should not show fear; in others there is nothing to prevent one from exhibiting it. There are peoples and cultural epochs which like to see their women habitually frightened and so to establish a contrast with the calmness of the men. In many South American tribes the women easily weep, tremble, cry or groan because of any danger, real or supposed, and are or pretend to be especially frightened by certain masked dances and other ceremonies performed by the men.[1] Goethe, in "Faust," when Margaret faints, exclaiming "Nachbarin! Euer Fläschchen!" ("Neighbour, your smelling-bottle!"), alludes to a common custom of his time in Europe. The modern European woman who no longer uses smelling-salts shows that such manifestations of terror are not conditioned by nature, but by culture. As regards the real female constitution it may be mentioned that "in an important study made during World War II, *Psychological Effects of War on Citizen and Soldier* (1942), Dr. R. D. Gillespie reported that in the heavily bombed areas of London and Kent almost 70 per cent more men broke down and became psychiatric casualties than women!"[2]

In certain cultures death is feared, in others, not. Circumstances which produce feelings of inadequacy and consequently fear in certain societies don't exist in others. The so-called "imaginary fear"[3] which creates phantoms is found among most primitive peoples and is generally limited, among the peoples with European languages, to the less educated classes.

152 171 The Tapirapé differ from other South American tribes by exteriorizing the fear in both sexes, by the frequency and ease of such exteriorization, and by the multiplicity of causes for fear. The naturalness with which on several occasions Kamairahó, the most important Tapirapé leader, said to me: "Akyitié, I am afraid," is only comparable with the almost automatic manner of the Tapirapé's using the interjection "Aký" when feeling any pain, even the sting of a mosquito bite. This caused me to think frequently of the contrast presented in all that by Indians I knew in the Paraguayan Chaco, for instance of the apparent impassibility of the Chamakoko. It is true that the Tapirapé calm down with the same ease with which they are alarmed. A few words of mine were enough to make Kamairahó laugh again, speaking carelessly with his wife about other things. I had the impression that among the Chaco Indians the emotions penetrated deeper, while among the Tapirapé they were like slight circles on the surface of a pond into which a little stone had been thrown, circles which soon disappear into the distance.

152 396 But among these Tupian Indians of the Araguaya basin, the exteriorization of fear is not restricted to interjections. We find it expressed in attitudes and institutions. We feel it, although masked, in the mechanical smile with which, from earliest infancy, they greet the person who speaks to them. We suspect it still in other aspects of their obsequiousness.

[p. 396]

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

# CULTURAL INFLUENCES ON POPULATION: A COMPARISON OF TWO TUPÍ TRIBES

by

CHARLES WAGLEY

Contact with European civilization has had a varied effect upon the population trends of native societies. Frequently conquest warfare, slavery, bad labor conditions, disruption of aboriginal subsistence methods, and above all foreign disease have brought a rapid population decline which has led in many cases to the total disappearance of aboriginal groups as distinct ethnic units. In other instances, native groups have made an adjustment to the new circumstances. After an initial epoch of sharp decline in population, a few native groups have not only regained their former population level but actually increased in number several times fold. The depopulation of many Melanesian Islands, the decimation of the coastal Tupi speaking peoples of Brazil, and the rapid disintegration of the aboriginal groups of the Antilles are well known examples of sharp population decline following European contact from which the groups never recovered. The multiplication of the Navajo during the last century and the population growth of the Polynesian Island of Tikopia after European contact are examples of recovery and expansion. (1)

In many cases, these differences in population trend following European contact may be explained in terms of the nature of contact with Europeans to which the different native groups have been subjected. Epidemics have varied in frequency and in intensity among native groups and the systematic exploitation of native peoples through slavery and other forms of enforced labor has taken heavier toll upon native population in some areas than in others. On the other hand, introduced crops, domesticated animals, new instruments, and new techniques have sometimes raised the aboriginal subsistence level and made possible an expansion of population.

Yet, the causes of such different trends in population among native groups after European contact cannot always be sought in the contact situation alone. The variables which allowed one group to absorb the shock of new disease and other disrupting accompaniments of European

(1) cf. Firth (1939) pp. 39-48.

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contact and to revive, or which led to quasi — or total extinction of a people may also be found in the culture and the society of peoples concerned. Each culture has a population policy — — — an implicit or explicit set of cultural values relating to population size. The social structure of each society is closely inter-related with a specific population level. A modification of the external environment, such as that brought about by contact with Europeans, generally calls for change both in cultural values as well as in social structure. In addition to environment, technology, and other material factors, cultural values and social structure act also to determine population size and demographic trends in face of modified external circumstances. A rapid decrease in population due to new disease or an increase in population resulting from an increased food supply calls for adjustments in population policy (implicit or explicit) and in social structure. It is the purpose of the present paper to examine the relationship between these social and cultural factors and the population trends following European contact of two Tupi speaking tribes of Brazil.

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The two Tupi speaking tribes in question are the Tenetehara of northeastern Brazil and the Tapirapé of central Brazil. (2) After more than 300 years of contact with Luso-Brazilians the Tenetehara in 1945 still numbered some 2000 people —— not much less, if at all, than the aboriginal population. On the other hand, by 1947 the Tapirapé with less than forty years of sporadic and peaceful contact with Luso-Brazilians had been reduced to less than one hundred people, the remnant of an aboriginal population which must have numbered more than one thousand. While the Tenetehara still maintained a functioning social system and continued as a distinct ethnic group, Tapirapé society was in 1947 almost totally disorganized and the Tapirapé as a distinct people were clearly on the road to extinction. (3)

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A partial answer to this very different reaction to Luso-Brazilian contact may be found in the nature of the acculturation process which each has experienced. Although the first decades of Tenetehara relations with Europeans were marked by slave raids, massacres, and epidemics, the protection of the Jesuits during more than one century (1653-1759) seems to have given the Tenetehara time to make adjustments in their culture and society to changing external circumstances. The missionaries were able to prevent the movement of colonists into Tenetehara territory; and after the expulsion

(2) Basic description of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara have been published elsewhere: Cf. Wafgley and Galvão, 1948 A, 1948 B, and 1949. Baldus, 1937, 1944-1949, 1948 B, 1949 9B, Ms. Only directly pertinent descriptive data is present in this paper.

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(3) Cf. Wagley (1949) and Baldus (1945 vol. CIII, 1948 B, 1949 B), for discussion of Tapirapé depopulation and disorganization. Baldus (1948 B) pp. 127-128, who found the village called Tampilitáua inhabited by 130 individuals in 1938, and only 62 in 1947, mentions that during this lapse of time several inhabitants had emigrated to another Tapirapé village very far from Tampilitáua, but that their number seems to be lower than the number of those who came from there to Tampilitáua. According to information received by this author, the other village is smaller than Tampilitáua, so that in 1947 the whole tribe probably counted less than a hundred members. In the same year, shortly after Baldus' visit, the Tapirapé were attacked by Kayapó Indians and lost several individuals.

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# TAPIRAPÉ SHAMANISM

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The present article is part of a more extensive study on Tapirapé life now in preparation. The material was collected during two periods of residence in the Tapirapé village of Tampiitawa, the first from May to September 1939, and the second from November 1939, to May 1940. The field work among the Tapirapé was made possible by a grant from the Columbia University Social Science Research Council and was carried on under the direction of Dr. Ralph Linton of the Columbia University Department of Anthropology. In Brazil, the expeditions to the Tapirapé were made under the auspices of the Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro. The ethnographical collections gathered during both trips were added to the rich material on Brazilian Indian life belonging to that institution. I wish to thank the Director and the staff of the Museu Nacional for the many facilities and full cooperation which made possible both expeditions. 114 121 122

During the month of April 1940, while in the Tapirapé village, I was joined by two students from Museu Nacional. This month was spent in training these men in field techniques for the collecting of ethnographical material. This was the beginning of a training program in ethnographical field methods, which proceeded through 1941 and 1942. On a grant from the Committee for Inter-American Intellectual and Artistic Relations, I returned to Brazil to work at the Museu Nacional, in July 1941, for this purpose. At the Museu I gave a three 122

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122 months course in field methods, and from November 1941 to April 42 the writer and three students of the Museu Nacional made ethnographical studies among the Guajajara Indians, in the State of Maranhão. For this reason I have the pleasure of publishing the results of my researches in Brazil, in the Boletim do Museu Nacional.

C. W.
April 1942

121 [137] Having been invited by Dr. Modesto Donatini Dias da
Cruz, Director of the Indian Service, to represent the São Paulo
[122] Museum and the Free School of Sociology and Political Science of
São Paulo on the team he organized to inspect the Indian posts and to
explore certain areas of central Brazil, I imparted to him in a report
dated October 31, 1947, the observations made in the course of the
journey carried out during the months of June, July, and August of the
same year, as well as a few suggestions on the matter. The following
pages are a reproduction of this report with a few modifications and
additions.

## I. The Tapirapé

On July 19, 1947, we counted 62 inhabitants in the Tapirapé vil-
162 lage of Tampiitáua, 59 of whom were subjected to a medical exami-
621 nation by my traveling companion, Dr. Harolodo Cândido de Oliveira.
The following table provides the age and sex ratios:

| | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 years and under | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| from 6 to 15 years | 7 | 3 | 10 |
| from 16 to 30 years | 14 | 17 | 31 |
| over 30 years old | 6 | 4 | 10 |
| Total | 32 | 27 | 59 |

It is to be assumed that the three who evaded the examination were boys. In addition, we found at Pôrto Velho a Tapirapé woman over 30 years old who was living among the frontier people.

In 1935, Tampiitáua had 130 inhabitants, 69 of them male and 61 female.

It should be mentioned that since that time certain individuals
[166] have emigrated to Txitxutáua, another Tapirapé village located quite
a distance away. Their number, however, seems to be inferior to that
of persons who have moved from there to Tampiitáua. According to
various [138] reports, Txitxutáua is much smaller than this village,
[161] so that today the entire Tapirapé tribe probably does not exceed 100
members.

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away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few 177
months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of [197]
Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and [191]
verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these 114
youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals 123
we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," [621]
the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses [361]
arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were [592]
each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the per- [551]
sonal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Maria-
pawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let 114
alone pronounce. [122]

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study [197]
intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the wide-
spread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least
passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms
of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed
explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which [241]
manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops
were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poison- [462]
ous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I [252]
watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture [323]
their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm- [285]
thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building [462]
was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly [345]
became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and [291]
the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude [834]
women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never
to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also [302]
to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed
their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on
their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many [126]
other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes
and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather 123
pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our
antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversa-
tions that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales
of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

123 the subject of conversation when listening to a strange language.)
[199] Then, of course, our presence was materially valuable—for the salt, knives, needles, beads, mirrors, and other presents we brought were greatly appreciated. However, within a very short time some of these people began to emerge as individuals. Awanchowa, a small boy of about 6, followed me about and literally haunted our little house, staring at our large bag of salt which he ate with the same relish children in other cultures eat sweets. Then there was Tanui, a woman of middle age (whose hair was cropped short indicating that a near relative had recently died) who often brought us presents of food.
123 Gradually most of the villagers emerged as distinctive personalities
115 and among them was Champukwi. I cannot remember when I first came to know him as an individual, but his name begins to appear regularly in my field notebooks about one month after our arrival. Soon, he became my best informant, and after a time, an inseparable companion.

115 In 1939 Champukwi must have been about 25 years of age. He
[141] was tall for a Tapirapé male, measuring perhaps about 5 feet 6 inches, strongly built but lean, and weighing, I should judge, about
[302] 150 lbs. Like all Tapirapé men he wore his hair in bangs across his forehead with a braided pigtail tied at the back of his neck. He was somewhat of a dandy, for his feet and the calves of his legs
[301] were painted bright red every evening with *rucu*. From time to time he painted an intricate design on his body, and he wore crocheted
[554] disc-like wrist ornaments of cotton string dyed red. He was obviously a man of some prestige among men of his age, for youths and younger men treated him with deference, always finding a seat for him on the bench that was built against one wall of our house.
[799] I soon learned that he, too, had spent a short period at a mission
[191] station several years earlier and that he knew a few words of Portuguese. He was married and had a daughter about 2 years of age. His wife, hardly attractive according to my American tastes, appeared to be somewhat older than he, and was pregnant when we first met.

115 Champukwi seemed more patient than other Tapirapé with my at-
122 tempts to use his language and to seek information. He would repeat
[126] a word, a phrase, or a sentence several times so that I might write it down phonetically. He resorted to his meager Portuguese and even to mimicry to explain what was meant. His patience was of course

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requited by gifts of beads, hardware, and salt which I provided judiciously from time to time. After a few days, I began noting questions to be asked of Champukwi in the late afternoon when he now habitually visited our house. But this was the time that others also liked to visit. At this hour of the day our house was often crowded with men, women, children, and even pets—monkeys, parrots, and wild pigs—for which the Tapirapé along with other Brazilian tribes have an especial fondness. Such social gatherings were hardly conducive to the ethnological interview or even to the systematic recording of vocabulary. So I asked Champukwi if I might go with him to his garden. There, alternating between helping him cut brush from his garden site and sitting in the shade, I was able to conduct a kind of haphazard interview. Often, while he worked, I formulated questions in my halting Tapirapé and I was able by repetition to understand his answers. Although the Tapirapé villagers began to joke of Champukwi's new garden site as belonging to the two of us, these days were very valuable for my research.

Walking through the forest to and from Champukwi's garden, we often hunted for *jacu*, a large forest fowl rather like a chicken. I attempted to teach Champukwi how to use my .22 rifle, but he had difficulty understanding the gunsights and missed continually. He attempted to show me how to "see" the *jacu* hidden in the thick branches of the trees, but I seldom caught sight of the birds until they had flown. Thus, our complementary incapacities combined to make our hunting in the tropical forest quite unproductive, and in disgust Champukwi often resorted to his bow and arrow. Only later in the year, after he had practiced a great deal by shooting at tin cans did Champukwi master the use of the rifle, and this new-found skill greatly added to his prestige among the Tapirapé.

My abiding friendship with Champukwi perhaps really began when I came down with malaria about six weeks after our arrival. During the first few days of my illness, I was oblivious to my surroundings. I am told that while one *panché*, or medicine man, predicted my death, another tried to cure me by massage, by blowing tobacco smoke over my body, and by attempting to suck out the "object" that was causing the fever. Evidently his efforts—plus the atabrine tablets administered by Valentim Gomes—were successful, for my fever abated. I realized, however, that convalescence would be slow. Unable to leave the house for almost three weeks, I spent my days

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the next two months we had daily sessions, some very brief and others lasting two or more hours.

In October of 1939, some six months after my arrival, I found it necessary to leave the Village of the Tapirs to go to Furo de Pedra for supplies and to collect mail that was held there for me. Valentim Gomes and I had come up the Tapirapé River, a tributary of the Araguaia, pulled by an outboard motor belonging to an anthropological colleague who had since returned to the United States. Now we had to paddle ourselves downstream. We could expect little help from the sluggish current and since the river was so low, it might be necessary to haul our canoe through shallows. Malaria had left me weak and I doubted that I was equal to this strenuous task. Several Tapirapé men, including Champukwi, were anxious to accompany us, but having Indians with us in Furo de Pedra was not advisable. First, they were susceptible to the common cold, which among relatively uncontaminated peoples such as these American aborigines often turns into a serious, and even fatal, disease. Second, unaccustomed to clothes, money, many foods, and other Brazilian customs and forms of etiquette, they would be totally dependent upon us during our stay in this frontier community. Nevertheless, the temptation to have my best informant with me during the trip and during our stay in Furo de Pedra was great and so we agreed to take Champukwi.

The trip was made slowly. Two good frontiersmen in a light canoe could have made it in three days, but we took eight. Champukwi was of little help in the canoe; unlike the riverine tribes the Tapirapé are a forest people who know little about the water, and few of them had ever traveled by canoe. Champukwi was unusual in that he could swim. Although he had more endurance than I, his efforts at paddling endangered the equilibrium of our canoe. However, he could shoot fish with his bow and arrow. The dry season had driven game from the open savanna which borders the Tapirapé River so that we were able to kill deer, *mutum* (another species of large forest fowl), and a wild goose to supplement the less palatable fare we had brought with us. Each night we camped on a beach from which we were able to collect the eggs of a small turtle, the *tracaja*, that had been buried in the sand. Only the mosquitoes which swarmed during sundown and early evening marred our trip. The experience remains one of the most memorable

115 124 Tapirapé village which he would have hesitated to relate on home [837] grounds. He told me of adulterous affairs in process and of the [578] growing determination among one group of kinsmen to assassinate [682] Urukumu, the powerful medicine man, because they suspected him [756] of performing death-dealing sorcery.

[754] After two weeks in Furo de Pedra, I found that it would be 122 necessary for Valentim Gomes and me to go to Rio de Janeiro. It was not possible for Champukwi to accompany us and so I arranged for two Brazilian frontiersmen to return him to a point on the Tapirapé River from which he could easily hike to his village in a day. Valentim and I then began our slow trip up the Araguaia River to the motor road and thence to Rio de Janeiro. Two months [132] later, rid of malaria and with a new stock of supplies, we returned to spend the long rainy months from November until the end of [115] May in the Village of the Tapirs. Champukwi was there to wel- [123] come us, and he came each day to help repair and enlarge our house. We easily fell into our former friendly relationship, now strengthened [609] by the experience in common of the trip to Furo de Pedra and by the feeling which many anthropologists have shared with the people of their communities—that anyone who returns is an "old friend."

115 My return to the village that November marked, in a sense, the 123 end of what might be called the first phase of my relationship with Champukwi as friend and as anthropological informant. During the course of at least 200 hours of conversation (many of which may be methodologically dignified as interviews), I had learned much about Champukwi as a person as well as about Tapirapé culture. I knew that as a small boy he had come from Fish Village, where his parents had died, to live in the Village of the Tapirs. He had lived with his father's younger brother, Kamaira, who was the leader of a large household. He even confided to me his boyhood name; [553] Tapirapé change their names several times during their lifetimes [551] and mention of a person's first childhood name, generally that of [522] a fish, an animal, or simply descriptive of some personal characteristic, causes laughter among the audience and considerable embar- [165] rassment to the individual. I knew that Champukwi had been married before he took his current wife, and that his first wife had died [843] in childbirth. He revealed that her kinsmen had gossiped that her death was caused by his lack of respect for the food taboos imposed

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not at once offered coffee, he left offended. But the very next day he might return, gay and joking, yet without his former patience for teaching or explaining Tapirapé culture. Once he returned tired from a hunting trip, and, irritated by his wife, he beat her with the flat side of his bushknife and marched off in anger, thoughtfully taking the family hammock and a basket of manioc flour, to sleep four nights in the forest near his garden. Soon afterwards, he left his wife to take the wife of a younger man. This did not become a major scandal in the village. After some tense yet calm words between the two men, it seemed clear that the young woman preferred Champukwi and the abandoned husband peacefully moved into the men's house. Champukwi's former wife and their two young daughters continued to live with her relatives as is the Tapirapé rule. But the switch of spouses caused tension between Champukwi and his former wife's kinsmen, and between Champukwi and the abandoned husband's kinsmen; and, to multiply his woes, he now had a new set of in-laws to satisfy. For about a month thereafter I rarely saw Champukwi; he obviously avoided our house. When we met in the village or in the men's house, he simply said that he was busy repairing his house or hunting.

Discussing emotions with someone from a culture as widely different as Tapirapé is from my own was difficult, and the language barrier was still a real one. Although my Tapirapé vocabulary was increasing, it was hardly adequate to probe deeply into emotional responses; nor was Champukwi given to introspection. I shall probably never fully understand Champukwi's temporary rejection of me, but the cause was probably both sociological and psychological. First, his apparent influence with me and our close friendship had created antagonism on the part of other villagers. By rejecting the outsider, he now hoped to reinstate himself in his own society. A second, deeper and more personal reason, contributed to his rejection of me; he had told me too much about himself, and feared that he had lost face in the process. Also, it was obvious that I was growing less dependent upon him for knowledge as my facility with the language improved and my information about the culture grew. Finally, the rejection was not one-sided. Now additional informants were desirable for my research. Also, if I remember correctly (it is not stated in my notebooks), I was annoyed by Champukwi's neglect and disappointed by his lack of loyalty.

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He was always pleased when
115 we came to listen, particularly if we made the motions of joining in.
123 He was an excellent wrestler in Tapirapé style, in which each op-
[526] ponent takes a firm grip on the pigtail of the other and attempts to throw him to the ground by tripping. Our wrestling match was brief although I was much taller than he; and his match with Valentim Gomes, who outweighed him by more than forty pounds, was
[186] a draw. Unlike so many who get a glimpse at a seemingly "superior" cultural world, Champukwi never became dissatisfied with his own way of life.

122 In June of 1940, my period of residence among the Tapirapé
123 Indians ended. The waters on the savanna which had to be crossed
[101] afoot to get to the Tapirapé River where our canoe was moored had not completely receded. Many Tapirapé friends, among them Champukwi, offered to carry our baggage, made lighter after a final dis-
122 tribution of gifts, down to the river. The night before our departure
123 a festival with the usual songfest was held to celebrate the final phase
881 of a ceremony during which a youth, this time the nephew of Kamiraho, became a man. Some Brazilian tribes make this occasion
[171] an ordeal by such means as applying a frame of stinging wasps to
[301] the body of the novice, but it is characteristic of the Tapirapé that
[302] the "ordeal" consists only of decorating the youth with a headdress of magnificent red macaw feathers, painting his body elaborately, and making him the center of dancing and singing—although the youth must himself dance continuously for a day and a night. Cham-
122 pukwi led the singing most of the night, but at dawn he came to
123 our house to supervise the packing of our belongings into the basket-like cases made of palm which are used for carrying loads of any kind. He divided the baggage among the younger men. Even some of the older household leaders decided to accompany us but they, of course, did not carry anything. Our trip was slow because everyone was tired after the all-night festival and because of the water through
[501] which we had to wade. At one point, rafts had to be made to trans-
[481] port our baggage across a still-swollen stream. Since the Tapirapé do not swim—or, like Champukwi, they swim but poorly—it was the job of the *tori* to swim and push the rafts. I had the honor of swimming across the stream, pushing the respected chieftain, Kamiraho. (How he got back, I shall never know.) After a day and a half, we reached the landing on the Tapirapé River, and the next

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morning we embarked downriver. My last memory of Champukwi was of him standing on the bank waving in *tori* style until our boat made the curve of the river.

I did not return to visit the Tapirapé until 1953, but news of them came to me at intervals. Valentim Gomes returned to the region in 1941 as an officer of the Brazilian Indian Service, and his post was charged with the protection of the Tapirapé Indians. In his first year in this capacity, he wrote me: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the 26th of July [1941]. They were in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, and the like. There were plenty of bananas. But I am sorry to say that after we left them, twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Champukwi, the best informant in the village, and our best friend." Several slow exchanges of letters brought further details from Valentim. In some manner, perhaps through a visit from a Brazilian frontiersman, several Tapirapé had contracted common colds. Its fatalness to them is indicated by the name they give it—*ó-ó* (*ó* is the augmentative which might be translated as "big, big"). Since they have no knowledge of the process of contagion and have not acquired immunity to the common cold, the disease spread rapidly throughout the village. The Tapirapé realized, I knew, that colds and other diseases such as measles which they had suffered before, were derived from visitors. Yet they also believed that death resulted from evil magic or sorcery. Why do some people who are very sick from colds get well, they asked, while others who are no more ill, soon die? It is only because those who die are the victims of sorcery, they had explained to me. So, following many deaths, including that of a young man like Champukwi, who enjoyed prestige and had many kinsmen, I was not surprised to learn from Valentim Gomes that the powerful shaman, Urukumu, had been assassinated. As Champukwi had told me, suspicion of Urukumu had already been growing even during my residence in the village. After the death of Champukwi, one of his many "brothers" (actually a cousin but called by the same term as brother in Tapirapé) had entered Urukumu's house late at night and clubbed him to death. To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related

648 same feeling, the same fear of the Kananchahó, aroused even in
166 the inhabitants of this latter village a desire to abandon it and to settle under the protection of the Whites on Bananal Island. Reverend Kegel told me that when he arrived at Porto Salvação in
797 1934 he was visited by Kamairahó who came to the river bank
166 especially to ask him to come back, to have large boats built,
648 and to take the entire tribe to Macauba. The reason for this request was fear of the Kayapó. It was assumed that they had killed 20 men and women from Tampiitáua who had not returned from a hunting trip. Mr. Kegel told the most influential man among the Tapirapé that it would be impossible to feed the whole tribe since there was no longer time to prepare plots on the land of the Evangelical Union.

When we heard the harrowing cry of the potoo during the
648 night of June 23, 1935, the Tapirapé took this as a sign that the
[825] Kayapó were coming. Four days later, at night, as I stretched out on my net beside Kamairahó's hammock, the Indian "bigwig" said, "I am afraid." I retorted, with the courteous arrogance proper to a "captain [chief]" of my rank, "I am here, and therefore you need not be afraid." A little later [102:124], Kamairahó inquired,
[123] on account of the Kayapó, whether I had with me the "little killer," as we used to call the revolver to differentiate it from the "big killer," or rifle. I told him that I always slept well armed, and he laughed happily.

At the nocturnal group dances, the men hold a heavy club or
[535] bush knife in their hands, and this is not just to mark time since
[411] during the day they find an arrow or bow adequate for that purpose.

On the evening of July 8, as I talked with Mr. Kegel in front of the little house beside the village which had been built for him and camarada Daniel, several men and women came running, one of the men holding a bush knife and another a club, and they told us excitedly that there were Kananchahó in the neighboring forest. Followed by an Indian, I proceeded immediately to the spot they had pointed out. We found nothing, and I calmed the Tapirapé by telling them that the Kananchahó were sleeping very far away. They returned in silence to their hammocks, and a middle-aged woman merely said, "They will come when the moon goes to sleep."

648 When I stretched out in my hammock, Kamairahó, who was
129 already lying in his hammock with his wife, smiled at me as usual and greeted me courteously with the customary "papanekã (you have come)." I asserted, no less decorously, "Hm, hm, ẽ, ẽ." He went on, still smiling, "Kananchahó around. Kananchahó coming. I'm afraid." Although he did not seem particularly scared in spite of this statement, I calmed him with a few words as I had done with the others, and he immediately laughed, changed the subject, and jested with his wife.

648 Later, it became evident that the presence of Kayapó in the
609 neighboring forest had been invented by Anavanf, a somewhat foolish youth of about 17. On the following morning he confessed that he had lied. He probably wanted to make himself important. The general readiness to believe him shows the state of mind of the Tapirapé toward their feared neighbors. Incidentally, on the day when Kamairahó showed me the smoke pillars of the "Ampanekã" to the southwest, he showed me a similar display by the Kayapó to the north.

The non-material defenses show that the Kananchahó are regarded as the Number One enemy. Although the Karajá are also feared, only the northern neighbors, by what I was able to observe, are the object of parodies, violently abusive songs, and mocking pantomimes. On June 24, the Tapirapé, in a weeping tone, sang
[533] a seemingly obscene chant about the Kananchahó, which aroused
[831] endless laughter. It was sung in the men's house, where other
[522] youths gave a ludicrous impersonation of those enemies, emitting
[596] their would-be tribal cry, running and jumping crazily hither and yon, gesticulating with angry excitement, and hitting the house stakes with their clubs. At the same time, in front of the house,
[535] other men accompanied by the women and children danced and sang the kaó, the danced song that derives its warlike character not only from the weapons in the hands of the warriors and from their serious look, but also from the powerful rhythm of stamping feet and the menacing quality of the guttural sounds.

596 [102:125] While all this pertains to night performances, an-
726 other spectacle took place two days later in daylight. It was a dramatization of the supposed Kayapó attack on the 20 Tapirapé who had failed to return from the hunt during the previous year. Six youths, holding on to each other in friendly fashion two by two,

578 In this regard one should mention, first and foremost, the
621 survivors of the village abandoned in 1932. They may be distinguished from the other inhabitants of Tampiitáua by their scowl, their perennial tendency to make mocking remarks in a low voice, and their lack of hospitality. Their village, located "ten days' march" to the north, reputedly hated the Whites. It established contact with Tampiitáua through trade and a few marriages. I still found about 20 of those "enemies," counting the men, women, and children. I got along well with them. One of them, Maninohó,
[123] became my close friend and an exception among his people in his increasingly hospitable behavior toward me. This did not prevent many Tampiitáua people from hating him. Perhaps it even increased the antagonism.

Gradually, I learned that the 20 individuals who disappeared
621 in 1934 had been, for the most part, former inhabitants of the vil-
166 lage that became extinct in 1932. Mr. Kegel recalled that al-
578 ready in 1933 there was a rumor in Tampiitáua that they would move far away. They were, on the whole, unpopular and remained enemies of the Whites. When they left, they took with them everything they owned. They walked away towards the north.
[622] A sorcerer--medicine man, an influential and vigorous man who had been accused of causing the death of Kamairá's wife, joined them and became their leader. They had not been seen again in 1935, and it was so widely believed that they had been killed by the Kayapó that, as I have already mentioned, the whole tribe wanted to run away to Macauba and later commemorated the attack through the pantomime described earlier. There was no absolute certainty, however, as to the end met by the 20 persons. It was said, as I have already mentioned, that they never returned from a hunting trip. All the Tapirapé I asked spoke of this com-
[627] munal hunt, but it is probable that those 20 persons were expelled from the community. It is well to note, however, that this hypothesis would not be corroborated by the fact that they took with them everything they owned. Indeed, they left at the very time
[361] when the entire village was being transferred to a new site. Fur-
[224] thermore, when people leave the village for several days with their
[226] families in order to hunt or fish communally, they usually take
[352] along all their household goods, which as a rule are quite easy to carry because they are few and light in weight.

235 [113:198] I did not see any tamed animals in Tampiitaua. In my talks with the inhabitants, however, I gathered that, like Indians in general, they would have liked to have such animals, and that they had formerly owned various mammals and wild birds. The most important among these were the red-blue-and-green macaw (Ara chloroptera Gray, arana in Tapirapé), much rarer in the Araguaia basin than the blue-and-yellow macaw (Ara ararauna Lin., kaniné in Tapirapé), for the [113:199] former's red feathers are more highly prized as ornaments than the latter's blue and yellow ones. This is the case not only among the Tapirapé,
171 but also among the Karajá, and this is why shortly before my ar-
235 rival to the Araguaia a man of this tribe of canoemen had traded in a canoe, which at that time and in that area was worth from 50 to 100 milreis or one rifle, for the nestling of a red-blue-and-green macaw. At the time when the Karajá traded regularly with
439 the Tapirapé, these nestlings were one of the chief commodities of trade.

This trade, through which the Tupi tribe received iron articles
[412] in exchange for tamed macaws, urucú, hammocks, quartz tembetá,
[241] and other products of their industry, actually played a decisive role in their subsistence, owing especially to the importance of the iron tools in farming. In this respect, it was fortunate for the Tapirapé that they established direct contact with the Whites shortly after they broke relations with the Karajá. For the lack of iron tools among people who had never worked with stone axes would probably have led either to rash behavior in their "foreign relations," or to intratribal conflicts.

Thus, as far as the subsistence of the Tapirapé is concerned,
797 their most important relations with the Whites are their contacts with
[412] the Dominicans, which have occurred with some regularity every year or two since 1914 and which keep them supplied with the necessary tools. Actually, no real trading is involved in this case, since as a rule the Indians are not required to furnish any products of their industry in exchange for the materials, but only to pay attention to certain words and procedures peculiar to the Fathers. This
437 is not to say that they are ignorant of the concept of reciprocal trade
● 123 with the Whites. When I wanted to acquire an arrow for my collection, they not only knew how to set high prices, but also how to raise the value of the common object by calling it a "captain's

123 437 [chief's] arrow." This "mercantilism" even operated in the area of "spiritual" (or "non-material") culture, for just as they had bartered dances and songs with the Karajá, they also demanded songs from me in exchange for theirs, and I had to teach them a song from my childhood, in which the fox is accused of having [533] stolen the goose ("Fuchs, du hast die Gans gestohlen") to learn from them a children's ballad dealing with a mouse.

When the Tapirapé bartered among themselves, I observed considerable haggling. [Ed., end of Vol. 113.]

## Chapter 9

### [114:185] The Diet

262 824 The last chapter referred to the importance of plants in the Tapirapé diet. First and foremost, there is manioc. Aside from fish, it is the only food mentioned in these Indians' description of [772] the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven lying above our visible one. The inhabitants of Tampiitáua call the roots of that Euphorbiacea by the generic name mandiaga. Ayrosa (4, 112) questions the Tupi origin of the word mandioca [manioc],

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have both "wild manioc" [171] (Manihot utilissima Pohl) and "sweet manioc" (Manihot dulcis Pax.). They distinguish five varieties of the Manihot genus, while the number of varieties known to the ancient Tupi was even greater (cf. Soares de Sousa 187; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXVIII; Métraux 2, 65).

Like those Indians, the Tapirapé have two basic ways of pre- 171 paring the manioc roots for consumption: (1) by placing them for 252 a few days in water until they become soft, turning them into what they call mandiyvungna and what is called puba [manioc mash] by the neo-Brazilians; (2) by grating them without putting them through the water treatment [114:186] (cf. Staden q 2; Soares de Sousa 189 and 191; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXIX; Claude d'Abbeville 304-305). Some of the varieties are prepared in either way, and others are prepared only in one way. The roots softened [251] in water are dried in the sun and pounded in the mortar, and the mashed substance is used in the manufacture of beiju [flat cakes] and cauí [a soup].

272 boil the substance to be masticated, (2) they chew it and thus add to it the ferment contained in the saliva, (3) they once more heat the liquid mixed with the chewed mass (cf. Staden q 4, Léry 124, Claude d'Abbeville 302). [Ed., the remainder of p. 55 and the first two paragraphs on p. 56 are omitted.]

[116:56] The Tapirapé heat the liquid mixed with the masti-
171 cated mass over the embers. In this connection, it is well to quote
272 Georg Wilhelm Freyreiss (102), who visited Espírito Santo in the first quarter of the nineteenth century and stated that "the Indians of the coast prepare cauí from manioc roots which are boiled and then chewed by the women, spit into a large pot, and covered with water. They leave it there to ferment. Also, probably to accelerate the fermenting process, they place the pan near the fire" (the italics are ours, and the original text of this sentence reads "... auch wohl um die Gährung zu befördern den Topf in die Nähe des Feuers setzt"). The German author adds that this drink is taken, as a rule, before 24 hours have elapsed. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Drinks whose fermentation is fostered by chewing may be
272 divided into intoxicating and non-intoxicating ones. The cauí of the Tapirapé belongs in the second category, for it is taken, like the one mentioned by Freyreiss, before 24 hours have elapsed from the time of mastication. [Ed., the last three lines on p. 56, pp. 57-58, and the first paragraph on p. 59 are omitted.]

[116:59] The fermented drinks are taken by the Tapirapé either warm or unheated. For example, on the morning following my arrival in Tampiitáua in 1947, when my little friend Ampitánia fulfilled my wish by serving me monoví-kauí, I took it in the manner most agreeable to the Tapirapé and to myself, that is to say, good
[123] and hot. Ampitánia demonstrated her affection by filling up a truly gigantic pot during the night. She must have pounded and masticated a great deal. From the bubbling liquid she took out a goodly portion with a large gourd, stirred it with a smaller gourd to cool it off a little, and then placed the large gourd before me, putting into one of my hands the smaller gourd as a dish and in the other hand another gourd, still smaller, to serve as a spoon. Sitting in the girl's net, I voraciously swallowed the hot soup, sweetish and nutritious, half floury and half grainy, filling my "dish" over and over again from the large gourd until I had emptied it completely.

262 [122:168] Fortunately, the Tapirapé is also saved by a more varied diet. Manioc flour is usually eaten along with other foods. To give an idea of the variety available at a specific time of the year, I shall list the dishes that were offered to me on the afternoon of June 21, 1935, when I reached Tampiitaua for the first time: two varieties of bananas, warmed and cold; warm and cold peanuts; raw and roasted peanut flour; peanut, maize, and manioc cauí; roasted calabash seeds; boiled and ember-roasted squash, yams, and cará; large boiled green beans; warm manioc flour; small boiled fish; warm manioc soup with small unripe peppers and chicken meat; manioc soup with barbecued fish; the raw and roasted seeds of tucum [Tr., Bactris setosa]; and sugar cane for sucking. Since I did not want to offend anyone, I ate large quanti-
●123 ties of each of these delicious dishes in all the village houses that afternoon. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

During my stay in Tampiitaua, I shared largely in the Tapirapé diet and got along well on this almost exclusively vegetarian basis. My digestive apparatus had never functioned as well as it did at the time, and my companion Kegel noticed that after a few weeks of Indian food my face had filled out. In this respect I stood in contrast to our camarada Daniel. This poor frontiersman, who showed his "civilized" status by eating his daily share of rice, occasionally tempered by a piece of game, with punctilious regularity, visibly wasted away. This probably was caused also by the cultural shocks he suffered incessantly, which, as far as food was concerned, were of the same order as those suffered by the Tapirapé when Reverend Kegel opened a can of wieners. A child saw those snake-like forms coming out of the can, ran home, and soon the whole village was there. Each person smelled the can and then spat emphatically to leave no doubt as to the disgust he felt or thought it proper to feel. True, this did not prevent gluttonous Kamairahó from trying a small piece, although with a certain reluctance, from liking it, and asking for more.

Unfortunately, the abundance and variety of foods which I found
262 in Tampiitaua in the months of June to August, 1935, disappeared
178 later. As I wrote in a report to the director of the Indian [122:169] Service, "in 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little cará, or manioc cake.

171 Yves d'Evreux (110) for the Tupinambá, and by Koch-Grünberg
276 (1, I, 128) for the Káua of the upper Aiari. They could not inhale the smoke as I did. Every time they tried, they began to cough violently. My smoke-swallowing demonstrations, when I released the smoke only after having talked and drunk some water, aroused respectful admiration, but no one dared to emulate me. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, two purposes for smoking tobacco can be clearly distinguished: one that is simply recreative and one
[755] that is medicinal. As a medicine, the smoke is blown over painful areas of the body or over the entire body of the patient. A Bakairi told Karl von den Steinen (II, 347) that on the upper Xingu there are two varieties of tobacco, the one smoked for pleasure being much milder than the medicinal one.

To summarize, we may say that the Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá in the term they use to designate tobacco, in their manner of swallowing smoke, and in the fact that among them only the men smoke. They differ from these Indians, from the Xingu Indians, and from other Tupi tribes in not smoking cigars. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua resemble the northern Karajá and Kayapó in their use of the jequitibá-fruit pipe; they differ from those tribes in their words for tobacco and pipe, and from the Karajá in the fact that only the men smoke in Tampiitaua. [Ed., end of Vol. 122.]

[123:53] Chapter 11

## The Life Cycle of the Individual

### Birth

192 In Tapirapé, ãán means "I fall" and "I am born" [Ed., the remainder of the sentence and the remainder of the paragraph are omitted.]

● [123] [115] I did not have the opportunity to witness a birth among the Tapirapé, and I can only relay the information given to me by
844 Reverend Kegel and by the Indians. Childbirth takes place inside the house. While the future father remains in his hammock, the women assist the woman in labor, who is either lying in another hammock with her legs drawn up or supported by horizontal wooden

842 of years that had elapsed since my stay in Tampiitaua. He also noted that Vuanomanchi was playing the part of the boy's father. And Vuanomanchi had been my close friend in 1935.

A few weeks later, Wagley learned that the "child's spirit" is brought to the woman by a good shaman in the course of the journeys he is wont to make in his dreams. The Tapirapé were familiar with my capacity to "dream from Tampiitaua to São Paulo," that is, to make that long trip while my body was asleep in a hammock in Kamairahó's house. They did not doubt that I was a great shaman. Obviously, therefore, they considered me [123] capable of bringing children's spirits. The fact that I was regarded as the carrier of the spirit of Vuanomanchi's son must have been, first and foremost, an acknowledgement of the ties of sympathy between this Indian and myself.

Contrary to some other Indians, such as the Guaikuru described 845 by Sánchez Labrador (II, 30), who kill newborn twins, the Tapirapé 842 like such dual births. Husbands and wives in this Tupi tribe eat [171] linked bananas in order to give birth to twins, preferably of opposite sex. They call both the twins and those double bananas apekunia, and this term is also used when there are three bananas within one skin. Kamairahó said with reference to such a triple banana that it consisted of one boy and two girls. The Tapirapé had never heard of a triple human birth.

In view of their behavior toward twins, it might be assumed 171 that the vagrant life of the Guaikuru led them to infanticide, while 847 the Tapirapé, as farmers tied to the soil, like to have several children and save all those who are born. The way of life of those hunting and herding Indians of the Paraguay basin contributed to their custom of killing some of the newborn babies. On the other 847 hand, it seems that the Tapirapé do not allow every child to live, either. According to what I was told, they think that it is bad for a couple to have more than three children and more than two of the same sex, and hence kill those who are in excess of these numbers. Wagley and Galvão (3, 172) confirm this, adding that the child who is to be killed is buried in a hole dug for the afterbirth inside the 162 house. As was shown in Chapter 5, in Tampiitaua in 1935 there was only one couple with three children who were issue of that same marriage, and none with more. The children were a boy [123:56]

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574 that all participants in the tãtáupáũã [90] are called this. Nothing
264 could point up the importance of the institution more effectively than
[101] this observation. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

171 The word tãtá is used both by the Tapirapé and by the Karajá
824 [Caraja] to designate cultivated bananas in general. It also means "fire" in their language, as in all Tupí-Guaraní tongues, and it differs
[194] from these only in its nasalization, an element which is peculiar to the Tapirapé language as a whole.

[192] The word upáũã means "everything eaten."

The word tãtáupáũã may mean that the fire went out, or that everything that was near the fire was eaten.

264 Every individual belongs to the same eating group through life.
476 Sons belong to their father's group, daughters to their mother's.
574 The eating groups are not important to marriage; some of the
[611] men belong to the same group as their wives, while others belong to a different group.

[91] The principal chief, Kamairahó, was a Txankanépéra, while
173 the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ', was a Pananĩvũána. As I lived in
[622] Kamairahó's household and belonged, in a way, to his family, I also became a Txankanépéra, and they explained to me that as a consequence my own relatives, although absent, had also become Txankanépéra.

264 Within their group, all members regard one another as brothers
476 and sisters.
574 Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life,
[608] namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group companions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond oc-
[621] casionally bringing together the inhabitants of different houses from birth to death.

264 At certain times the entire population of the village gathers to-
574 gether for the tãtáupáũã, which at such times is not really a feast
621 carried out to meet the obligations imposed by the consumption-group organization, but a veritable banquet.

On July 3, the time of the kãũihó, or "bad kãũí" (literally, "big kãũí" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the
[252] chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kãũí, which formerly was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was warm and so good that I ate my fill.

264 574 476 [92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets. These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kãũũãnõĩ, owing to their small numbers, had joined the Ãvãinkĩ' to form a single group. All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group. [262] There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of kará [Tr., a kind of yam], peanut kãũĩ, etc. Before that, there was a great 431 574 distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such [622] as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better [177] use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay 264 476 574 the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted together, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they [554] pleased. Kamairahó, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk ●123 of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother. We called each other "Txankanépéra," and Ampitánya, his little [597] adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Ané Txankanépéra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other groups also called me "Txankanépéra," and I called them by the name of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

264 574 [93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The 535 plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the [776] good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kãũihó and vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness, 132 the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season with its "good shadows," summer.

574 796 They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

224 264 476 574 On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tãtáupãũã of an eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Ãvãinkĩ' had killed with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group. [462] In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts

264 476 574 [224] such as the head and legs, which they gave to those members of their family who did not belong to the same eating group.

The feasting had already begun before the sun was up. In the [345] [562] [852] takána, the large dance house, which is essentially a men's house and thus as a rule not visited by women, the Ãvãinki´ of both sexes sat [94] on straw mats stretched for the purpose around large pots containing the roasted pig. The animal was cut up in such a way that the pieces could easily be held in the hand.

When I appeared, they all graciously invited me to help myself. [123] I declined, stating that I was a Txankanépéra, and in view of this they did not insist further.

Naturally, members of other eating groups may ask the feast participants for a piece. Custom, however, demands that they withdraw after receiving what they requested. Only members of the same group may sit in the circle surrounding the pots. As a rule, however, a member of another group does not come to the people who are feasting and ask for a piece.

123 264 476 574 In any case, I did not want to carry my pride in being a Txankanépéra too far, and therefore I accepted the invitation of a special friend, Vuãnomantxí, whose wife had prepared the bulk of the food for the Ãvãinki´ and thus earned the pig's head for her family. While she sat with her group-fellows in the takána, her husband and son, and a few other persons who were not relatives but who belonged to the family, so to speak, because they were the only other occupants of the small hut, lay across their hammocks and chewed contentedly. When I came in, Vuãnomantxí tore from the pig's head the piece that he considered the best and offered it to me. I began to chew on it, and this required much fortitude because the meat was very tough. [95] When my chin began to hurt badly and I was certain that I had swallowed enough of those awful bites, I craved a bonus and asked for the brains. My friend smiled--he always had a friendly smile for me, thoroughly joyous and relaxed--and gave me to understand that my tastes were not inferior to those of the most illustrious Tapirapé. Then, with his athletic strength, he broke open the skull, handed me the bulk of the brains, and stuffed the rest into his mouth.

264 476 Before the sun was up, only the pig's bones remained in Vuãnomantxi house and in the takána.

[574] [611] Aside from the tatáupáũã, there is another institution which also involves eating in hereditary groups. It is called apatxirũ. Its purpose,

264 476 however, is totally different from that of the tãtáupãua. It is not a group organization for consumption, but for production. For this reason, also, the feasts in specific groups associated with this institution are merely accessory.

The social significance of apatxirũ resides in the possibility of sharing a collective task in such a way that no member of the tribe will [461] feel discredited by an unfair assignment. This is done by turning work into a festive occasion and a sports competition.

"When there is a lot of water everywhere in the rainy season, the [776] ãũvanaí 'shadows' live in the takána. Their headdress and breechcloth [291] are of muriti leaves, but their headdress does not have any macaw [535] feathers. [96] They dance through the entire rainy season. At that time, there are no other 'shadows' (antxína) but them. Unlike other 'shadows,' these do not live in the hills or in the waters, but only in the takána. They do not sing, but only grunt in a low voice. During [261] the moons of the great rains, the belly does not get as full as during the dry season. But the ãũvanaí have to eat. Then they go to the gardens and 'steal.' They take what they stole to the takána, where they eat it. In the apatxirũ, we prepare the gardens where they seek their food. They 'steal' only from those gardens that are prepared for them alone. The ãũvanaí are not evil. All Tapirapé men are ãũvanaí.

Such is, in summary, the information I received when I asked the purpose of the common gardens prepared in the apatxirũ.

For the apatxirũ, all Tapirapé men are divided into three work-groups called vuĩra. The word vuĩra means "bird," and the name of [551] each group designates a mythical bird which is represented not only by the group as a whole but by each of its individual members. They are called Tãnãvé, Anantxã, and Vuirantxinió.

The Tãnãvé group was the smallest one at the time of my visit, [624] but it included the individuals of highest social status: the principal chief, Kamairahó; the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ´; the chief and most ● [123] eminent sorcerer--medicine man, Urukumĩ´; and myself. (Naturally, Kamairahó stated immediately that I would be a Tãnãvé like himself.)

[97] Each of the three work groups has two leaders called ãntaĩva. 264 The ãntaĩva of the Tãnãvé were Vũãtanamĩ´ and Urukumĩ´. (Although 622 Kamairahó was also a Tãnãvé, he seemed to be the head of all three 476 groups in his capacity as principal chief. He is also the only one whose 651 private plot is prepared by the village inhabitants as a collective endeavor, while the private plots of other tribal members are prepared

264 476 only by their respective owners. I do not know, however, whether [623] the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the prepara- [651] tion of the principal chief's garden.)

The ãntaiva of the Anantxã were the chief Tanupantxóa and [624] Vuĩraí, and those of the Vuirantxinió were the chief Kamairã and the sorcerer--medicine man Maninohó.

476 In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three 857 groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were called Vuanankóra, Vuirantxína, and Vuĩrantxinoí. The last one is now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tãnãvé or Anantxã belong [611] to the first one, and the sons of the Vuirantxinió to the second one. The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were Vuirantxinió. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work- [881] group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution, [442] for "the women an girls stay home when the men do collective work."

[98] They say hat each apatxirã group has its specific ornament 301 for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I 476 was not with the Tapirapé. The Tãnãvé wear three large red macaw 535 feathers hanging from the head onto the back. The Anantxã also wear 237 three large macaw feathers in the same fashion, but two are from the blue and yellow macaw and only the middle one is red; in addition, they wear on their arms the white breast fluff of the king vulture. The Vuirantxinió are not differentiated from the Tãnãvé. The Vuanankóra wear smaller red feathers from the tail of the macaw, hanging from the head onto the back. The Vuirantxína are similarly adorned and also wear macaw fluff on their arms.

Concerning the word apatxirã, Curt Nimuendajú wrote me as fol- 192 lows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word apatxirã is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is omitted.]

476 [99] On July 30, Kamairahó invited me to go with him to the [123] apatxirã. On the previous day, Chief Tanupantxóa had already begun the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working

476 thundering noise, dragging along in its fall its weaker companions.

Every once in a while, a voice was heard behind the trees. One [222] could not see who it was, but the call sounded very close. Immediately, the boys rushed to the spot where the voice came from. Soon they returned with their arms full of bananas. They ran jubilantly toward us and distributed them.

These bananas reached a length of 30 centimeters and a middle [197] circumference of 15 to 20 centimeters. The men brought them in [482] hampers close to the working area, but never came out of the woods into the garden with their load.

The skin of the bananas was black, and their flesh was already 252 brownish and too soft. This is the condition in which the Tapirapé 262 like them best. The fruits are gathered when green and buried at the [222] spot where they grew. The Karajá do the same thing. In the sun- [171] heated ground, the bananas reach the desired state of rottenness more quickly than if they were kept at home. Then, too, they are warm when taken out of the ground, and this endears them further to the Indians.

They are not peeled in order to be eaten. The tough skin is 264 opened a little at one of the tips, the tip is placed between the lips, and the skin slowly emptied by squeezing it with the fingers so that the pulp gradually enters the mouth. Kamairahó ate one banana after another. As for myself, I found them nauseating.

[108] The sun was already quite low when we left. We forged 264 ahead at a rapid pace, one behind the other on the narrow trail. We 476 were not far from the village when the path opened onto a small, 462 cleared, triangular space. The women sat in the corners of this space 574 and watched us in silence. The women and girls had split into three groups which tallied with the work groups of their husbands and fathers. They had placed pots of food in the area in the same arrangement. [262] There were banana kãuĩ, peanut kãni, cottonseed kãuĩ, toasted karã, and many other good things. Each group ate only from the pots placed for it at a specific spot. There were smaller quantities for the Tãnãvé, because they were fewer. I was invited from all sides, and since I [123] was very hungry I did not spare the other two groups. Only when I was beginning to be satiated did I put down, with a great show of surprise, the pot of banana soup of the Anamtxã from which I had just partaken, and declared that I was a Tãnãvé. This fact, however, did not seem to be of great importance to my hosts.

264 The pots were soon emptied. Then the women and girls came,
462 picked them up, and took them home. The men followed, The
476 Anantxá walked first, with the Vuirantxinió behind them and the
Tãnãvé last. They kept this order, and sent me back to the rear when
[123] I stepped--not unintentionally--in the midst of the Vuirantxinió.

[109] As soon as the village was in sight, things began to move.
535 The men ran straight to the takána and paired up for the dance. The women and girls showed no interest in this and for the most part had already gone to their huts.

The dancing pairs stood in a dense cluster in front of the entrance. In each pair, as was customary, one of the men held his arm across the other's shoulders, while his companion held his arm across the other's hips. Both held a club, bush knife, or bow in the other hand. In the midst of the group stood the leading pair, Tanupantxóa and Vuĩraĩ, the ãntaĩva of the Anantxá. The Anantxá had now mixed with the Vuirantxinió. Of the Tãnãvé, only Kamairahó, Urukumĩ', and I had come. We stayed nearby as onlookers.

First, the men danced for a while on the same spot. As usual, they pawed the ground, all at the same time and always with the same foot, alternating from right to left, keeping their knees slightly bent and the middle part of the body slightly bent forward. Then the leading pair gradually moved away from the spot. They danced with small steps out of the takána. The others followed in the same fashion. They all moved, one pair after the other, slowly, toward the house of Vũãtanamĩ', singing with sounds and shouts rather than words.

When they reached the house of the second leader, the procession broke up. They did not scatter, however, but remained close to-
526 gether. [110] The race began. It is called ãhẽũĩ, which means "I
883 run." The adolescents, who were in their initiation year and hence had their faces and bodies completely blackened with genipap, ran two at a time in a straight line across the dance plaza to the back of Kamairahó's house. Actually, there was no spot to be reached first by the winner, and there was no applause from the spectators. It might almost be said that there was no winner. As a rule, indeed, the
[156] desire to be singled out or to single out someone is not manifested by these Indians and is probably even regarded by them as a danger to the harmony of the community. These races seemed to be merely runs to be made as fast as possible across the plaza to convince the boys themselves of their own ability. As soon as the two runners reached

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182 152 against the supposed menace and to kill the shaman who is suspected of having 756 become an evil sorcerer.

152 Though, also as regards the institution of shamanism, fear works out as a 184 factor of socialization by exorcising the dangers to the tribal life, we cannot say 648 the same about the fear which produces in many Tapirapé a disposition to adapt themselves complacently to the white man. During my stay in 1935, in the village called Tampiitawa, I could distinguish clearly between the great group of timorous people led by Kamairahó who received with open arms all that came from our civilization, and a smaller group composed of decided and valorous people who didn't want anything to do with us. So there were two opposite trends in their "foreign policy" and consequently germs of tribal disintegration.

123 Of the direct causes of fear I want to mention the following: The Tapirapé 152 were alarmed by my fury when I saw a man whipping his wife. To relate this 593 case means to confess a most ethnocentric and therefore in no way ethnological behaviour. But I think that in order to be an ethnologist it is necessary to be able not to be an ethnologist in certain situations. At noon on July 15 I see that [592] behind the house in which I was living with Kamairahó and thirty other [562] Indians, the athletic Inamoréo, nearly twenty-two years old, is beating a woman. With a cane and the blade of his bush-knife he is whipping his wife. She is so small and tender that she seems to be a child in spite of being perhaps twenty years old. I run towards the couple to interfere. The little woman is weeping despairingly, but doesn't go away. The man tries to tug her towards the house which is their house and mine also. She struggles. There he enters the house. Finally she follows. I enter also. The man holds the knife. I have nothing in my hands, but I am bound by my upbringing; I am the weapon of my culture and my culture is my weapon. I say to Inamoréo that people do not beat a woman like a dog. (I refer to this animal because frequently, among the Tapirapé, it can only thus be prevented from eating the people's food.) Inamoréo pronounces insults and his wife sobs. Now I explain to all the people present that beating a woman is a bad thing. Later, when I am sitting together with Kamairahó and his wife, I tell them that if a white man should whip his wife, another white man would kill him with a revolver. Jokingly I add: "If you, Kamairahó, beat your wife, I have to kill you with my revolver." With these words I go away.

[576] After a while Kamairahó passed me with a depressed face. I ask him: 123 "Where are you going?" Without smiling he answers: "I am afraid of you." 152 I embrace him, I kiss him impetuously in the Tapirapé manner, that is, rubbing my nose against his nose; but all this is in vain. He waits patiently until I let him go, continues walking, and tells the men and women whom he is passing that he is afraid of me, the white man who kills those who beat women. May I observe here that I always went around without a weapon among the Tapirapé, keeping the revolver, as Kamairahó knew, in my hammock hanging close to his hammock, and even there the revolver was at hand only to be at the disposal of the same Kamairahó in order to protect him against the event of nocturnal attack by the Kayapó Indians, the most terrible neighbours. Kamairahó enters his house and immediately from there sounds an agitated and long talk. With the speed of lightning the news spreads through the village that Kamairahó is afraid of me and is lying in his hammock and that I would kill with a revolver the husbands who whip their wives. A middle-aged woman joins me, saying: "I am afraid of you." I assure her again that I am not bad, that, on the con-

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trary, I am good, and in order to demonstrate it, I embrace cordially a man on her side so that I don't need to embrace her. And I say to my English companion who at this moment joins me: "Certain research-workers who were killed by the Indians with whom they lived, as, for instance, Boggiani among the Chamakoko, were murdered only through fear." At that instant, as if he had understood my words, the man I have just embraced asks me if the Shavante really have killed the white man by the name of Father John and if they have murdered him with a club. I don't know from where the Tapirapé had received this information and if his question represented a reaction or only conversation. What I know is that the man couldn't have understood my comment about the murders through fear.

An hour later I see Kamairahó going to the brook carrying two calabash rattles which he had obtained from the Karajá neighbours, but never used. I follow him and ask him what he intends to do with the rattles. He explains that they are dirty and that he wants to clean them with water, and adds: "When you go away and I remain here, the rattles will go with you." He continues with a mournful face. Besides, everyone looks sad, and when I enter our hut, I am not received as usual with the friendly exclamation: "You arrive!" But, looking to this or that person, I immediately receive a polite smile. Even at night Kamairahó says to the Englishman that he is still afraid of me, and when my companion reassures him, confirming the jocose character of my threat, he is invited immediately by Kamairahó to eat bananas and by other inhabitants of the house to have kauí, a fermented drink, in payment for this consolation. Meanwhile Inamoréo, who had beaten his wife, has already gone peacefully to sleep with her in the hammock and explains later that he whipped her only with the arrow—which is not true. I invite Kamairahó for a dinner of deer. He eats well, but with a sad face complaining of a headache. He receives aspirin.

It is necessary to consider that the fear described above may have been caused less by the threat with the revolver than by the agitated manner with which I expressed my indignation and which contrasts with Tapirapé behaviour. Even Kamairahó's wife, who used to quarrel much, always pronounced insults in a monotonous voice and with apparent calm, quite different, for instance, from the Karajá women who shout without reserve. But it may be mentioned that the Tapirapé were also afraid of the Englishman when a woman had stolen a great quantity of kitchen oil from him, putting it in her hair, and when dogs of the village tore his towel to pieces. And my companion was less explosive than I!

Graver causes of fear are the Kayapó attacks. I have already mentioned that, on account of these, I was asked to sleep armed. When a rumour maker is talking about the approach of these Indians, all the village is immediately alarmed. And there are reasons for this, because in 1947, soon after my second visit to the Tapirapé, these warlike neighbours assaulted the village, plundered it, and burned it, killing and kidnapping women.

Fear was produced also by the eclipse of the moon on 15th of June, 1935. When at night I was awakened with the words "chahy vuy" "moon blood," all the people were dejected and the men were talking only in low tones. Really, the moon appears dark red like coagulated blood. Next day everybody was still preoccupied with the phenomenon, considering it a bad omen of carnage.

But while the eclipse was an uncommon cause of fear, there were other causes in every moment and in any place, for the Tapirapé lives surrounded by malevolent spirits. Here is the so-called "imaginary fear" regarding which Mira y López[9] observes that "even the bravest warriors, able to throw themselves

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152 in the open against a rampart of fire or lances, recede terrified in view of the
775 suspicion of a tenuous and invisible enemy." In fact, the Tapirapé who opposes
[761] the jaguar with only bow and club as I had occasion to observe, and who is not afraid of dying, as they frequently assured me, is terrified by the presence of the souls of the dead and of other bad beings. It is not only the soul of a dead shaman which causes fear. I knew a kind father who became afraid of the soul of his beloved little child when this was deceased. And whoever is not a shaman feels a dread of dreaming while asleep, because during the dream he has to travel through the dangerous supernatural world. And not infrequently boys who wanted to drink water at night in the nearby brook asked me to go with them, because a ghost had been seen taking a bath. Unfortunately, whenever I arrived, the well-scrubbed ghost had already gone away. Frequently the boys sang loudly when going to the brook at night in order to calm their fear as I have observed in Europe when children went for something in a dark cellar.

123 Although the Tapirapé didn't react in any way against the fear produced by
152 the eclipse, they were not always so passive as regards the fear caused by the
648 white men, the Kayapó, and the spirits. When my English companion fell ill, they didn't hesitate in demanding his departure, and when a little girl of the house where I was living fell sick, all the people around me wore a threatening air as if I had been the magic author of the disease. The fear inspired by the Kayapó was combated not only by the Tapirapé holding clubs during the nocturnal collective dances, but also by their parodying their neighbours by a pantomime which represented a supposed attack against peaceful tribesmen. The fear of the spirits gives not only great prestige to the shaman, official
[514] protector against them, but also puts in the hand of every Tapirapé a torch which he agitates without interruption if by night he has to go out of the house in order to relieve himself.

152 So for the frightened Tapirapé also, life is struggle, action and reaction, fear
157 and wrath. And this fearful people is the gayest I ever found in my life, and Kamairahó, the pessimist who more than anyone declared himself to be afraid, had a glad smile on his face everytime when I saw him awake in the morning.

*São Paulo, Brazil.*

## Notes

113 1. Cf. Herbert Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*. S. Paulo, 1937, pp. 156–158.
2. Ashley Montagu: *The Natural Superiority of Women*. London, 1954, p. 92.
3. Emilio Mira y López: *Quatro gigantes da alma*. 3a. edição, Rio de Janeiro, 1955, pp. 39–40.
4. Cf. Herbert Baldus: Os Tapirapé. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, 110: 192, 1946. S. Paulo.
5. Cf. Amilcar A. Botelho de Magalhães: *Pelos sertões do Brasil*, 2a. edição, S. Paulo, 1941, pp. 497–498; Martin Gusinde: *Die Feuerlandindianer, I: Die Selk'nam*, Mödling bei Wien, 1931, pp. 456–458.
6. Cf. Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, p. 86.
7. Xamanismo tapirapé (Tapirapé Shamanism), *Boletim do Museu Nacional*, n.s., Antropologia, 3: 79, 1943. Rio de Janeiro.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

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115 Champuki was not the first person who came to mind when a contribution to this volume was considered. I thought of Gregorio Martin, a dignified and wise old Mayan Indian of Santiago Chimaltenango in Guatemala, who in 1937 had taught me the way of life of his people. I thought of Camirang, the dynamic young chieftain whom I had known in 1941 in a village of Tenetehara Indians along the Pindaré River in northeastern Brazil. I thought also of Nhunduca, a gifted and witty storyteller from a small Amazon community, who in 1948 introduced me to the rich folklore of the Amazon *caboclo* or peasant. But then, among all the people I had known in the various primitive and peasant cultures in which I [554] have done ethnological research, I chose Champukwi, a man of no outstanding talent, yet talented all the same—a man of not the [123] highest prestige in his society, yet admired by all. For the brief span of about a year he was my most intimate friend.

115 I knew Champukwi some 20 years ago when I lived in his small 123 village of about 175 Tapirapé Indians in central Brazil. I must have [162] seen him at once, for presents were distributed to the whole popu- [621] lation on the day of my arrival in late April of 1939. But I did not [131] distinguish Champukwi as an individual, nor did he, at first, stand out in any way from the other men of his village. His name does not appear in the notes taken during my first month among the Tapirapé.

114 For me, and even more for Valentim Gomes, the Brazilian fron- [103] tiersman who was my companion and employee, the first weeks in the Village of the Tapirs, as the small settlement was known, were a period of grappling with a strange and often confusing world.

177 The Tapirapé Indians lived between the Araguaia and Xingú Rivers, [131] an area at that time almost entirely isolated from modern Brazil. They had been visited by only a few people from the "outside"—by one or two missionaries; by Herbert Baldus, a German-Brazilian anthropologist; and by a few frontiersmen from the Araguaia River. The nearest Brazilian settlement to the Village of the Tapirs was Furo de Pedra, a town of 400–500 persons that lay some 300 miles

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away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few 177
months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of [197]
Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and [191]
verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these 114
youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals 123
we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," [621]
the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses [361]
arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were [592]
each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the per- [551]
sonal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Maria-
pawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let 114
alone pronounce. [122]

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study [197]
intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the wide-
spread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least
passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms
of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed
explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which [241]
manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops
were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poison- [462]
ous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I [252]
watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture [323]
their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm- [285]
thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building [462]
was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly [345]
became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and [291]
the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude [834]
women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never
to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also [302]
to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed
their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on
their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many [126]
other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes
and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather 123
pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our
antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversa-
tions that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales
of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

123 the subject of conversation when listening to a strange language.)
[199] Then, of course, our presence was materially valuable—for the salt, knives, needles, beads, mirrors, and other presents we brought were greatly appreciated. However, within a very short time some of these people began to emerge as individuals. Awanchowa, a small boy of about 6, followed me about and literally haunted our little house, staring at our large bag of salt which he ate with the same relish children in other cultures eat sweets. Then there was Tanui, a woman of middle age (whose hair was cropped short indicating that a near relative had recently died) who often brought us presents of food.
123 Gradually most of the villagers emerged as distinctive personalities
115 and among them was Champukwi. I cannot remember when I first came to know him as an individual, but his name begins to appear regularly in my field notebooks about one month after our arrival. Soon, he became my best informant, and after a time, an inseparable companion.

116 In 1939 Champukwi must have been about 25 years of age. He
[141] was tall for a Tapirapé male, measuring perhaps about 5 feet 6 inches, strongly built but lean, and weighing, I should judge, about
[302] 150 lbs. Like all Tapirapé men he wore his hair in bangs across his forehead with a braided pigtail tied at the back of his neck. He was somewhat of a dandy, for his feet and the calves of his legs
[301] were painted bright red every evening with *rucu*. From time to time he painted an intricate design on his body, and he wore crocheted
[554] disc-like wrist ornaments of cotton string dyed red. He was obviously a man of some prestige among men of his age, for youths and younger men treated him with deference, always finding a seat for him on the bench that was built against one wall of our house.
[199] I soon learned that he, too, had spent a short period at a mission
[191] station several years earlier and that he knew a few words of Portuguese. He was married and had a daughter about 2 years of age. His wife, hardly attractive according to my American tastes, appeared to be somewhat older than he, and was pregnant when we first met.

115 Champukwi seemed more patient than other Tapirapé with my at-
122 tempts to use his language and to seek information. He would repeat
[126] a word, a phrase, or a sentence several times so that I might write it down phonetically. He resorted to his meager Portuguese and even to mimicry to explain what was meant. His patience was of course

requited by gifts of beads, hardware, and salt which I provided judiciously from time to time. After a few days, I began noting questions to be asked of Champukwi in the late afternoon when he now habitually visited our house. But this was the time that others also liked to visit. At this hour of the day our house was often crowded with men, women, children, and even pets—monkeys, parrots, and wild pigs—for which the Tapirapé along with other Brazilian tribes have an especial fondness. Such social gatherings were hardly conducive to the ethnological interview or even to the systematic recording of vocabulary. So I asked Champukwi if I might go with him to his garden. There, alternating between helping him cut brush from his garden site and sitting in the shade, I was able to conduct a kind of haphazard interview. Often, while he worked, I formulated questions in my halting Tapirapé and I was able by repetition to understand his answers. Although the Tapirapé villagers began to joke of Champukwi's new garden site as belonging to the two of us, these days were very valuable for my research.

Walking through the forest to and from Champukwi's garden, we often hunted for *jacu*, a large forest fowl rather like a chicken. I attempted to teach Champukwi how to use my .22 rifle, but he had difficulty understanding the gunsights and missed continually. He attempted to show me how to "see" the *jacu* hidden in the thick branches of the trees, but I seldom caught sight of the birds until they had flown. Thus, our complementary incapacities combined to make our hunting in the tropical forest quite unproductive, and in disgust Champukwi often resorted to his bow and arrow. Only later in the year, after he had practiced a great deal by shooting at tin cans did Champukwi master the use of the rifle, and this new-found skill greatly added to his prestige among the Tapirapé.

My abiding friendship with Champukwi perhaps really began when I came down with malaria about six weeks after our arrival. During the first few days of my illness, I was oblivious to my surroundings. I am told that while one *pancié*, or medicine man, predicted my death, another tried to cure me by massage, by blowing tobacco smoke over my body, and by attempting to suck out the "object" that was causing the fever. Evidently his efforts—plus the atabrine tablets administered by Valentim Gomes—were successful, for my fever abated. I realized, however, that convalescence would be slow. Unable to leave the house for almost three weeks, I spent my days

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114 and evenings suspended in a large Brazilian hammock. In this state of enervation, I must have been the very picture of the languid white [123] man in the tropics. Each late afternoon our house became a gather- [974] ing place for the Tapirapé villagers, who came not only to visit with me (communication was still difficult) but also with each other, and 123 to gaze upon the belongings of the *tori* (non-Indian). My illness 538 proved to be a boon for ethnographic research. People were more patient with the sick anthropologist than with the well one. They told stories, not only for my benefit, but also to entertain each other. [993] In attempting to explain to me about a mythological culture hero, a man would find himself telling a myth to the attending audience. Thus, I heard (and saw) Tapirapé stories told as they should be—as dramatic forms spoken with vivacity and replete with mimicry of the animals that are so often characters in these folktales. With my still imperfect knowledge of Tapirapé I inevitably lost the thread of the story and it had to be retold to me more slowly.

115 Champukwi was a frequent visitor during these days of my con- 123 valescence. He came each morning on the way to his garden and 124 he became accustomed to drinking morning coffee with us. And, [512] each late afternoon after he had returned from his garden, he came "to talk"—often slowly retelling the stories and incidents that I had difficulty understanding the evening before. Several days during this period he did not work in his garden but sat for two or three hours talking. He learned when he should pause or repeat a phrase or [212] sentence in order that I might take notes. He came to understand what writing meant, discovering that what I wrote in my notebook I could repeat to him later. In time he appreciated the fact that I was not so much interested in learning the Tapirapé language as I was in comprehending the Tapirapé way of life. As so often is the case when a person understands and speaks a foreign language poorly, one communicates best with but a single person who is accustomed to one's mistakes and one's meager vocabulary. Thus, I could understand and make myself understood to Champukwi better than any [192] other Tapirapé. Moreover, because he spent long hours in our house, [126] he was learning Portuguese from Valentim Gomes, and this was an aid in helping me translate newly learned words and phrases in Tapirapé and even helped me understand his explanations of Tapirapé culture patterns. Champukwi thus consciously became my teacher, and others came to realize that he was teaching me. During

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the next two months we had daily sessions, some very brief and others lasting two or more hours.

In October of 1939, some six months after my arrival, I found it necessary to leave the Village of the Tapirs to go to Furo de Pedra for supplies and to collect mail that was held there for me. Valentim Gomes and I had come up the Tapirapé River, a tributary of the Araguaia, pulled by an outboard motor belonging to an anthropological colleague who had since returned to the United States. Now we had to paddle ourselves downstream. We could expect little help from the sluggish current and since the river was so low, it might be necessary to haul our canoe through shallows. Malaria had left me weak and I doubted that I was equal to this strenuous task. Several Tapirapé men, including Champukwi, were anxious to accompany us, but having Indians with us in Furo de Pedra was not advisable. First, they were susceptible to the common cold, which among relatively uncontaminated peoples such as these American aborigines often turns into a serious, and even fatal, disease. Second, unaccustomed to clothes, money, many foods, and other Brazilian customs and forms of etiquette, they would be totally dependent upon us during our stay in this frontier community. Nevertheless, the temptation to have my best informant with me during the trip and during our stay in Furo de Pedra was great and so we agreed to take Champukwi.

The trip was made slowly. Two good frontiersmen in a light canoe could have made it in three days, but we took eight. Champukwi was of little help in the canoe; unlike the riverine tribes the Tapirapé are a forest people who know little about the water, and few of them had ever traveled by canoe. Champukwi was unusual in that he could swim. Although he had more endurance than I, his efforts at paddling endangered the equilibrium of our canoe. However, he could shoot fish with his bow and arrow. The dry season had driven game from the open savanna which borders the Tapirapé River so that we were able to kill deer, *mutum* (another species of large forest fowl), and a wild goose to supplement the less palatable fare we had brought with us. Each night we camped on a beach from which we were able to collect the eggs of a small turtle, the *tracaja*, that had been buried in the sand. Only the mosquitoes which swarmed during sundown and early evening marred our trip. The experience remains one of the most memorable

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Tapirapé village which he would have hesitated to relate on home grounds. He told me of adulterous affairs in process and of the growing determination among one group of kinsmen to assassinate Urukumu, the powerful medicine man, because they suspected him of performing death-dealing sorcery.

After two weeks in Furo de Pedra, I found that it would be necessary for Valentim Gomes and me to go to Rio de Janeiro. It was not possible for Champukwi to accompany us and so I arranged for two Brazilian frontiersmen to return him to a point on the Tapirapé River from which he could easily hike to his village in a day. Valentim and I then began our slow trip up the Araguaia River to the motor road and thence to Rio de Janeiro. Two months later, rid of malaria and with a new stock of supplies, we returned to spend the long rainy months from November until the end of May in the Village of the Tapirs. Champukwi was there to welcome us, and he came each day to help repair and enlarge our house. We easily fell into our former friendly relationship, now strengthened by the experience in common of the trip to Furo de Pedra and by the feeling which many anthropologists have shared with the people of their communities—that anyone who returns is an "old friend."

My return to the village that November marked, in a sense, the end of what might be called the first phase of my relationship with Champukwi as friend and as anthropological informant. During the course of at least 200 hours of conversation (many of which may be methodologically dignified as interviews), I had learned much about Champukwi as a person as well as about Tapirapé culture. I knew that as a small boy he had come from Fish Village, where his parents had died, to live in the Village of the Tapirs. He had lived with his father's younger brother, Kamaira, who was the leader of a large household. He even confided to me his boyhood name; Tapirapé change their names several times during their lifetimes and mention of a person's first childhood name, generally that of a fish, an animal, or simply descriptive of some personal characteristic, causes laughter among the audience and considerable embarrassment to the individual. I knew that Champukwi had been married before he took his current wife, and that his first wife had died in childbirth. He revealed that her kinsmen had gossiped that her death was caused by his lack of respect for the food taboos imposed

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upon an expectant father. This same set of taboos now bothered him again. A series of foods, mainly meats and particularly venison, is prohibited to fathers of infants and to husbands of pregnant women. On two excursions to the savanna (which abounds with deer) Champukwi had eaten venison. Moreover, since the Tapirapé identified cattle with deer, and thus beef with venison, he had broken the taboo several additional times by partaking also of this forbidden meat. The rather scrawny conditon of his 2-year-old daughter, he feared, resulted from his faults. Just after our return to the village in early November, his wife gave birth to a second daughter. She had a difficult delivery, and he remembered his transgressions. Several village gossips, without knowing anything about his misdeeds, had nevertheless accused him of this breach of taboo.

[846] [825]

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Champukwi's home life was not a happy one. He was frequently in conflict with his second wife, who had, indeed, considerable basis for complaint. She could not claim that he was a poor provider, for Champukwi was a good hunter and a diligent gardener. But he confided to me that he did not find her attractive, or at least not as attractive as other women in the village. Champukwi had a lusty sense of humor and enjoyed joking with Valentim and me. In this mood he told of his many extramarital affairs, which were in truth but slightly concealed. I would in any event have heard of these liaisons; he gave his paramours beads which everyone in the village knew I had given him as presents. This practice caused trouble for the women because their husbands could readily identify the source of the gifts. It also created trouble for Champukwi at home. His wife complained of his affairs and on one occasion, according to Champukwi, she attacked him, grabbing him by his pigtail and squeezing his exposed testicles until he fell helpless into a hammock. On other occasions, she retaliated in a manner more usual for a Tapirapé woman—she simply refused to carry drinking water from the creek, to cook food for him, and to allow him to sleep in the hammock which she and Champukwi shared. For a Tapirapé man to carry drinking water, to cook, or to sleep on a mat is considered ridiculously funny. In other circumstances, Champukwi would have had to seek recourse with a female relative. However, to do so would be tantamount to a public announcement of his marital difficulties; the whole village would have known, to their considerable merriment and jest. But having *tori* friends in the village, Champukwi

[522] [837] [123] [522] [602]

[i.e. non-Indian -- Analyst]

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could come quietly to us at night to drink water, to ask for something to eat, and even to sleep in an extra hammock we had for visitors. His affairs were evidently extensive, for he once divided all of the adult women of the village into two categories—those "I know how to talk with" (i.e., to seduce) and those "I do not know how to talk with." There were many with whom he "could talk."

Unfortunately, by late November of 1939, I knew too much about Champukwi's affairs either for his comfort or for mine. His wife sometimes came to my house to ask if I knew where he had gone (I could generally guess), and once an irate husband even came to inquire of his whereabouts. His Don Juan activities had evidently increased. His friendship with me caused him trouble with other Tapirapé who were envious of the presents he received. The story was circulated that he had stolen a pair of scissors which, in fact, I had given to him. Moreover, several people caught colds, and he was accused of bringing the infection from Furo de Pedra (actually it was probably transmitted by the frontiersman who had helped transport us to the village in November). Champukwi sought revenge by cutting down one of the main supports of the men's house, which promptly caved in. No one died or was seriously injured and the destruction of the men's house was soon forgotten since it is normally rebuilt each year. However, people continued to criticize Champukwi, much of their criticism revolving around his relationship with me. There are no realms of esoteric secrets in Tapirapé culture (as there are in many cultures) that must not be revealed to an outsider; there is only the "secret" of the men from the women that the masked dancers are not supernatural beings but merely masquerading men, but I had been fully and openly brought into this "secret." I was, moreover, exceedingly careful in conversation never to refer to any bit of personal information that some informant, Champukwi or another, had told me. But rumors were rife in the small village—that I was angry and would soon leave (I was by then a valuable asset), that Champukwi told me lies about others, that I refused to give a bushknife to a household leader because Champukwi had urged me not to do so (I refused because I had already given him one bushknife), and the like.

Champukwi reacted moodily, often violently, to this situation. I could no longer count on his visits nor on our research interviews. He now visited us with a glum look on his face, and when he was

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not at once offered coffee, he left offended. But the very next day he might return, gay and joking, yet without his former patience for teaching or explaining Tapirapé culture. Once he returned tired from a hunting trip, and, irritated by his wife, he beat her with the flat side of his bushknife and marched off in anger, thoughtfully taking the family hammock and a basket of manioc flour, to sleep four nights in the forest near his garden. Soon afterwards, he left his wife to take the wife of a younger man. This did not become a major scandal in the village. After some tense yet calm words between the two men, it seemed clear that the young woman preferred Champukwi and the abandoned husband peacefully moved into the men's house. Champukwi's former wife and their two young daughters continued to live with her relatives as is the Tapirapé rule. But the switch of spouses caused tension between Champukwi and his former wife's kinsmen, and between Champukwi and the abandoned husband's kinsmen; and, to multiply his woes, he now had a new set of in-laws to satisfy. For about a month thereafter I rarely saw Champukwi; he obviously avoided our house. When we met in the village or in the men's house, he simply said that he was busy repairing his house or hunting.

Discussing emotions with someone from a culture as widely different as Tapirapé is from my own was difficult, and the language barrier was still a real one. Although my Tapirapé vocabulary was increasing, it was hardly adequate to probe deeply into emotional responses; nor was Champukwi given to introspection. I shall probably never fully understand Champukwi's temporary rejection of me, but the cause was probably both sociological and psychological. First, his apparent influence with me and our close friendship had created antagonism on the part of other villagers. By rejecting the outsider, he now hoped to reinstate himself in his own society. A second, deeper and more personal reason, contributed to his rejection of me; he had told me too much about himself, and feared that he had lost face in the process. Also, it was obvious that I was growing less dependent upon him for knowledge as my facility with the language improved and my information about the culture grew. Finally, the rejection was not one-sided. Now additional informants were desirable for my research. Also, if I remember correctly (it is not stated in my notebooks), I was annoyed by Champukwi's neglect and disappointed by his lack of loyalty.

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**Charles Wagley**

115 When the heavy rains of late December and January set in, we
123 were all more or less confined to the village as the rivers and streams
124 rose to flood the savanna. What had been brooks in the tropical
[132] forest became wide streams, difficult, and sometimes dangerous, to
[133] ford. It rained many hours each day. The Tapirapé women and children spent most of the time in their dwellings, and the men and older boys lounged in the men's house. Our house again became a meeting place. And as this was of course an opportune time for interviewing, I joined the men in their club or entertained visitors at home. I began to see more of Champukwi—first, in the men's house and then as he again became a regular visitor at our house. Now, he brought his new (and younger) wife with him. He liked to sit up with us late at night after the other Tapirapé visitors had retired to their dwellings or to the men's house for the night-long sings that are customary during the season of heavy rains. Under the light of our gasoline lamp, we again took up our study of Tapirapé culture. Not once did he mention his period of antagonism except to complain that the Tapirapé gossip too much.

Sometime late in January there began what might be considered the second phase of my relationship with Champukwi. Our friendship was no less intimate than before, but our conversations and more formal interviews were not now as frequent. During the next months, Champukwi became almost my assistant, an entrepreneur of
115 Tapirapé culture. He continued to provide invaluable information,
123 but when I became interested in a subject of which he knew little,
124 he would recommend that I talk to someone else. Though he directed
756 me to Urukumu on the subject of medicine men or shamans, Cham-
[754] pukwi himself related dreams he had heard other shamans tell. He
[683] explained that he did not want to become a shaman himself, for he had seen grieved relatives beat out the brains of Tapirapé shamans whom they suspected of causing a death by sorcery. He was not cer-
[787] tain, he said, whether such shamans had actually performed sorcery;
[795] but he reasoned that any shaman might come to such an end.
[796] Champukwi did have the frequent dreams that are indicative of one's powers to become a shaman and, in some of his dreams, he saw *anchunga*, the ghosts and supernaturals who are the aids of shamans. He had told only one or two of his kinsmen about this, and he did not want it to be known throughout the village lest there be pressure on him to train for shamanism.

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**Champukwi of the Village of the Tapir.**

Champukwi sketched for me the stories of Petura, the Tapirapé ancestral hero who stole fire from the King Vulture, daylight from the night owl, *genipa* (used for dye) from the monkeys, and other items for the Tapirapé. However, he persuaded Maeumi, an elder famous for his knowledge of mythology, to relate the details although he himself helped considerably to clarify for me the meaning of native phrases and to make the stories told by Maeumi more fully understandable. Champukwi also forewarned me of events that I might want to witness, events that without his warning I might have missed. Such were the wrestling matches which took place upon the return of a hunting party between those men who went on the hunt and those who remained at home. He told me of a particularly handsome basket a man had made, which I might want to add to my collection for the Brazilian National Museum. He came to tell me that a young woman in a neighboring house was in labor, thus enabling me to get a photograph of the newborn infant being washed in the stream, and he urged the men to celebrate for my benefit a ceremony which might easily have been omitted. Champukwi was no longer merely an informant. He became a participant in ethnographic research although, of course, he never thought of it in these terms. He seemed somehow to understand the anthropologist's task in studying his culture, and in the process he gained considerable objectivity about his own way of life.

Yet it must be said that Champukwi did not seem to discredit the norms, institutions, and beliefs of his own people. Although he saw Valentim and me walk safely down the path through the forest late at night, he steadfastly refused to do the same; for the path was a favorite haunt of the lonely ghosts of deceased Tapirapé who might harm the living. He reasoned that the *tori* were probably immune to this danger. When he was ill, he took the pills we urged upon him but he also called in the shaman. His curiosity about airplanes, automobiles, and "gigantic canoes" (passenger boats) which he saw pictured in the magazines we had brought with us, was great; but he boasted that the Tapirapé could walk farther and faster than any *tori* or even the Caraja (who are a canoe people). In fact, his interest in, and enthusiasm for, certain Tapirapé activities seemed to be heightened by our presence. Almost all Tapirapé ceremonials involve choral singing and Champukwi was a singing leader of one of the sections of the men's societies. He was always pleased when

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He was always pleased when
we came to listen, particularly if we made the motions of joining in. He was an excellent wrestler in Tapirapé style, in which each opponent takes a firm grip on the pigtail of the other and attempts to throw him to the ground by tripping. Our wrestling match was brief although I was much taller than he; and his match with Valentim Gomes, who outweighed him by more than forty pounds, was a draw. Unlike so many who get a glimpse at a seemingly "superior" cultural world, Champukwi never became dissatisfied with his own way of life.

In June of 1940, my period of residence among the Tapirapé Indians ended. The waters on the savanna which had to be crossed afoot to get to the Tapirapé River where our canoe was moored had not completely receded. Many Tapirapé friends, among them Champukwi, offered to carry our baggage, made lighter after a final distribution of gifts, down to the river. The night before our departure a festival with the usual songfest was held to celebrate the final phase of a ceremony during which a youth, this time the nephew of Kamiraho, became a man. Some Brazilian tribes make this occasion an ordeal by such means as applying a frame of stinging wasps to the body of the novice, but it is characteristic of the Tapirapé that the "ordeal" consists only of decorating the youth with a headdress of magnificent red macaw feathers, painting his body elaborately, and making him the center of dancing and singing—although the youth must himself dance continuously for a day and a night. Champukwi led the singing most of the night, but at dawn he came to our house to supervise the packing of our belongings into the basket-like cases made of palm which are used for carrying loads of any kind. He divided the baggage among the younger men. Even some of the older household leaders decided to accompany us but they, of course, did not carry anything. Our trip was slow because everyone was tired after the all-night festival and because of the water through which we had to wade. At one point, rafts had to be made to transport our baggage across a still-swollen stream. Since the Tapirapé do not swim—or, like Champukwi, they swim but poorly—it was the job of the *tori* to swim and push the rafts. I had the honor of swimming across the stream, pushing the respected chieftain, Kamiraho. (How he got back, I shall never know.) After a day and a half, we reached the landing on the Tapirapé River, and the next

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morning we embarked downriver. My last memory of Champukwi was of him standing on the bank waving in *tori* style until our boat made the curve of the river.

I did not return to visit the Tapirapé until 1953, but news of them came to me at intervals. Valentim Gomes returned to the region in 1941 as an officer of the Brazilian Indian Service, and his post was charged with the protection of the Tapirapé Indians. In his first year in this capacity, he wrote me: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the 26th of July [1941]. They were in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, and the like. There were plenty of bananas. But I am sorry to say that after we left them, twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Champukwi, the best informant in the village, and our best friend." Several slow exchanges of letters brought further details from Valentim. In some manner, perhaps through a visit from a Brazilian frontiersman, several Tapirapé had contracted common colds. Its fatalness to them is indicated by the name they give it—*ó-ó* (*ó* is the augmentative which might be translated as "big, big"). Since they have no knowledge of the process of contagion and have not acquired immunity to the common cold, the disease spread rapidly throughout the village. The Tapirapé realized, I knew, that colds and other diseases such as measles which they had suffered before, were derived from visitors. Yet they also believed that death resulted from evil magic or sorcery. Why do some people who are very sick from colds get well, they asked, while others who are no more ill, soon die? It is only because those who die are the victims of sorcery, they had explained to me. So, following many deaths, including that of a young man like Champukwi, who enjoyed prestige and had many kinsmen, I was not surprised to learn from Valentim Gomes that the powerful shaman, Urukumu, had been assassinated. As Champukwi had told me, suspicion of Urukumu had already been growing even during my residence in the village. After the death of Champukwi, one of his many "brothers" (actually a cousin but called by the same term as brother in Tapirapé) had entered Urukumu's house late at night and clubbed him to death. To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related

To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *Iwiterahú*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of

252 In the Tapirapé barbecues, the height at which the grille is fastened varies with its different functions. It is placed low to [251] roast meat or fish, and higher to dry it.

171 The pot is held by three stones laid around the fire, as I also 252 noted among the Karajá and as Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 48) ob- [354] served among the Taulipáng of the Rio Branco basin. What Karl von den Steinen (2, 215) said of the Xingu Indians, that is: "The men roasted [meat], but never boiled it," may be said also of the Tapirapé and of numerous other South American tribes (cf. Baldus 7, 142 and Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 91, 335, 351). Speaking of the Karajá, Krause (2, 253) amends this rule with the fact that "the men also know how to boil [meat]," as they show on trips whenever necessary. This cannot be said of the Tapirapé. They do [481] not carry pots on their journeys since they go on foot, while those Indians travel by canoe and therefore can take along with them heavy and breakable cooking utensils. Aside from this, the 252 division of labor is so strict among the sexes that the Tapirapé man, 462 if for some reason he does not have a wife, misses her simply from the fact that he cannot eat stew unless he is willing to take it from other families. On the other hand, the roasting of large animals is usually done by the men. It is only when game is killed close to the village that in some cases the women barbecue it. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

124 With the aim of setting up a Tapirapé zoological vocabulary, and also of finding out which animals were eaten by the inhabitants of Tampiitáua or by certain groups among them, I repeatedly showed to numerous persons of different ages and sex the figures in Rodolpho von Ihering s book entitled Da vida dos nossos animais. Fauna do Brasil [The Habits of Our Animals. Brazilian Fauna] (Rotermund & Co., São Leopoldo, 1934). This gave them much pleasure, and I recommend this method to Indianists as a way of establishing rapport. It also makes rather strict controls possible, since each animal is identified by several if not by numerous experts, and its name is pronounced several times by many individuals. Of course, a single look is not always sufficient for the Indian to recognize the animal represented. It is often necessary to [117:93] add comments about its size, color, motions, cry, and habits. Concerning certain insects, for example, the size of the

124 pictures is much larger than the original, while the opposite applies to most other animals. It is especially difficult to identify various kinds of fish which vary considerably in actual size.

I shall transcribe from Rodolpho von Ihering's book the 128 colloquial and scholarly names, while sometimes omitting that of the species. Most of the errors which I have probably committed in spite of this precaution will thus, I hope, easily be corrected by zoologists. It is well to call the attention of those who study [825] the geographic distribution of animals to the fact that the Tapirapé are not familiar with the species represented by R. von Ihering and omitted from the following list, for I showed them all the figures in the book. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

[Tr., the following list is summarized from the original text, and omissions have not been indicated. To avoid confusion, it should be emphasized that the first name listed is the Tapirapé term. Its translation is given in Portuguese when there is no English equivalent or it is uncertain, and in most cases the Brazilian term is of Tupi derivation.]

## MAMMALS

136 (1) anyrá -- bats in general. Not eaten.

262 (2) tatu -- hairy six banded armadillo (Euphractus sexcinctus). Eaten by men. [117:94] The Tapirapé were not familiar with the nine-banded armadillo (Dasypus novemcinctus) in Fig. 15.

(3) tamanua -- great anteater (Myrmecophaga jubata). Eaten.

(4) tamanduá-beva -- small anteater (Tamandua tetradactylus). Eaten by men and youths, not by boys or women.

(5) chingó -- sloth (species of the Bradypodidae family). Not eaten. The Tapirapé word may arouse doubts, for it differs completely from the Tupi term mentioned by numerous authors.

(6) tapidjí -- tapiti (Tr., a small hare-like rodent] (Sylvilagus minensis). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 19.

(7) kuanohó -- rat (a species). They used this name for the wild rat (Axymycterus nasutus) in Fig. 20, as well as the coypu [117:95] (Myocastor coypus) in Fig. 22. Considering the great

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requited by gifts of beads, hardware, and salt which I provided judiciously from time to time. After a few days, I began noting questions to be asked of Champukwi in the late afternoon when he now habitually visited our house. But this was the time that others also liked to visit. At this hour of the day our house was often crowded with men, women, children, and even pets—monkeys, parrots, and wild pigs—for which the Tapirapé along with other Brazilian tribes have an especial fondness. Such social gatherings were hardly conducive to the ethnological interview or even to the systematic recording of vocabulary. So I asked Champukwi if I might go with him to his garden. There, alternating between helping him cut brush from his garden site and sitting in the shade, I was able to conduct a kind of haphazard interview. Often, while he worked, I formulated questions in my halting Tapirapé and I was able by repetition to understand his answers. Although the Tapirapé villagers began to joke of Champukwi's new garden site as belonging to the two of us, these days were very valuable for my research.

Walking through the forest to and from Champukwi's garden, we often hunted for *jacu*, a large forest fowl rather like a chicken. I attempted to teach Champukwi how to use my .22 rifle, but he had difficulty understanding the gunsights and missed continually. He attempted to show me how to "see" the *jacu* hidden in the thick branches of the trees, but I seldom caught sight of the birds until they had flown. Thus, our complementary incapacities combined to make our hunting in the tropical forest quite unproductive, and in disgust Champukwi often resorted to his bow and arrow. Only later in the year, after he had practiced a great deal by shooting at tin cans did Champukwi master the use of the rifle, and this new-found skill greatly added to his prestige among the Tapirapé.

My abiding friendship with Champukwi perhaps really began when I came down with malaria about six weeks after our arrival. During the first few days of my illness, I was oblivious to my surroundings. I am told that while one *panché*, or medicine man, predicted my death, another tried to cure me by massage, by blowing tobacco smoke over my body, and by attempting to suck out the "object" that was causing the fever. Evidently his efforts—plus the atabrine tablets administered by Valentim Gomes—were successful, for my fever abated. I realized, however, that convalescence would be slow. Unable to leave the house for almost three weeks, I spent my days

114 and evenings suspended in a large Brazilian hammock. In this state of enervation, I must have been the very picture of the languid white [123] man in the tropics. Each late afternoon our house became a gather- [574] ing place for the Tapirapé villagers, who came not only to visit with me (communication was still difficult) but also with each other, and 123 to gaze upon the belongings of the *tori* (non-Indian). My illness 538 proved to be a boon for ethnographic research. People were more patient with the sick anthropologist than with the well one. They told stories, not only for my benefit, but also to entertain each other. [703] In attempting to explain to me about a mythological culture hero, a man would find himself telling a myth to the attending audience. Thus, I heard (and saw) Tapirapé stories told as they should be—as dramatic forms spoken with vivacity and replete with mimicry of the animals that are so often characters in these folktales. With my still imperfect knowledge of Tapirapé I inevitably lost the thread of the story and it had to be retold to me more slowly.

115 Champukwi was a frequent visitor during these days of my con- 123 valescence. He came each morning on the way to his garden and ●124 he became accustomed to drinking morning coffee with us. And, [512] each late afternoon after he had returned from his garden, he came "to talk"—often slowly retelling the stories and incidents that I had difficulty understanding the evening before. Several days during this period he did not work in his garden but sat for two or three hours talking. He learned when he should pause or repeat a phrase or [212] sentence in order that I might take notes. He came to understand what writing meant, discovering that what I wrote in my notebook I could repeat to him later. In time he appreciated the fact that I was not so much interested in learning the Tapirapé language as I was in comprehending the Tapirapé way of life. As so often is the case when a person understands and speaks a foreign language poorly, one communicates best with but a single person who is accustomed to one's mistakes and one's meager vocabulary. Thus, I could understand and make myself understood to Champukwi better than any [192] other Tapirapé. Moreover, because he spent long hours in our house, [126] he was learning Portuguese from Valentim Gomes, and this was an aid in helping me translate newly learned words and phrases in Tapirapé and even helped me understand his explanations of Tapirapé culture patterns. Champukwi thus consciously became my teacher, and others came to realize that he was teaching me. During

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the next two months we had daily sessions, some very brief and others lasting two or more hours. 115 123 124

In October of 1939, some six months after my arrival, I found it necessary to leave the Village of the Tapirs to go to Furo de Pedra for supplies and to collect mail that was held there for me. Valentim Gomes and I had come up the Tapirapé River, a tributary of the Araguaia, pulled by an outboard motor belonging to an anthropological colleague who had since returned to the United States. Now we had to paddle ourselves downstream. We could expect little help from the sluggish current and since the river was so low, it might be necessary to haul our canoe through shallows. Malaria had left me weak and I doubted that I was equal to this strenuous task. Several Tapirapé men, including Champukwi, were anxious to accompany us, but having Indians with us in Furo de Pedra was not advisable. First, they were susceptible to the common cold, which among relatively uncontaminated peoples such as these American aborigines often turns into a serious, and even fatal, disease. Second, unaccustomed to clothes, money, many foods, and other Brazilian customs and forms of etiquette, they would be totally dependent upon us during our stay in this frontier community. Nevertheless, the temptation to have my best informant with me during the trip and during our stay in Furo de Pedra was great and so we agreed to take Champukwi. 122 [164] [177]

The trip was made slowly. Two good frontiersmen in a light canoe could have made it in three days, but we took eight. Champukwi was of little help in the canoe; unlike the riverine tribes the Tapirapé are a forest people who know little about the water, and few of them had ever traveled by canoe. Champukwi was unusual in that he could swim. Although he had more endurance than I, his efforts at paddling endangered the equilibrium of our canoe. However, he could shoot fish with his bow and arrow. The dry season had driven game from the open savanna which borders the Tapirapé River so that we were able to kill deer, *mutum* (another species of large forest fowl), and a wild goose to supplement the less palatable fare we had brought with us. Each night we camped on a beach from which we were able to collect the eggs of a small turtle, the *tracaja*, that had been buried in the sand. Only the mosquitoes which swarmed during sundown and early evening marred our trip. The experience remains one of the most memorable 115 484 [481] [226] [224] [222] [136]

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in this respect. According to Champukwi's own report, he tried *cachaça* only once in Furo de Pedra and (quite normally) found it distasteful and unpleasant. Yet there were moments that were awkward at the time however humorous they seem in retrospect. One day when I bought several dozen oranges in the street, Champukwi calmly removed the trousers that had been provided for him and made a sack to carry home the oranges by tying up the legs. In Furo de Pedra, he often went nude in the house we had rented for our stay. Even the Brazilian woman who came to prepare our meals became more or less accustomed to his nakedness, but sometimes he forgot to dress before sallying forth into the street. The rural Brazilian diet, derived in large measure from native Indian foods, seemed to please Champukwi, but he could not be comfortable eating at the table. He preferred during meals to sit across the room on a low stool.

Champukwi's reaction to this rural form of Brazilian civilization was not childlike in any way. He in turn became an ethnologist. He wanted to see the gardens that provided the food for so many people (Furo de Pedra had hardly more than 400 people at that time). He was fascinated by the sewing machines with which he saw the women working. He attended the Catholic ceremonies held in the little chapel. He saw pairs of men and women dance face to face in semblance of an intimate embrace. About these and other strange customs he had many questions. But like the inquisitive anthropologist who had come to live in his village, his own curiosity sometimes became obtrusive. He peered into the homes of people and sometimes entered uninvited. And he followed the Brazilian women to their rather isolated bathing spot in the Araguaia River to discover if there were any anatomical differences between these women and those in his village. He even made sexual advances to Brazilian women, actions which, if he had known, were very dangerous in view of the jealous zeal with which Brazilian males protect the honor of their wives and daughters. On the whole, however, Champukwi became quite a favorite of the local Brazilians during his two week visit to Furo de Pedra. His Portuguese improved while he visited in their homes, and he collected simple presents, such as fish hooks, bottles, tin cans, and the like, to take home with him. Even during this short period away from the village, my work with him continued. He told me of antagonisms, gossip, and schisms in the

115 124 Tapirapé village which he would have hesitated to relate on home [837] grounds. He told me of adulterous affairs in process and of the [578] growing determination among one group of kinsmen to assassinate [682] Urukumu, the powerful medicine man, because they suspected him [756] of performing death-dealing sorcery.

[154] After two weeks in Furo de Pedra, I found that it would be 122 necessary for Valentim Gomes and me to go to Rio de Janeiro. It was not possible for Champukwi to accompany us and so I arranged for two Brazilian frontiersmen to return him to a point on the Tapirapé River from which he could easily hike to his village in a day. Valentim and I then began our slow trip up the Araguaia River to the motor road and thence to Rio de Janeiro. Two months [132] later, rid of malaria and with a new stock of supplies, we returned to spend the long rainy months from November until the end of [115] May in the Village of the Tapirs. Champukwi was there to wel- [123] come us, and he came each day to help repair and enlarge our house. [609] We easily fell into our former friendly relationship, now strengthened by the experience in common of the trip to Furo de Pedra and by the feeling which many anthropologists have shared with the people of their communities—that anyone who returns is an "old friend."

115 My return to the village that November marked, in a sense, the 123 end of what might be called the first phase of my relationship with Champukwi as friend and as anthropological informant. During the course of at least 200 hours of conversation (many of which may be methodologically dignified as interviews), I had learned much about Champukwi as a person as well as about Tapirapé culture. I knew that as a small boy he had come from Fish Village, where his parents had died, to live in the Village of the Tapirs. He had lived with his father's younger brother, Kamaira, who was the leader [553] of a large household. He even confided to me his boyhood name; [551] Tapirapé change their names several times during their lifetimes [522] and mention of a person's first childhood name, generally that of a fish, an animal, or simply descriptive of some personal characteristic, causes laughter among the audience and considerable embar- [165] rassment to the individual. I knew that Champukwi had been mar- [843] ried before he took his current wife, and that his first wife had died in childbirth. He revealed that her kinsmen had gossiped that her death was caused by his lack of respect for the food taboos imposed

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115 When the heavy rains of late December and January set in, we
123 were all more or less confined to the village as the rivers and streams
124 rose to flood the savanna. What had been brooks in the tropical
[132] forest became wide streams, difficult, and sometimes dangerous, to
[133] ford. It rained many hours each day. The Tapirapé women and children spent most of the time in their dwellings, and the men and older boys lounged in the men's house. Our house again became a meeting place. And as this was of course an opportune time for interviewing, I joined the men in their club or entertained visitors at home. I began to see more of Champukwi—first, in the men's house and then as he again became a regular visitor at our house. Now, he brought his new (and younger) wife with him. He liked to sit up with us late at night after the other Tapirapé visitors had retired to their dwellings or to the men's house for the night-long sings that are customary during the season of heavy rains. Under the light of our gasoline lamp, we again took up our study of Tapirapé culture. Not once did he mention his period of antagonism except to complain that the Tapirapé gossip too much.

Sometime late in January there began what might be considered the second phase of my relationship with Champukwi. Our friendship was no less intimate than before, but our conversations and more formal interviews were not now as frequent. During the next months, Champukwi became almost my assistant, an entrepreneur of
115 Tapirapé culture. He continued to provide invaluable information,
123 but when I became interested in a subject of which he knew little,
124 he would recommend that I talk to someone else. Though he directed
756 me to Urukumu on the subject of medicine men or shamans, Cham-
[754] pukwi himself related dreams he had heard other shamans tell. He
[683] explained that he did not want to become a shaman himself, for he had seen grieved relatives beat out the brains of Tapirapé shamans whom they suspected of causing a death by sorcery. He was not cer-
[982] tain, he said, whether such shamans had actually performed sorcery;
[975] but he reasoned that any shaman might come to such an end.
[976] Champukwi did have the frequent dreams that are indicative of one's powers to become a shaman and, in some of his dreams, he saw *anchunga*, the ghosts and supernaturals who are the aids of shamans. He had told only one or two of his kinsmen about this, and he did not want it to be known throughout the village lest there be pressure on him to train for shamanism.

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**Champukwi of the Village of the Tapirapé**

Champukwi sketched for me the stories of Petura, the Tapirapé ancestral hero who stole fire from the King Vulture, daylight from the night owl, *genipa* (used for dye) from the monkeys, and other items for the Tapirapé. However, he persuaded Maeumi, an elder famous for his knowledge of mythology, to relate the details although he himself helped considerably to clarify for me the meaning of native phrases and to make the stories told by Maeumi more fully understandable. Champukwi also forewarned me of events that I might want to witness, events that without his warning I might have missed. Such were the wrestling matches which took place upon the return of a hunting party between those men who went on the hunt and those who remained at home. He told me of a particularly handsome basket a man had made, which I might want to add to my collection for the Brazilian National Museum. He came to tell me that a young woman in a neighboring house was in labor, thus enabling me to get a photograph of the newborn infant being washed in the stream, and he urged the men to celebrate for my benefit a ceremony which might easily have been omitted. Champukwi was no longer merely an informant. He became a participant in ethnographic research although, of course, he never thought of it in these terms. He seemed somehow to understand the anthropologist's task in studying his culture, and in the process he gained considerable objectivity about his own way of life.

Yet it must be said that Champukwi did not seem to discredit the norms, institutions, and beliefs of his own people. Although he saw Valentim and me walk safely down the path through the forest late at night, he steadfastly refused to do the same; for the path was a favorite haunt of the lonely ghosts of deceased Tapirapé who might harm the living. He reasoned that the *tori* were probably immune to this danger. When he was ill, he took the pills we urged upon him but he also called in the shaman. His curiosity about airplanes, automobiles, and "gigantic canoes" (passenger boats) which he saw pictured in the magazines we had brought with us, was great; but he boasted that the Tapirapé could walk farther and faster than any *tori* or even the Caraja (who are a canoe people). In fact, his interest in, and enthusiasm for, certain Tapirapé activities seemed to be heightened by our presence. Almost all Tapirapé ceremonials involve choral singing and Champukwi was a singing leader of one of the sections of the men's societies. He was always pleased when

/404 cont./

center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs, food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé, opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago; since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and 263 appear here./

3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).

In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (kĩwaã; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ in any way from those of the Karajá.

The club (ĩwĩrã, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and depressions.

[Text continues on p. 339]

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away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few 177
months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of [197]
Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and [191]
verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these 114
youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals 123
we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," [621]
the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses [361]
arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were [592]
each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the per- [551]
sonal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Maria-
pawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let 114
alone pronounce. [122]

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study [197]
intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the wide-
spread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least
passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms
of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed
explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which [241]
manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops
were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poison- [462]
ous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I [252]
watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture [323]
their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm- [285]
thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building [462]
was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly [345]
became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and [291]
the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude [834]
women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never
to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also [302]
to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed
their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on
their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many [126]
other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes
and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather 123
pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our
antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversa-
tions that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales
of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

the subject of conversation when listening to a strange language.) Then, of course, our presence was materially valuable—for the salt, knives, needles, beads, mirrors, and other presents we brought were greatly appreciated. However, within a very short time some of these people began to emerge as individuals. Awanchowa, a small boy of about 6, followed me about and literally haunted our little house, staring at our large bag of salt which he ate with the same relish children in other cultures eat sweets. Then there was Tanui, a woman of middle age (whose hair was cropped short indicating that a near relative had recently died) who often brought us presents of food. Gradually most of the villagers emerged as distinctive personalities and among them was Champukwi. I cannot remember when I first came to know him as an individual, but his name begins to appear regularly in my field notebooks about one month after our arrival. Soon, he became my best informant, and after a time, an inseparable companion.

In 1939 Champukwi must have been about 25 years of age. He was tall for a Tapirapé male, measuring perhaps about 5 feet 6 inches, strongly built but lean, and weighing, I should judge, about 150 lbs. Like all Tapirapé men he wore his hair in bangs across his forehead with a braided pigtail tied at the back of his neck. He was somewhat of a dandy, for his feet and the calves of his legs were painted bright red every evening with *rucu*. From time to time he painted an intricate design on his body, and he wore crocheted disc-like wrist ornaments of cotton string dyed red. He was obviously a man of some prestige among men of his age, for youths and younger men treated him with deference, always finding a seat for him on the bench that was built against one wall of our house. I soon learned that he, too, had spent a short period at a mission station several years earlier and that he knew a few words of Portuguese. He was married and had a daughter about 2 years of age. His wife, hardly attractive according to my American tastes, appeared to be somewhat older than he, and was pregnant when we first met.

Champukwi seemed more patient than other Tapirapé with my attempts to use his language and to seek information. He would repeat a word, a phrase, or a sentence several times so that I might write it down phonetically. He resorted to his meager Portuguese and even to mimicry to explain what was meant. His patience was of course

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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requited by gifts of beads, hardware, and salt which I provided judiciously from time to time. After a few days, I began noting questions to be asked of Champukwi in the late afternoon when he now habitually visited our house. But this was the time that others also liked to visit. At this hour of the day our house was often crowded with men, women, children, and even pets—monkeys, parrots, and wild pigs—for which the Tapirapé along with other Brazilian tribes have an especial fondness. Such social gatherings were hardly conducive to the ethnological interview or even to the systematic recording of vocabulary. So I asked Champukwi if I might go with him to his garden. There, alternating between helping him cut brush from his garden site and sitting in the shade, I was able to conduct a kind of haphazard interview. Often, while he worked, I formulated questions in my halting Tapirapé and I was able by repetition to understand his answers. Although the Tapirapé villagers began to joke of Champukwi's new garden site as belonging to the two of us, these days were very valuable for my research.

Walking through the forest to and from Champukwi's garden, we often hunted for *jacu*, a large forest fowl rather like a chicken. I attempted to teach Champukwi how to use my .22 rifle, but he had difficulty understanding the gunsights and missed continually. He attempted to show me how to "see" the *jacu* hidden in the thick branches of the trees, but I seldom caught sight of the birds until they had flown. Thus, our complementary incapacities combined to make our hunting in the tropical forest quite unproductive, and in disgust Champukwi often resorted to his bow and arrow. Only later in the year, after he had practiced a great deal by shooting at tin cans did Champukwi master the use of the rifle, and this new-found skill greatly added to his prestige among the Tapirapé.

My abiding friendship with Champukwi perhaps really began when I came down with malaria about six weeks after our arrival. During the first few days of my illness, I was oblivious to my surroundings. I am told that while one *panché*, or medicine man, predicted my death, another tried to cure me by massage, by blowing tobacco smoke over my body, and by attempting to suck out the "object" that was causing the fever. Evidently his efforts—plus the atabrine tablets administered by Valentim Gomes—were successful, for my fever abated. I realized, however, that convalescence would be slow. Unable to leave the house for almost three weeks, I spent my days

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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114 and evenings suspended in a large Brazilian hammock. In this state of enervation, I must have been the very picture of the languid white [123] man in the tropics. Each late afternoon our house became a gather- [974] ing place for the Tapirapé villagers, who came not only to visit with me (communication was still difficult) but also with each other, and 123 to gaze upon the belongings of the *tori* (non-Indian). My illness 538 proved to be a boon for ethnographic research. People were more patient with the sick anthropologist than with the well one. They told stories, not only for my benefit, but also to entertain each other. [703] In attempting to explain to me about a mythological culture hero, a man would find himself telling a myth to the attending audience. Thus, I heard (and saw) Tapirapé stories told as they should be—as dramatic forms spoken with vivacity and replete with mimicry of the animals that are so often characters in these folktales. With my still imperfect knowledge of Tapirapé I inevitably lost the thread of the story and it had to be retold to me more slowly.

115 Champukwi was a frequent visitor during these days of my con- 123 valescence. He came each morning on the way to his garden and 124 he became accustomed to drinking morning coffee with us. And, [512] each late afternoon after he had returned from his garden, he came "to talk"—often slowly retelling the stories and incidents that I had difficulty understanding the evening before. Several days during this period he did not work in his garden but sat for two or three hours talking. He learned when he should pause or repeat a phrase or [212] sentence in order that I might take notes. He came to understand what writing meant, discovering that what I wrote in my notebook I could repeat to him later. In time he appreciated the fact that I was not so much interested in learning the Tapirapé language as I was in comprehending the Tapirapé way of life. As so often is the case when a person understands and speaks a foreign language poorly, one communicates best with but a single person who is accustomed to one's mistakes and one's meager vocabulary. Thus, I could understand and make myself understood to Champukwi better than any [192] other Tapirapé. Moreover, because he spent long hours in our house, [126] he was learning Portuguese from Valentim Gomes, and this was an aid in helping me translate newly learned words and phrases in Tapirapé and even helped me understand his explanations of Tapirapé culture patterns. Champukwi thus consciously became my teacher, and others came to realize that he was teaching me. During

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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**Champukwi of the Village of the Tapir**

Champukwi sketched for me the stories of Petura, the Tapirapé ancestral hero who stole fire from the King Vulture, daylight from the night owl, *genipa* (used for dye) from the monkeys, and other items for the Tapirapé. However, he persuaded Maeumi, an elder famous for his knowledge of mythology, to relate the details although he himself helped considerably to clarify for me the meaning of native phrases and to make the stories told by Maeumi more fully understandable. Champukwi also forewarned me of events that I might want to witness, events that without his warning I might have missed. Such were the wrestling matches which took place upon the return of a hunting party between those men who went on the hunt and those who remained at home. He told me of a particularly handsome basket a man had made, which I might want to add to my collection for the Brazilian National Museum. He came to tell me that a young woman in a neighboring house was in labor, thus enabling me to get a photograph of the newborn infant being washed in the stream, and he urged the men to celebrate for my benefit a ceremony which might easily have been omitted. Champukwi was no longer merely an informant. He became a participant in ethnographic research although, of course, he never thought of it in these terms. He seemed somehow to understand the anthropologist's task in studying his culture, and in the process he gained considerable objectivity about his own way of life.

Yet it must be said that Champukwi did not seem to discredit the norms, institutions, and beliefs of his own people. Although he saw Valentim and me walk safely down the path through the forest late at night, he steadfastly refused to do the same; for the path was a favorite haunt of the lonely ghosts of deceased Tapirapé who might harm the living. He reasoned that the *tori* were probably immune to this danger. When he was ill, he took the pills we urged upon him but he also called in the shaman. His curiosity about airplanes, automobiles, and "gigantic canoes" (passenger boats) which he saw pictured in the magazines we had brought with us, was great; but he boasted that the Tapirapé could walk farther and faster than any *tori* or even the Caraja (who are a canoe people). In fact, his interest in, and enthusiasm for, certain Tapirapé activities seemed to be heightened by our presence. Almost all Tapirapé ceremonials involve choral singing and Champukwi was a singing leader of one of the sections of the men's societies. He was always pleased when

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
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161 had continued during the last thirteen years. Yet I found
178 that even with so small a population Tapirapé society still functioned as an organized unit and Tapirapé culture persisted, although highly modified by the events of the last thirteen years. Several points of theoretical importance can be learned from recent Tapirapé history and from some observations on social and cultural changes since 1940.

175 The sketchy outline of Tapirapé history between
[127] 1940 and 1953, which I have been able to piece together with the help of the Indians themselves, of Sr. Valentim Gomes (the officer of the post of the Brazilian Indian Service which services the Tapirapé, and my companion during both visits to the tribe in 1939-40), and of a published report by Herbert Baldus,[3] indicates the tremendous shocks this society has suffered in the last decade. Briefly, this history is as follows: In 1941, just a year after my 1940 visit, a serious epidemic broke out in the
[731 Tapirapé village in which I had lived. As usual, following
578] an epidemic during which there is a series of deaths, dissension broke out within the village. A well-known shaman was killed and a group of Tapirapé ("perhaps thirty in number") fled the village to the Brazilian town of Furo de Pedra, some two hundred kilometers from their village. It is reported that at least two people died during this trip and that the group returned to their village infected with common colds. By August of 1940, Sr. Gomes was able to ascertain that twenty-six people
175 had died since June of the same year. In September of
648 1941 an Indian Post for the protection of the Tapirapé was opened, but it was established at the mouth of the Tapirapé River, near the Carajá whom the Tapirapé feared and near Brazilians from whom they contracted new infections. That year, a few Indians visited the Post but after the death of a young Tapirapé man at the Post and an unfortunate experience with a group of drunken Brazilian men, only rarely did a Tapirapé

3. "Tribus da Bacia do Araguaia e o Serviço de Proteção aos Índios", in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, N. S., Vol. II, São Paulo, 1948, pp. 137-168.

[96:155] Note

128 For the citation of sources, the italicized number (for example, 2) refers to the numeration of the works of the author concerned, which appears in the bibliography presented at the end of the present work [Ed., the bibliography was apparently not published]; the Roman number (for example, I) indicates, for works of several volumes, the volume concerned; the Arabic number not italicized (for example, 2) is the page number; for works paginated with Roman numerals, a special designation is given for the page (for example, p. I).

194 [96:156] Since the native words are not regularly stressed on the penultimate, the acute accent indicates the tonic syllable.

The Tapirapé language is even more nasalized than the other Tupí dialects we know. Since this nasalization affects nearly all sounds in the pronunciation of certain individuals, it has not been specifically indicated.

Parentheses ( ) indicate that the sound of the letter between them is reduced to near imperceptibility.

a, e, o, u are closed vowels.

b, d, f, j, l, m, n, p, t, v sound the same as in Portuguese [Tr., therefore roughly as in English].

au has the same sound as in the German auf.

i before a vowel is the German j in ja; before a consonant or at the end of a word, it is a vowel.

y represents the guttural i characteristic of Tupí and certain other South American linguistic families, which appears, for example, in the Tupí word y, "water." In Tapirapé, it often ends in a reduced consonant that recalls the German ch in ich.

g has the same sound as in the Portuguese gato, guerra, and guia, or the German gut, or the English "good." It forms a special sound only when preceded by n.

ng has the nasal and medial gutteral sound of the German singen and English "king." The g following ng (ngg) is pronounced like the g in the Portuguese gato [or English "good."].

124 pictures is much larger than the original, while the opposite applies to most other animals. It is especially difficult to identify various kinds of fish which vary considerably in actual size.

I shall transcribe from Rodolpho von Ihering's book the ●128 colloquial and scholarly names, while sometimes omitting that of the species. Most of the errors which I have probably committed in spite of this precaution will thus, I hope, easily be corrected by zoologists. It is well to call the attention of those who study [825] the geographic distribution of animals to the fact that the Tapirapé are not familiar with the species represented by R. von Ihering and omitted from the following list, for I showed them all the figures in the book. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

[Tr., the following list is summarized from the original text, and omissions have not been indicated. To avoid confusion, it should be emphasized that the first name listed is the Tapirapé term. Its translation is given in Portuguese when there is no English equivalent or it is uncertain, and in most cases the Brazilian term is of Tupi derivation.]

## MAMMALS

136 (1) anyrá -- bats in general. Not eaten.

262 (2) tatu -- hairy six banded armadillo (Euphractus sexcinctus). Eaten by men. [117:94] The Tapirapé were not familiar with the nine-banded armadillo (Dasypus novemcinctus) in Fig. 15.

(3) tamanua -- great anteater (Myrmecophaga jubata). Eaten.

(4) tamanduá-beva -- small anteater (Tamandua tetradactylus). Eaten by men and youths, not by boys or women.

(5) chingó -- sloth (species of the Bradypodidae family). Not eaten. The Tapirapé word may arouse doubts, for it differs completely from the Tupi term mentioned by numerous authors.

(6) tapidjí -- tapiti (Tr., a small hare-like rodent] (Sylvilagus minensis). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 19.

(7) kuanohó -- rat (a species). They used this name for the wild rat (Axymycterus nasutus) in Fig. 20, as well as the coypu [117:95] (Myocastor coypus) in Fig. 22. Considering the great

•128 [Ed., p. 86 and all but the last two lines of p. 87 are not translated.]

[87] In the pages that follow I wish to discuss a social institution
121 of the Tapirapé, the like of which I have not yet found [88] either among the other tribes I have visited or in the literature. I call it "eating groups." [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

The social significance of this organization into "eating groups"
264 derives from their purpose, which is as follows. Sometimes it happens
224 that the produce of the hunt or of the harvest, which among these Indians may be eaten by either sex and also by the children (for exam-
[262] ple, wild pig, curassow, guan, turtle, honey, etc.), is too sizable for the hunter's family and not sizable enough to be shared justly and advantageously with the entire population of the village. In such a case, to avoid a less equitable act, the distribution is made among the mem-
574 bers of the eating group to which the hunter belongs.
476

At the time of my stay among the Tapirapé, they were divided
264 into seven eating groups [89]. They say that in the old days the groups
551 were more numerous. The names of the existing groups are Txankanépéra [Tr., the Portuguese x equals English sh], Pananivũãna, Maniitivuéra, Kãũũãnõí, Tãũãũpéra, Ãmpirampé, Ãvãinki'. Whenever I asked for an explanation of their meaning, I was merely given the word tãtãupãũã. Undoubtedly, however, some of the group names are related to the names of animals and plants, Txankanépéra with txankané (alligator), Maniitivuéra with mandiivũnã (a variety of manioc), Ãvãinki' with vũãiki'tã (a variety of manioc). This may be
[771] a vestige of totemic ideas, although they are not manifested in the behavior of the group members. For example, the attitude of the Txankanépéra group members toward the alligator is no different from that of the members of other groups. It is true that at the common
551 feasts each person is called by the name of the group and also is what
476 the name represents. Thus, for example, a member of the
264 Txankanépéra group will say, "Txe Txankanépéra," which means both "I am called Txankanépéra" and "I am Txankanépéra," and says to his group-fellow, male or female, "Ané Txankanépéra ('You are called Txankanépéra,' or 'You are Txankanépéra')."

192 Tãtãupãũã designates both the common feast of a group and the
574 institution of eating groups in general. When I asked the Tapirapé what
476 they called themselves as a community, I got the answer "Ampiãũã"
264 (a word that means "man" in the Tupí of the Amazon) and the statement
[101]

175 Moraes Jardim (24), who explored the Araguaia in 1879, writes as follows about the Tapirapé River: "The steamship Araguaya, under the [99:68] command of the late Lieutenant Balduino, ascended this river about ten leagues from its mouth to a harbor of the Tapirapé Indians without encountering any difficulties. When he reached this point, the captain sent a few scouts to the village, which stood some distance from the river. The Indians, however, sensed their approach and ran away, and the captain achieved nothing more than a reconnaissance of this section of the river."

João Severiano de Fonseca (I, 90) refers to this ascent of the Tapirapé River as follows: "The worthy Commander Balduino de Aguiar, so well known for his heroic deeds in the battles of the Coimbra Fortress and in others on the Paraguay River and at São Lourenço, ascended this river in 1868 for about 50 kilometers in a small steamer, the Araguaya, which Mr. Couto de Magalhães had brought in from Cuiabá to explore the river, whose name it adopted."

[131] At that time, therefore, the Tapirapé lived closer to the Araguaia than today.

Moraes Jardim also writes (34): "The Tapirapés have built their villages on the banks of the river of the same name. It is said that they are gentle Indians, more industrious than the others, but we have not had any contact with them so far."

[174] There must have been indirect contact between the Tapirapé and the Whites at that time, however, probably through the Karajá, for aside from the above-mentioned notice concerning their gentleness and industriousness, we read the following concerning quartz lip ornaments in an article about the Karajá written by Aristides de Souza Spinola and included in the pamphlet by Moraes Jardim (40): "In the course of my journey I saw only one common Indian [ornament] of this sort. I possess two in my small Indian chest received from the Tapirapés, who inhabit the banks of the river of the same name, a tributary of the Araguaia."

Ehrenreich, who went down the Araguaia in 1888, says in 1891 (2, 88): "The Araguaia River region is inhabited by the Tapirapé, who in truth have not yet been visited by any traveler, but who already had contact with the colonists in the past century." Like Martius, he includes these Indians with the "Central Tupí"

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

# TAPIRAPÉ SOCIAL AND CULTURE CHANGE 1940-1953

by

CHARLES WAGLEY

The Tapirapé are a Tupi-speaking tribe whose aboriginal habitat lay between the Araguaya and Xingu rivers in central Brazil. Tapirapé society and culture, as it existed before 1940, has been described by Herbert Baldus and the present author in a series of articles and monographs.[1] In 1940, when I left the Tapirapé village after approximately eighteen months of residence and research, I was convinced that Tapirapé society was rapidly disintegrating and that it would soon cease to exist as a distinct organized unit. At that time, although Tapirapé culture was essentially unchanged from its aboriginal condition, severe depopulation had so disrupted the social structure that the society seemed no longer to satisfy the minimal conditions for group survival.[2] A mere 147 individuals grouped in but one village were all that remained in 1940 of this tribe that once had numbered at least one thousand people living in five large villages. In 1953, when I returned for a short visit of three weeks with the Tapirapé Indians in their new village at the mouth of the Tapirapé River on the Araguaya, I found but 51 individuals. The rapid process of depopulation

1. Cf. Herbert Baldus, *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, São Paulo, 1937, and "Os Tapirapé, tribo Tupi no Brasil Central," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, Vols. XCVI-CV, CVII-CXXVII, São Paulo, 1944-49; and Charles Wagley, "Tapirapé Shamanism," *Boletim do Museu Nacional, Antropologia*, N.° 3, Rio, 1943.

2. Charles Wagley, "The Effects of Depopulation upon Social Organization as Illustrated by the Tapirapé Indians," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Series II, Vol. 3, N.° 1, pp. 12-16, New York, 1940.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



175 648 they might beg from the Brazilian. Another group of families came to live at the Indian post near the mouth of the Tapirapé River, where the Indian officer helped them build temporary shelters and provided them with food. And earlier, before the Kayapo attack, a small group of families had broken from the main village to migrate to a distant village site called Čičutawa, far to the north.[4] During these years, ceremonial and religious life, normal family life, aboriginal economic activities, and in fact most of the regular activities of their society were either completely suspended or affected by a marginal existence to the Brazilian frontiersmen.

131 166 178 [648] But in 1950 Tapirapé society was, in a sense, re-organized. As a result of the efforts of the Indian officer, all of the remaining Tapirapé (except those who had migrated to the north) came together to form a village which they called *Tawiáho* (New Village), some six kilometers from the Post Heloísa Alberto Torres. By 1953 this village had been fully completed, and the Tapirapé had relatively large and productive gardens in the forest 361 178 some three or four kilometers from it. The village had been constructed, as in aboriginal times, in a circle surrounding a large men's ceremonial house. The houses were in general of the aboriginal type, each housing several biological families. Ceremonials had begun again and, as before, the nights were filled with singing. Although considerably modified, normal Tapirapé social life was again possible. Although for a short period Tapirapé *society* might be said not to have existed, Tapirapé *culture* continued to live in the minds of these few remaining individuals and it allowed them, given the opportunity, to recreate, although in a much attenuated form, their social life. This is a striking example of the difference between a society and its culture.

177 But both Tapirapé society and Tapirapé culture had been considerably modified by the events of the last decade. There were striking differences in social

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138. This group has never been heard of since they left. It is the opinion of the remaining Tapirapé that they were killed by the Kayapo since Čičutawa is near Kayapo territory.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

## INTRODUCTION

101
The Tapirapé Indians are a Tupi-speaking tribe living in Central 131
Brazil west of the Araguaya River. Their villages formerly extended [197]
some two hundred miles to the north of the Tapirapé River, an affluent [178]
of the Araguaya; but today their one remaining village lies west of the Araguaya, about forty miles north of the Tapirapé and 160 miles from the point of union of the two rivers. This settlement contains a total 161
population that does not exceed 150 people, the residue of five villages that probably existed so late as the turn of the century and that are said to have had a population of about two hundred people each. A progressive population decline has followed the acquiring of diseases from contact with the neighboring Carajá Indians of the Araguaya River and from European visitors. Such contacts, however, have left their aboriginal culture little changed.

The Tapirapé are properly a forest people, maintaining an agricultural 241
life on clearings hewed from the great tropical forest. Their cultivated 462
fields are large producing manioc (both *Manihot manihot* and the sweet species *Manihot palmata aypi*), maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, yams, kará (*Dioscorea sp.*), cotton, and bananas.

The dry months of June through September of each year are devoted [132]
to clearing the garden sites. This work is done by men, frequently working individually, sometimes in communal labor formed by the men's moiety groups (1). When the clearing is done collectively, the large [423]
field is divided into individual plots which become individual property;

(1) There is an excellent description of this communal activity, called *apatirum* by the Tapirapé in Herbert Baldus. 1937. "Os grupos de comer e os grupos de trabalho dos Tapirapé", *in Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, pp. 98-111. São Paulo.

[p.61]
[p.60 blank]

T 195 114 /403 cont./ are Karajá who are so named because they live on the lower course of the Tapirapé. On page 174 he mentions a village of the /404/ Tapirapé on the Fecho de Tapirapé and a village of the Karajá five days upward in the Tapirapé River; the one village consists of one house with ten occupants, the other, one house with 20 (p. 186). Here, therefore, the Tapirapé are regarded as a horde of the Karajá who live at the mouth of the river itself, and in the river, five days above the mouth, there is another village of Karajá! Coudreau was here the end of April; he encountered only a few places of the Karajá. His other reports are likewise very confused and uncertain, so that one may trace these, too, back to misunderstood information given by the Karajá.

C 115 2. Information obtained /Erkundetes/. The information that I obtained from the Karajá was the following:

T 13 [101] The Tapirapé (in Karajá: ũõhũ) live six to nine days' journey in a boat above the emptying of the river into the Araguaya. From the landing place one is obliged to walk another half day, according to others two days, over the campo in order to reach their vil-
T 105 lages. They occupy three villages, and, to be sure, one large one and two smaller ones (according to one isolated statement, four villages). The men wear penis cuffs plaited out of palm leaves. Both sexes wear the hair hanging down to the small of the back. The men wear long lip-plugs of (reddish?) stone. Ear plugs are also customary. Their ornaments are similar to those of the Karajá. Tattooing occurs among the married women: they cut vertical lines into their chins and one line on either side of the corners of their mouths, obliquely downward; these lines are colored black. They obtain their food primarily by cultivating manioc; since they
C [839] are very industrious, they cultivate large quantities. They are therefore considered rich by the Karajá. Of animals they keep dogs and, above all, araras, which the Karajá buy from them. Their weapons are bows and arrows, clubs, spears, and spear throwers.
C T [839] They know how to work with cotton. They wind the spun threads into big balls, like those of the Karajá. The Karajá like to buy their large, firmly plaited, cotton net coverings with a wide, black center stripe.

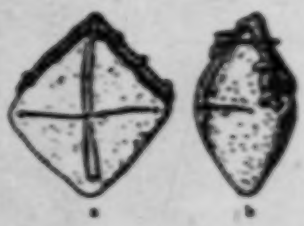
/406 cont./

114 course, I cannot state with certainty that all these objects actually come from the Tapirapé. In particular this cannot be done in the case of the spindle; yet they all have something about them that is more or less foreign to the Karajá.

192 Of words, I obtained the following through the Karaja in their perhaps corrupt pronunciation: penis cuff, hõõlã; urucú, kãã; tobacco, bãdumã.

114 4. Observations in Tapirapé territory. In traveling on the Rio Tapirapé I came upon traces of a people who I assume [131] were Tapirapé, for I met them in approximately the region in which, according to the accounts of the Karajá, the Tapirapé were supposed to live; I then crossed the boundary

532



Ill. 266a, b.
Doll of white earth.

114 between the Karajá territory and the Tapirapé territory, as my Karajá companions declared; finally, the number of villages encountered (three) corresponds to that given by the Karajá.

[324] The traces that I came across were the following: on [359] the twelfth day of the river journey footprints on a sandbank; on the thirteenth day a lake blocked off by a fish fence, next to it in the forest a place for roasting food, from which a path led northward over the campo; on the fourteenth day a second roasting place with a campo path; from noon of this day all traces ceased. From the twelfth to the fourteenth day, on the other hand, places of fires, as well as the remains of old lake barricades, were to be seen everywhere.

[See pp. 339-337 -- Analysis]

/406 cont./

114 On the campo path from the first roasting place, which was later
[319] joined by the second coming from the left, we reached a large
[361] village on the second day of the land march, two smaller villages
[312] on the third day, all three abandoned and in utter ruins. Water was not to be found on the campo on which the villages were located; the swamps and brooks to which paths led were dried out and, when excavated, in part to a depth of one meter, did not even yield moist earth, to say nothing of water.

●131 On the basis of the discoveries and observations that I
133 made at these places, I formed the following opinion. The tribe lives on the high campo that extends from the southern bend of the Tapirapé to the north as far as the high mountains (or plateau borders) that enclose it in the north and west. In front of these borders there extends a tremendous trough, apparently the source region of the Tapirapé, which from there flows around out of the high campo in the west and south, then turns off to the north-
[361] east. /407/ Here, approximately 130 kilometers due west from
[142] the Tapirapé mouth, the tribe lives in one large and two smaller
361 villages during the rainy season. The large village seemed to have had three to four houses; the second, smaller one, two to
[342] three; the third perhaps the same number. The houses were in such a state of ruin that their construction was no longer recognizable; apparently they were large rectangular buildings with a pointed gable roof. The villages lie close to the large forest
[133] area that accompanies the trough in front of the mountains. All around in smaller troughs extend large swamps to which brooks
221 lead. During the dry season these water areas dry up completely, so that even holes up to a meter deep in the brook bed do not yield moist earth. As a result, the Indians are compelled to migrate to water areas, and apparently they then first seek the
[137] upper Tapirapé. In former times they seem to have come farther downstream to a certain place where they met the Karajá, who extended their fishing expeditions this far, and traded with them. This trading place lies about 30 kilometers southeast of the first village (34 kilometers from the second and third). As
[202] a result of the conflicts with the Karajá, they now avoid this

5: Krause

SP9 Cazaja SP9
Tapirape SP22 ●

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T
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●131
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Sec. 1
/p. 366/

Sec. 2
/p. 367/

Sec. 3
/p. 368/

Chart of Positions of End Map A.
[Facing p. 365]

5:Krause--366 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

CT
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102
103
131
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361

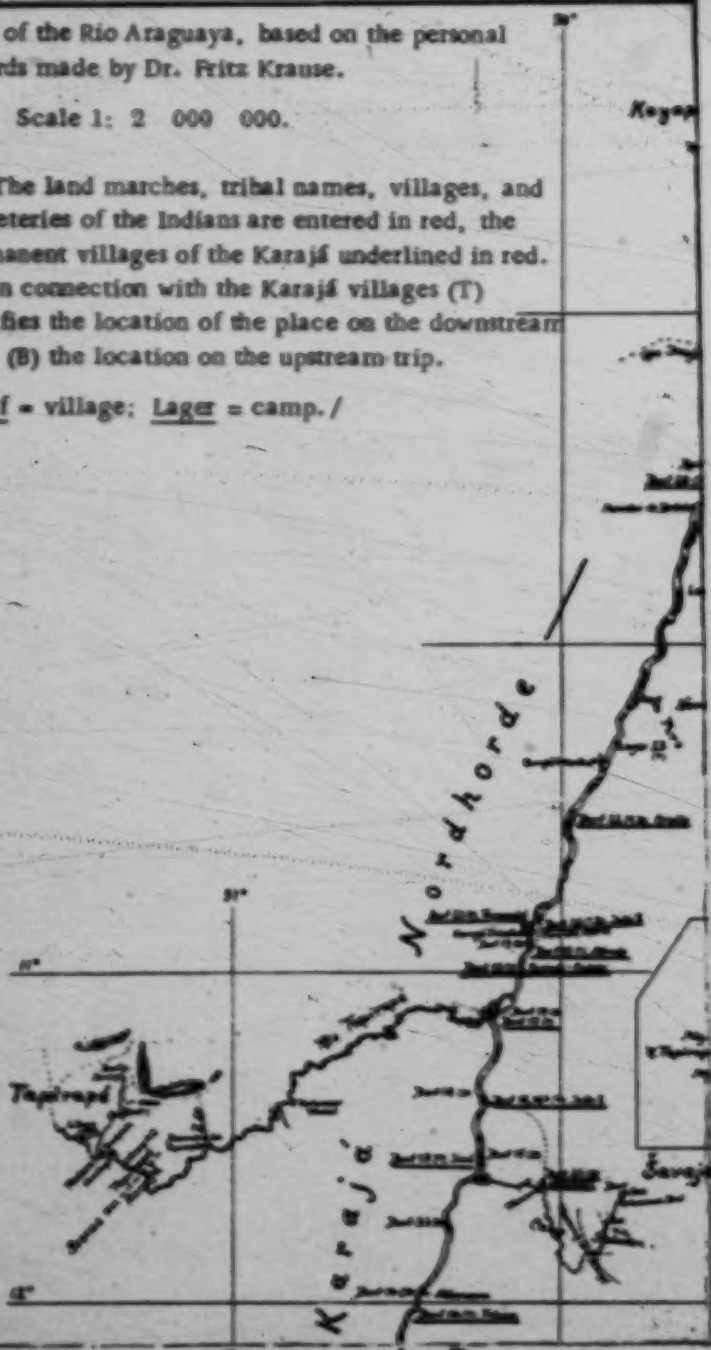
Map of the Rio Araguaya, based on the personal records made by Dr. Fritz Krause.

Scale 1: 2 000 000.

The land marches, tribal names, villages, and cemeteries of the Indians are entered in red, the permanent villages of the Karajá underlined in red.

In connection with the Karajá villages (T) signifies the location of the place on the downstream trip, (B) the location on the upstream trip.

/Dorf = village; Lager = camp./




[End Map A-1]

5: Krause--367 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Tapirape SP22

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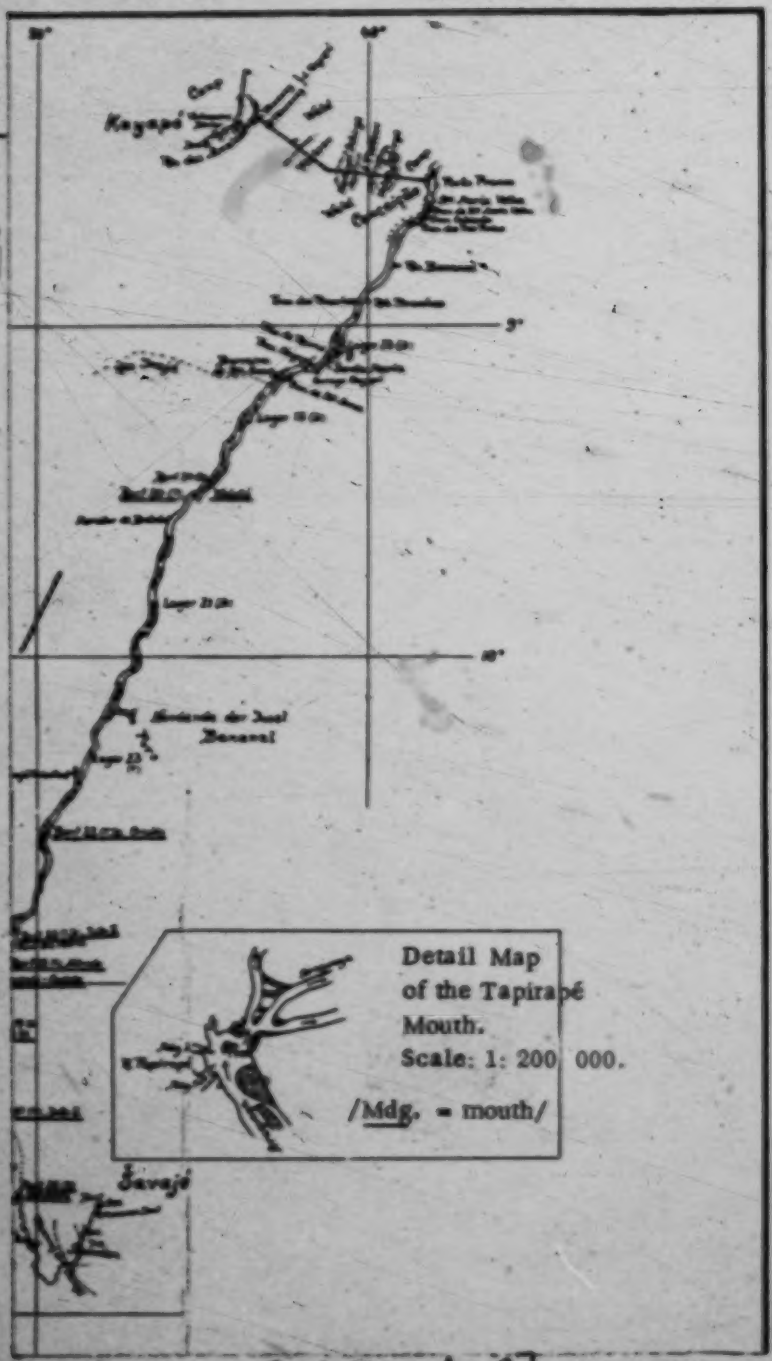


[End Map A-2]

5: Krause--368 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 Tapirape SP82

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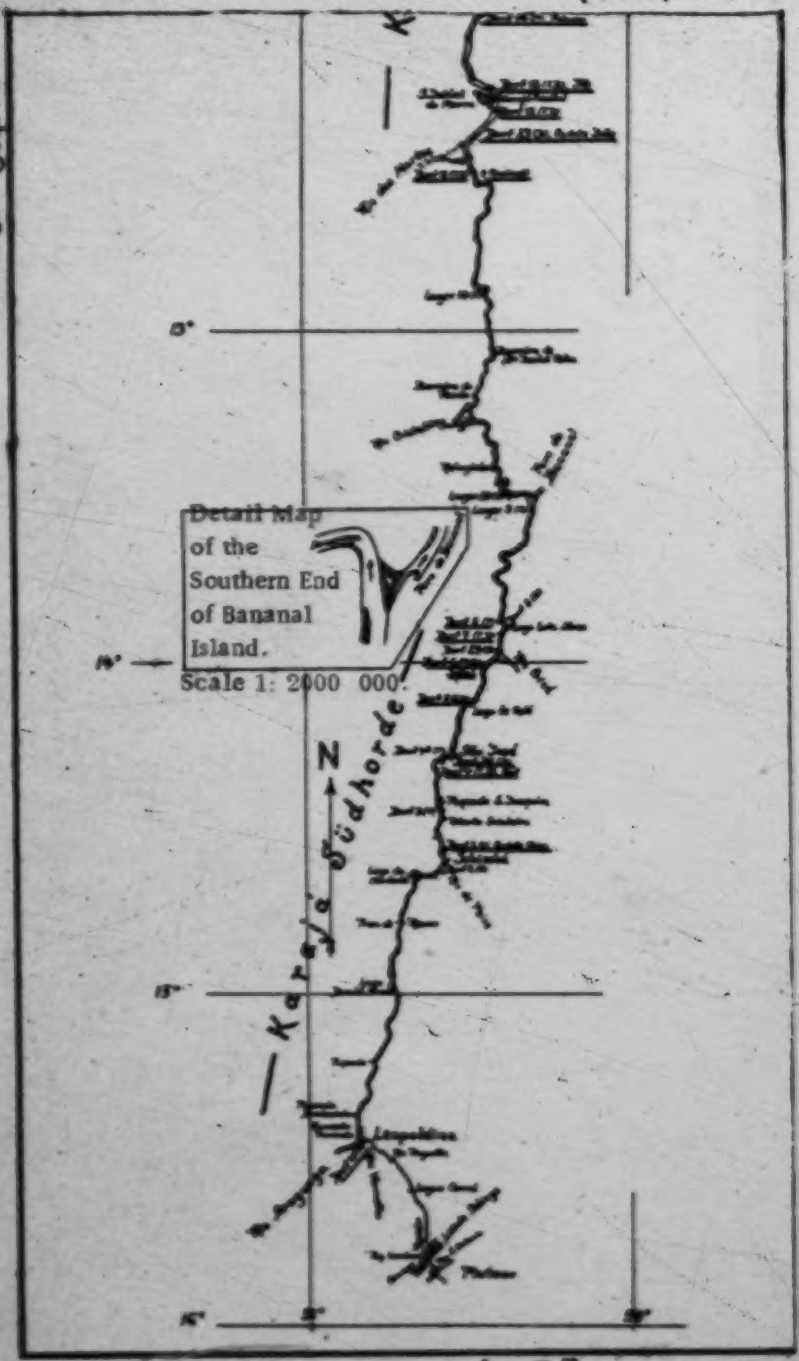
361




[End Map A-3]

5: Krause

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●131
133

SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22 ●

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sec. 1 /p. 369/ | Sec. 2 /p. 370/ | Sec. 3 /p. 371/ |
| Sec. 4 /p. 372/ | Sec. 5 /p. 373/ | Sec. 6 /p. 374/ |

Chart of Positions of End Map B.
/Facing p. 368/

5: Krause--369 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

BCT
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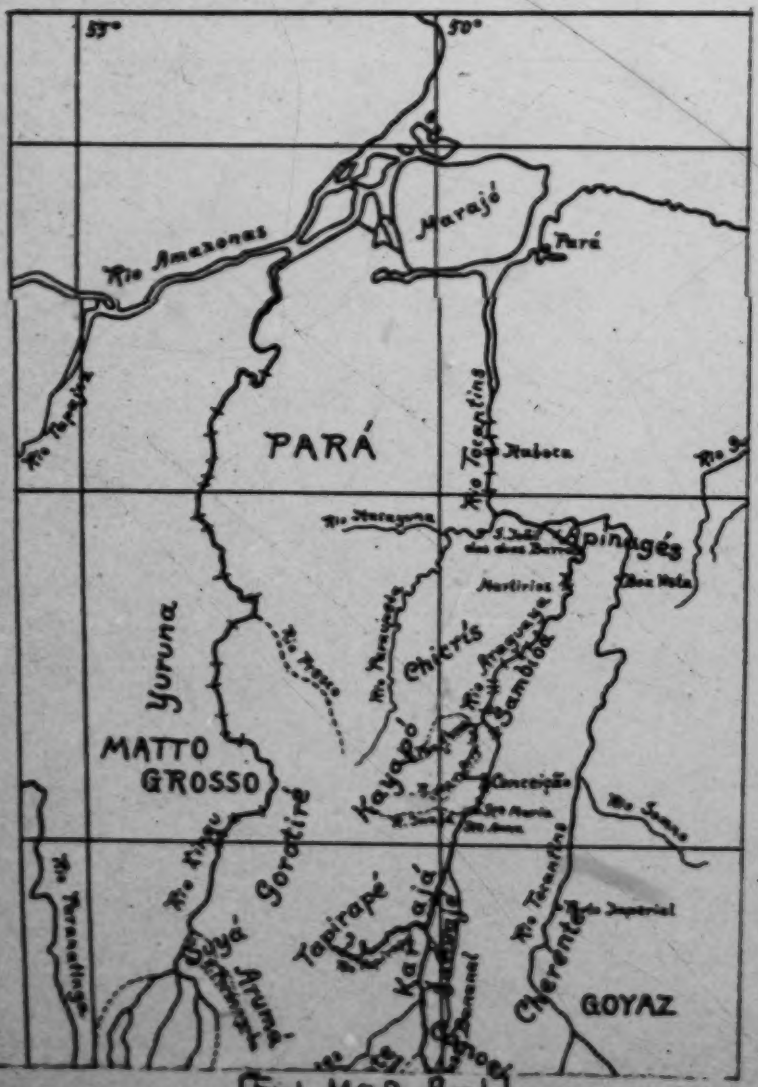
Survey Map

Scale 1: 20'000 000.




[End Map B-1]

5: Krause--370 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP 22

BCT
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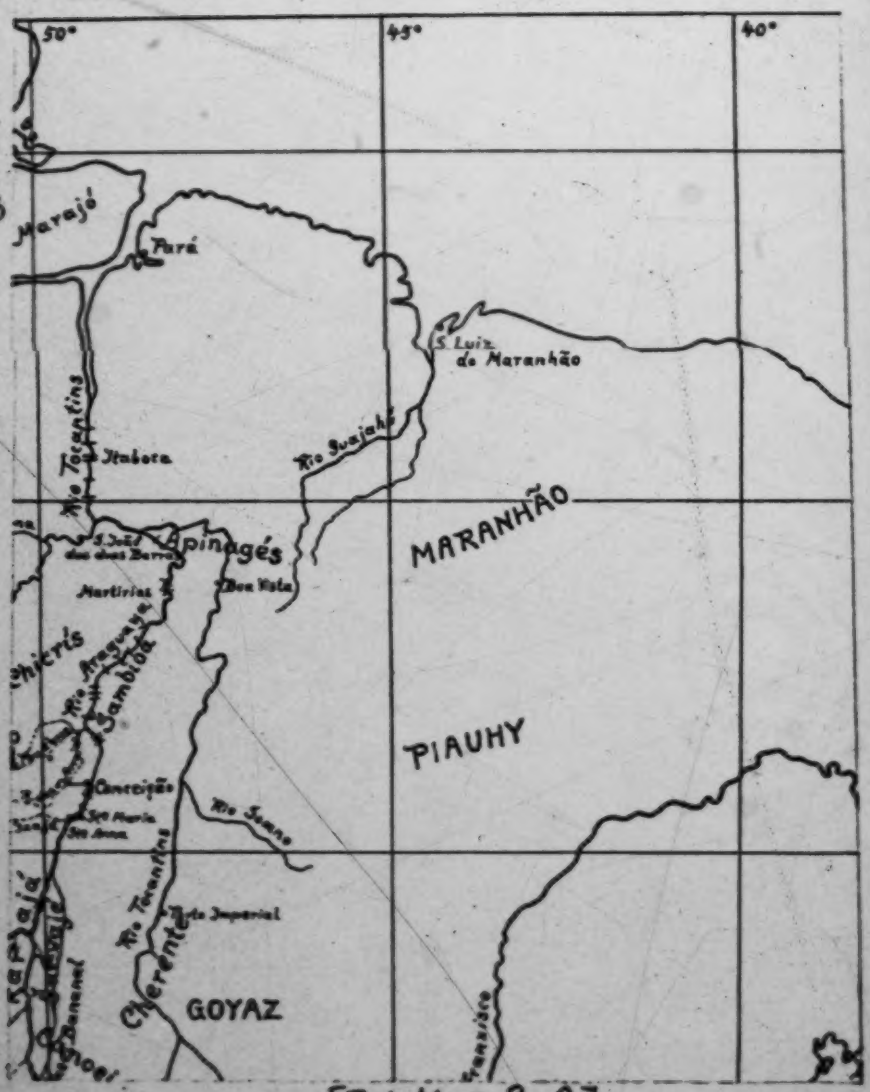


[End Map B-2]

5: Krause--371 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tupirape SP22

BCT
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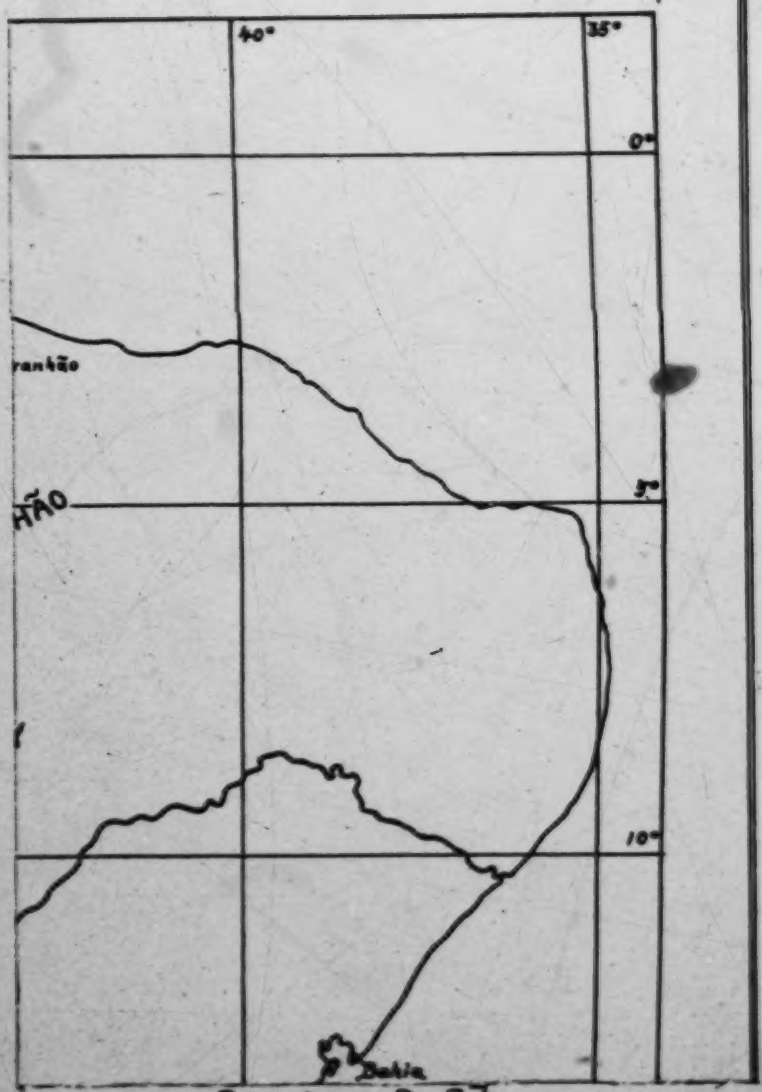


[End Map B-3]

5: Krause--372 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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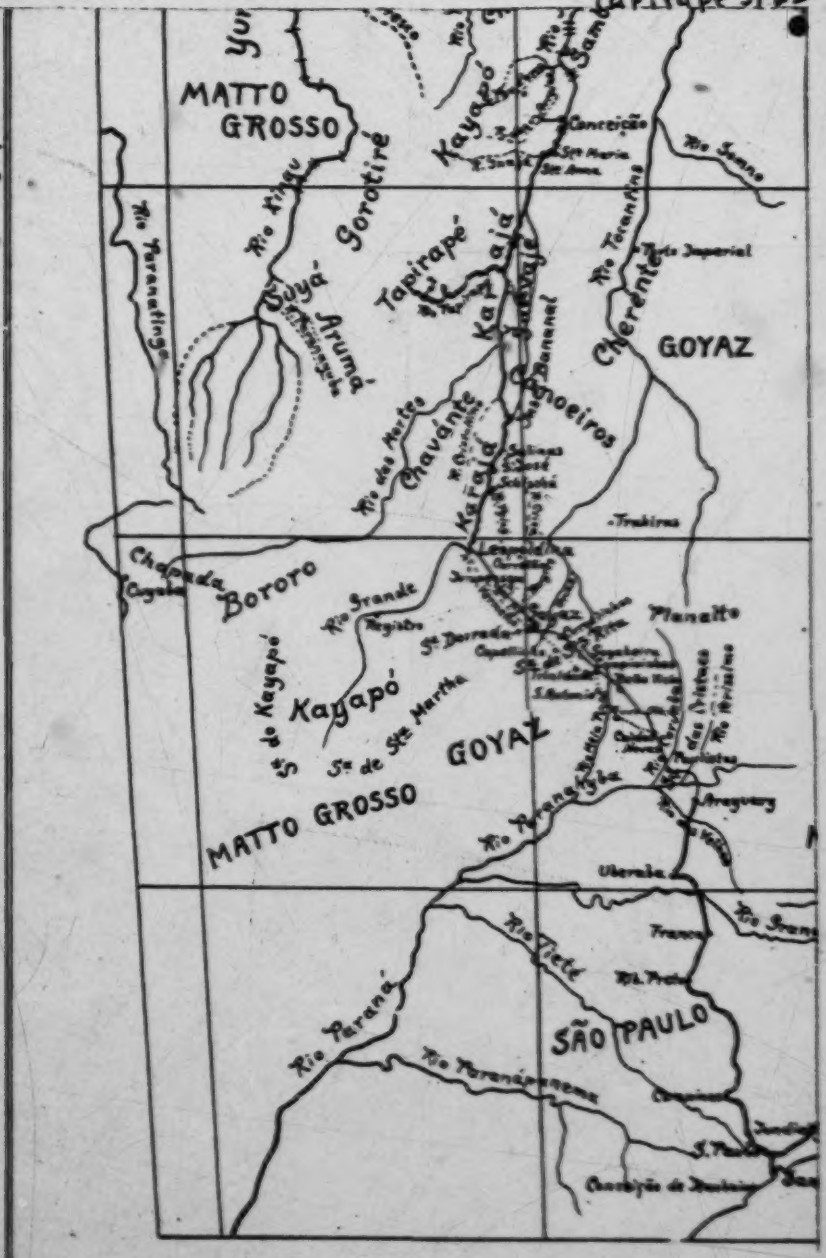


The travel route and the tribal names are entered in red.

[End Map B-4]

5: Krause--373 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

BCT
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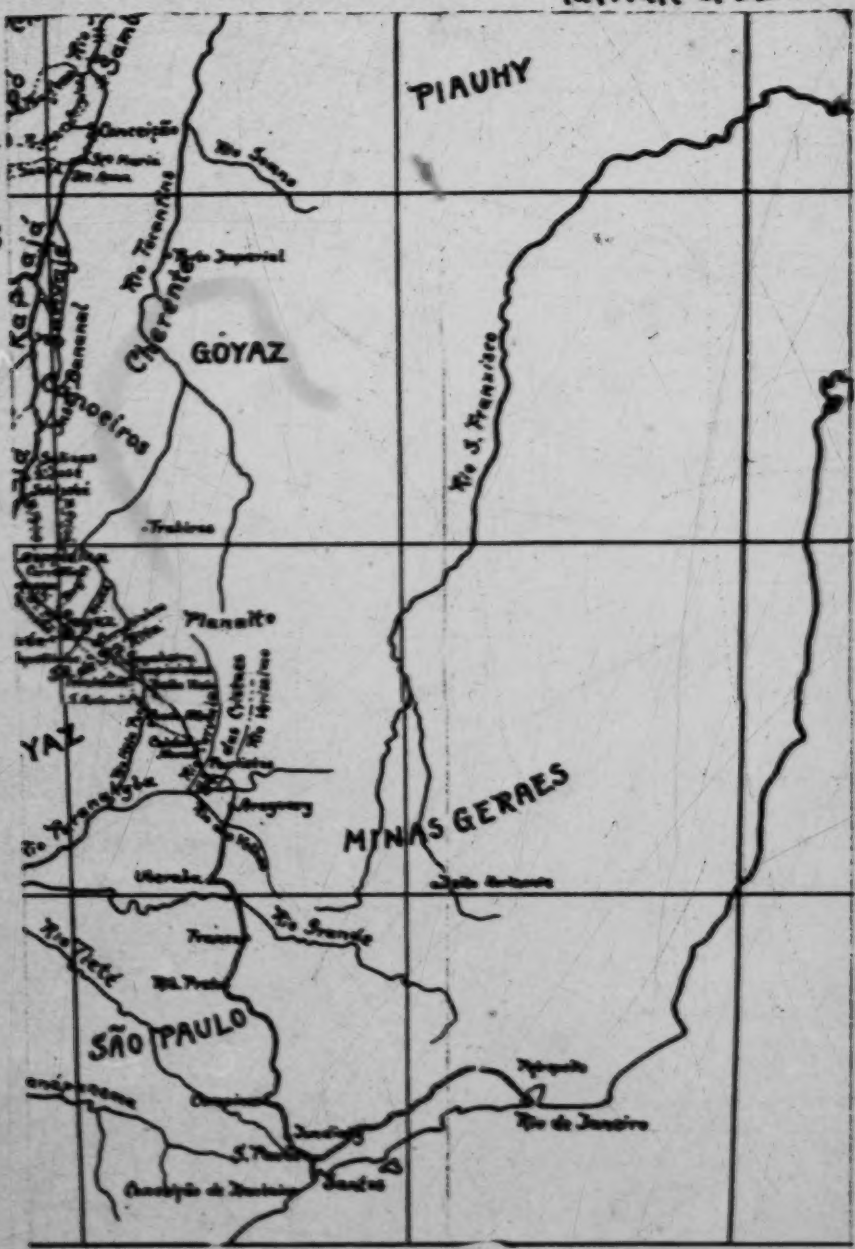
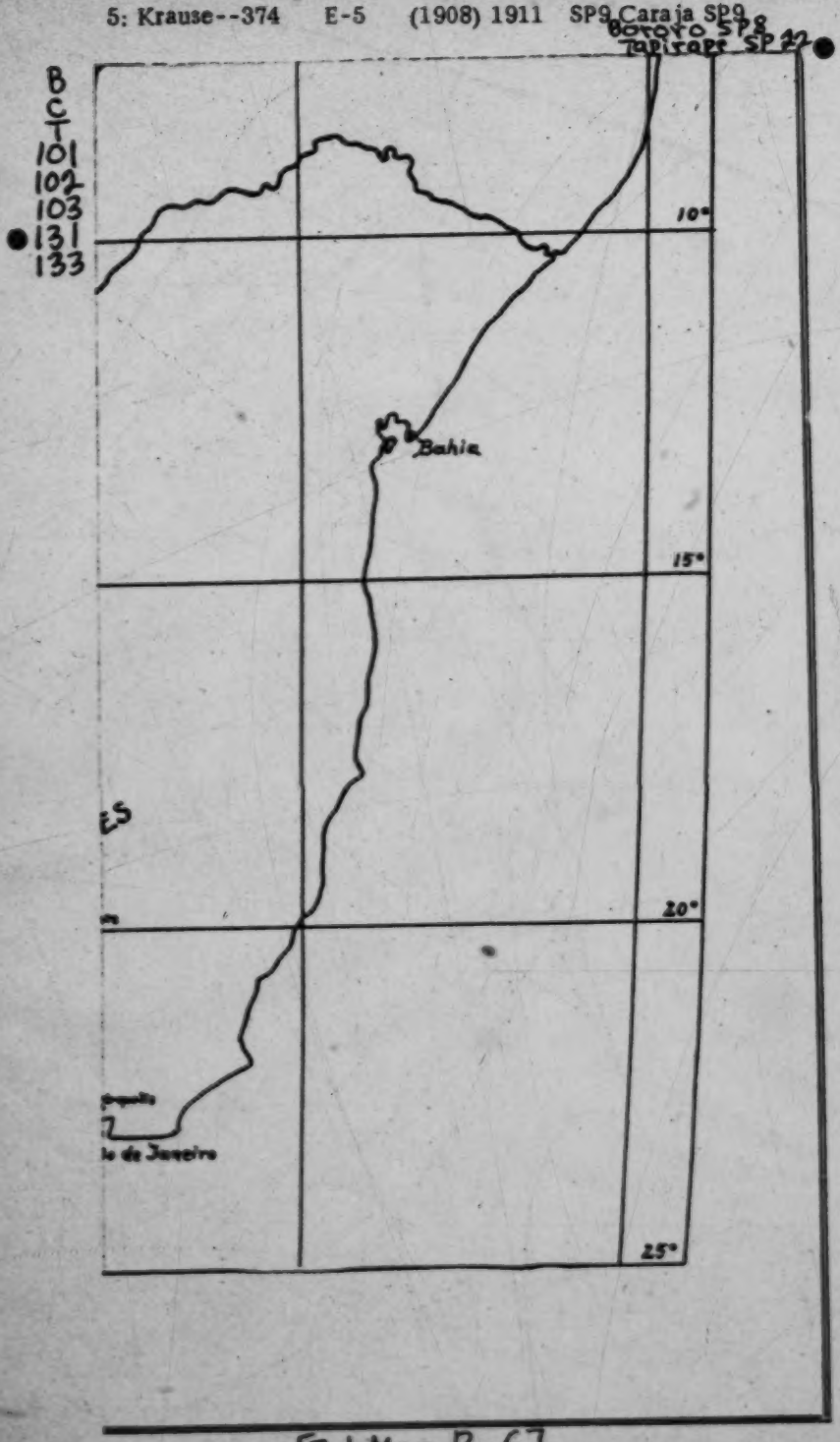



[End Map B-5]

5: Krause--374 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9




[End Map B-6]

648 offer them a refuge in case of northern Kaiapó advances or attacks. It might also preclude the entry of adventurers into the lands to the south and west, which are assumed to be inhabited by the Akuê-Chavante and by the Tupi tribe of the Ampaneá (in this respect, cf. my works, "Uma ponte etnográfica entre o Xingu e o Araguaia, [An ethnographic bridge between the Xingu and the Araguaia]," [113] Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 43, São Paulo, 1938, and "Os Tapirapé, tribo tupi no Brasil Central [The Tapirapé, a Tupi tribe of Central Brazil]," ibid., Vol. 100, São Paulo, 1945).

[911] [144] Since the Tapirapé are traditionally forest Indians, we must consider the possibility of establishing the new post in the vicinity of the recently burned village, that is, at the edge of the great forest. I regard this possibility as extremely slight owing to the difficulties of communication during the yearly floods that cover the savanna and the forest ground.

Another possible way of protecting the Tapirapé would be to gather them into a post to be established on Bananal Island. The advantage here would be their localization in a federal territory intended exclusively as a reservation for the local Indians and more easily accessible than the upper Tapirapé River. On the other hand, this very accessibility might make it difficult to preserve the tribe as an ethnic entity. In addition, the following factors must be con-
131 sidered: although some Tapirapé groups, according to certain sources,
182 lived for a while on Bananal Island more than 100 years ago, everything indicates that the bulk of the tribe has lived in its present habitat since the eighteenth century (cf. my study of this question in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 98, São Paulo, 1944), and the Tapirapé, therefore, are physically and culturally adapted to this environment and capable of preserving their culture within it. It should
619 be added that in this case, also, the contact between the inhabitants of
166 Tampiitáua and Txitxutáua would be retained, and with it the possibility of marrying outside the village or moving from one village to the other as a result of disappointments, political factors, etc. (1).

648 1. In a report on his visit to the Tapirapé that
166 took place in September, 1948, Mr. Harald Schultz tells me that "none of the Tapirapé like the idea of being transferred to a spot near

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

# WORLD VIEW OF THE TAPIRAPE INDIANS

By Charles Wagley

The Tapirape live in Central Brazil north of the Tapirape River, a western affluent of the Araguaya River. They are a Tupi-speaking people isolated from other peoples speaking the same language. Culturally they are related more closely to the Tupi-speaking people of the coast than to those of the head waters of the Xingu River. The only peoples with whom they have had contacts within historic times are their northern neighbors, the Gês-speaking Northern Kayapo and the Carajá (including the Javahe branch) of the Araguaya. Because of hostility with both these neighboring peoples, the Tapirape have withdrawn farther from the Araguaya and have contacts at present with the Carajá only through occasional European visitors. Introduced disease, acquired from these visitors and earlier from the Carajá, have reduced the Tapirape from five large villages (originally more than two hundred per village) to one with less than 150 people. Contacts with Europeans, however, have been short and few, leaving the Tapirape aboriginal culture little changed.

According to Tapirape tradition, they came to their present home from the north and east.[1] One group of them lived on the Araguaya and for a time shared a common village with the Javahe branch of the Carajá. The Tapirape are traditionally interested in country to the east, not to the west. It is to the east that Maratawa, the "home of the gods," lies, and in this direction, too, is the home of two legendary peoples: the Wanchira, a cannibalistic tribe which ate a famous mythical ancestor of the Tapirape, and the "other Tapirape," speaking the same language and sharing the same culture. East of the Araguaya River there is said to be another large river and great mountains where various supernaturals live.

Formerly, Tapirape who were captives of the Carajá returned to tell of that country and people, and in modern times Tapirape have visited both Carajá and Kayapo, as well as various Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya. No foreign or hostile tribes prevent them from wandering westward into the open country toward the Xingu River, but it is a region of little interest to them, and they never travel far in this direction. Of the Xingu River and people, they know only what Brazilian visitors have told

[1] According to Métraux, the Tapirape were known to have been on the Araguaya as early as the 18th century. He believes the Tapirape to be fugitives from the coast of Brazil, probably from the vicinity of Rio, possibly from the Tamoyo. Certainly they came from the east, but my material points to a migration from the northeast rather than from the southeast, as would be the case if migration had been from the forests of Rio. Métraux, Alfred, Migrations Historiques des Tupi-Guarani, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N.S.* 19, 24 (1927).

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



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contact and to revive, or which led to quasi — or total extinction of a people may also be found in the culture and the society of peoples concerned. Each culture has a population policy — — — an implicit or explicit set of cultural values relating to population size. The social structure of each society is closely inter-related with a specific population level. A modification of the external environment, such as that brought about by contact with Europeans, generally calls for change both in cultural values as well as in social structure. In addition to environment, technology, and other material factors, cultural values and social structure act also to determine population size and demographic trends in face of modified external circumstances. A rapid decrease in population due to new disease or an increase in population resulting from an increased food supply calls for adjustments in population policy (implicit or explicit) and in social structure. It is the purpose of the present paper to examine the relationship between these social and cultural factors and the population trends following European contact of two Tupi speaking tribes of Brazil.

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The two Tupi speaking tribes in question are the Tenetehara of northeastern Brazil and the Tapirapé of central Brazil. (2) After more than 300 years of contact with Luso-Brazilians the Tenetehara in 1945 still numbered some 2000 people —— not much less, if at all, than the aboriginal population. On the other hand, by 1947 the Tapirapé with less than forty years of sporadic and peaceful contact with Luso-Brazilians had been reduced to less than one hundred people, the remnant of an aboriginal population which must have numbered more than one thousand. While the Tenetehara still maintained a functioning social system and continued as a distinct ethnic group, Tapirapé society was in 1947 almost totally disorganized and the Tapirapé as a distinct people were clearly on the road to extinction. (3)

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A partial answer to this very different reaction to Luso-Brazilian contact may be found in the nature of the acculturation process which each has experienced. Although the first decades of Tenetehara relations with Europeans were marked by slave raids, massacres, and epidemics, the protection of the Jesuits during more than one century (1653-1759) seems to have given the Tenetehara time to make adjustments in their culture and society to changing external circumstances. The missionaries were able to prevent the movement of colonists into Tenetehara territory; and after the expulsion

(2) Basic description of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara have been published elsewhere: Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1948 A, 1948 B, and 1948. Baldus, 1937, 1944-1948, 1948 B, 1949 SR, Ma. Only directly pertinent descriptive data is present in this paper.

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(3) Cf. Wagley (1948) and Baldus (1945 vol. CXII, 1948 B, 1949 B), for discussion of Tapirapé depopulation and disorganization. Baldus (1948 B) pp. 137-138, who found the village called Tampitídun inhabited by 180 individuals in 1938, and only 62 in 1947, mentions that during this lapse of time several inhabitants had emigrated to another Tapirapé village very far from Tampitídun, but that their number seems to be lower than the number of those who came from there to Tampitídun. According to information received by this author, the other village is smaller than Tampitídun, so that in 1947 the whole tribe probably counted less than a hundred members. In the same year, shortly after Baldus' visit, the Tapirapé were attacked by Kayapó Indians and lost several individuals.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

# THE TAPIRAPÉ

By Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvão

## INTRODUCTION

Isolated from other *Tupí-Guaraní*-speaking people, the *Tapirapé* live in Central Brazil, west of the Araguaya River and north of the Tapirapé River, a western tributary flowing into the Araguaya near the northern tip of the Island of Bananal (lat. 2° S., long. 52° W.). According to tradition, the *Tapirapé* lived for a time on the banks of the Araguaya and Javahé Rivers with the *Carajá*. They quarreled, and the *Tapirapé* moved west to their present territory (map 1, *No. 1;* see Volume 1, map 7). At the beginning of last century, five *Tapirapé* villages formed a line stretching northward into *Cayapó* country beginning at a point a few miles back from the Tapirapé River about 150 miles from its mouth. The *Tapirapé* have always been at war with the *Cayapó*, except for a brief period. Each of these villages contained at least 200 individuals with a total *Tapirapé* population of about 1,000. Since 1900, however, there has been a terrific reduction of *Tapirapé* population.

In 1939, there was only one remaining *Tapirapé* village situated about 20 miles north of the Tapirapé River with a total population of 147 people. This decline in population is basically due to disease (smallpox, respiratorial diseases, etc.) acquired either directly from Neo-Brazilians or from the *Carajá*, who are continually in contact with Neo-Brazilians. *Tapirapé* groups have been also massacred on several occasions by both the *Carajá* and *Cayapó*.

The *Tapirapé* have had but few contacts, however, with Neo-Brazilians. Except for the demoralizing effect of depopulation, their culture has been little modified. Although stories are told of Neo-Brazilian hunters visiting the *Tapirapé* in 1900, the first registered contact with them was in 1912. During that year, Señor Mandacurú, leading an expedition of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service, visited the village nearest the Tapirapé River. In 1914, the Dominican priests visited the *Tapirapé*. From that date on, the Dominicans returned each year or so to a camp on the Tapirapé River for 3 or 4 days at a time and were met by the *Tapirapé*, to whom they distributed trade goods. About 1934, a Protestant missionary, Frederick Kiegel, made several trips, staying 2 or 3 months in a *Tapirapé* village. In 1935, the first trained ethnologist, Dr. Herbert Baldus, resided several months with the *Tapirapé*, and in 1939–40, Wagley spent 12 months with them making the study on which this article is based.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

115 Champuki was not the first person who came to mind when a contribution to this volume was considered. I thought of Gregorio Martin, a dignified and wise old Mayan Indian of Santiago Chimaltenango in Guatemala, who in 1937 had taught me the way of life of his people. I thought of Camirang, the dynamic young chieftain whom I had known in 1941 in a village of Tenetehara Indians along the Pindaré River in northeastern Brazil. I thought also of Nhunduca, a gifted and witty storyteller from a small Amazon community, who in 1948 introduced me to the rich folklore of the Amazon *caboclo* or peasant. But then, among all the people I had known in the various primitive and peasant cultures in which I [954] have done ethnological research, I chose Champukwi, a man of no outstanding talent, yet talented all the same—a man of not the [123] highest prestige in his society, yet admired by all. For the brief span of about a year he was my most intimate friend.

115 I knew Champukwi some 20 years ago when I lived in his small 123 village of about 175 Tapirapé Indians in central Brazil. I must have [162] seen him at once, for presents were distributed to the whole popu- [621] lation on the day of my arrival in late April of 1939. But I did not [131] distinguish Champukwi as an individual, nor did he, at first, stand out in any way from the other men of his village. His name does not appear in the notes taken during my first month among the Tapirapé.

114 For me, and even more for Valentim Gomes, the Brazilian fron- [103] tiersman who was my companion and employee, the first weeks in the Village of the Tapirs, as the small settlement was known, were a period of grappling with a strange and often confusing world. 177 The Tapirapé Indians lived between the Araguaia and Xingú Rivers, [131] an area at that time almost entirely isolated from modern Brazil. They had been visited by only a few people from the "outside"—by one or two missionaries; by Herbert Baldus, a German-Brazilian anthropologist; and by a few frontiersmen from the Araguaia River. The nearest Brazilian settlement to the Village of the Tapirs was Furo de Pedra, a town of 400–500 persons that lay some 300 miles

137 The savanna of the hinterland beyond the left bank of the river
241 is bounded on the north by this huge forest, in which many generations of Tapirapé Indians have found enough virgin growth to prepare annually new plots that provide them with an abundance of bananas, maize, peanuts, gourds, beans, manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, peppers, tobacco, and cotton. This forest, aside from being flooded
193 extensively even in the dry season, contains small streams flowing
312 on wide beds of clear sand, which offer the Indians cool, limpid
226 water for drinking and bathing, and abundant fish, large and small, that play an important part in their diet.

The only man-made trails that we know of so far in the vicinity
487 of the Tapirapé River are the more or less deeply marked footpaths of the Tapirapé Indians. On the savanna, they are about 20 centimeters wide and follow the sinuous line involuntarily produced by human beings when they walk on flat ground. [97:51] We can verify this sinuosity, for example, on a long beach, when we attempt to reach a certain point directly and later look at the trail left by our feet. We notice that it meanders and thus differs from all animal tracks, those of the jaguar or water cavy as well as those of birds, which always run in a straight line unless they curve out deliberately.

To give an idea of a specific part of the river environs at a
114 specific time of year, I shall now describe my land journey toward the
133 north, from Porto Salvação to Tampétána. I left on June 19, 1935, at 3:30 in the afternoon, carrying on my back the requisite sleeping and eating equipment. I walked at the rapid pace used by the local frontiersmen on long hikes, making about five kilometers an hour on flat, unobstructed ground. I went through dry grassland with a scatter-
[137] ing of medium-sized trees which sometimes stood dozens of meters apart. After a walk of nearly three hours, I reached Lake Tucunaré,
[103] so called because of its abundant fish of the same name which attract
[136] the Tapirapé Indians to the place every year. At the time of my passage, Lake Tucunaré was a slow and deep brook which I had to cross up to my waist in water. They say that it connects with the Tapirapé River during the rainy season. It is surrounded by trees, and the water is full of them. After wading through it, I reached a place on the shore where those Indians often set up their sleeping hammocks and where I spent the night. There were quite a few mosquitoes. The
[136] chief plague of the day, however, in spite of my deliberately late
[132] start, was the heat.

114 I left at 6:30 the following morning. Everything was wet with
133 dew. I skated over a stretch of black earth, damp and slippery
[132] ("soap"). I saw jaguar tracks. At eight o'clock, I reached a flooded
[134] forest strip which I had to ford. The same thing happened after walking another ten minutes. At ten o'clock I reached a traditional Tapirapé resting place located in a small patch of forest which contains fresh water. I rested there until four in the afternoon, and then set out again and waded through a swampy area. At 5:30 I reached
[134] dry scrub land where I was able to set up camp for the night. Before going to sleep, I heard frequent jaguar calls.

When I awoke on the twenty-first my clothes were soaked through with dew. I set out at six o'clock. Half an hour later, I was lost in a large and swampy muriti grove. At seven o'clock I reached dry scrub land, and at 9:15 the great forest. During the first 15 minutes of walking, the ground of the forest was more or less dry, but after that it became completely flooded. I walked for an hour and a half in water, which flowed in several places. At 11:30 [97:52] I
[241] found manioc in a brook. I then crossed four gardens separated from each other by strips of forest. At a quarter before one, I met four
[361] youths of the Tapirapé tribe, and half an hour later, still walking through the immense forest, I spotted in its midst the village of those Indians.

When I returned from the village to Porto Salvação on August 5
481 of the same year, I made the whole trip in a single day. I left at dawn with a Tapirapé youth. Although these Indians, as a rule, walk a little more slowly than the local Brazilian frontiersmen, their pace is still quite rapid and very even so that they proceed at the same speed through forest and grassland, and since they hardly stop to rest in the daytime, they may walk 40 or 50 kilometers a day.

On the way back, we took a different course through the forest.
133 The area we had gone through on the way out was still flooded. We
487 walked on ground that was quite dry, making a wide curve to the west. We reached the grassland within two hours. In many areas the Indians
[241] had already burned the grass, and our feet and legs were free of that hindering growth which adds so much to the traveler's weariness. Once in a while, a fresh breeze blew upon us. We walked four hours through
[137] open grassland and scrub forest, with frequent glimpses of pairs of deer,
[136] until we reached the traditional Tapirapé resting place in the small
[494] patch of forest containing fresh water. There we found Reverend Kegel

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

## INTRODUCTION

The Tapirapé Indians are a Tupi-speaking tribe living in Central Brazil west of the Araguaya River. Their villages formerly extended some two hundred miles to the north of the Tapirapé River, an affluent of the Araguaya; but today their one remaining village lies west of the Araguaya, about forty miles north of the Tapirapé and 160 miles from the point of union of the two rivers. This settlement contains a total population that does not exceed 150 people, the residue of five villages that probably existed so late as the turn of the century and that are said to have had a population of about two hundred people each. A progressive population decline has followed the acquiring of diseases from contact with the neighboring Carajá Indians of the Araguaya River and from European visitors. Such contacts, however, have left their aboriginal culture little changed.

The Tapirapé are properly a forest people, maintaining an agricultural life on clearings hewed from the great tropical forest. Their cultivated fields are large producing manioc (both *Manihot manihot* and the sweet species *Manihot palmata aypi*), maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, yams, kará (*Dioscorea* sp.), cotton, and bananas.

The dry months of June through September of each year are devoted to clearing the garden sites. This work is done by men, frequently working individually, sometimes in communal labor formed by the men's society groups (1). When the clearing is done collectively, the large field is divided into individual plots which become individual property;

(1) There is an excellent description of this communal activity, called *ajutóro* by the Tapirapé in Herbert Baldus, 1937, "Os grupos de esmer e os grupos de trabalho dos Tapirapé", *in Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, pp. 98-111, São Paulo.

[p.61]
[p.60 blank]

264 574 476 [92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets. These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kãuãnõĩ, owing to their small numbers, had joined the Ãwãinkĩ' to form a single group. All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group. [262] There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of karã [Tr., a kind of yam], peanut kãuĩ, etc. Before that, there was a great 431 distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom 574 he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such as beads and similar things. [622] The chiefs received the greater part of this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better [177] use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay 264 476 the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted together, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they 574 [554] pleased. Kamairahõ, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk 123 of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother. We called each other "Txankanépéra," and Ampitãnya, his little [597] adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Anẽ Txankanépéra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other groups also called me "Txankanépéra," and I called them by the name of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

264 574 [93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The 535 plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the [776] good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kãuihõ and vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness, 132 the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season with its "good shadows," summer.

574 796 They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

224 264 476 574 On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tãtãupãũã of an eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Ãwãinkĩ' had killed with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group. [462] In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts

[Ed., pp. 87-88 are not translated.]

000 [89] In Mühlmann (p. 344) we read: "In Polynesia, the new year was reckoned from the beginning of the fishing season, and since this period of time coincided with the appearance of the Pleiades above the horizon, a fruitful half-year, mata-li'i-i-nia, that is, 'Pleiades above,' was distinguished from an unfruitful or less fruitful half-year, mata-li'i-i-raro, that is, 'Pleiades below.' A Pleiadic year was also known in India."

2 It is also worth mentioning Métraux's observation (p. 51) that the Pleiades seem to have been the object of special beliefs among the Tupinambá, who were convinced, according to an unpublished manuscript by Thevet, that they fostered the growth of manioc, the staple of their diet. One of the most beautiful legends of the Taulipáng, a Karaíb [Carib] tribe of the Roroima, relates how the Pleiades came to the sky and also mentions their function as heralds of the rainy season that brings an abundance of food with the appearance of shoals of fish moving upstream to spawn (Koch-Grünberg, p. 13).

Among the Tapirapé, I did not find anything corresponding to 805 this Indian and Polynesian culture trait [Tr., the Tapirapé do lend importance to the Pleiades]. It is true that of all the events in the yearly cycle, the rainy season is of greatest interest to these Indians. They did not tell me anything about the Pleiades, however. The rainy season is to them the opposite of what it is to the Taulipáng, namely, not the time of well-being, but, in the words of the Tapirapé, the time of evil shadows, of baleful spirits. It is character- [141] istic of the timid nature of these Tupí Indians that they lend greatest [221] importance to the time of greatest distress, instead of centering their [132] thoughts on the dry season, which is to them the pleasant time of abundant vegetable and animal foods and thus the time of health and pleasure in being alive. [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 89 and the first paragraph, as well as the first three sentences of the second paragraph, on p. 90 are omitted.]

[90] The Tapirapé could not tell me the number of days in the 821 lunar month, although they were familiar with the moon cycle and 192 called the new moon txahi apát, "moon sleeps," or txahi ñantxím, "moon finished," and the full moon ãuvahó, ho being the augmentative suffix, and ãuva corresponding probably to the ãu, "lunar," listed by Montoya, and the yacy icúua, "full, fat moon," given by Stradelli. The first quarter, when the visible part is not yet very thick, is called

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



but lives and re-lives his life cycle as the cycle of the seasons. In the early 776
rains of October to January, Petura is a small boy. During the heavy rains 132
of January to March, he is an adolescent youth. He is a young warrior as
the rains diminish in April to June, and as the year draws to its close for
the Tapirape during the remaining dry months, Petura becomes old. Then
as the year begins again with the first refreshing rains of October, he
begins a new life cycle. This is the agricultural year for the Tapirape. They [221]
plant when he is young (October) and harvest as he matures (in May and
June).

Petura was not the only hero who benefited the Tapirape. To the "home 773
of the gods" travelled Tomanciri and Mukwura II, other ancestor heroes,
in search of their father Mukwura. There Mukwura gave his son, Toma-
nciri, the bow and arrow which he brought back to the Tapirape. There, [176]
too—and this is typical of Tapirape readjustment to newly-learned knowl-
edge—the younger brother Mukwura II was given fire arms which he
transmitted to his descendants, the Europeans or Torí.[9]

Shamans are equated with these ancestor heroes. If shamans die a non- 756
violent death, they go immediately to Marawa where they live plenti- 775
fully supplied with food, tobacco, and all aids to the good life. If they die 772
violently, however (i.e., are suspected of sorcery and killed by the Tapi-
rape) they go to another home of shamans in the west. This is the "home [821]
of the winds" where the heavy winds blowing from the southwest come
during the late dry season. They are given an artificial face, and they stay
here until they heal before going east to join their companions in Mara-
wa. Only shamans and culture heroes continue after life in the form that [776]
they had on earth.

It is chiefly through shamans that the Tapirape know of the sun, moon 756
and other heavenly bodies. A shaman had seen the sun "close by." The 821
sun, he said, is an old man with no hair on his head. He travels through
the heavens wearing a large head-dress of red parrot feathers, and since
red parrot feathers are "hot," the head-dress gives off heat. Each night,
after limping through his daily orbit (for the "sky is rough" and the sun
continually has thorns in his feet) he returns underground to the east to
his house at Marawa.[10] There he eats very little and in a short time sets
out again. The morning after Wanamamu, a shaman, had died, several
Tapirape saw that the sun was red; it was very "hot" and angry because a
shaman had died. 821

As the sun is male, so the moon is female. Both are thought of as people, 776

[9] I was unable to get the original of this story before the chronic change was made to make it fit with new conditions. It is similar, however, to a Tapanahoni story recorded by Thevet and quoted by Métraux (*ibid.*, p. 121), which tells of Amawete and Tamanduaré, twin sons of Sumaré. [171]

[10] See Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 64, for Sipaia version.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



## CULTURE

### SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

137 The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth 133 and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive 132 rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

**Farming.**—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their 241 villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their [194] large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, cará (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

[221] Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for 241 their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also 616 it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work 476 festival (apačirú). When communally prepared, the large clearings are afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, gener- [423] ally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apačirú, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaó) at the end 241 of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as [462] the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, cará, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout [422] the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clear- [361] ings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

252 Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is 252 the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupí* groups, however, the

115 124 337 578 682 656 654 Tapirapé village which he would have hesitated to relate on home grounds. He told me of adulterous affairs in process and of the growing determination among one group of kinsmen to assassinate Urukumu, the powerful medicine man, because they suspected him of performing death-dealing sorcery.

122 After two weeks in Furo de Pedra, I found that it would be necessary for Valentim Gomes and me to go to Rio de Janeiro. It was not possible for Champukwi to accompany us and so I arranged for two Brazilian frontiersmen to return him to a point on the Tapirapé River from which he could easily hike to his village in a day. Valentim and I then began our slow trip up the Araguaia River to the motor road and thence to Rio de Janeiro. Two months 132 later, rid of malaria and with a new stock of supplies, we returned to spend the long rainy months from November until the end of 115 May in the Village of the Tapirs. Champukwi was there to wel- 123 come us, and he came each day to help repair and enlarge our house. 209 We easily fell into our former friendly relationship, now strengthened by the experience in common of the trip to Furo de Pedra and by the feeling which many anthropologists have shared with the people of their communities—that anyone who returns is an "old friend."

115 123 My return to the village that November marked, in a sense, the end of what might be called the first phase of my relationship with Champukwi as friend and as anthropological informant. During the course of at least 200 hours of conversation (many of which may be methodologically dignified as interviews), I had learned much about Champukwi as a person as well as about Tapirapé culture. I knew that as a small boy he had come from Fish Village, where his parents had died, to live in the Village of the Tapirs. He had lived with his father's younger brother, Kamaira, who was the leader of a large household. He even confided to me his boyhood name; 553 Tapirapé change their names several times during their lifetimes 59 and mention of a person's first childhood name, generally that of 522 a fish, an animal, or simply descriptive of some personal characteristic, causes laughter among the audience and considerable embarrassment to the individual. I knew that Champukwi had been mar- 165 ried before he took his current wife, and that his first wife had died 943 in childbirth. He revealed that her kinsmen had gossiped that her death was caused by his lack of respect for the food taboos imposed

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
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115 When the heavy rains of late December and January set in, we
123 were all more or less confined to the village as the rivers and streams
124 rose to flood the savanna. What had been brooks in the tropical
[132] forest became wide streams, difficult, and sometimes dangerous, to
[133] ford. It rained many hours each day. The Tapirapé women and children spent most of the time in their dwellings, and the men and older boys lounged in the men's house. Our house again became a meeting place. And as this was of course an opportune time for interviewing, I joined the men in their club or entertained visitors at home. I began to see more of Champukwi—first, in the men's house and then as he again became a regular visitor at our house. Now, he brought his new (and younger) wife with him. He liked to sit up with us late at night after the other Tapirapé visitors had retired to their dwellings or to the men's house for the night-long sings that are customary during the season of heavy rains. Under the light of our gasoline lamp, we again took up our study of Tapirapé culture. Not once did he mention his period of antagonism except to complain that the Tapirapé gossip too much.

Sometime late in January there began what might be considered the second phase of my relationship with Champukwi. Our friendship was no less intimate than before, but our conversations and more formal interviews were not now as frequent. During the next months, Champukwi became almost my assistant, an entrepreneur of
115 Tapirapé culture. He continued to provide invaluable information,
123 but when I became interested in a subject of which he knew little,
124 he would recommend that I talk to someone else. Though he directed
756 me to Urukumu on the subject of medicine men or shamans, Cham-
[754] pukwi himself related dreams he had heard other shamans tell. He
[683] explained that he did not want to become a shaman himself, for he had seen grieved relatives beat out the brains of Tapirapé shamans whom they suspected of causing a death by sorcery. He was not cer-
[682] tain, he said, whether such shamans had actually performed sorcery;
[995] but he reasoned that any shaman might come to such an end.
[996] Champukwi did have the frequent dreams that are indicative of one's powers to become a shaman and, in some of his dreams, he saw *anchanga*, the ghosts and supernaturals who are the aids of shamans. He had told only one or two of his kinsmen about this, and he did not want it to be known throughout the village lest there be pressure on him to train for shamanism.

1:Baldus--3 E-5 (1935, 1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Map 1. The Araguaia River

[97:45] Chapter 1

## The Tapirapé River

000 [Ed., pp. 45-47 and most of p. 49 are omitted; Map 2 appears on p. 48 in the original text.]

[97:49] Topography of the Surrounding Area

● 133 137 The Tapirapé River flows through a vast savanna region which is separated from it, along most of its course, by a strip of forest quite irregular in width. This savanna, as a rule, extends [97:50] over such flat ground that the horizon would be very wide if it were not for the trees, two or three meters high, which stand a few paces from each other and make up what is called the campo cerrado [Tr., savanna with scattered scrub forest]. It is true that sometimes the distance between the trees increases, and they become better developed and a few meters higher. There are also large empty areas, that is to say, grassland completely free of arboreal growth. Sometimes these stretches are crossed by a narrow forest strip of high trees concealing a small stream, or they are broken by swampy groves of muriti palms. This does not prevent large areas of empty grassland from remaining flooded during the dry season, when their black soil [134] is often so slippery that it well deserves the name of "soap" which I gave these places of involuntary gymnastics as I skated over them.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that most of the grasslands surrounding the Tapirapé River dry out at that time of year to such a point that they become easily inflammable. On June 15, 1935, while I was in Tampiitama [later referred to as Tampiitama], the village of the Tapirapé Indians, I saw pillars of smoke rising to the north, southwest, and east, and this brought to my attention the existence of grasslands and people in those parts. The soil of the dry grasslands can be 134 so hard that the Indians manage their feet and legs after having walked [481] several hours over it. Only rarely, however, is this soil rocky. I found it covered with small, round, brownish-red stones in only a few restricted areas, especially in small stretches of campo cerrado close to the forest inhabited by the Tapirapé.

[Text continues on p. 6]

1: Baldus--5 E-5 (1935, 1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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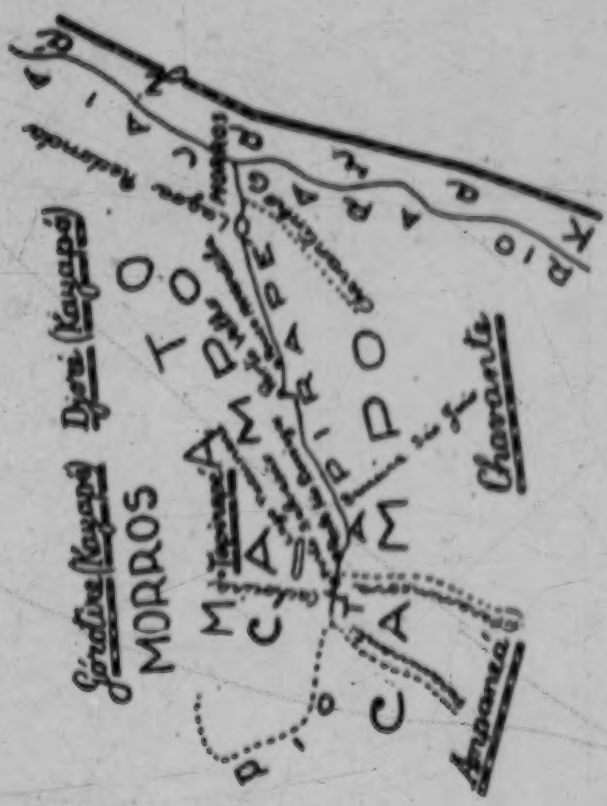


Map 2. The Tapirapé River.

[MAP 2]

137 The savanna of the hinterland beyond the left bank of the river
241 is bounded on the north by this huge forest, in which many generations of Tapirapé Indians have found enough virgin growth to prepare annually new plots that provide them with an abundance of bananas, maize, peanuts, gourds, beans, manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, peppers, tobacco, and cotton. This forest, aside from being flooded
● 133 extensively even in the dry season, contains small streams flowing
312 on wide beds of clear sand, which offer the Indians cool, limpid
226 water for drinking and bathing, and abundant fish, large and small, that play an important part in their diet.

The only man-made trails that we know of so far in the vicinity
487 of the Tapirapé River are the more or less deeply marked footpaths of the Tapirapé Indians. On the savanna, they are about 20 centimeters wide and follow the sinuous line involuntarily produced by human beings when they walk on flat ground. [97:51] We can verify this sinuosity, for example, on a long beach, when we attempt to reach a certain point directly and later look at the trail left by our feet. We notice that it meanders and thus differs from all animal tracks, those of the jaguar or water cavy as well as those of birds, which always run in a straight line unless they curve out deliberately.

To give an idea of a specific part of the river environs at a
114 specific time of year, I shall now describe my land journey toward the
133 north, from Porto Salvação to Tampétéma. I left on June 19, 1935, at 3:30 in the afternoon, carrying on my back the requisite sleeping and eating equipment. I walked at the rapid pace used by the local frontiersmen on long hikes, making about five kilometers an hour on flat, unobstructed ground. I went through dry grassland with a scatter-
[197] ing of medium-sized trees which sometimes stood dozens of meters apart. After a walk of nearly three hours, I reached Lake Tucunaré,
[103] so called because of its abundant fish of the same name which attract
[136] the Tapirapé Indians to the place every year. At the time of my passage, Lake Tucunaré was a slow and deep brook which I had to cross up to my waist in water. They say that it connects with the Tapirapé River during the rainy season. It is surrounded by trees, and the water is full of them. After wading through it, I reached a place on the shore where those Indians often set up their sleeping hammocks and where I spent the night. There were quite a few mosquitoes. The
[136] chief plague of the day, however, in spite of my deliberately late
[132] start, was the heat.

114 I left at 6:30 the following morning. Everything was wet with
133 dew. I skated over a stretch of black earth, damp and slippery
[132] ("soap"). I saw jaguar tracks. At eight o'clock, I reached a flooded
[134] forest strip which I had to ford. The same thing happened after walking another ten minutes. At ten o'clock I reached a traditional Tapirapé resting place located in a small patch of forest which contains fresh water. I rested there until four in the afternoon, and then set out again and waded through a swampy area. At 5:30 I reached
[136] dry scrub land where I was able to set up camp for the night. Before going to sleep, I heard frequent jaguar calls.

When I awoke on the twenty-first my clothes were soaked through with dew. I set out at six o'clock. Half an hour later, I was lost in a large and swampy muriti grove. At seven o'clock I reached dry scrub land, and at 9:15 the great forest. During the first 15 minutes of walking, the ground of the forest was more or less dry, but after that it became completely flooded. I walked for an hour and a half in water, which flowed in several places. At 11:30 [97:52] I
[241] found manioc in a brook. I then crossed four gardens separated from each other by strips of forest. At a quarter before one, I met four
[361] youths of the Tapirapé tribe, and half an hour later, still walking through the immense forest, I spotted in its midst the village of those Indians.

When I returned from the village to Porto Salvação on August 5
491 of the same year, I made the whole trip in a single day. I left at dawn with a Tapirapé youth. Although these Indians, as a rule, walk a little more slowly than the local Brazilian frontiersmen, their pace is still quite rapid and very even so that they proceed at the same speed through forest and grassland, and since they hardly stop to rest in the daytime, they may walk 40 or 50 kilometers a day.

On the way back, we took a different course through the forest.
133 The area we had gone through on the way out was still flooded. We
487 walked on ground that was quite dry, making a wide curve to the west. We reached the grassland within two hours. In many areas the Indians
[241] had already burned the grass, and our feet and legs were free of that hindering growth which adds so much to the traveler's weariness. Once in a while, a fresh breeze blew upon us. We walked four hours through
[137] open grassland and scrub forest, with frequent glimpses of pairs of deer,
[136] until we reached the traditional Tapirapé resting place in the small
[491] patch of forest containing fresh water. There we found Reverend Kegel

133 and our camarada [Tr., guide or hired hand], as well as several
487 Indians, and we set out again after a brief rest.

Two hours later we crossed another body of water surrounded by trees. Since Reverend Kegel was taken with leg cramps and also had to vomit several times because he had drunk water too quickly, we stayed there for about two hours.

Then we set out again in a long file, one behind the other. The sun burned down, but fortunately there was a breeze from time to
[494] time. To make their return journey easier, the Indians set fire to all the grass they found. Suddenly, in an unburned patch of grassland, we saw a pair of spotted jaguars engaged in amorous play. My camarada Daniel shot at them with his gun. Both animals ran away, one of them bleeding. Daniel with the gun and two Indians with bow
[238] and club vainly ran after them. The two Tapirapé dogs who were with us behaved in rather sorry fashion. One of them jumped about a little and barked, while the other did not even find courage for that.

Two hours later we reached Lake Tucunaré, where we found
[194] numerous mosquitoes. It took us three or four hours to go from there to Porto Salvação, along an old Indian trail on very hard and hot ground.

[97:53] It took us, therefore, 13 or 14 hours to return from the village to the river, and this was more or less the time we spent walking on the way out.

## Names of the River and its Tributaries

[Ed., one paragraph omitted.]

103 The Tapirapé Indians call the Tapirapé River avichy (or aviuhy),
which means "fluff water," by being "water." They are very fond of
[301] the fluff of the jabiru, duck, and vulture for body ornamentation, and
[237] they find it chiefly on this river. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 97, pp. 53-54, is omitted.]

## Chapter 2

### [98:105] Name and Origins of the Tribe

101 The Tapirapé River is the watercourse of the Tapirapé Indians.
103 They are known as the inhabitants of this river basin.

I have already stated that the word tapirapé means "tapir path" in Tupí, tapira meaning "tapir," and pé, "path." I have also mentioned that the river known by this name differs from the Araguaia in the profusion of the paths cut along its banks by these large mammals. In view of this, it may be that White travelers gave it the name "Tapirapé" to point out this characteristic, and that the name was later extended to the tribe known to inhabit the region. However, on a map of the area (No. 220 in the collection at Itamaratí, the Brazilian Ministry of External Affairs), which, according to Dr. Afonso de E. Taunay, one of the greatest authorities on the subject, must date from the end of the eighteenth century, we find the word "Tapirapé" applied only to these Indians and not to a river, and the watercourse that flows close to the villages of this Tupí tribe, along the ninth degree of south latitude (cf. Map 3), remains anonymous. In view of this, it also may be that the name "Tapirapé" was extended from the tribe to the river. Finally, there is the possibility [98:106] that the tribe and the river were given the same name independently, since we do not know whether or not the river bore this name prior to the time when the tribe settled in its vicinity, or whether the people were already called this before they came to the area.

133 It is worth noting that on the map reproduced by Kissenberth (137 and 237), between the sixth and seventh degrees of south latitude and about the fifty-first degree of west longitude, therefore almost exactly to the north of Tamputúm and separated from this village by some three or four degrees of latitude, there appears a second Tapirapé river marked as one of the southern tributaries [Map 3 appears here] [98:107] of the Itacaiunas River, which empties near Marabá into the body of water formed by the juncture of the Tocantins and Araguaia. It may be that the Tapirapé Indians lived there in former times and got their name from that river, or that the river got its name from them. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[Text continues on p. 11]

1: Baldus--10 E-5 (1935, 1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Map 2. The Middle Course of the Araguaia (18th Century).

533 In any case, the greater part of the animal dances and songs
535 that I witnessed dealt with fish. Only the dance of the chankui, that is, "little guan," was also performed frequently. A dance
[171] by this name is mentioned by Von den Steinen (2, 313) for the Auetö and Kamayurá as "original" to these Tupí tribes. Actually,
[137] those gallinaceans of the Penelope genus, which are easy to catch, abound in Tapirapé territory, and their tasty meat is not barred to either sex. It would be possible to build fine hypotheses about the connection between these facts and the above-mentioned dance, but I shall abstain.

The predominance of fish dances accords with the importance
226 of fishing. The chief fishing period lasts from June to October. During these months, the waters are low and clearer, and in many places it is possible to see all the way down to the bottom. The
●[133] small streams gradually dry out, and the fish are compelled to crowd into certain stretches of the river and into the lakes. The latter lose their connections with the river, or they are closed off artificially with dams, observed by Krause (2, 409, Fig. 7, and 267, Plate 29), which consist of stakes connected with crosspieces and covered with thick foliage.

The areas thus dammed are poisoned with a vine called chimá in Tapirapé. The Indians pound the water with pieces of this vine, and call the procedure anchimaká. The water turns a purplish blue. Only the very small fry are killed, however. Other fish are stunned.
[312] To get drinking water the Indians dig holes in the banks, which sometimes lie no farther than one meter from the poisoned waters, but whose contents, filtered through the sand, are harmless to man. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[112:60] Another Tapirapé fishing method, which I have already mentioned, is with the bow and arrow. While the large barbed arrow is used exclusively by adult men, the small one with one or several simple wooden points is used by the boys. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

At Tampilitana I saw a fish trap (chekiá) consisting of a cylin-
227 drical, funnel-shaped basket made of cane strips (Photo. 32). Aside from this, the Indians showed me a strange object, according to them, used to catch the tiniest fish, which is placed in the water, like the trap, in such a way that the current makes it easy for the fish to get in and impossible for it to get out. This object

b. Krause--17 E-6 (1908) 1911 SPP Camp Tapirapé 1942

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Plate 28

1. Fallen tree obstacle in the Tapirapé River.

2. Conquering the waterfall in the Tapirapé River.

/Plate 28 faces p. 120./

3. "Smooth" channel in the upper course of the Tapirapé River.

4. My men on the march to the villages of the Tapirapé.

S: Krause--18 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Camja
Tapirapé SP 09

Plate 29

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1. Lake blocked off by a fence on the Tapirapé River. View from the end of the lake.

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2. Tapirapé grill in the forest.

/Pl. 28 faces p. 124./

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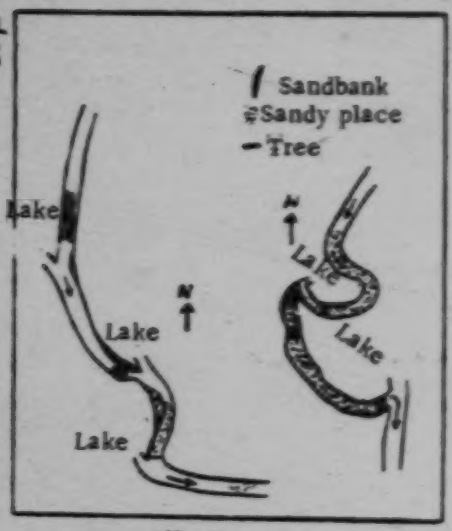


Ill. 4.
Dry stretches of river beside and below the lakes. Tapirapé River.

/Ill. 4 appears on p. 117./

Ill. 5.
Sketch map of the lost corner. Tapirapé River.

/Ill. 5 appears on p. 118./

S: Krause--26 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP32

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Ill. 6. Tortoise cages of the Karajá. Tapirapé River.
(Drawn from a photograph.)
/Ill. 6 appears on p. 119./

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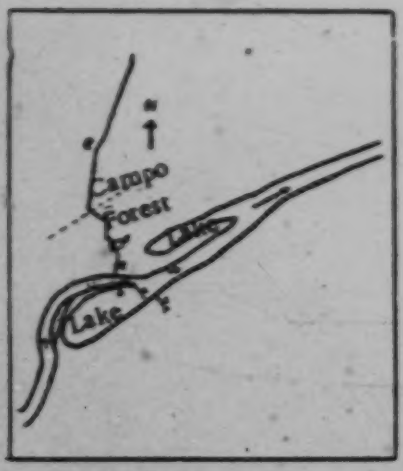


a: Fish fence
b: Sandbank
c: Path to the place where trees are felled.
d: Roasting place.
e: Path to the roasting place and to the villages.

Ill. 7.
Sketch map of the fish-lakes in the Tapirapé River.
/Ill. 7 appears on p. 122./

/406 cont./

114 On the campo path from the first roasting place, which was later
[489] joined by the second coming from the left, we reached a large
[361] village on the second day of the land march, two smaller villages
[312] on the third day, all three abandoned and in utter ruins. Water was not to be found on the campo on which the villages were located; the swamps and brooks to which paths led were dried out and, when excavated, in part to a depth of one meter, did not even yield moist earth, to say nothing of water.

131 On the basis of the discoveries and observations that I
133 made at these places, I formed the following opinion. The tribe lives on the high campo that extends from the southern bend of the Tapirapé to the north as far as the high mountains (or plateau borders) that enclose it in the north and west. In front of these borders there extends a tremendous trough, apparently the source region of the Tapirapé, which from there flows around out of the high campo in the west and south, then turns off to the north-
[361] east. /407/ Here, approximately 130 kilometers due west from
[142] the Tapirapé mouth, the tribe lives in one large and two smaller
361 villages during the rainy season. The large village seemed to have had three to four houses; the second, smaller one, two to
[342] three; the third perhaps the same number. The houses were in such a state of ruin that their construction was no longer recognizable; apparently they were large rectangular buildings with a pointed gable roof. The villages lie close to the large forest
[133] area that accompanies the trough in front of the mountains. All around in smaller troughs extend large swamps to which brooks
221 lead. During the dry season these water areas dry up completely, so that even holes up to a meter deep in the brook bed do not yield moist earth. As a result, the Indians are compelled to migrate to water areas, and apparently they then first seek the
[437] upper Tapirapé. In former times they seem to have come farther downstream to a certain place where they met the Karajá, who extended their fishing expeditions this far, and traded with them. This trading place lies about 30 kilometers southeast of the first village (34 kilometers from the second and third). As
[222] a result of the conflicts with the Karajá, they now avoid this

5:Krause--366 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Carajá SP9
Tapirapé SP22
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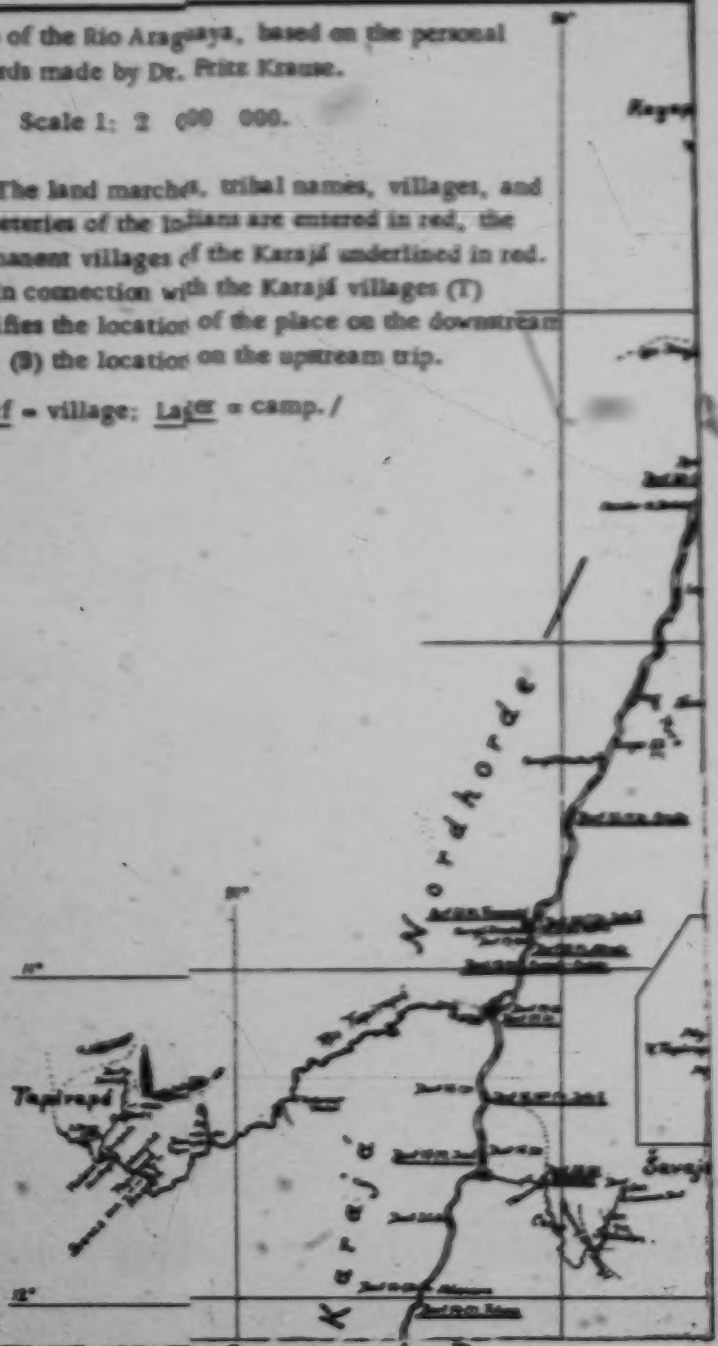
Map of the Rio Araguaya, based on the personal records made by Dr. Fritz Krause.

Scale 1: 2 000 000.

The land marches, tribal names, villages, and cemeteries of the Indians are entered in red, the permanent villages of the Karajá underlined in red.

In connection with the Karajá villages (T) signifies the location of the place on the downstream trip, (B) the location on the upstream trip.

/Dorf = village; Lager = camp./




[End Map A-1]

S. Krause--367 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

Tapirapé SP32

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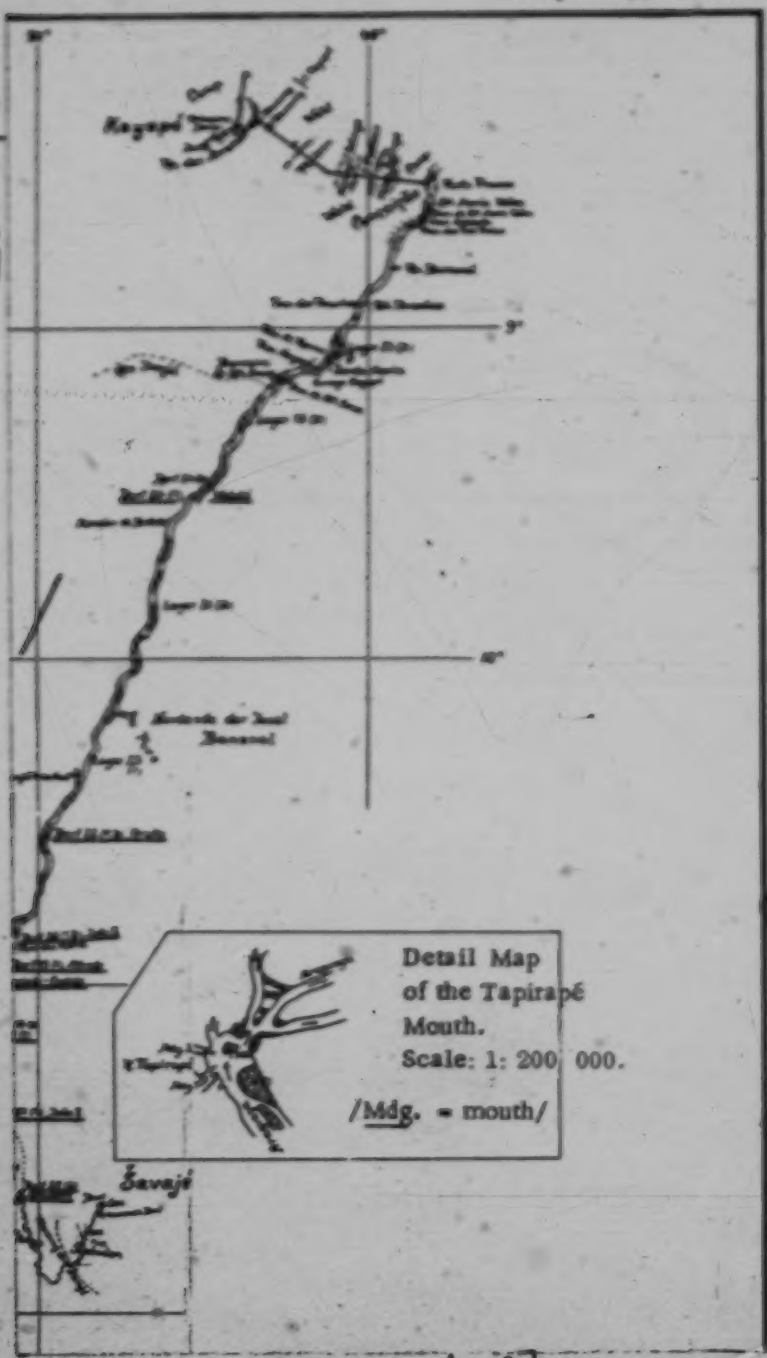


[End Map A-2]

8: Krause--368 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP#2

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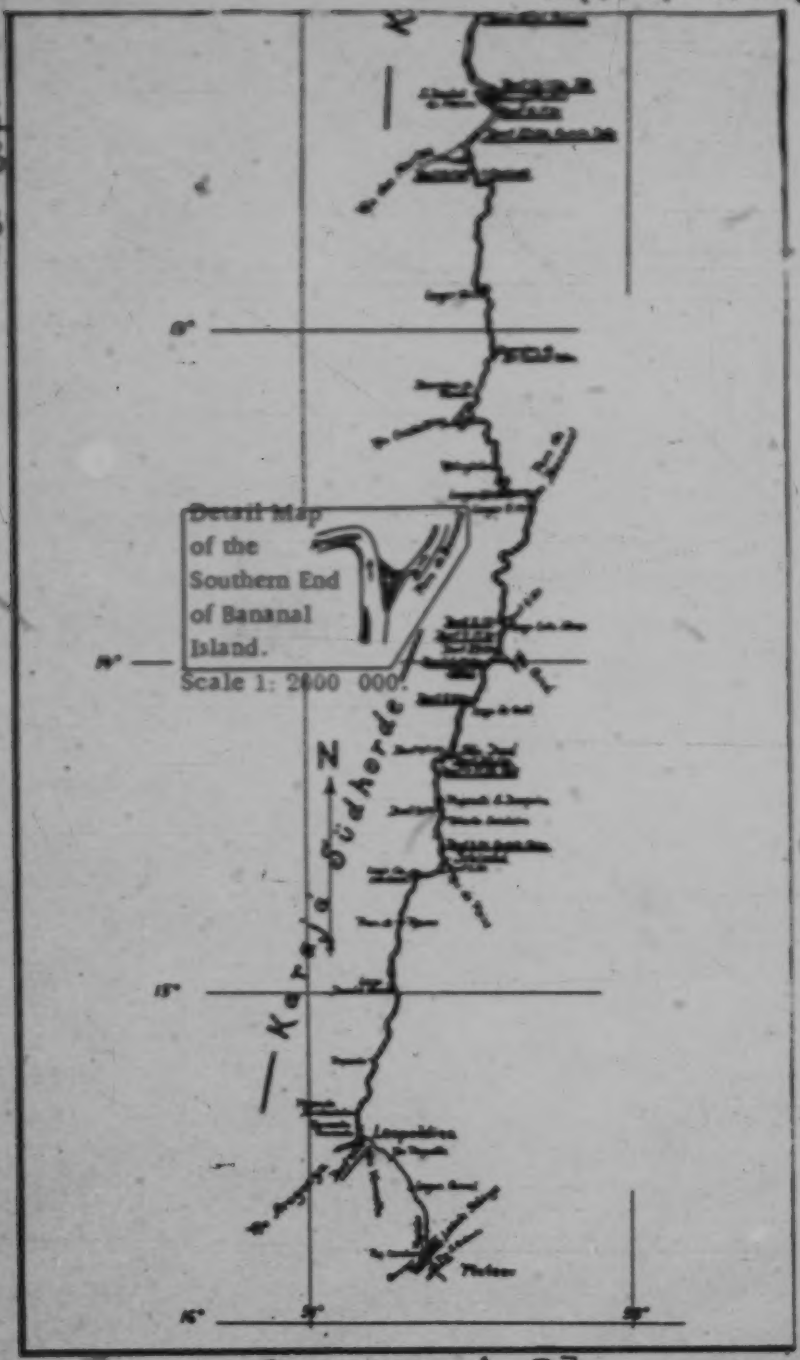


[End Map A-3]

S: Krause

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SP9 Cáraja SP9
Bocoro SP8
Tapirape SP22

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sec. 1 /p. 369/ | Sec. 2 /p. 370/ | Sec. 3 /p. 371/ |
| Sec. 4 /p. 372/ | Sec. 5 /p. 373/ | Sec. 6 /p. 374/ |

Chart of Positions of End Map B.
/Facing p. 368/

5: Krause--389 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Casa a SP9
Bororo SP8
Tal. rafr SP22

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Survey map

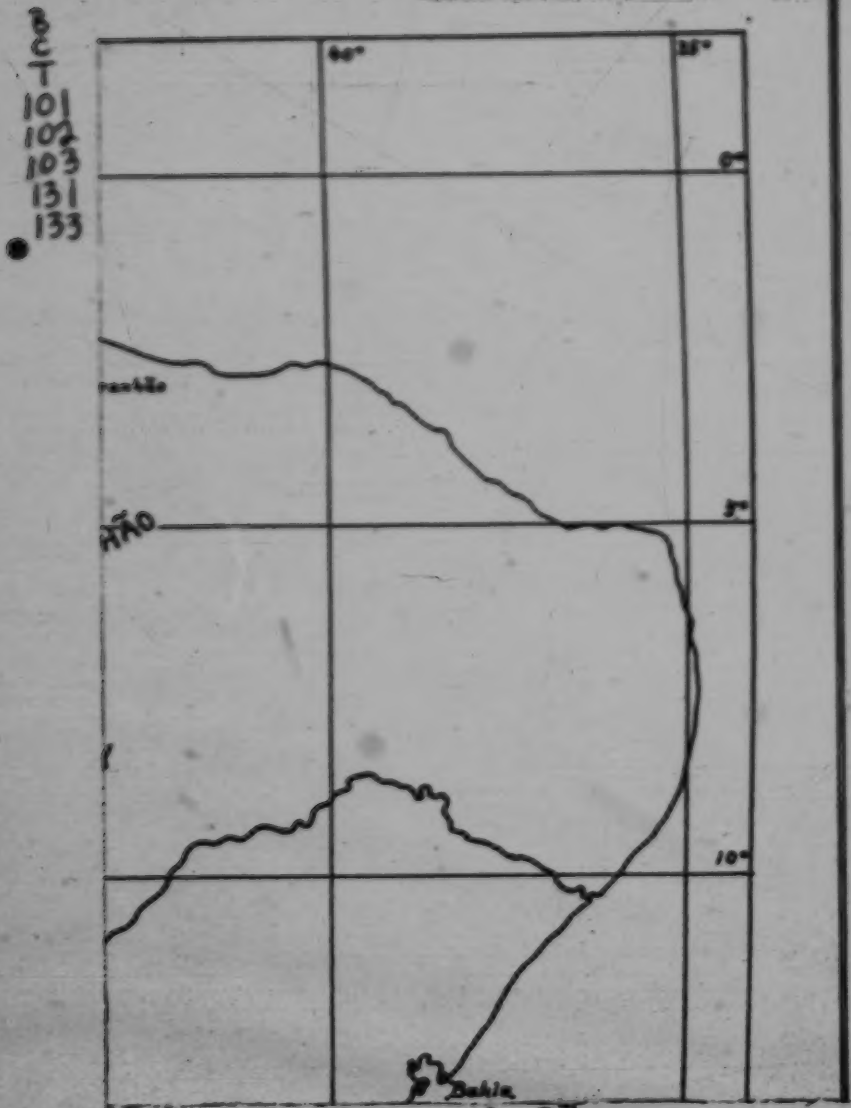
Scale 1: 20'000 000.

[End Map B-1]

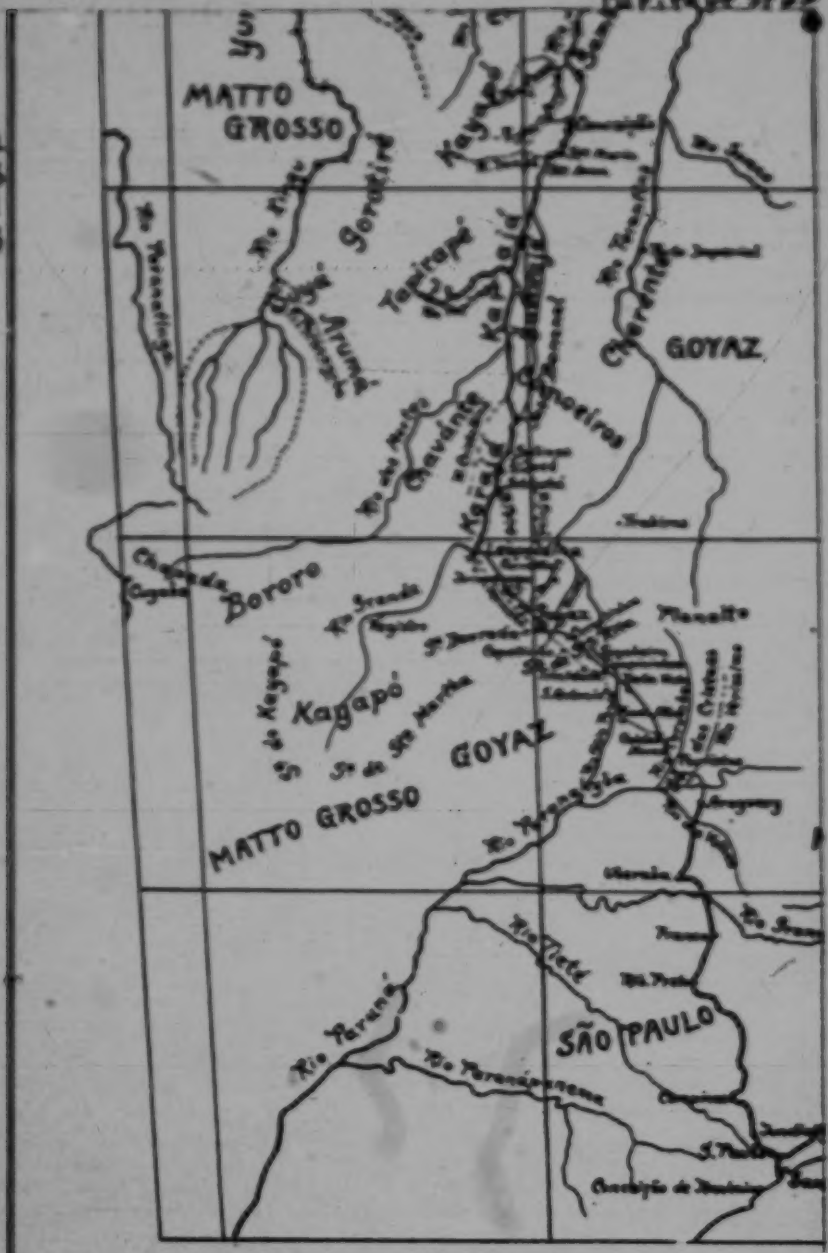
S: Kraus--370 E-S (1908) 1911 SP9 Carajá SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP 22

[End Map B-2]

S: Krause--371 E-S (1908) 1911 SP9 Canaja SP9
Bovoro SP8
Toriyapo SP2




[End Map B-3]




The travel route and the tribal names are entered in red.

[End Map B-4]

S: Krause--373 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bototo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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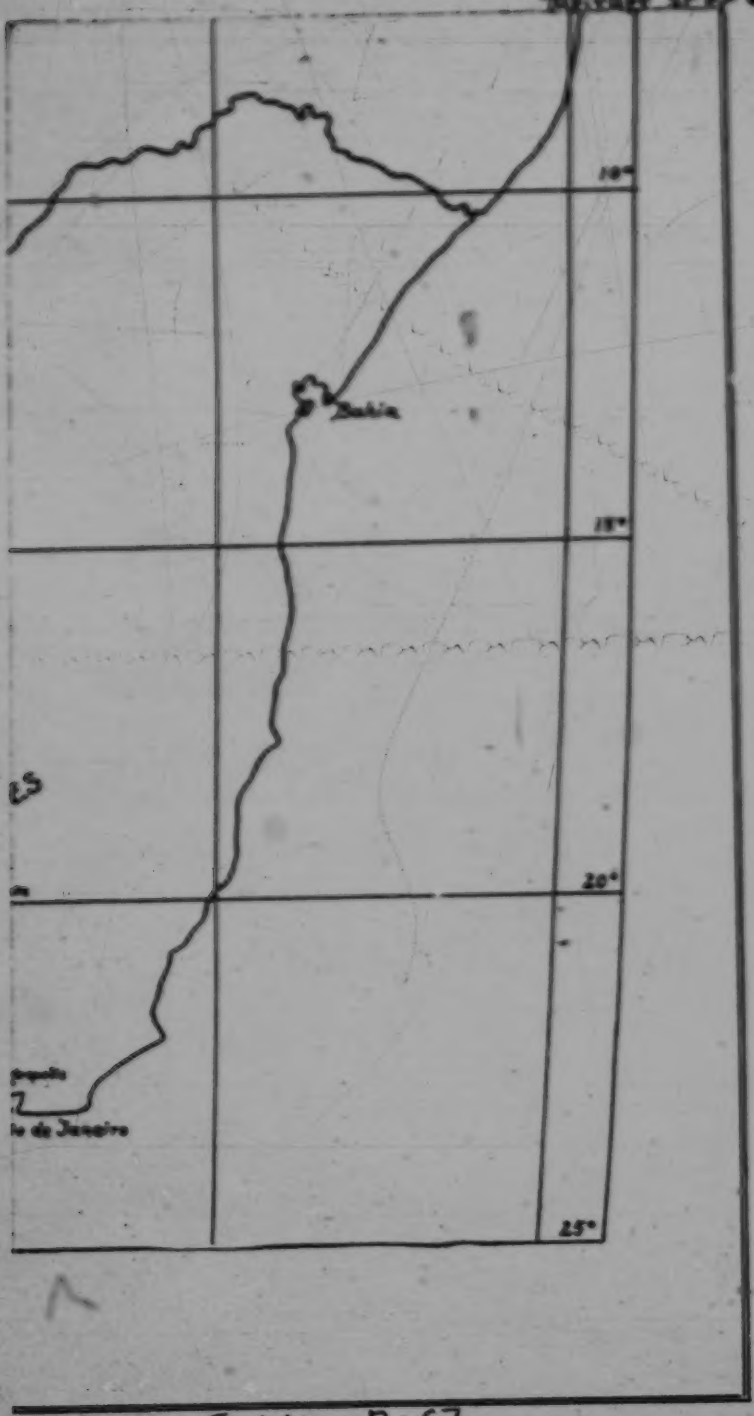
[End Map B-5]




[End Map B-6]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



## CULTURE

### SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

[37] The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth 133 and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive 152 rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

**Farming.**—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their 241 villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their [394] large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, cará (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

[221] Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for 241 their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also 616 it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work 476 festival (apaĩrú). When communally prepared, the large clearings are afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, gener- [423] ally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apaĩrú, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaó) at the end 241 of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as [462] the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, cará, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout [422] the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clear- [361] ings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

262 Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is 252 the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupí* groups, however, the

23: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
[P. 404] SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Champukwi on the Trip to Furo de Pedra.

of my life, a feeling that was shared, I believe, by Valentim Gomes and by Champukwi.

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Champukwi adjusted to Furo de Pedra with amazing rapidity. His short visit as a youth to the mission station undoubtedly contributed to his quick adaptation although, to be sure, there were minor problems and incidents. The Brazilians of Furo de Pedra were accustomed to Indians, for nearby there was a village of semi-civilized Caraja Indians who frequently visited and traded in the settlement. Yet, Champukwi was a bit of a curiosity—the town-people had seen only one other Tapirapé. The local Brazilians invited Lim into their homes and offered him coffee and sweets. Both Valentim Gomes and I watched over his movements with all the anxiety of overprotective parents for fear that he might be exposed to a respiratory infection (he did not contract any) or that the hospitality of the local Brazilians might persuade him to drink *cachaça* (sugar cane *aguardiente*). Alcoholic beverages were unknown to the Tapirapé who are unlike most South American groups in this respect.

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13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



115 When the heavy rains of late December and January set in, we
123 were all more or less confined to the village as the rivers and streams
124 rose to flood the savanna. What had been brooks in the tropical
132 forest became wide streams, difficult, and sometimes dangerous, to
133 ford. It rained many hours each day. The Tapirapé women and children spent most of the time in their dwellings, and the men and older boys lounged in the men's house. Our house again became a meeting place. And as this was of course an opportune time for interviewing, I joined the men in their club or entertained visitors at home. I began to see more of Champukwi—first, in the men's house and then as he again became a regular visitor at our house. Now, he brought his new (and younger) wife with him. He liked to sit up with us late at night after the other Tapirapé visitors had retired to their dwellings or to the men's house for the night-long sings that are customary during the season of heavy rains. Under the light of our gasoline lamp, we again took up our study of Tapirapé culture. Not once did he mention his period of antagonism except to complain that the Tapirapé gossip too much.

Sometime late in January there began what might be considered the second phase of my relationship with Champukwi. Our friendship was no less intimate than before, but our conversations and more formal interviews were not now as frequent. During the next months, Champukwi became almost my assistant, an entrepreneur of
115 Tapirapé culture. He continued to provide invaluable information,
123 but when I became interested in a subject of which he knew little,
124 he would recommend that I talk to someone else. Though he directed
756 me to Urukumu on the subject of medicine men or shamans, Cham-
[784] pukwi himself related dreams he had heard other shamans tell. He
[783] explained that he did not want to become a shaman himself, for he had seen grieved relatives beat out the brains of Tapirapé shamans whom they suspected of causing a death by sorcery. He was not cer-
[787] tain, he said, whether such shamans had actually performed sorcery;
[795] but he reasoned that any shaman might come to such an end.
[796] Champukwi did have the frequent dreams that are indicative of one's powers to become a shaman and, in some of his dreams, he saw *anchunga*, the ghosts and supernaturals who are the aids of shamans. He had told only one or two of his kinsmen about this, and he did not want it to be known throughout the village lest there be pressure on him to train for shamanism.

S. Krause

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SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

Sec. 1
/p. 366/

Sec. 2
/p. 367/

Sec. 3
/p. 368/

Chart of Positions of End Map A.
[Facing p. 365]

[97:45] Chapter 1

## The Tapirapé River

000 [Ed., pp. 45-47 and most of p. 49 are omitted; Map 2 appears on p. 48 in the original text.]

### [97:49] Topography of the Surrounding Area

133 137 The Tapirapé River flows through a vast savanna region which is separated from it, along most of its course, by a strip of forest quite irregular in width. This savanna, as a rule, extends [97:50] over such flat ground that the horizon would be very wide if it were not for the trees, two or three meters high, which stand a few paces from each other and make up what is called the campo cerrado [Tr., savanna with scattered scrub forest]. It is true that sometimes the distance between the trees increases, and they become better developed and a few meters higher. There are also large empty areas, that is to say, grassland completely free of arboreal growth. Sometimes these stretches are crossed by a narrow forest strip of high trees concealing a small stream, or they are broken by swampy groves of muriti palms. This does not prevent large areas of empty grassland from remaining flooded during the dry season, when their black soil [134] is often so slippery that it well deserves the name of "soap" which I gave these places of involuntary gymnastics as I skated over them.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that most of the grasslands surrounding the Tapirapé River dry out at that time of year to such a point that they become easily inflammable. On June 15, 1935, while I was in Tampiitana [later referred to as Tampiitana], the village of the Tapirapé Indians, I saw pillars of smoke rising to the north, southwest, and east, and this brought to my attention the existence of grasslands and people in those parts. The soil of the dry grasslands can be 134 [481] so hard that the Indians massage their feet and legs after having walked several hours over it. Only rarely, however, is this soil rocky. I found it covered with small, round, brownish-red stones in only a few restricted areas, especially in small stretches of campo cerrado close to the forest inhabited by the Tapirapé.

[Text continues on p. 6]

114 I left at 6:30 the following morning. Everything was wet with
133 dew. I skated over a stretch of black earth, damp and slippery
[132] ("soap"). I saw jaguar tracks. At eight o'clock, I reached a flooded
[134] forest strip which I had to ford. The same thing happened after walking another ten minutes. At ten o'clock I reached a traditional Tapirapé resting place located in a small patch of forest which contains fresh water. I rested there until four in the afternoon, and then set out again and waded through a swampy area. At 5:30 I reached
[136] dry scrub land where I was able to set up camp for the night. Before going to sleep, I heard frequent jaguar calls.

When I awoke on the twenty-first my clothes were soaked through with dew. I set out at six o'clock. Half an hour later, I was lost in a large and swampy muriti grove. At seven o'clock I reached dry scrub land, and at 9:15 the great forest. During the first 15 minutes of walking, the ground of the forest was more or less dry, but after that it became completely flooded. I walked for an hour and a half in water, which flowed in several places. At 11:30 [97:52] I
[241] found manioc in a brook. I then crossed four gardens separated from each other by strips of forest. At a quarter before one, I met four
[361] youths of the Tapirapé tribe, and half an hour later, still walking through the immense forest, I spotted in its midst the village of those Indians.

When I returned from the village to Porto Salvação on August 5
481 of the same year, I made the whole trip in a single day. I left at dawn with a Tapirapé youth. Although these Indians, as a rule, walk a little more slowly than the local Brazilian frontiersmen, their pace is still quite rapid and very even so that they proceed at the same speed through forest and grassland, and since they hardly stop to rest in the daytime, they may walk 40 or 50 kilometers a day.

On the way back, we took a different course through the forest.
133 The area we had gone through on the way out was still flooded. We
487 walked on ground that was quite dry, making a wide curve to the west. We reached the grassland within two hours. In many areas the Indians
[241] had already burned the grass, and our feet and legs were free of that hindering growth which adds so much to the traveler's weariness. Once in a while, a fresh breeze blew upon us. We walked four hours through
[137] open grassland and scrub forest, with frequent glimpses of pairs of deer,
[136] until we reached the traditional Tapirapé resting place in the small
[484] patch of forest containing fresh water. There we found Reverend Kegel

301 word is usually given to all the hard, stiff objects worn by Brazilian
324 Indians in the artificial lower-lip hole, except for the botoque which differs from the tembetá in shape and size (cf. Baldus and Willems 33-34 and 218). [Fig. 7 appears here.] It is true that the Tapirapé
[192] are unfamiliar with this word and speak only of itachinga, "white stone," when they point at this quartz ornament. I was told by
•[135] them that the raw material is found "in large quantities" in a stream they call Tochypiá, which flows several days' journey northwest of Tampiitáua, near Moytáua, the Tapirapé village abandoned in 1932. The specimen I saw (Fig. 7) measured nine and a half centimeters along its full length and four and a half centimeters around the slender part, while the thick part was ten and a half centimeters all around and three and a half centimeters in diameter. It was the only specimen extant in Tampiitáua, and Kamairahó, in whose possession it was, did not want to let me have it at any price. This shows the importance of this ornament in the life of the tribe. Since the tembetá was no longer complete, I asked the Indian Kanió to show me how it was worn. It became

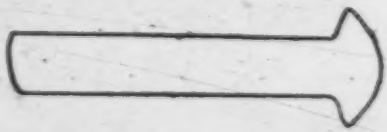

Fig. 7. Ceremonial quartz tembetá.

evident that the thicker part remains outside the mouth, for Kanió coated the other end with wax and introduced it into the lip hole (Photo. 2).

In Chapter 4 I mentioned the notices of João Manuel de Menezes,
171 Aristides de Souza Spinola, Fritz Krause, and Wilhelm Kissenberth
301 concerning the existence of Tapirapé tembetá among the [109:78] Karajá. The specimen acquired by Kissenberth (2, 72 and Fig. 15) from these Indians, which he reproduces in its actual size, has almost the same length as the fragment I saw in Tampiitáua, that is to say, 8.6 centimeters, and it too is incomplete. The difference, however, lies in the fact that the broadened, convex, plug-shaped end is missing, rather than the securing piece. The latter has the shape of a T, that is to say, it is a crosspiece like those on the

137 The savanna of the hinterland beyond the left bank of the river
241 is bounded on the north by this huge forest, in which many generations of Tapirapé Indians have found enough virgin growth to prepare annually new plots that provide them with an abundance of bananas, maize, peanuts, gourds, beans, manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, peppers, tobacco, and cotton. This forest, aside from being flooded
193 extensively even in the dry season, contains small streams flowing
312 on wide beds of clear sand, which offer the Indians cool, limpid
226 water for drinking and bathing, and abundant fish, large and small, that play an important part in their diet.

The only man-made trails that we know of so far in the vicinity
487 of the Tapirapé River are the more or less deeply marked footpaths of the Tapirapé Indians. On the savanna, they are about 20 centimeters wide and follow the sinuous line involuntarily produced by human beings when they walk on flat ground. [97:51] We can verify this sinuosity, for example, on a long beach, when we attempt to reach a certain point directly and later look at the trail left by our feet. We notice that it meanders and thus differs from all animal tracks, those of the jaguar or water cavy as well as those of birds, which always run in a straight line unless they curve out deliberately.

To give an idea of a specific part of the river environs at a
114 specific time of year, I shall now describe my land journey toward the
133 north, from Porto Salvação to Tampũtána. I left on June 19, 1935, at 3:30 in the afternoon, carrying on my back the requisite sleeping and eating equipment. I walked at the rapid pace used by the local frontiersmen on long hikes, making about five kilometers an hour on flat, unobstructed ground. I went through dry grassland with a scatter-
[137] ing of medium-sized trees which sometimes stood dozens of meters apart. After a walk of nearly three hours, I reached Lake Tucunaré,
[103] so called because of its abundant fish of the same name which attract
[136] the Tapirapé Indians to the place every year. At the time of my passage, Lake Tucunaré was a slow and deep brook which I had to cross up to my waist in water. They say that it connects with the Tapirapé River during the rainy season. It is surrounded by trees, and the water is full of them. After wading through it, I reached a place on the shore where those Indians often set up their sleeping hammocks and
[136] where I spent the night. There were quite a few mosquitoes. The
[132] chief plague of the day, however, in spite of my deliberately late start, was the heat.

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133 dew. I skated over a stretch of black earth, damp and slippery
[132] ("soap"). I saw jaguar tracks. At eight o'clock, I reached a flooded
[134] forest strip which I had to ford. The same thing happened after walking another ten minutes. At ten o'clock I reached a traditional Tapirapé resting place located in a small patch of forest which contains fresh water. I rested there until four in the afternoon, and then set out again and waded through a swampy area. At 5:30 I reached
[136] dry scrub land where I was able to set up camp for the night. Before going to sleep, I heard frequent jaguar calls.

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481 of the same year, I made the whole trip in a single day. I left at dawn with a Tapirapé youth. Although these Indians, as a rule, walk a little more slowly than the local Brazilian frontiersmen, their pace is still quite rapid and very even so that they proceed at the same speed through forest and grassland, and since they hardly stop to rest in the daytime, they may walk 40 or 50 kilometers a day.

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133 The area we had gone through on the way out was still flooded. We
487 walked on ground that was quite dry, making a wide curve to the west. We reached the grassland within two hours. In many areas the Indians
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[137] open grassland and scrub forest, with frequent glimpses of pairs of deer,
[136] until we reached the traditional Tapirapé resting place in the small
[484] patch of forest containing fresh water. There we found Reverend Kegel

133 and our camarada [Tr., guide or hired hand], as well as several
487 Indians, and we set out again after a brief rest.

Two hours later we crossed another body of water surrounded by trees. Since Reverend Kegel was taken with leg cramps and also had to vomit several times because he had drunk water too quickly, we stayed there for about two hours.

Then we set out again in a long file, one behind the other. The sun burned down, but fortunately there was a breeze from time to
[484] time. To make their return journey easier, the Indians set fire to all the grass they found. Suddenly, in an unburned patch of grassland, we saw a pair of spotted jaguars engaged in amorous play. My camarada Daniel shot at them with his gun. Both animals ran away, one of them bleeding. Daniel with the gun and two Indians with bow
[231] and club vainly ran after them. The two Tapirapé dogs who were with us behaved in rather sorry fashion. One of them jumped about a little and barked, while the other did not even find courage for that.

Two hours later we reached Lake Tucunaré, where we found
[136] numerous mosquitoes. It took us three or four hours to go from there to Porto Salvação, along an old Indian trail on very hard and hot ground.

[97:53] It took us, therefore, 13 or 14 hours to return from the village to the river, and this was more or less the time we spent walking on the way out.

## Names of the River and its Tributaries

[Ed., one paragraph omitted.]

103 The Tapirapé Indians call the Tapirapé River aviohy (or aviuhy),
which means "fluff water," hy being "water." They are very fond of
[301] the fluff of the jabiru, duck, and vulture for body ornamentation, and
[237] they find it chiefly on this river. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 97, pp. 53-54, is omitted.]

249 476 that the Indians suck. It was, incidentally, the only cultivated plot within the clearing where Tampiitaua stood.

The center of Tampiitaua was the takana, the large men's 361 house. Eight communal huts were grouped around it, with their 342 entrances set in such a way that it was impossible to look from the 345 inside of one hut into that of another (cf. Fig. 8, in which the chief entrances are represented with black rectangles and the secondary ones with blank rectangles). The village plaza stretched between the front of the takana and the semicircle formed by the houses on the east side of the settlement, and it was the setting for dances, singing, games, races, speeches, and banquets.

The "village of the tapirs," however, had not always stood 361 in the clearing where I found it, nor did it remain there after my 166 departure (cf. Ch. 5). At certain times, the Tapirapé move far away. At regular intervals varying from two to five years, however, they move the village to a spot only one or a few leagues away. When they abandoned the village located on the banks of the lower Tapirapé, the distance they covered was considerable, that is to say, probably a few dozen kilometers. Long distances [621] were also covered at various times when villages split up or joined [578] together, as a result, in the former case, of internal dissensions, and in the latter case of dwindling population [Fig. 8 appears here] [110:193] or lack of shamans. The chief causes for the smaller, 136 habitual moves are the plagues of cockroaches and the number of 166 graves within the huts. The unchecked proliferation of Blattella 361 germanica L. compels the Indians to abandon and burn down all their houses every few years. The recurrence of this event is ensured by the carelessness of the Indians, for after the village has been destroyed the household goods carried to the new site are never sufficiently free from cockroaches to prevent them from soon swarming all over the dwellings. When epidemics cause the [764] floors of the huts to fill rapidly with graves, this manner of burial [731] may entail the erection of a new village within an even shorter period of time.

Not only does the settlement change as to site, however, but 361 it also changes in size. I have already mentioned in Chapter 5 the data furnished by Reverend Kegel, according to which Tampiitaua consisted of about 14 houses in August, 1932. The [342]

[Text continues on p. 78]

352 bananas ripe for eating. The storeroom proper begins there and
415 extends to the upper crossbeams, from which hang large quanti-
[251] ties of bananas. Similar strips [of bark] tied to the roof just within the reach of a standing adult support small baskets, gourds, and small bags whose contents (usually manioc flour), like all foodstuffs, must be protected from the voracity of cockroaches and
[342] dogs. The floor of the house is of light grey, beaten earth. Low,
[764] oblong mounds mark the graves. The smoke that always fills the
354 house gives the inner side of the entire thatch cover a shiny black

[345]

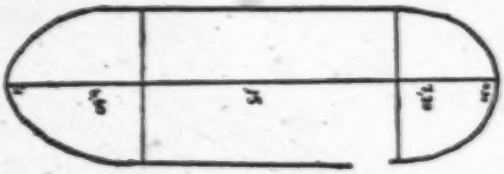

Fig. 11. Plan of the takana.

hue. The half-light maintained through the night by the fires burning beside the hammocks becomes a little brighter when daylight filters in through the slits in the lower part of the walls and through the doors.

Here is a nocturnal scene in house a.

512 The chickens roosting upon the roof keep moving unceasingly,
[231] and from all sides comes the rustling of myriads of scuttling roaches.
[136]

[345]

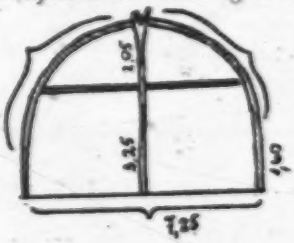


Fig. 12. Cross-section of the takana.

The swinging of hammocks makes the crossbeams creak. The
[516] smoke from the fires is not sufficient to protect the naked bodies from mosquitoes, and because of this, the Tapirapé swings his hammock, pushing his hand or foot against a rope stretched at his side or hanging one leg outside the hammock and pushing with it against the floor. He swings in this fashion until he goes to sleep.

231 interested would remain where it is. Also, I have already men-
364 tioned the enthusiastic battling of the chickens against roaches,
which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé
[136] to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw
[825] one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which
would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (159-160), in-
136 cidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá
192 and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on
European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Arauers by the
savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also
come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find
something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they
get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco
leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such
articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they
get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked
and poorly wrapped at night, these Arauers gnawed them to the
bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning." [trans-
lated from French].

The word written arauers in the French spelling of the sixteenth century author tallies perfectly with the anavé, anaué, and araué with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we
171 may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá
[361] in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the
[342] erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the
[476] elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and
[764] in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient
[712] coastal Tupi in not fortifying their village with fences and in
[345] possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in
the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most
typically Tupi are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial,
and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Karajá
[352] in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupi name they
give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses
within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings,
in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The
171 Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:119] of houses
361 around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

124 pictures is much larger than the original, while the opposite applies to most other animals. It is especially difficult to identify various kinds of fish which vary considerably in actual size.

128 I shall transcribe from Rodolpho von Ihering's book the colloquial and scholarly names, while sometimes omitting that of the species. Most of the errors which I have probably committed in spite of this precaution will thus, I hope, easily be corrected by zoologists. It is well to call the attention of those who study [825] the geographic distribution of animals to the fact that the Tapirapé are not familiar with the species represented by R. von Ihering and omitted from the following list, for I showed them all the figures in the book. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

[Tr., the following list is summarized from the original text, and omissions have not been indicated. To avoid confusion, it should be emphasized that the first name listed is the Tapirapé term. Its translation is given in Portuguese when there is no English equivalent or it is uncertain, and in most cases the Brazilian term is of Tupi derivation.]

## MAMMALS

136 262 (1) anyrá -- bats in general. Not eaten.

(2) tatu -- hairy six banded armadillo (Euphractus sexcinctus). Eaten by men. [117:94] The Tapirapé were not familiar with the nine-banded armadillo (Dasypus novemcinctus) in Fig. 15.

(3) tamanua -- great anteater (Myrmecophaga jubata). Eaten.

(4) tamanduá-beva -- small anteater (Tamandua tetradactylus). Eaten by men and youths, not by boys or women.

(5) chingó -- sloth (species of the Bradypodidae family). Not eaten. The Tapirapé word may arouse doubts, for it differs completely from the Tupi term mentioned by numerous authors.

(6) tapidjí -- tapiti (Tr., a small hare-like rodent] (Sylvilagus minensis). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 19.

(7) kuanohó -- rat (a species). They used this name for the wild rat (Axymycterus nasutus) in Fig. 20, as well as the coypu [117:95] (Myocastor coypus) in Fig. 22. Considering the great

•196 differences in size and general appearance between these two
262 rodents, and taking the information by R. von Ihering (25) that the second one "is found only in the southern Brazilian states," I take it that the Tapirapé made a mistake. They said of both that only men eat them. It is also interesting to note the augmentative suffix ho when we read of the coypu: "Its body has the shape of a huge rat, but in size it is almost an agouti with short legs and a rat tail, almost as long as the body, measuring from 45 to 55 centimeters" (ibid.). The same Tapirapé word with the diminutive suffix i, that is, kuanoí, designates the coendou which I shall mention under item 12.

(8) kereroá -- rice rat (Calomys longicaudatus). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering s Fig. 21.

(9) anuchá -- mouse that lives in tree trunks and not on the ground. Not depicted by R. von Ihering.

(10) anochaó -- mouse that builds a straw nest. Not depicted by R. von Ihering. The suffix o is augmentative.

(11) Vuavedeí -- serelepe [Tr., a kind of chipmunk or ground squirrel] (Sciurus spec.). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 23.

(12) kuanoí -- porcupine (Coendu spec.). Eaten by the men.

(13) ampereá -- cavy (Cavia aperea). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering s Fig. 25.

(14) ankuchí, akutí -- agouti (Dasyprocta spec.). Eaten.

(15) kanoanó -- paca (Coelogenys paca). Eaten. It is inter-
[171] esting to note that the Tapirapé are not familiar with the Tupi word paca. Many white hunters regard the meat of this animal as the best in the world.

[117:96] (16) angkampíyvuana -- capybara (Hydrochoerus capybara). Eaten by grown men. According to Karl von den Steinen, (1, 174) the meat of the capybara tastes like "machine oil."

(17) ypiravuira -- white porpoise (Inia geoffroyensis). Not eaten. This fresh-water variety is not depicted by R. von Ihering. Joaquim Branco (XVI, 213) gives pirayaguara as the name of the white Amazon porpoise, adding that this means "dog-fish" (cf. also Stradelli, 132 and 603). The Tapirapé word, however, means "bird-fish."

•136
262

(18) auvaná -- agouara (Canis jubatus). Not eaten.

The Tapirapé were not familiar with the wild dog depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 40.

(19) koandji -- coati (Nasua narica). Eaten.

(20) eirana -- tayra (Tayra barbara). Eaten by the men.

(21) mykura. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the zorrilho [Tr., a conepate] depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 45. It is known, however, that mycura or mucura is the name given in the Amazon to marsupials of the Didelphys genus called gambá in the south of the country (cf. Stradelli 568, R. von Ihering 9). The Tapirapé were not familiar with the opossum (Didelphys aurita) represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 1. The Tapirapé do not eat the animal they call mykura.

(22) chauatanangka -- giant river otter (Pteronura brasiliensis). Not eaten.

(23) chauvuanohó -- jaguar (Felis onza). Eaten by the men. This Tapirapé word covers both the spotted and the black jaguars. In Tapirapé, chauvuana means "dog" (Canis familiaris), ho being the augmentative suffix.

[117:97]

(24) chauvuápinima -- spotted jaguar.

(25) chauangpytyngó -- cougar (Felis concolor). Eaten by the men.

(26) manangganchaí -- wild cat (Felis spec.). Eaten by the men.

(27) tampiira -- tapir (Tapirus americanus). Eaten by the men.

(28) chinguá -- catêto or caitetu [Tr., a wild pig] (Dicotyles tayassu). Eaten. The Yekuaná do not eat the tongue, heart, or brains of this animal, which is their favorite game (Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 335-336). Among the Tapirapé, however, I found persons who greatly appreciated the brains (cf. Baldus 7, 95).

(29) tanchahó -- white-lipped peccary (Dicotyles albirostris). Eaten.

(30) opokú -- marsh deer (Dorcelaphus dichotomus). Eaten by men who do not have small children.

(31) ochinga -- savanna deer (Dorcelaphus bezoarcticus). Eaten by the men. I found its meat very dry.

(32) mianá -- brocket (Mazama americana). Eaten.

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(33) anakuahó -- brocket (Mazama simplicicornis). Eaten. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book.

The Tapirapé were not familiar with the hairy saki or fox-tailed monkey (Pithecia monachus) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 66.

(34) antamanî -- saki (species?) Eaten by the men.

(35) yaî -- ring-necked titi (Callicebus torquatus). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 71).

(36) kaî -- capuchin monkey (Cebus spec.) Eaten. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book. I ate its meat often and found it good either boiled or roasted.

(37) kai-ió -- howling monkey (Allouatta spec.). Eaten by the men. (kaî: cf. No. 36.)

(38) kokykoky -- spider monkey (Ateles spec.) Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 76. [Ed., end of Vol. 117.]

[118:117] BIRDS

(39) vuyrá, uyrá -- bird in general. Many kinds of birds are eaten only by the men. The Tapirapé Kamaira listed 97 bird names for my companion F.C. Kegel.

(40) vuyranchampokáinia -- domestic chicken. Eaten.

(41) chanoó -- rhea (Rhea americana). Eaten by the men.

(42) oró -- capueira partridge (Odontophorus spec.). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 79.

(43) muitú -- curassow (Crax spec.). The Tapirapé distinguish the sexes, calling the male muitunoó because it is larger than the female, which is spotted in contrast to the male and hence called muitupinima. Eaten.

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(44) inomõ -- tinamou (Crypturus spec.). Eaten.

(45) changkú -- guan (Penelope spec.). Eaten. The guan is relatively abundant on the Araguaia, easy to hunt, and the favorite dish of the Tapirapé.

(46) tepangkuã -- tinamou (Crypturus noctivagus). Eaten.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the doves depicted by R. von Ihering in Figs. 85 and 86.

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(b) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the white-faced tree-duck (Dendrocygna viduata) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 87.

(c) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the horned screamer (Palamedea cornuta) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 88.

(47) uyrahó -- jabiru (Mycteria mycteria). Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé name means literally "large bird." I found its meat strongly redolent of fish.

(48) mauanî -- American stork (Euxenura maguari). Eaten. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw the bird depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 91, which therefore belongs to the Ciconidae and not to the Ardeidae family.

(49) vuanî -- roseate spoonbill (Ajaja ajaja). Eaten.

(50) akakó -- wood rail (species?) The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw Aramides saracura in R. von Ihering's Fig. 99 and asserted that the men eat this bird of the Rallidae family.

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(51) karakaraka -- tapicurú [Tr., an ibis]. Eaten by the men. The Tapirapé thought that this bird of the Ibididae family, which is not depicted in R. von Ihering's book, resembles the wood rail in Fig. 99, although it has a longer beak. I liked its meat. My companion, Mr. Kegel, found it very "oily."

(52) ananglura - seriema (Microdactylus cristatus). Eaten by the men. When I recorded this Tapirapé word, its similarity to saracura [Tr., Portuguese for No. 50] led me to think that a confusion had been made between the two wading birds depicted in R. von Ihering's book one beside the other. But the Tapirapé removed my doubts, and in any case I found in Kissenberth's (2, 59) short Tapirapé vocabulary the word arãkorî with the German translation Strausfsart, that is, "kind of ostrich," which can only be the seriema since this author (ibid.) gives the same Tapirapé word for "rhea," with a slight difference in spelling, as I listed under No. 41 above.

(53) vuangká -- biguá-tinga [Tr., a darter] (Plotus anhinga). Eaten.

(54) yrevú pevó -- common or black vulture (Catharista atratus brasiliensis). Not eaten.

(55) yrevú chingú -- king vulture (Gypagus papa). Not eaten.

(56) yrevú ampaá -- red-headed vulture (Cathartes aura). Not eaten. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book.

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(57) tampiikyvanchinga -- caracara (Milvago chimachima or similar species). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 104.

(58) tamyngó -- carancho [Tr., a hawk] (Polyborus tharus or similar species). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 105.

(59) pypypypyó -- harpy eagle (Thrasaetus harpyia). Eaten by the men.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the burrowing owl depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 107.

(60) urukureá -- striped owl (species?). Eaten by grown men. The name given by the Tapirapé was known to the sixteenth century Tupi of Bahia.

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(61) vuantoxi(n)iá -- hoatzin (Opisthocomus cristatus). Only old people eat this bird after removing its skin, which is also done by the few neo-Brazilians who do not scorn its flesh, for the hoatzin is also called catingueiro [stinker] by the frontiersmen owing to its penetrating odor. The Tapirapé use the word ikanchíng, "stinking," in referring to it. This bird abounds on the banks of the Tapirapé and middle Araguaia, and it is easy to hunt because it is clumsy and slow. These Indians kill it to feather their arrows with its plumes. Not mentioned in R. von Ihering's book.

(62) ypekú -- woodpecker in general. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé use this name not only for the climbing birds of the Picidae family, but also the bird of the Dendrocolaptidae family depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 132.

(63) chryvá -- motmot (Momotus spec.). Eaten by adults.

(64) tatauantí -- kingfisher (Ceryle spec.). Eaten by grown men.

(65) vuainomy -- hummingbird in general. Eaten. R. von Ihering's Figs. 112, 114-116.

(66) yvychangó -- taperá [Tr., a swallow]. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw Chaetura cinereiventris in R. von Ihering's Fig. 117.

(67) urutauí -- potoo (Nyctibius spec.). Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw the ringed nighthawk depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 118, a bird belonging to a different genus but to the same Caprimulgideae family.

(68) michinga -- parakeet. Eaten by the men. The Tapirapé gave this name, which means "white tuí [parakeet]" when they

136 262 saw the Pyrrhura vittata in R. von Ihering's Fig. 119. They were not familiar with the parakeet (Psittacula passerina) depicted in Fig. 123.

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(69) arana -- scarlet macaw (Ara spec.). Eaten by grown men.

(70) kaninó -- blue-and-yellow macaw (Ara ararauna). Eaten by grown men. Among the Tapirapé, I several times ate the tough flesh of this bird which does not become tender even when boiled for a long time.

(71) anchoró -- parrot (Amazona spec.). Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave me this word when they saw the Amazona aestiva in R. von Ihering's Fig. 121.

(72) tokynó -- toucan (Rhamphastus spec.). Eaten.

(73) pyichíva -- a kind of "small toucan," smaller than tokynó. Eaten.

(74) aní -- common ani (Crotophaga ani). Eaten by men and boys. R. von Ihering's Fig. 125.

(75) anachychyryó -- quiriru [Tr., guira cuckoo] (Octopteryx guira). Eaten by men and boys.

(76) pytauvuyó -- bem-te-vi [Tr., tyrant-flycatcher family] (Pitangus sulphuratus). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 127.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the cagassebinho [Tr., a small tyrant bird] represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 128.

(b) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the ant shrike (Thamnophilus caerulescens), a bird of the Formicariidae family depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 129.

(c) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the lavandeira (Fluvicola albiventris) represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 130.

(d) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the spine-tail (Synallaxis spixi) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 131.

(e) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the oven-bird (Furnarius rufus) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 134.

(77) aviá -- thrush (Turdus spec.). But the Tapirapé were not familiar with the dusky thrush (Turdus amaurochalinus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 135.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the yellow sugarbird (Calliospiza flava) in R. Ihering's Fig. 139.

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(78) ancoschingbó -- oriole (Xanthornus jamacai). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 141.

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262 (79) angkaé -- jay (Uroleuca cyanoleuca or Cyanocorax spec.?). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 142.

(80) champohú -- japu [Tr., oriole family] (Ostinops decumanus). Eaten by grown men. A large bird of the Icteridae family. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book.

## REPTILES

(81) changkané -- alligator in general. Eaten by the men. I ate meat from the tail of a grown alligator on the Araguaia, and found it pleasantly tender and so characteristic that it did not recall either fish or the flesh of any mammal.

(82) chauvatí-pevoé -- cágado [Tr., a semi-aquatic, fresh-water turtle]. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw Hydrispis hilarii in R. von Ihering's Fig. 147. They eat the flesh and the eggs.

(83) chauvatió -- turtle. Eaten. This word, which means "large turtle," was given on seeing the tartaruga do mar [literally, "sea turtle"] (Talassochelis carreta) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 149. It is probable, however, that the word referred to the tartaruga da Amazônia (Podocnemis expansa).

(a) I did not get the Tapirapé word for the tracajá [Tr., a semi-aquatic, fresh-water turtle] (Podocnemis cayennensis) which is not depicted in R. von Ihering's book, but I saw the inhabitants of Tampiitsua eat one of those small chelonians which they had caught when it climbed the sandy river bank in order to lay eggs. The entire animal was roasted in the embers with its eggs alongside.

(84) chauvatí-été -- jaboti [Tr., a fruit-eating tortoise] (Testudo tabulata). Eaten. I found its flesh very flabby when I ate it on the Tapirapé river bank.

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(85) chauvachí-amperanchí -- matamata (Chelys fimbriata). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 151.

(86) When they saw the limbless lizard (Amphisbaena alba) represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 153, the Tapirapé merely said maiá or máia, their word for snakes in general. They said that they do not eat this animal.

(87) tanú -- small lizard. Not eaten. The Tapirapé gave this name for Hemidactyeus mabuia in R. von Ihering's Fig. 154, as well

•136 as to Diploglossus fasciatus in Fig. 155.
262 (88) amereva -- mabuia agilis. Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 157.

(a) The Tapirapé were unfamiliar with the teioid (Microblepharus maximiliani) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 158.

(89) chichuputereva -- teju (Tupinambis teguixin). Not eaten.

(90) anemy -- iguana (Iguana tuberculata). Eaten by grown men.

(91) kamechorânia. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the papavento [Tr., lizard of iguana family] (Anolis punctatus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 161. They said that they do not eat it.

(92) koviané -- truira-peva [Tr., small lizard of iguana family (Hoplocercus spinosus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 164.

(93) maichiningó -- rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificus). Not eaten.

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(94) maiayva -- jararaca [Tr., pit viper] (Lachesis lanceolatus). Not eaten.

(95) okumanî. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the "false coral" (Oxyrhopus trigeminus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 181 and the "true coral" (Micrurus corallinus) in Fig. 183 of the same author. Not eaten.

(96) urukuků -- bushmaster (Lachesis mutus). Not eaten.

(97) maioó -- anaconda (Eunectes murinus). Not eaten. The Tapirapé word means literally "large snake." It is the largest snake in the world. R. von Ihering's Fig. 185.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the harmless cobra-nova (Drymobius bifossatus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 186.

(98) machukyry. The Tapirapé gave this term when they saw the tree snake (Chironius) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 187, and said that they do not eat this animal.

## AMPHIBIANS

(99) tayra. The Tapirapé gave this word, which is used by sons to designate their fathers, when they saw the tadpoles represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 191, the butterfly larva in Fig. 464, and the butterfly chrysalid in Fig. 465. They said that they eat the tadpoles.

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(100) choí -- frog. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw Nototrema fissipes in R. von Ihering's Fig. 192.

(101) kororó -- toad (Bufo marinus). Not eaten.

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(102) chyioó -- horned frog (Ceratophrys spec.). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 196.

(103) vuavá -- frog. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw Leptodactylus caliginosus in R. von Ihering's Fig. 197.

(104) mantereva. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the frog (Dendrobates tinctorius) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 198. They added that they do not eat this batrachian.

(105) kurtúua -- small tree toad (Hyla spec.). Eaten by the men.

(106) choipapevó -- frog (Phyllomedusa spec.). Eaten by the men. [Ed., end of Vol. 118.]

[119:79] FISH

(107) xpirá -- fish in general. My traveling companion, Reverend F.C.Kegel, gathered 54 Tapirapé names for fish.

(108) chavevuyra -- fresh-water ray in general. Eaten.

(109) pirampokó -- literally, "long fish." This is what the Tapirapé call the barracuda (Sphyraena barracuda) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 224, asserting that they eat this marine fish, which also goes into fresh waters according to what I was told by Dr. Antenor Leitão de Carvalho of the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro.

(110) ampakochingó. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the look-down (Selene vomer) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 225, and they added that they eat this animal. No doubt they confused it with another fish, for Dr. Leitão de Carvalho told me that this marine fish does not go into fresh waters, which do, however, contain similar species.

(111) chauevychanché. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the flounder (Achirus lineatus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 227, adding that they eat this fish, which goes into fresh waters, according to Dr. Leitão de Carvalho. R. von Ihering himself (158)

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asserts that there are flounders which are "perfectly adapted to fresh water and found as far as the upper Amazon and Mato Grosso." The Tapirapé word seems to be made up of chavevuyra, "ray" (cf. No. 108) and chancé, "father's sister" (as said by the men), thus meaning "ray's paternal aunt." This hypothesis becomes more reasonable when we consider that both fishes have a thoroughly flattened body and both live at the bottom of the water with their white side facing down and the side where the eyes are located facing up. It is also appropriate to recall that the Kaingang word for the centipede means, literally, "snake's father-in-law" (Baldus 11, 157).

(112) mairampeyá. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the swellfish (Spheroides spengleri) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 234, and [119-80] they added that they eat this marine fish. According to the same author (ibid., 158), there are swellfish adapted to fresh water in the Amazon and in Mato Grosso.

(113) moó. The Tapirape gave this word when they saw the moray eel (Lycodontis moringa) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 248, and said that, among them, the men eat this animal. They probably confused this marine fish with the snake eel (Symbranchus marmoratus) which looks very much like the moray eel and lives in fresh water.

(114) purangké -- electric eel (Electrophorus electricus). Eaten by the men.

(115) chechoó -- piracuru [Tr., or pirarucu, a giant Amazon fish] (Arapaima gigas). Eaten by the men.

(116) chechó. This small fish, highly prized by the Tapirapé, is probably the jeju (Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus). In Chapter 5, I alluded to the possibility that this Tapirapé word may be part of the name of the village Chechotáua. As for the relationship between chechó and chechoó, that is, "big chechó," one should mention what Stradelli (467) noted about those two scaled fresh-water fish of such divergent size. According to this author, the fishermen of the lower Amazon say that the jeju is the best bait for catching pirarucu with the hook. Would this indicate a magical relationship?

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the catfish (Paulicea lütkni) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 259.

(117) orovi - sorubim (Pseudoplatystoma corruscans). Eaten.

136 262 (118) tauvanuá. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the river catfish (Pseudopimelodus zungaro) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 261, and stated that they eat this fish.

(119) tororopy. This is what the Tapirapé called the spotted fresh-water catfish (Pimelodus clarias) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 262, stating that they eat this fish.

(120) chaniá -- small catfish (Pimelodus). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 263.

(121) itaiaí -- cambeva [Tr., a catfish] (Pygidium brasiliensis). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 264.

(122) chaniauhó -- fresh-water catfish (Pimelodella brasiliensis). Cf. No. 120, chaniá. Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 265.

(123) atavachipeva -- mailed catfish (Loricaria spec.). Eaten.

(124) moró -- mailed catfish (Plecostumus spec.). Eaten.

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(125) amoatá -- armored catfish (Callichthys spec.). Eaten. According to Plínio Ayrosa (4, 148) "the meaning of this name is probably to be found in the variant camboatá, from kaábo-atá, 'one that walks through the forest,' because these fish, which are supplied with richly vascular hairlike appendages serving for respiratory purposes, can move about freely on land when they intend to move from one waterway to another." It is proper, however, to raise the possibility of a relationship between the Tapirapé words amoatá and amatáua, since the latter, meaning "mustache," may allude to the fish's barbs. In any case, the Tapirapé catch and value the tamboatá, and they have a dance that deals with it.

(126) amoataú. The Tapirapé gave this name to the cuiúcuiú (Doras marmoratus) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 271, and asserted that they eat it. This fish, distinguished from the amoatá by its augmentative suffix, resembles it in that it also has barbs and also moves about on land.

(127) anampá -- fresh-water eel (Carapus fasciatus). Eaten by the men.

(128) antangkopaná -- pirá-tamanduá [Tr., pirá is the Tupi word for "fish," and tamanduá for "anteater"] (Sternarchus curvirostris). Eaten.

(129) aknú -- acará [Tr., a fresh-water cichlid] (Geophagus brasiliensis). Eaten.

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(130) changkoná -- jacundá [Tr., a cichloid fish] (Crenicichla spec.). Eaten.

(131) tukunaré -- tucunaré (Cichla spec.). Eaten. This fish, reaching half a meter in length, is among those most highly valued by the Tapirapé and is killed by them with bow and arrow. Not depicted by R. von Ihering.

(132) vuananaõ -- corumbatá (Prochilodus spec.). Eaten.

(133) vuananaí. The Tapirapé gave this diminutive form of the word listed under No. 132 when they saw the chimboré (Anostomus kneri) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 279, next to his Fig. 278 which depicts the corumbatá [No. 132]. Indeed, head excluded, there are many similarities between these two fish as represented here, Fig. 278 being slightly larger than the other. The Tapirapé asserted that they eat vuananaí.

(134) ipiáua -- piava [Tr., a small fresh-water fish] (Leporinus spec.). Eaten.

(135) ipirápechova -- lambari-guaçu [Tr., lambari is a Tupi word for "minnow"; guaçu is a Tupi augmentative suffix]. Eaten. The Tapirapé gave this word, which literally signifies "flat yellow fish," when they saw Tetragonopterus rutilus in R. von Ihering's Fig. 282.

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(136) pekakuhama -- lambari-mirim [Tr., mirim is a Tupi diminutive suffix] (Characidium fasciatum). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 283.

(137) aikyngapeva -- dog-fish or saincanga (Acestrorhamphus hepsetus). Eaten.

(138) tanayra -- traíra [Tr., lungfish?] (Hoplias malabaricus). Eaten.

(139) ipiránionõ -- piranha in general (Pygocentrus and Serrassalmus genera). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 288.

## MOLLUSKS

(140) ity -- shellfish in general.

(141) champoroá. This word was given by the Tapirapé when they saw Planorbis peregrinus in R. von Ihering's Fig. 316. Not eaten.

136 262 (142) tatytá -- Strophocheilus oblongus. Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 321.

## CRUSTACEANS

(143) machiy -- fresh-water shrimp (Bithynis spec.). Eaten.

(144) vuananó -- fresh-water crab in general, literally, "large crab." Eaten.

(145) vuapema. This word, which means literally "flat crab," was given when the Tapirapé saw the guaiá das pedras (Panopaeus herbstti) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 356. They asserted that they eat this crab.

## ARACHNOIDS

136 262 (146) china. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the scorpion (Tytius bahiensis) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 362, and asserted that they do not eat it.

(147) chanó -- spider in general. Not eaten. The Tapirapé are familiar with several of the spiders depicted in R. von Ihering's book, without [119:83] identifying them, however, with specific names. They call the spider web chanóini, ini being also the word for "hammock."

(148) tantevoga -- tick in general. Not eaten (except for those taken directly from the human body). The Tapirapé made no distinctions among the ticks depicted by R. von Ihering.

## MYRIAPODS

(149) amoévaí -- millipede (Leptodesmus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 390.

(150) amoá -- millipede (Rhinocricus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 391.

(151) chapeauá -- centipede (Scolopendra). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 393.

## INSECTS

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(152) tokorí -- leaping insect in general. Not eaten.

(153) tokoró ambipém -- esperança (an orthopteran). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 397.

(154) tokoró. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw the lantern fly (Fulgora lanternaria) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 430. I was unable to determine whether they establish a relationship between this homopteron and the insects mentioned under Nos. 152 and 153, or whether a confusion is involved. They asserted that they do not eat this insect.

(155) kyngeyma -- twig insect. Phasmida. Not eaten. The Tapirapé word is probably made up of kynga, "bone," and yma, a negative suffix. This would be quite significant considering the appearance of this insect, which looks like a stick when motionless. R. von Ihering's Fig. 398.

(156) tiraná -- praying mantis (Stagmatoptera predicatoria). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 399.

(157) pykapykáua -- cricket (Gryllus spec.). Not eaten. The Tapirapé word [119:84] is related to the generic term for "butterfly," that is, pykápyká (cf. No. 170). R. von Ihering's Fig. 400.

(158) ygechuchauana -- mole cricket (Gryllotalpa spec.). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 401.

(159) anavé, anaué, araué -- cockroach (Blatella germanica I.). Not eaten. In Chapter 7 I described the important role played by this insect in the life of the Tapirapé.

(160) kupií -- termite in general. Not eaten.

(161) chichinó -- dragonfly. The Tapirapé gave this name not only to the cavalo-de-cão [Tr., spider wasp] (Aeschnidae) in Fig. 412, but also to the neuropteran in Fig. 409. They used the name chichina for the ichneumonidan in Fig. 511 and the vespid (Synoeca) in Fig. 529. The four insects mentioned are represented with open wings, and this may have led the Indians to find similarities and to give terms distinguished from one another by the augmentative suffix. They asserted that they do not eat these four insects.

(162) ámpeámpeí. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word on seeing pictures of insects as diverse as the following ones: psocid (Atropos), Fig. 413; thysanopteran, Fig. 415; aquatic bug (Belostoma),

•136 262 Fig. 422; notonectid, Fig. 423; bedbug (Acanthia lectularia), Fig. 424; cercopid, Fig. 425; aphid, rose louse (Aphis rosae), Fig. 428; cicada (Zammara tympanum), Fig. 429; buprestidan (Conognatha), Fig. 450; meloid (Lytta), Fig. 451; brenthid (Brenthis), Fig. 452; curculionid (Heilipus), Fig. 453; curculionid (Heilipus), Fig. 453; curculionid (Entimus), Fig. 454; Cerambycidae, Figs. 455 (Lophnocercus), 456 and 457; coccinellid (Neda), Fig. 458; staphylinid (Paederus), Fig. 459; hydrophilid, Fig. 462. None of them are eaten.

(163) kyva -- head louse (Pediculus capitis). These parasites are eaten when picked from beloved persons. In fact, since this [515] insect is always related to a particular person, I heard its Tapirapé name only in connection with the possessive, that is, chekyva, "my louse," anenekyva, "your louse," ikyva, "his or her louse."

(164) inimãkyrynga -- hammock louse (inĩ means "hammock"), probably the body louse (Pediculus vestimenti). It is larger than the [119:85] head louse and assailed me painfully, while I never harbored any of the innumerable head lice of the Tapirapé in spite of the fact that I offered them many opportunities for transmigration. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua ate the hammock louse when they caught it in flagrante. According to Gabriel Soares de Sousa (325), this insect also existed among the Tupinambá.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the ephemeris in Fig. 410.

(165) mechuã. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word when they saw pictures of the following Hemiptera: reduviid, the blood-sucking conenose bug (Triatoma megistus) in Fig. 417; pyrrhocorid (Dysdercus ruficollis) in Fig. 418; coreid in Fig. 419; Pentatomidae in Figs. 420 and 421. None of them are eaten.

(166) ypehaga. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word when they saw pictures of the following Coleoptera: passalid (Neleus), Fig. 439; lucanid (Leptinopterus), Fig. 440; cetonian (Gymnetes), Fig. 442; Melolonthidae (Macrodactylus), Fig. 443; rutelian (Pelidnota), Fig. 444; carabid (Galerita), Fig. 445; cicindelid (Tetracha), Fig. 446; erotylid (Cypherotylus), Fig. 447. None of these beetles are eaten.

(167) byrema -- dynastid (Coelosis) and Scarabaeid (Phanacus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Figs. 441 and 449.

136 262 (168) anerechinga -- Lymexilonidae (Atractocerus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 448.

(169) takuereré, takuarereka - firefly in general; takú means "hot." Not eaten.

(170) pykápyká. The Tapirapé gave this generic name to all the Lepidoptera, butterflies as well as moths, not differentiating among families and species. They also gave the same name when they saw the Membracidae in Figs. 426 and 427 and the trichopteran in Fig. 463. As already mentioned under No. 99, they call larvae and chrysalids tayra. In contrast to other native peoples (cf. Thurnwald 106), the Tapirapé are familiar with butterfly metamorphosis. They do not eat these insects at any stage of their life cycle.

(171) if -- small nocturnal blood-sucking mosquito, perhaps a variety of birigui [Tr., a small blood-sucking sand fly] (Phlebotomus).

(a) I did not obtain from the Tapirapé the name for the mosquito pólvora [Tr., a small blood-sucking sand fly] (Culicoides spec.).

(172) ipió, ipioeté -- gnat (Simulium spec.). It is eaten when caught in flagrante.

[119:86]

(173) ipiochinga -- lambe-olhos [Tr., literally "graze-eye"; a stingless honeybee (Trigona duckei). Eaten when caught in flagrante. This bee, incidentally the smallest in the world, is not depicted by R. von Ihering.

(174) tanchió, tanchiú -- muriçoca mosquito (Anopheles spec.). Eaten when caught in flagrante.

(175) merú. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word when they saw the pictures of the stable fly (Stomoxys calcitrans) in Fig. 494, the Stratiomyiidae (Tachina melanopyga and Hermetia illucens) in Figs. 497 and 498, and the blowfly (Cochlionvia macellaria) in Fig. 499. Not eaten..

(176) mutuka -- motuca fly [horse fly] (Chrysops and Erephopsis). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Figs. 495 and 496.

(177) iora -- flea (Pulex irritans or Ctenocephalus canis?).

(178) tongá -- chigoe (Tunga penetrans).

136 262 (179) chauanakaõ. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the mutillid depicted in Fig. 518 and known as the "squeaking ant" [Tr., in English, "velvet ant"] owing to the sound it emits when caught, and also as "little jaguar" or "jaguar louse" owing to its pattern. A bold etymologist might perhaps interpret the Tapirapé word as "dog song" or even "jaguar song," taking into account not only the sound and the spots, but also the terms mentioned under No. 23 and the fact that kaõ is the name of a specific song in Tapirapé and corresponds to the Guarani term guahú which means "the barking of dogs" (Recalde 1, 68). There might even be a connection with the large stinger possessed by the female of the species, which causes sufficient pain to draw howls of despair from its victim. The Tapirapé do not eat this insect.

(180) taiyva -- fire ant (Solenopsis geminata). Not in R. von Ihering's book.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the carpenter ant (Prenolepis) in Fig. 519.

(181) mamangao -- bumblebee (Bombus spec.). The Tapirapé asserted that they eat the honey of this large bee that is described as "worthless" by R. von Ihering (256). They call all kinds of [237] honey and bee eĩ or eirá, and they eat the honey of 20 different bees. My companion F.C. Kegel gathered 29 Tapirapé names for bees.

[119:87]

(182) kaueauá -- mandaçaia [Tr., a stingless honeybee] [237] (Melipona spec.). They eat the honey of this bee, which incidentally is also regarded as delicious by the Whites. R. von Ihering's Fig. 533.

(183) tateí -- jatai (Trigona spec.). They eat the tasty honey [237] of this small bee. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book. I dealt with another Trigona species, the graze-eye, under No. 173.

(184) anchova. The Tapirapé gave this name to a small black bee which gets entangled in the hair and which, according to them, does not yield honey. It may be the irapuã [Tr., a small stingless bee] (Trigona ruficrus), whose honey is actually sparse and "worthless" in R. von Ihering's words (256). Not depicted in his book.

(185) káua -- wasp in general. The larvae are eaten roasted in their nest cells and then removed from their cubicles with a twig

136 or by knocking them against the hand. Both men and women eat
262 all wasp larvae. They regard them as special delicacies and usually eat them mixed with manioc flour.

(186) yvyraantana -- tree-living wasp (species?). With the Tapirapé, I ate its white larvae which are two centimeters long. Their taste, extremely floury and sweetish in the unsmoked parts, was not unpleasant. It came from the almost liquid substance of the larva and not from its skin. Several of the larvae were still moving because they had not been as close to the fire as the others. Living or dead, however, they were eaten indiscriminately. [Ed., end of Vol. 119.]

[120:51] We may draw the following conclusions from the preceding list. [Ed., a paragraph giving the first conclusion is omitted.]

171 2. With the exception of the spider monkey (No. 38), there is
262 no animal eaten by the Karajá and not by the Tapirapé, but there are numerous mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibians, fishes, and crustaceans that are eaten by the latter and not by the former.

3. With the exception of the bat (No. 1), which "a few men eat" among the Cherente, and of the teju (No. 89) which "some people eat" among these Indians and which "nowadays some people eat, but no one ate in the old days" among the Kaingang of the Ivaí, there is no animal eaten by these two tribes and not by the Tapirapé. The animals eaten by the latter and not by the Cherente are: the tayra (No. 20), the roseate spoonbill (No. 49), the darter (No. 53), the harpy eagle (No. 59), the owl (No. 60), the motmot (No. 63), the kingfisher (No. 64), the hummingbird (No. 65), the potoo (No. 67), the frog (No. 100), and the crustaceans (Nos. 143 and 144). The following animals are eaten by the Tapirapé and not by the Kaingang: the great anteater (No. 3), the small anteater (No. 4), the porcupine (No. 12), the wild cat (No. 26), the darter (No. 53), the kingfisher (No. 64), the potoo (No. 67), the ani (No. 74), the bem-te-vi (No. 76), the alligator (No. 81), the cágado (No. 82), the horned frog (No. 102), and the crab (No. 144).

[120:52]

4. We see, therefore, that of the four tribes in question, it is the Tapirapé who eat the greatest variety of animals, while the opposite applies to the Karajá.

since the information provided by such dreams is readily accepted, they organize collective fishing trips. Fish constitutes their main source of animal fat and calcium. The calcium comes from the bones, [120:55] crumbled into a strongly spiced sauce, their favorite breakfast food. This is a cold dish, but the flesh of the fish is eaten on the previous day, good and hot, and invariably accompanied by manioc flour. I caused general amazement when I ate small roasted fish for the first time in Tampiitaua, and did so without manioc flour. My friend Vuanomanchi said that fish without flour is bad, gesticulated and spat as though he were smelling bad odor, and wanted to get up and fetch some of his own flour. A woman who was eating seated by my side immediately offered me hers. Of all the pictures in the zoological book that I showed them, it was always those of fish that aroused the greatest interest. The majority of the masked dances I witnessed dealt with fish, and there is an unmasked dance in which most of the text of the song consists of the word ypirá. It was this generic term for fish that I also heard almost invariably when I asked for the cause of a disease. This did not mean, however, that eating fish had been harmful to the sick person, but that a fish bone had been shot into his body as a magic projectile by an evil sorcerer. They also say that all the spirits of the hills and of the waters eat fish, and do not mention any other food for these spirits. Furthermore, as already stated at the beginning of this chapter, fish, along with manioc, is the only food included in the Tapirapé description of the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven that lies above our visible one. They do not fail to add that in this case "very fat fish" are involved. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Concerning head lice, I wish to mention in passing the fact that I never found any on my own body during my stays among various tribes, in spite of the fact that much lousy hair came in contact with mine and that I did not take any special preventive measures. The same proved to be the case among other Whites who stayed with South American Indians. I also know of a blond young man on whose head lice of the Krabo [Craho] Indians settled without biting.

/407 cont./

221 region and come to the river farther upstream, before it turns
226 toward the northeast. Here, by means of poisonous cipo, they
[252] fish successive lakes blocked off by fences. They seem to travel from upstream downward, for the upper roasting place showed only a few new beams among very old ones, whereas the lower one was apparently quite recently built. This lower one, beside which they fished from the middle to the end of August 1908, lies about 16 kilometers south-southwest of the first village (24 kilometers
[487] from the second and third). The well-worn paths that go from the two roasting places, join, and lead by way of the first village to the other two, seem to indicate that the Indians visit this spot annually. Where they go from here I was unable to find out; perhaps they went across the Tapirapé to the south. In any case a campo lake abounding in fish, several kilometers away from the trading place, showed no traces of human beings.

161 These people seem to be very numerous. The number of
[342] houses is small, to be sure, but their dimensions seemed to be
[252] quite considerable. The 26 huge grills at the first roasting place and 10-15 at the second, the sandbanks completely trodden down with footprints beside the first fish lake, certainly lead one to
513 conclude that there is a large crowd of people. Sleeping is
352 apparently done in hammocks. This is indicated first by the net coverings that the Karajá buy from them, and then by the complete absence of sleeping places beside the roasting place, which was certainly used for many days.

241 Besides manioc (according to the account of the Karajá), these people also plant maize, as is indicated by many, partly
231 charred corncobs at the roasting place. As domestic animals they keep dogs, the traces of which were numerous on the sand-
224 banks. It may surely be assumed that they devote themselves to
[136] hunting. The campo is extremely rich in deer, the forests in wild pigs. Certainly they will not forgo these sources of meat.

226 In addition, fishing is practiced on a large scale through poisoning the /408/ /Ill. 267 appears here/ /409/ water of blocked-off lakes. We saw barrier poles everywhere in the territory of this tribe in front of lake outlets. The first lake that we came across was completely blocked off by a fence that was

[Text continues on p. 344]

177 are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural
291 rather than physical one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitáua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them are completely clothed.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actually
177 experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their new
262 neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the number
[161] of Tampiitáua inhabitants has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following [139] were not lacking, however. "Now the Tapirapé only eat small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs."

These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the
[261] dry season, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna as well as the human beings in the region have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the
[136] frontiersmen, by settling permanently in all the habitable places along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at
[361] certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitáua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers.

When I ascended the length of the Tapirapé River in a canoe in
311 1935, its banks were uninhabited. There was a single inhabitant at the river mouth, and he manned, so to speak, the most advanced
648 post of our civilization. In July, 1947, there were eight houses in Pôrto Velho, which stands more or less at the middle point of the navigable stretch, that is, 15 or 18 leagues from the mouth, and nearly all of their occupants came from the state of Pará and had lived previously at various spots on the Araguaia.

Their settlement, and with it the occupation of the Indian lands, began about five years ago and presents aspects characteristic of the processes that were repeated, with certain variations, throughout the colonization of Brazil. Their leader is a farmer by the name of Lucio

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



823 memorate the spot where he had eaten plentifully of fish. The Tapirape
772 view of the world is an expanding one; the people are eager to acquire more knowledge, as is attested by their numerous questions about one's home and one's people, about the sea, the mountains, and distant places.

In point of time, the Tapirape consider the present as the third world.
773 Twice people were destroyed, once by flood and once by universal fire. Before these catastrophes, there were pre-Tapirape called Karanjuntuwera. These people lacked the many refinements which were later brought to the Tapirape by their culture heroes. They ate several varieties of wild seeds, they did not have maize, manioc or any modern garden plants, and they lacked the bow and arrow. The Tapirape are not certain whether the Karanjuntuwera lived before or after the flood, but when the great deluge came, one man and one woman climbed a small palm tree which grew as rapidly as the water rose, carrying them above the flood. After they had been there some time the man began to spear fish and snakes[3] which swarmed in the waters, using the long narrow palm leaves as spears. As he killed a fish or snake, the waters gradually diminished and finally ran back into the river-beds.

Four ancestors escaped the second destruction[4] of people—the universal fire. These ancestors took the form of birds: there were two *jacu* which were men, and one periquito and one *mutum*, both women.[5] These escaped underground and from the union of the two couples came "men" or *ampa*
[101] *awa*, as modern Tapirape call themselves.[6]

"Culture heroes" were primarily instrumental in making the Tapirape
773 world what it is. When and in what order these heroes came is not stated.
776 Among them was Petura, a supernatural ancestor and great trickster. He stole fire from the vultures, day or dawn from the night owls, and *genipa*[7] from monkeys. These he brought as gifts to the Tapirape. Finally Petura
776 went far to the northeast "where the earth ends and water begins" to live
[775] in Maratawa,[8] the home of all Tapirape culture heroes, of shamans after
[756] death, and of the sun and the moon. There he lives today. He never dies,

[3] From these primordial flood snakes, say the Tapirape, descended their neighbors and enemies, the Caraiá. "They (the snakes) had circles under their eyes" (the tribal face tattooing of Caraiá).

[4] The sequence of fire and flood does not seem to be clear in legends. Two informants placed the fire before the flood. People during both epochs are spoken of as Karanjuntuwera.

● [136] [5] *Jacu:* edible forest fowl, about the size of a large chicken, genus *Penelope*, several species. Periquito: *Pyrrhura vittata*. *Mutum: Crax lector*.

[6] See Baldus, Herbert, Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira, pp. 207-219.

[7] *Genipa rubiacea* or *Genipa americana:* fruit from which black body dye is made.

[8] Several informants described Maratawa as an island. To the Tapirape, the lighted sky is
[823] encircled by black sky and on all sides below the edges of the lighted sky "where the black sky begins", the earth ends and water begins. Thus earth is a large island surrounded by water on all sides. The Tapirape are quite willing to grant, however, that beyond this water may be another earth.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



the next two months we had daily sessions, some very brief and others lasting two or more hours.

In October of 1939, some six months after my arrival, I found it necessary to leave the Village of the Tapirs to go to Furo de Pedra for supplies and to collect mail that was held there for me. Valentim Gomes and I had come up the Tapirapé River, a tributary of the Araguaia, pulled by an outboard motor belonging to an anthropological colleague who had since returned to the United States. Now we had to paddle ourselves downstream. We could expect little help from the sluggish current and since the river was so low, it might be necessary to haul our canoe through shallows. Malaria had left me weak and I doubted that I was equal to this strenuous task. Several Tapirapé men, including Champukwi, were anxious to accompany us, but having Indians with us in Furo de Pedra was not advisable. First, they were susceptible to the common cold, which among relatively uncontaminated peoples such as these American aborigines often turns into a serious, and even fatal, disease. Second, unaccustomed to clothes, money, many foods, and other Brazilian customs and forms of etiquette, they would be totally dependent upon us during our stay in this frontier community. Nevertheless, the temptation to have my best informant with me during the trip and during our stay in Furo de Pedra was great and so we agreed to take Champukwi.

The trip was made slowly. Two good frontiersmen in a light canoe could have made it in three days, but we took eight. Champukwi was of little help in the canoe; unlike the riverine tribes the Tapirapé are a forest people who know little about the water, and few of them had ever traveled by canoe. Champukwi was unusual in that he could swim. Although he had more endurance than I, his efforts at paddling endangered the equilibrium of our canoe. However, he could shoot fish with his bow and arrow. The dry season had driven game from the open savanna which borders the Tapirapé River so that we were able to kill deer, *mutum* (another species of large forest fowl), and a wild goose to supplement the less palatable fare we had brought with us. Each night we camped on a beach from which we were able to collect the eggs of a small turtle, the *tracaja*, that had been buried in the sand. Only the mosquitoes which swarmed during sundown and early evening marred our trip. The experience remains one of the most memorable

[97:45] Chapter 1

## The Tapirapé River

000 [Ed., pp. 45-47 and most of p. 49 are omitted; Map 2 appears on p. 48 in the original text.]

[97:49] Topography of the Surrounding Area

133 137 The Tapirapé River flows through a vast savanna region which is separated from it, along most of its course, by a strip of forest quite irregular in width. This savanna, as a rule, extends [97:50] over such flat ground that the horizon would be very wide if it were not for the trees, two or three meters high, which stand a few paces from each other and make up what is called the campo cerrado [Tr., savanna with scattered scrub forest]. It is true that sometimes the distance between the trees increases, and they become better developed and a few meters higher. There are also large empty areas, that is to say, grassland completely free of arboreal growth. Sometimes these stretches are crossed by a narrow forest strip of high trees concealing a small stream, or they are broken by swampy groves of muriti palms. This does not prevent large areas of empty grassland from remaining flooded during the dry season, when their black soil [134] is often so slippery that it well deserves the name of "soap" which I gave these places of involuntary gymnastics as I skated over them.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that most of the grasslands surrounding the Tapirapé River dry out at that time of year to such a point that they become easily inflammable. On June 15, 1935, while I was in Tampíitana [later referred to as Tampiitaua], the village of the Tapirapé Indians, I saw pillars of smoke rising to the north, southwest, and east, and this brought to my attention the existence of grasslands and people in those parts. The soil of the dry grasslands can be 134 so hard that the Indians massage their feet and legs after having walked [491] several hours over it. Only rarely, however, is this soil rocky. I found it covered with small, round, brownish-red stones in only a few restricted areas, especially in small stretches of campo cerrado close to the forest inhabited by the Tapirapé.

[Text continues on p. 6]

137 The savanna of the hinterland beyond the left bank of the river
241 is bounded on the north by this huge forest, in which many generations of Tapirapé Indians have found enough virgin growth to prepare annually new plots that provide them with an abundance of bananas, maize, peanuts, gourds, beans, manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, peppers, tobacco, and cotton. This forest, aside from being flooded
133 extensively even in the dry season, contains small streams flowing
312 on wide beds of clear sand, which offer the Indians cool, limpid
226 water for drinking and bathing, and abundant fish, large and small, that play an important part in their diet.

The only man-made trails that we know of so far in the vicinity
487 of the Tapirapé River are the more or less deeply marked footpaths of the Tapirapé Indians. On the savanna, they are about 20 centimeters wide and follow the sinuous line involuntarily produced by human beings when they walk on flat ground. [97:51] We can verify this sinuosity, for example, on a long beach, when we attempt to reach a certain point directly and later look at the trail left by our feet. We notice that it meanders and thus differs from all animal tracks, those of the jaguar or water cavy as well as those of birds, which always run in a straight line unless they curve out deliberately.

To give an idea of a specific part of the river environs at a
114 specific time of year, I shall now describe my land journey toward the
133 north, from Porto Salvação to Tampũtána. I left on June 19, 1935, at 3:30 in the afternoon, carrying on my back the requisite sleeping and eating equipment. I walked at the rapid pace used by the local frontiersmen on long hikes, making about five kilometers an hour on flat, unobstructed ground. I went through dry grassland with a scatter-
[137] ing of medium-sized trees which sometimes stood dozens of meters apart. After a walk of nearly three hours, I reached Lake Tucunaré,
[103] so called because of its abundant fish of the same name which attract
[136] the Tapirapé Indians to the place every year. At the time of my passage, Lake Tucunaré was a slow and deep brook which I had to cross up to my waist in water. They say that it connects with the Tapirapé River during the rainy season. It is surrounded by trees, and the water is full of them. After wading through it, I reached a place on the shore where those Indians often set up their sleeping hammocks and
[136] where I spent the night. There were quite a few mosquitoes. The
[132] chief plague of the day, however, in spite of my deliberately late start, was the heat.

114 I left at 6:30 the following morning. Everything was wet with
133 dew. I skated over a stretch of black earth, damp and slippery
[132] ("soap"). I saw jaguar tracks. At eight o'clock, I reached a flooded
[134] forest strip which I had to ford. The same thing happened after walking another ten minutes. At ten o'clock I reached a traditional Tapirapé resting place located in a small patch of forest which contains fresh water. I rested there until four in the afternoon, and then set out again and waded through a swampy area. At 5:30 I reached
[136] dry scrub land where I was able to set up camp for the night. Before going to sleep, I heard frequent jaguar calls.

When I awoke on the twenty-first my clothes were soaked through with dew. I set out at six o'clock. Half an hour later, I was lost in a large and swampy muriti grove. At seven o'clock I reached dry scrub land, and at 9:15 the great forest. During the first 15 minutes of walking, the ground of the forest was more or less dry, but after that it became completely flooded. I walked for an hour and a half in water, which flowed in several places. At 11:30 [97:52] I
[241] found manioc in a brook. I then crossed four gardens separated from each other by strips of forest. At a quarter before one, I met four
[361] youths of the Tapirapé tribe, and half an hour later, still walking through the immense forest, I spotted in its midst the village of those Indians.

When I returned from the village to Porto Salvação on August 5
481 of the same year, I made the whole trip in a single day. I left at dawn with a Tapirapé youth. Although these Indians, as a rule, walk a little more slowly than the local Brazilian frontiersmen, their pace is still quite rapid and very even so that they proceed at the same speed through forest and grassland, and since they hardly stop to rest in the daytime, they may walk 40 or 50 kilometers a day.

On the way back, we took a different course through the forest.
133 The area we had gone through on the way out was still flooded. We
487 walked on ground that was quite dry, making a wide curve to the west. We reached the grassland within two hours. In many areas the Indians
[241] had already burned the grass, and our feet and legs were free of that hindering growth which adds so much to the traveler's weariness. Once in a while, a fresh breeze blew upon us. We walked four hours through
[137] open grassland and scrub forest, with frequent glimpses of pairs of deer,
[136] until we reached the traditional Tapirapé resting place in the small
[484] patch of forest containing fresh water. There we found Reverend Kegel

101 relatively close to this confluence, that is to say, to the north of
174 it, there lived such Tupí tribes as the Anambé of the lower Tocantins mentioned by Couto de Magalhães (2, 267) and Ehrenreich (1 and 3, IV), the Manajé of the Ararandéua River studied by Nimuendajú (2), and the Urubú cited by Rice and Raimundo Lopes (2).

[98:109] The fact that the "Caatingas" owned many canoes
101 does not rule in any way against their identification with the
501 Tapirapé. The latter, although at present they are not navigators
174 like their neighbors the Karajá [Caraja] or the old-time Tupinambá, still retain the Tupí word for canoe, yana in Tapirapé pronunciation. Furthermore, in 1935, I saw on the Tampiitáua village stream a tree trunk hollowed out in the shape of a dugout. It is true that apparently it had been made just for fun, since it lay with the opening facing downward and was not used as a boat even in play. This, however, does not make it unlikely that the Tapirapé should have owned many traveling canoes in former times.

101 Caatinga, a Tupí word consisting of caá, "bush," and tinga,
174 "white, whitened," may refer to the region inhabited at the time by the Indians of that name, for it is known that the forests of
[137] gnarled, stunted trees that shed nearly all of their leaves during the dry season, forests called catingas or matos sêcos [dry bush], extend to the north of the state of Goiás (cf. Bernardino José de Souza 120-121). In any case, this designation does not rule against the identification of the "Caatingas" Indians with the Tapirapé or any other tribe with a different name. [Ed., the remainder of this page and part of the first paragraph on p. 110 are omitted.]

[98:110] The Tapirapé appear in the eighteenth century as
101 "Tapuyrapé" and "Tapirasse," in the nineteenth century as "Tappiraques" and "Tapirapeques" and in the twentieth century as "Itapirapés," there being even a street by this name in the city of São Paulo (see Airosa 2, 152). This leads us to assume that the name of the tribe changed over these four centuries in accordance with variations in pronunciation. In any case, I agree with the
101 opinion of Nimuendajú (ibid. [letter of October 12, 1935]) accord-
114 ing to whom it is more probable that the "Pirapêz" of Bento Maciel
174 Parente [cited apud Mendes de Almeida II, 35-37] should be

171 25 centimeters wide and 12 centimeters in circumference on the
411 above-mentioned Karajá club which is in my possession. Both specimens are made of heavy wood. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

In hand-to-hand fighting, to kill at a short distance, the club
411 is usually preferable to the arrow. The Tapirapé will also grab
[724] their clubs when quarreling with a member of their own tribe, but
[578] in spite of this menacing gesture the quarrel is usually limited to a string of verbal insults. While in daytime dances the men of
411 Tampiitaua held in their hands an arrow or bow, and only excep-
535 tionally a club, in the kaó, or great nocturnal group dance, they held clubs and bush knives. These weapons were not used largely to mark time, as was the case with the bow and arrow in the daytime dances. They were displayed to make clear the character of kaó, which, as shown also by the intonation of the accompanying chant and by other elements, is basically a martial one. Fur-
[721] thermore, when equipped with clubs and bush knives, the warriors stood ready every night to repel any dreaded attack by their Kayapó neighbors. As far as hunting is concerned, it must be re-
224 called that the density of the forest vegetation and the height of
411 the grass in the savanna frequently ruled against the use of bow and
[137] arrow and impelled the Indian to attack from a short distance, that is to say, to use the club. In spite of this, during the march between the village and the river I observed that all the men carried bows and arrows, while they did not all carry clubs. Another spe-
[683] cialized function of the Tapirapé club is to kill those people who are regarded as evil sorcerers.

The Tapirapé spear (yvyra-hâia, "pointed stick," or mina,
114 "spear") may have been imported from the Karajá. There are no
411 references to spears among the ancient Tupinambá or among the
[439] upper Xingu tribes. In Montoya's work (2, II), however, we find
[171] the terms ibirahaquâbae, "pointed stick" (haquâ, "point") and my, "spear, prong." I did not see any spears while I was with the
[535] Tapirapé, but at Macauba on Bananal Island, Mr. Frederico Kegel showed me one that he had brought back from a previous visit to those Indians, and told me that they used it exclusively in their dances to mark the time, in the same manner as the above-men-
171 tioned weapons. This spear resembled the Karajá spear (donolí)
411 described by Krause (2, 272-273 and Fig. 126). It was likewise a

533 In any case, the greater part of the animal dances and songs
535 that I witnessed dealt with fish. Only the dance of the chankui, that is, "little guan," was also performed frequently. A dance
[171] by this name is mentioned by Von den Steinen (2, 313) for the Auetõ and Kamayurá as "original" to these Tupi tribes. Actually,
[137] those gallinaceans of the Penelope genus, which are easy to catch, abound in Tapirapé territory, and their tasty meat is not barred to either sex. It would be possible to build fine hypotheses about the connection between these facts and the above-mentioned dance, but I shall abstain.

The predominance of fish dances accords with the importance
226 of fishing. The chief fishing period lasts from June to October. During these months, the waters are low and clearer, and in many places it is possible to see all the way down to the bottom. The
[133] small streams gradually dry out, and the fish are compelled to crowd into certain stretches of the river and into the lakes. The latter lose their connections with the river, or they are closed off artificially with dams, observed by Krause (2, 409, Fig. 7, and 267, Plate 29), which consist of stakes connected with crosspieces and covered with thick foliage.

The areas thus dammed are poisoned with a vine called chimá in Tapirapé. The Indians pound the water with pieces of this vine, and call the procedure anchimaká. The water turns a purplish blue. Only the very small fry are killed, however. Other fish are stunned.
[312] To get drinking water the Indians dig holes in the banks, which sometimes lie no farther than one meter from the poisoned waters, but whose contents, filtered through the sand, are harmless to man. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[112:60] Another Tapirapé fishing method, which I have already mentioned, is with the bow and arrow. While the large barbed arrow is used exclusively by adult men, the small one with one or several simple wooden points is used by the boys. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

At Tampiitaua I saw a fish trap (chekiá) consisting of a cylin-
227 drical, funnel-shaped basket made of cane strips (Photo. 32). Aside from this, the Indians showed me a strange object, according to them, used to catch the tiniest fish, which is placed in the water, like the trap, in such a way that the current makes it easy for the fish to get in and impossible for it to get out. This object

262 the mangaba [Tr., fruit of the mangabeira] is "the best wild fruit"
824 in the Paressi Range and in many other localities of Mato Grosso and the northeastern part of Brazil.

The palm tree called pinaua by the Tapirapé and macaba by my north-Brazilian camarada, with a nut, slightly larger than a cherry, that ripens in October or November. This nut is boiled
[252] until the flesh is softened and then rubbed on a strainer lying in a pot, so that the flesh is worked loose from the pit and falls into the pot where it is boiled in water. The end result is reminiscent of walnuts in flavor and is refreshing.

[114:195] The small nut of another tree, the tucuma palm or tucum-açu (Astrocaryun spec., chavana in Tapirapé) is prized for its oil content and is gathered in October.

The Tapirapé like to eat a kind of mushroom they call yvãpá.

243 These Indians cultivate several other plants aside from those
252 mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Maize (Zea mays L.,
262 avandxí in Tapirapé) is harvested while still green, hung inside
824 the house to yellow, and then crushed and used to make porridge or cauí. Its Tapirapé name corresponds to abati in Staden (e 2), auati in Léry (120), ubatim in Soares de Sousa (199), auatî in Stradelli (384), and abatí in Montoya (2, I, 357 and II, 10). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The seeds of peanuts (Arachis spec., monoví in Tapirapé) are
244 pounded and then added to certain mushes, or else roasted, pounded,
252 and eaten in this way, or roasted and eaten without being subjected
262 to the pestle, or chewed and spit into the pot to ferment and turn
824 into cauí. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195, p. 196, and the first paragraph on p. 197 are omitted.]

[114:197] In the previous chapter, we mentioned that the
262 Tapirapé women participate in sowing and harvesting only peanuts,
824 maize, and cotton. The observation by the sixteenth century
[462] Portuguese author [Gabriel Soares de Sousa] that peanuts are "very
[241] hot when eaten excessively," and harmful in certain cases, seems to agree with the idea expressed by the Tapirapé custom that re-
[751] quires father and mother to abstain from this food during their child's first two years so as not to endanger his life.

137 The peanuts I saw in large quantities among the Tapirapé seem
17 to be a variety of Arachis nambyquarae. This species was found
244 by Kuhlmann in 1919 among the Nambikuara [Nambicuara] of

137 Pimenta Bueno in the state of Mato Grosso and described by Hoehne
171 (1, 21-22 and Table 190; 2). Like it, the Tapirapé monoví differs
244 from the "common peanut" (Arachis hypogaea) in its size, which is much larger, for its pod may reach seven centimeters in length and its seeds two or three centimeters. According to Hoehne (1, 22), each specimen of Arachis nambyquarae may yield from 50 to 100 pods. Owing to its oil content and abundance, the peanut is
262 of some importance in the Tapirapé diet and also was one of my favorite foods during my stay in Tampiitáua. Krause (2, 241-242, 358-359, and 387) does not mention this plant among the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó. A legend I heard in July, 1947, at the Karajá village of Santa Isabel, however, states that a civilizing hero of that tribe, the evening star, taught them to plant peanuts among other things.

Less important than peanuts to the Tapirapé were the large
244 flat beans [Tr., lima beans], slightly larger than those of Europe.
262 Only a few individuals cultivated them, planting them in small
824 quantities. Their Tapirapé name, kumaná, corresponds to comendá in Soares de Sousa (200) and cumandá in Montoya (2, II, 105v) and Stradelli (427). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] The large Tapirapé bean seems to be a variety of [114:198] Phaseolus lunatus L. and thus to belong to the same species as the beans mentioned by Anchieta (Hoehne 2, 107), Thevet (ibid., 132), and Soares de
[252] Sousa (ibid., 211-213). In Tampiitáua, it is boiled in small earthenware pots. Then its green skin is removed. Underneath this skin, the bean is white. I ate it with great pleasure.

Smaller than these beans are the round yellow fruits of a leguminous shrub cultivated by the Tapirapé and called kumaná-yvyraí, "bean-shrub." The neo-Brazilians plant this shrub on Morro da Areia [Tr., a high outcrop hill on the Araguaia River] and other places in the region and give it the name anduzeiro. This name might lead us to assume that the plant belongs to the Cytisus cajanus Lin. species.

262 The Tapirapé use the fruits of certain Cucurbitaceae as recep-
824 tacles after removing the flesh, and they use those of another variety
252 in the same family to prepare a highly prized dish with the juice.
[115] This juice is heated, and as it begins to boil it is mixed in with pounded raw maize; the boiling mixture is stirred for ten minutes until it thickens. Sometimes they add crushed peanuts. In this

171 writes: "The natives eat these cotton seeds crushed and then
252 boiled into a mush which they call mingau."

At the time of my stays among the Tapirapé, the monoví-
272 kauí was the kind most frequently used and the one I myself took most often. I confess that I liked this drink so much and developed such nostalgia for it that in 1947, when I again met the people whose hammocks had hung beside mine 12 years earlier, the first wish I expressed was this, "Monoví-kauí." It is worth noting
114 that Gabriel Soares de Sousa (203), in describing the use of the
171 peanut among the Tupinambá, does not mention it in connection
272 with the preparation of a liquid. The same applies to squash, incidentally, of which, according to the sixteenth century Portuguese author (ibid., 201), "there are ten or 12 varieties" called gerumús by the Tupinambá of Bahia. The Tapirapé drink made
272 with crumbled squash is called kuruá-kauí. Kuruá may not be
[137] one of the "varieties" of "gerumús" known in Bahia, but like them, in any case, it belongs to the edible Cucurbitaceae.

The vegetable substances used in preparing the various kinds
[462] of Tapirapé kauí are crumbled or mashed by the women in three different ways, namely, between the hands, in the mortar, and between the teeth. Squash and bananas go between the hands; maize and manioc, the latter previously soaked in water and then sun-dried, go into the mortar; while maize, manioc, peanuts, and cotton seeds are chewed. In the Tapirapé language, amatykú
[192] means "I chew," and andjahák, "I pound." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 257, p. 258, and the first paragraph on p. 259 are omitted.]

[115:259] The custom of turning a food into mush by chewing
252 it is used by the Tapirapé not only to make cauí, but for the two
[757] following purposes: they chew peanuts to make a paste with which they anoint their bodies when they have been made ill by spoiled
[853] manioc, and they chew certain foods and give the mush to nursing children. These children are also given true cauí. It is to be supposed that observing the already considerable saccharification that takes place in chewing led the Indians to apply this procedure to the preparation of their favorite food. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 259 and p. 260, whihh concludes the section in Vol. 115, are omitted.]

272 [116:55] Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have three stages in the preparation of their masticated-fermented drink: (1) they

476 thundering noise, dragging along in its fall its weaker companions.

Every once in a while, a voice was heard behind the trees. One [222] could not see who it was, but the call sounded very close. Immediately, the boys rushed to the spot where the voice came from. Soon they returned with their arms full of bananas. They ran jubilantly toward us and distributed them.

These bananas reached a length of 30 centimeters and a middle [197] circumference of 15 to 20 centimeters. The men brought them in [482] hampers close to the working area, but never came out of the woods into the garden with their load.

The skin of the bananas was black, and their flesh was already 252 brownish and too soft. This is the condition in which the Tapirapé 262 like them best. The fruits are gathered when green and buried at the [222] spot where they grew. The Karajá do the same thing. In the sun- [171] heated ground, the bananas reach the desired state of rottenness more quickly than if they were kept at home. Then, too, they are warm when taken out of the ground, and this endears them further to the Indians.

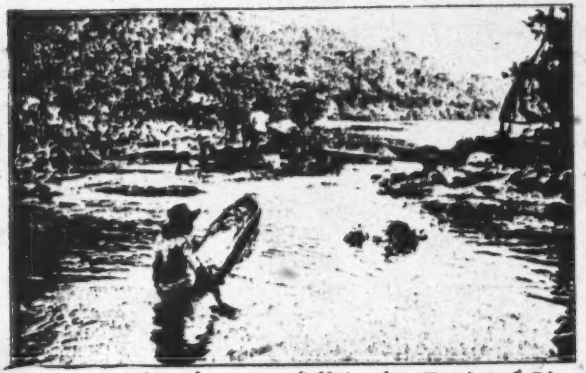
They are not peeled in order to be eaten. The tough skin is 264 opened a little at one of the tips, the tip is placed between the lips, and the skin slowly emptied by squeezing it with the fingers so that the pulp gradually enters the mouth. Kamairahó ate one banana after another. As for myself, I found them nauseating.

[108] The sun was already quite low when we left. We forged 264 ahead at a rapid pace, one behind the other on the narrow trail. We 476 were not far from the village when the path opened onto a small, 462 cleared, triangular space. The women sat in the corners of this space 574 and watched us in silence. The women and girls had split into three groups which tallied with the work groups of their husbands and fathers. They had placed pots of food in the area in the same arrangement. [262] There were banana kãũí, peanut kãũi, cottonseed kãũí, toasted karã, and many other good things. Each group ate only from the pots placed for it at a specific spot. There were smaller quantities for the Tãnãvé, because they were fewer. I was invited from all sides, and since I [123] was very hungry I did not spare the other two groups. Only when I was beginning to be satiated did I put down, with a great show of surprise, the pot of banana soup of the Anantxá from which I had just partaken, and declared that I was a Tãnãvé. This fact, however, did not seem to be of great importance to my hosts.

5: Krause--17 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja
Tapirapé SP22

114
B3
137

1. First tree obstacle in the Tapirapé River.



2. Conquering the waterfall in the Tapirapé River.

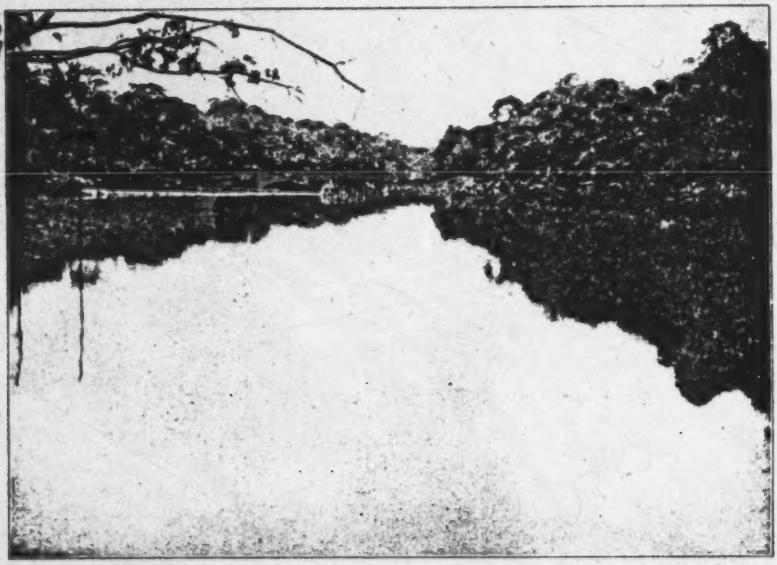
/Plate 28 faces p. 120./

3. "Smooth" channel in the upper course of the Tapirapé River.

4. My men on the march to the villages of the Tapirapé.

Plate 29

133
137



1. Lake blocked off by a fence on the Tapirapé River. View from the end of the lake.

137
252

2. Tapirapé grill in the forest.

/Pl. 29 faces p. 124. /

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



## CULTURE

### SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

137 The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth
133 and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive
132 rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

**Farming.**—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their
241 villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their
[484] large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, cará (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

[221] Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also
241 it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work
616 festival (apačirú). When communally prepared, the large clearings are
476 afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, gener-
[423] ally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apačirú, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaô) at the end
241 of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as
[462] the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, cará, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout
[422] the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clear-
[361] ings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

262 Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is
252 the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupí* groups, however, the

142 Krause (2, 405) noted the same differences in the Tapirapé women and boys whom he encountered among the Karajá. He gives (ibid., 180) the average height of the Karajá as 166 centimeters for the southern group and 160-162 centimeters for the northern group.
141 The height of the Tapirapé varies, as a rule, between 150 and 160 centimeters. Kamairá, the tallest, who was but 170 centimeters tall, stood out among them quite strikingly. The average height of the Kayapó, who are also taller than the Tapirapé, is 165.7 centimeters (Krause, ibid., 370).

In all the above-mentioned tribes, the women are considerably shorter than the men.

142 The physical appearance of the Tapirapé, like that of many Brazilian tribes, reveals two different types. It is true that in the majority of cases these two types are mixed to a greater or lesser extent, but they are nevertheless clearly distinguishable. One is a slender type with fine features, represented, for example, by Kamairahó (Photos. 51 and 52), Urukumy (Photo. 53), and Mareromyó (Photo. 3), and the other a thickset type with a coarser face, such as Vuanomanchí [105:78] (Photo. 63) and Ipayva (Photos. 32 and 60). If these types had originated from ethnic stratification, the former one would have made up the upper layer, for it is not only numerically superior but also peculiar to chiefs and their close relatives. This type unquestionably has Tupí characteristics, while the other one may perhaps be related to the Kayapó as described by Krause (ibid.), or to other Gê peoples.
142 144

The somatic characteristics I designate as Tupí and peculiar to the Tapirapé are the short and slender figure, the aquiline nose, and a greater resemblance to Europeans in facial features and overall appearance than is found in other Indians. [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 78 and the first half of p. 79 are omitted.]

[105:79] The so-called aquiline nose, which appears in many Tupí tribes, is also found among the Tapirapé (Photo. 1). Tenivuahá̃ua is a good example of this (Photo. 55). This Tupí nose differs from the Gê type not only in its convex bridge, but sometimes also in its lesser width. [Ed., the remainder of p. 79 and the first half of p. 80 are omitted.]

142 [105:80] Many Tapirapé bear a greater resemblance to Europeans in face and overall appearance than other Indians do. This should not be taken to mean that their "European characteristics"

123 the subject of conversation when listening to a strange language.)
[179] Then, of course, our presence was materially valuable—for the salt, knives, needles, beads, mirrors, and other presents we brought were greatly appreciated. However, within a very short time some of these people began to emerge as individuals. Awanchowa, a small boy of about 6, followed me about and literally haunted our little house, staring at our large bag of salt which he ate with the same relish children in other cultures eat sweets. Then there was Tanui, a woman of middle age (whose hair was cropped short indicating that a near relative had recently died) who often brought us presents of food.
123 Gradually most of the villagers emerged as distinctive personalities
115 and among them was Champukwi. I cannot remember when I first came to know him as an individual, but his name begins to appear regularly in my field notebooks about one month after our arrival. Soon, he became my best informant, and after a time, an inseparable companion.

115 In 1939 Champukwi must have been about 25 years of age. He
[141] was tall for a Tapirapé male, measuring perhaps about 5 feet 6 inches, strongly built but lean, and weighing, I should judge, about
[302] 150 lbs. Like all Tapirapé men he wore his hair in bangs across his forehead with a braided pigtail tied at the back of his neck. He was somewhat of a dandy, for his feet and the calves of his legs
[301] were painted bright red every evening with *rucu*. From time to time he painted an intricate design on his body, and he wore crocheted
[554] disc-like wrist ornaments of cotton string dyed red. He was obviously a man of some prestige among men of his age, for youths and younger men treated him with deference, always finding a seat for him on the bench that was built against one wall of our house.
[797] I soon learned that he, too, had spent a short period at a mission
[191] station several years earlier and that he knew a few words of Portuguese. He was married and had a daughter about 2 years of age. His wife, hardly attractive according to my American tastes, appeared to be somewhat older than he, and was pregnant when we first met.

115 Champukwi seemed more patient than other Tapirapé with my at-
122 tempts to use his language and to seek information. He would repeat
[126] a word, a phrase, or a sentence several times so that I might write it down phonetically. He resorted to his meager Portuguese and even to mimicry to explain what was meant. His patience was of course

166 [756] [621] underline more clearly the importance of these men.

The village abandoned in 1932 was called Moytáua, a word 103 made up of moyva, "cane," and táua, "village." The other three 166 extinct villages were called (1) Kuruantáua, from kuruá or koruá "squash" (Brazilian Cucurbitacea), which remained in the Brazilian vernacular as cruá [Tr., Sicana odorifera]; (2) Mankotáua, from Manko, the name of a Karajá who was the village chief; and (3) Chechotáua, chechó probably being jejú (Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus), a fish akin to the traíra [Tr., Amazon lungfish], or else a contraction of chechoó, "big chechó," that is to say, the piracurú (Arapaima gigas). It may be that Chechotáua was the "Chichutáua" Wagley heard about, and that the Tampiitáua emigrants [103:189] moved to the site of the former village of this name on account of the food plants which undoubtedly still grew in the surrounding plots.

Tampiitáua, the "village of the tapir," no longer stands 166 where it was at the time of my visit. It was moved farther from 361 the river. This represents a move away from the Whites and, to some extent, "toward the Kayapó." Such a move appears to me as 648 a "healthy policy." There were, and continue to be, attempts to relocate the Tapirapé at a "Protective Post" located near the Araguaia. The immediate and continuous contact of these Indians with the most varied representatives of our civilization, which would be inevitable if the above-mentioned project were to be carried out, would bring about the certain annihilation of this peaceful [161] Tupí tribe, whose numbers, as I write this (1944), probably do not reach 150. [Ed., end of Vol. 103; the section in Vol. 104, pp. 93-100, is omitted.]

[105:77] Chapter 6

## Physical Appearance and Ornamentation

• 142 Coming from the Karajá to the Tapirapé, one immediately notices that the latter, on the average, are much shorter and less sturdy, especially shorter than the Karajá I saw in Santa Isabel, and less sturdy than the inhabitants of Beroromandú and other villages located north of the mouth of the Tapirapé River. Fritz

•142 Krause (2, 405) noted the same differences in the Tapirapé women and boys whom he encountered among the Karajá. He gives (ibid., 180) the average height of the Karajá as 166 centimeters for the southern group and 160-162 centimeters for the northern group.

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142 [105:80] Many Tapirapé bear a greater resemblance to Europeans in face and overall appearance than other Indians do. This should not be taken to mean that their "European characteristics"

142 outnumber their Indian ones. My meaning will be understood by looking, for example, at Iravuy (Photo. 62). There are Tapirapé with thin lips, there are others who show hardly any Mongoloid features, and there are some with light skins. We gave the girl Eirovytyngaho (Photo. 67) the name "Torí" owing to her lack of pigmentation, for this is the name given to us, the Whites, by the Karajá. [Ed., the remainder of p. 80 and the first half of p. 81 are omitted.]

[105:81] The difference between the Tapirapé and the Karajá, so clearly evident in terms of stature, is not apparent in the hair, which in both tribes, in contrast to the usually straight Indian hair, is sometimes slightly curly and often somewhat wavy (see Kamairá, Photo. 57, and the group, Photo. 28). This is most apparent when the hair is tousled, or when it is long and loose (cf. Photo. 2). [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

I did not see any white hair among the Tapirapé. It is, as a rule, unusual among Indians and appears only at a very advanced age. I did not find any bald heads either among the Tapirapé or among any of the other South American tribes I visited. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] Even bald spots seem to be unknown among the Tapirapé, if we may deduce this from the admiration they showed for the incipient baldness on my head, which they tactfully referred to as "small hair."

114 147 F. Krause (2, 185) says of the Karajá: "The Indians have a characteristic body odor. It is rather strong and unpleasant to us. It is hard to say, however, to what extent it is due to the oil [105:82] turning rancid on their skin and hair." Concerning this, I must say that in spite of my excellent sense of smell, I was never able to discern among the numerous Indian tribes I visited any characteristic racial odor such as the one I noticed, for example, in many African Negroes (but not all), that stench which Brazilians call catinga and which is reminiscent of rancid soap. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[142] 826 Some Tapirapé, indeed, have a rather light skin. In this respect, however, most of them do not attain their own ideal of beauty, which is white, as white as the habitually covered skin of northern Europeans. The women never tired of feeling my arms when I pushed up my sleeves. They expressed in this fashion their

1:Baldus--170 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 3

Mareromyó (No. 2) with the women's body painting, boys with tembetá and girls with tamankurá.

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Photo. 4

Maninohó (No. 111), Kaunevanvynhó (No. 3), Techipy (No. 51), Inamoreo (No. 23). The woman is Tora-Maneaia (No. 100).

1:Baldus--171 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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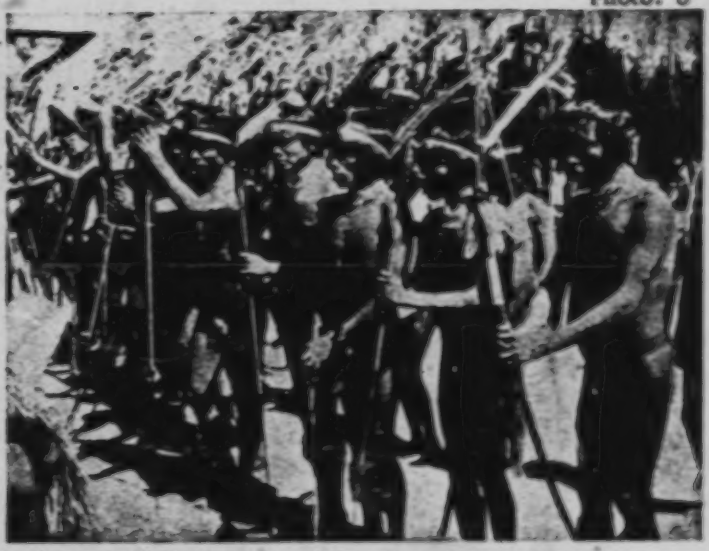
Photo. 5



The dancers of Photo. 4, with Pancheavi (No. 75) and Manupauvynghoi (No. 13) to the right of Inamoseo (No. 23).

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Photo. 6

Manavangkó (No. 87) with a bone tembetá. Auayauí (No. 93) is on his left.

1:Baldus--172 E-5 (1935, 1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Photo. 7

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Woman painting her husband. The structure in the background is a summer dwelling. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

Photo. 8

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Woman anointing her husband's foot with urucú. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

1:Baldus--173 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Photo. 9

Kamuana (No. 6), painted with urucu, with girl's tamankurá at the ankles.

Photo. 10

Tamankurá on the forearm of a youth.

1:Baldus--178 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 24

Men leaving for the hunt.

1:Baldus--179 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Taptrapé SP22

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Photo. 25

Shooting a bird arrow.

Photo. 26

Shooting a bird arrow.

1:Baldus--180 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 27

The proportion between the height of the men and the length of their weapons.

Photo. 28

Man with club.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 2

Um jovem pagé, em estado de transe, quando realizava o circuito da aldeia durante a sessão diurna da cerimônia do Trovão. Está acompanhado por dois jovens prontos aampará-lo, se êle cair.

---

A young shaman, in a trance state, as he makes the village circuit during the day session of the Thunder Ceremony. He is accompanied by two young men ready to catch him if he should fall.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 3

Jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Está doente por engulir fumaça de tabaco e próximo a um estado de transe. Caiu antes de alcançar a segunda casa do circuito.

---

Young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. He fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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Fig. 4

Outro jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Também está doente por engulir fumaça de tabaco, e próximo a um estado de transe. Como o da fig. 3, caiu antes de alcançar a segunda casa do circuito.

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Another young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill too from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. Like the other of fig. 3 he fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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Fig. 8

Êle era "forte", não necessitando de ajuda, porém, quando foi abatido pelos seres do Trovão, os jovens estavam próximos para ampará-lo na queda.

---

He was "strong" and did not need aid but when he was struck by the beings of Thunder, the young men were nearby to catch him when he fell.

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Plate 27.

Tapirapé Dance of Men and Women.

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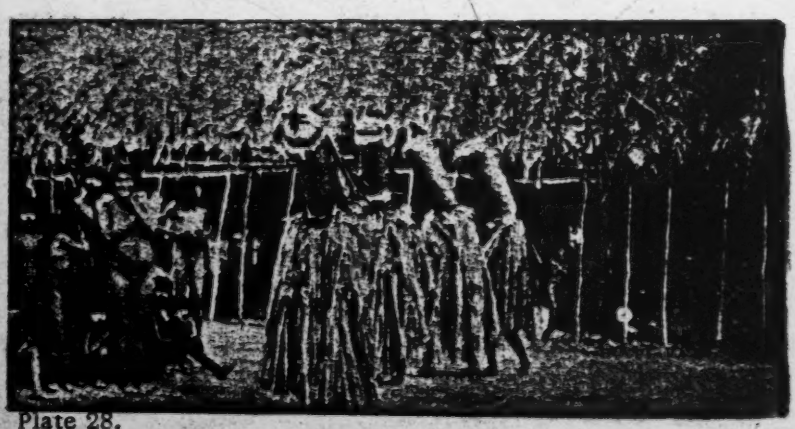

Plate 28.

Tapirapé Masked Dance.

T /404 cont./
105 center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language
C differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand
[197] each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé
C seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the
648 Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs,
[439] food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé,
opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the
C Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The
[721] Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret
the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has
been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally
a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago;
C since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far
[727] upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave
women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are
taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and
263 appear here./

C 3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the
162 Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys
T from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than
[142] /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black
T incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b
304 /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).
302

C In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the
439 Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near
126 the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (kŭwää; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method
T of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very
303 regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The
T spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ
283 in any way from those of the Karajá.

T The club (ĩwŭrä, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round
411 clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved
and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of
cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the
handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and
depressions.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 339]

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Fig. 1. Young Tapirapé woman with body painting characteristic of women.

Fig. 2. Tapirapé youth with frizzy hair, forearm ornaments, and body painting.

Plate 1

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Plate 2

Fig. 3. Tapirapé youth with another type of body painting.

Fig. 4. Young Tapirapé woman with body painting characteristic of women.

Fig. 5. Tapirapé man named Iñavuy, with body painting.

Fig. 6. Tapirapé youth with body painting and forearm ornaments.

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6: Baldus--16 E-5 (1935, 1947) 1948 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Plate 4

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Fig. 6. Tapirapé youth.

Fig. 7. Tapirapé girl with the ornaments characteristic of immature girls.

Fig. 9. Tanupantxóa-Kamanaoé, about 45 years old, and in 1947 the oldest Tapirapé. He defended his village alone against the Kaiapó.

Fig. 10. Tapirapé youth making a wax doll.

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13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
[P 399]
SP22 Tapirape SP22

# 14

## Champukwi of the Village of the Tapirs

Charles Wagley

114 the Caraja -- from the 'irewehe,' who, I take it, are the
173 Javahe, 'ijewehe' in Caraja. Near the Javahe village of
174 Imõnci I was shown a Tapirape cemetery. The Javahe tradition there is that they lived in the same village with the Tapirape, and I was shown the site" [cited in English].

Considering that the inhabitants of Tampiitsua bury the
174 dead inside the house in which they lived before death, it is
764 proper to inquire whether the Tapirapé also used this burial method when they were living with the Javahé, in which case the "cemetery" seen by Lipkind must have been the remnants of a village, or whether these representatives of the Tupí tribe proceeded in completely different fashion, performing, like the Karajá, the so-called "secondary burial," that is to say, burying the corpse in a cemetery, then exhuming the bones after the flesh had putrefied and laying them in large urns which were again buried at a common place.

Lipkind adds in the same letter: "You may be interested
114 to know that in the innermost Javahe villages there are some
•444 distinctly Tapirape types, short stature, lighter coloring, face-
174 cast. My camarada Antonio Pereira, who was not aware of my preoccupation with Tapirape relations, noticed it and pointed out the resemblance" [cited in English]. [Ed., the last half of p. 124 and most of p. 125 are omitted.]

[98:125] To conclude, it may be said with Cunha Mattos
174 that the Tapirapé were on Bananal Island "occasionally," that is to say, that certain groups of their tribe were there transitorily and probably over 100 years ago. The presence of "Tapirapé types" among the Javahé may also be explained by the numerous Tapirapé women "imported" by the Karajá.

In any case, the inhabitants of Tampiitsua knew nothing
173 of ancestral migrations toward the east, such as those, for
823 example, of the Guaraní who kept searching for the [98:126] "land without evil" (cf. Nimuendajú 1 and Métraux 1 and 3). As far as I was able to ascertain, the Tapirapé were ignorant of the existence of the sea. They did not even recall being told about it by the Whites or by the Karajá. Apparently, there was no reference to the ocean in the tribal traditions either.

The Tapirapé knew of a great river to the west, however, which they called panané-chingehé or chinghé. It is possible

142 Krause (2, 408) noted the same differences in the Tapirapé women and boys whom he encountered among the Karajá. He gives (ibid., 180) the average height of the Karajá as 166 centimeters for the southern group and 160-62 centimeters for the northern group.
141 The height of the Tapirapé varies, as a rule, between 150 and 160 centimeters. Kamairá, the tallest, who was but 170 centimeters tall, stood out among them quite strikingly. The average height of the Kayapó, who are also taller than the Tapirapé, is 165.7 centimeters (Krause, ibid., 30).

In all the above-mentioned tribes, the women are considerably shorter than the men.

142 The physical appearance of the Tapirapé, like that of many Brazilian tribes, reveals two different types. It is true that in the majority of cases these two types are mixed to a greater or lesser extent, but they are nevertheless clearly distinguishable. One is a slender type with fine features, represented, for example, by Kamairahó (Photos. 51 and 52), Urukumy (Photo. 53), and Mareromyó (Photo. 3), and the other a thickset type with a coarser face, such as Vuanomanhã [105:78] (Photo. 63) and Ipayva (Photos. 32 and 60). If these types had originated from ethnic stratification, the former one would have made up the upper layer, for it is not only numerically superior but also peculiar to chiefs and their close relatives. This type unquestionably has Tupí characteristics, while the other one may perhaps be related to the
142 144 Kayapó as described by Krause (ibid.), or to other Gê peoples.

The somatic characteristics I designate as Tupí and peculiar to the Tapirapé are the short and slender figure, the aquiline nose, and a greater resemblance to Europeans in facial features and overall appearance than is found in other Indians. [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 78 and the first half of p. 79 are omitted.]

[105:79] The so-called aquiline nose, which appears in many Tupí tribes, is also found among the Tapirapé (Photo. 1). Tenivuahãu is a good example of this (Photo. 55). This Tupí nose differs from the Gê type not only in its convex bridge, but sometimes also in its lower width. [Ed., the remainder of p. 79 and the first half of p. 8 are omitted.]

142 [106:80] Many Tapirapé bear a greater resemblance to Europeans in face and overall appearance than other Indians do. This should not be taken to mean that their "European characteristics"

263 The pepper used by the Tapirapé and called by them ykaynia or ikeynia is apparently the bush red-pepper (Capsicum frutescens, Willd.). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph on this page and at the top of p. 56 is omitted.]

[120:56] The Tapirapé are immensely fond of raw brown sugar and our salt, and eat them as soon as they get them, that is, without waiting to use them as ingredients. To my knowledge, they [171] do not replace salt with substances extracted from vegetable ashes as do the Nahuquá (Von den Steinen 2, 100), Mehinaku (ibid., 106), Kamayurá (Meyer 1, 61), and other Brazilian tribes (Staden 9, 3; Martius 2, 497). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the first sentence of the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

261 The Tapirapé, too, are great geophagists. They have no salt and suffer from worms and intestinal disorders. A wattle-and-daub house built by my companion Frederico C. Kegel alongside the village lost the clay from its walls, for the inhabitants of Tampiitaua kept breaking off small pieces all day long which they savored as though they were candy. [Ed., the remainder of p. 56, p. 57 which concludes the section in Vol. 120, and all the section in Vol. 121, pp. 79-82, are omitted.]

[122:167] If we look at the Tapirapé diet from the standpoint 146 of nutritive values, we may repeat the observation of Josué de Castro (66) about the Amazon diet in general: "It strikes one immediately as inadequate in the extreme paucity or even absence of some of the protective foods: meat, milk, cheese, butter, eggs, green vegetables, and fruits." "The amount of vitamins of the B complex contained in manioc, which is the staple food, is much smaller than that contained in cereals, rice, and wheat, the husks of which are saturated with these elements. In addition, what small quantities exist are practically destroyed in the process of preparing the flour" (ibid., 89). Also worthy of note are the following words by the same author: "... maize protein is quite incomplete, for it lacks several active acids essential to growth and organic equilibrium. Manioc, too, is very poor in proteins, poorer even than maize and qualitatively inferior to it. The Amazon dweller is saved by the fact that he does not eat pure flour as the Mexican eats maize and maize alone for days on end" (ibid., 73). In any case, various opinions were cited at the beginning of this chapter about the nutritive values of manioc flour.

142 outnumber their Indian ones. My meaning will be understood by looking, for example, at Iravuy (Photo. 62). There are Tapirapé with thin lips, there are others who show hardly any Mongoloid features, and there are some with light skins. We gave the girl Eirovytyngaho (Photo. 67) the name "Torf" owing to her lack of pigmentation, for this is the name given to us, the Whites, by the Karajá. [Ed., the remainder of p. 80 and the first half of p. 81 are omitted.]

[105:81] The difference between the Tapirapé and the Karajá, so clearly evident in terms of stature, is not apparent in the hair, which in both tribes, in contrast to the usually straight Indian hair, is sometimes slightly curly and often somewhat wavy (see Kamairá, Photo. 57, and the group, Photo. 28). This is most apparent when the hair is tousled, or when it is long and loose (cf. Photo. 2). [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

I did not see any white hair among the Tapirapé. It is, as a rule, unusual among Indians and appears only at a very advanced age. I did not find any bald heads either among the Tapirapé or among any of the other South American tribes I visited. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] Even bald spots seem to be unknown among the Tapirapé, if we may deduce this from the admiration they showed for the incipient baldness on my head, which they tactfully referred to as "small hair."

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4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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796 companying map of the village. (Fig. 13), which was to the southwest, moved their belongings back against the wall, clearing the house floor of their cooking hearths and taking down their hammocks. This house was to be the central point of the ceremonies to come.

276 796 About midday Panteri, in his house, began again to sing and gulp smoke from his pipe. After he had become ill and intoxicated, he came with his wife out of one of the new side doors of his house, "eating smoke" as he came. From this door the couple moved in a clockwise direction along the circular path until they came to the center of the next house. There they stopped, faced each other, and sang, Panteri punctuating his song with deep draughts from his pipe and vomiting. At each house they repeated this performance. When they reached their [534] own house again, Panteri took up two ceremonial rattles decorated with parrot feathers and the couple continued on a second round of the village houses. After making this circuit four times they stopped in their own house, where Panteri relaxed into his hammock. The rattles were left in the southwest house on the last circuit.

276 786 796 Urukumu and his wife then made four similar trips about the new circular path. After he had finished, a young shaman took up the ceremony, but he was not able to complete even one round without help. After singing in several houses he began to stagger as he walked and stumbled blindly into house posts; he was noticeably in a state of trance. Young men led him from house to house. Suddenly he [547] shrieked, his body stiffened, and he fell to the ground. His muscles quivered for a few moments and then his body became rigid. He had lost his battle. He had seen *topi* and been shot by their arrows, for he did not have the strength of Panteri or Urukumu. Several young men immediately raised him up on their shoulders and carried him through the remaining houses of the circuit, depositing him finally in the southwestern house. One of the powerful shamans was ~~then called, and~~ he massaged and blew smoke over the prostrate young shaman's body until life again appeared in it.

Throughout the remainder of the afternoon aspirants to shamanism and several other laymen took up the ceremony of calling Thunder by traveling the ceremonial circuit of the village. At one time there were three men moving with their wives over this circular route. Some never reached a trance state because "they did not know how to eat smoke" or because "*topi* did not hear their songs". Several novices

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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"saw *topi*" and were struck down as the young shaman had been 147
earlier that day. One shaman novice, staggering blindly and vomiting 276
violently, tried to break away from the young men who were partially 786
supporting him. When they caught him, he fell immediately to the 796
ground. Finally, toward sundown, Panteri took up his song again. He still was "stronger than *topi*" and was able to perform his song without falling into a trance.

At sundown men began to gather in the house which had been 276
cleared. Some twenty men came to take part in this phase of the 533
ceremonies. The bulk of the village population was gathered inside the 796
house, crouched close against the walls, or outside looking through the doors.

The two powerful shamans, Urukumu and Panteri, stood in the middle of the floor facing each other. They lighted their long pipes and began to swallow smoke. At the back of the room were two young men with the ceremonial rattles that the shamans had used earlier. These young men were in positions of particular danger, for their rattles attracted the special attention of Thunder's creatures. In front of them Ikoriwantori, a young man noted for his singing, stood on a bench and began to sing the songs of Thunder; they played accompaniment for his songs on the rattles. A young boy sat behind them and [534]
beat time to the song with a hollow trunk of bamboo. Now and again young men standing against the walls took up a chorus with the solo singer. The shamans kept going to the young men with the rattles, offering them smoke to swallow from their pipes until they were unsteady on their feet. At times they were able to stay on their feet only when they were held up. They then began walking back and forth to the front of the house, shaking the rattles towards the roof threateningly, challenging *topi* and *pančé-iúnwera* to come.

Shamans now offered their pipes to their novices and to laymen. 276
The two shamans also soon began walking back and forth the length 796
of the house, first alone and then each taking a novice with him. One by one men joined the shamans as they moved up and down the house. By now all were thoroughly intoxicated and the atmosphere grew tense. All spewed out smoke until it fairly engulfed them as they moved vomiting and reeling about. Everyone took up a grunting [533]
chant of "Hew, hew!" Some carried mirrors and red parrot feathers [293]
as weapons against the *topi*. The two chief shamans carried machetes

461 bananas. If he has no bananas left at home, the man goes to the garden to get a new supply. He returns staggering under an enormous load, for he brings as much as he can carry. And although by this [147] time he is already tired enough to lie down in the hammock again, he may fulfill his duties as a dancer and singer throughout the night, duties that demand of a single man the rested legs and lungs of five strong males. [Ed., the remainder of p. 101, pp. 102-194, and the first paragraph on p. 105 are omitted.]

[105] On the other hand, it is true that there are great differences among the various tribes as far as industriousness is concerned. The Tapirapé may be pointed out as being especially "diligent." At the [262] time of my stay among them, they had an abundance of food, and in spite of this they worked very hard in their gardens and gave themselves up with no less zeal and perseverance to their dances and songs. 177 In this tribe, which is still distant from our civilization, the introduction of iron tools that began dozens of years ago through their eastern 182 neighbors, the Karajá, and the lack of war-like activities or bent had an effect directly opposite to that generated [by the same factors] in the Indians civilized by us, that is to say, deprived of their cultural independence. These two factors did not hinder the vital force or impair the creative urge of the Indians, but in fact guaranteed their subsistence and increased their well-being. If, in spite of this, symptoms of degeneration are apparent among the Tapirapé, [106] the causes must be sought elsewhere. This, however, is not the proper context to discuss them. [Ed., all but the last sentence of the subsequent paragraph is omitted.]

476 When watching a collective task among the Indians, such as the 461 apatxirũ of the Tapirapé, one has the impression that the joy with which it is done increases their strength.

As I watched the men, most of them endowed with the physique [147] of our adolescents, conquering piece after piece of the huge forest around them, I observed none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness and tediousness which characterize so much of the collective work among us. Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side.

Those who needed rest sat on the felled trunks. They sat very close together as they have the habit of doing. They talked, and some of [276] them smoked a pipe. Suddenly there would be a lot of shouting, they 476 would all scatter with a show of joy as the moan of live timber was heard, [107] and a green giant would lean slowly and crash with a

826 admiration for the whiteness of my skin, not for its softness, for in this respect they could not be surpassed. My camarada Daniel, a northern Brazilian who was almost as dark as they were, did not attract as much attention. The skin tone they consider most attractive, however, must not seem to them as remote from their own color as it seems to us, for they characterized their own skin exactly as they did mine, with the terms chinga and typiánia, both of which mean "white." Whether these Tapirapé words differ in [196] scope from our own term for "white," or whether the yearning for the ideal makes the Indians appear to themselves as lighter than they actually are, this is in any case a prime example of the possibility of broad differences in the conceptualization of such seemingly concrete phenomena and shows the researcher the desirability of comparing, whenever possible, his own observations with the information provided by the Indians.

151 826

Other native peoples of South America also prefer white skins. 171 826 Fritz Krause (2, 185) writes: "The ideal of the Karajá is the whitest skin possible; they prized my white complexion very highly, and they themselves wished to be quite white (cf. the role of white people in their myths)."

In 1663, Simão de Vasconcellos (LX) wrote that the Indians of Brazil told the Portuguese their own ancestors had been "people of white complexion," and when they were asked why they had not remained white, they answered (LXI): "Let us make an experiment: exchange your clothing for ours, and go about naked in the sun and in the rain, as we do; and you will soon see that [105:83] you have turned from white to our own hue." Consequently, just as according to the words of the Tapirapé there is no difference between their color and mine, the Indians to whom Vasconcellos is referring clearly stated that they regarded their own skin as basically identical to that of the Portuguese.

Not only do forest Indians, such as the Tapirapé, and river Indians, such as the Karajá, prefer white complexions, but so do savanna Indians, such as the Toba. In the universal conflagration myth of this Chaco tribe, only one man survived the fire that destroyed the entire earth. "But there was no woman. Then they lowered down from the sky a woman tied to a rope, and they cut the rope from above when the woman was close to the earth. Because they cut it very close to the ground, she came out ugly, but

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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754 the head or to tie it up and carry it off. The one whose soul is thus
787 either incapacitated or imprisoned soon dies. A shaman may call upon
756 his familiar demonic spirits of the forest to deal with a chosen victim or may in his dreams shoot a victim's spirit with small arrows causing at times death and at times only boils. Still another method of attack is for the shaman to throw a fishbone (*ipirá kanga*) or gnawing worms (*unáka* or *áwai*) into his victim's body causing illness and death.
[755] The treatment of illness consists of removing from the victim's body these malignant arrows, fishbones, and worms that are the cause of illness.

754 In illness and other misfortune, sorcery is always suspected by
756 the Tapirapé and some shaman is accordingly always believed responsible. Sorcery, however, is believed to be the action of shamans in dreams, and although such a negative statement can obviously not be substantiated, it seems never to be consciously practised. But there
[784] is, so far as the writer knows, no use of incantations or mechanical devices for the deliberate inducing of sympathetic magic.

683 All Tapirapé are thought, however, to die by sorcery and at each
761 death suspicion turns toward a shaman (12). At the death of a child
756 or woman of low status, suspicion may arise and then soon die down
[754] but when the deceased is a man of status, his brothers, sons, or sisters' sons become violent in their grief and may murder the shaman toward whom suspicion points. Sometimes, after a long series of deaths, suspicion is fixed upon one famous and strong shaman and the Tapirapé decide informally that he must be killed. In such cases the revenge-murder occurs within the first few days after a death when the relatives are "sad" (13). If the first depression of mourning wears off without violence to the shaman, the anger toward him passes and he is out of danger. Thus, after a man of rather high status had died both Urukumu and Wantanamu, *pajés* of sufficient power to be suspected of causing his death, both left the village, ostensibly on fishing trips, staying away until the brothers of the deceased had calmed down again.

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[783] (12) Informants readily admitted that people may be infected by others, as in the case of the common cold, which they recognize as a disease from whites but it is believed that a person who has a cold slowly gets well if no sorcery is working against him. Death is caused only by sorcery.

[192 152] (13) A Tapirapé uses the word "*iwatiruka*" to describe the condition of anger and sadness.

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

# THE FEAR IN TAPIRAPÉ CULTURE

*Herbert Baldus*

121 Fear, although its biological aspects connect mankind with the animals, assumes among ourselves characteristics which by tradition vary from people to people, that is, cultural traits. Socially determined differences exist in the exteriorization of fear as well as in its causes.

In certain cultures one should not show fear; in others there is nothing to prevent one from exhibiting it. There are peoples and cultural epochs which like to see their women habitually frightened and so to establish a contrast with the calmness of the men. In many South American tribes the women easily weep, tremble, cry or groan because of any danger, real or supposed, and are or pretend to be especially frightened by certain masked dances and other ceremonies performed by the men.[1] Goethe, in "Faust," when Margaret faints, exclaiming "Nachbarin! Euer Fläschchen!" ("Neighbour, your smelling-bottle!"), alludes to a common custom of his time in Europe. The modern European woman who no longer uses smelling-salts shows that such manifestations of terror are not conditioned by nature, but by culture. As regards the real female constitution it may be mentioned that "in an important study made during World War II, *Psychological Effects of War on Citizen and Soldier* (1942), Dr. R. D. Gillespie reported that in the heavily bombed areas of London and Kent almost 70 per cent more men broke down and became psychiatric casualties than women."[2]

In certain cultures death is feared, in others, not. Circumstances which produce feelings of inadequacy and consequently fear in certain societies don't exist in others. The so-called "imaginary fear"[3] which creates phantoms is found among most primitive peoples and is generally limited, among the peoples with European languages, to the less educated classes.

152 171 The Tapirapé differ from other South American tribes by exteriorizing the fear in both sexes, by the frequency and ease of such exteriorization, and by the multiplicity of causes for fear. The naturalness with which on several occasions Kamaiurá, the most important Tapirapé leader, said to me: "Akyéid, I am afraid," is only comparable with the almost automatic manner of the Tapirapé's using the interjection "Akí" when feeling any pain, even the sting of a mosquito bite. This caused me to think frequently of the contrast presented in all that by Indians I knew in the Paraguayan Chaco, for instance of the apparent impassibility of the Chamacokos. It is true that the Tapirapé calm down with the same ease with which they are alarmed. A few words of mine were enough to make Kamaiurá laugh again, speaking carelessly with his wife about other things. I had the impression that among the Chaco Indians the emotions penetrated deeper, while among the Tapirapé they were like slight circles on the surface of a pond into which a little stone had been thrown, circles which soon disappear into the distance.

152 396 But among these Tupian Indians of the Araguaya basin, the exteriorization of fear is not restricted to interjections. We find it expressed in attitudes and institutions. We feel it, although masked, in the mechanical smile with which, from earliest infancy, they greet the person who speaks to them. We suspect it still in other aspects of their characteristics.

[p. 396]

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirape SP22



Fear was present in the formulation of quarrels full of hatred, a formulation which obliged the opponents to avoid direct contact. They had to remain hidden from one another and not interrupt the speech of their antagonist, but only reply when he had finished. One such quarrel began in the afternoon of June 27, 1955. Kamaiurá lay in his hammock with open eyes and didn't answer when several people called him. Maniwdó, the elder man of the neighboring house, begins to pronounce insults. He stays inside his house. The entrances of the houses are so arranged that it is impossible to look from the interior of one house into the interior of another.[6] Kamaiurá's wife stays outside between the two houses without looking towards either of them. She faces the men's house in the centre of the village and replies to Maniwdó with extraordinary gravity, in a level voice and with calm gestures. They are discussing a question of shamanism. Maniwdó seems to be doing the provoking. The other persons present continue with their habitual activities, neither laughing nor speaking. After a while Maniwdó's aggressiveness seems to increase. Kamaiurá's wife joins her husband and the elder man of her house places himself close to the entrance but inside, holding a club and railing violently in a loud and monotonous voice. When he finishes, profound silence rules for some moments. Then the other replies in the same tone. Never does one interrupt the other. This rule is also observed when two Tapirapé women have a quarrel as well as among other South American tribes.[7] The quarrel between the two men, one always hidden from the other, lasted until sunset. Late that night the old man of Kamaiurá's house, where I was also living, asked me for my electric torch and went with his wife for water by a very roundabout way in order to avoid the proximity of Maniwdó's house. These precautionary measures the lamp, the company of his wife, and the detour—reveal clearly the fear he had of the adversary. Supposing then that fear has contributed to create the institution of formalized quarrels we may consider it a factor of socialization. But is it only a tribal behaviour pattern or also fear that causes the victim of theft to abstain from any counteraction? Frequently I observed that the theft of some thing obtained from the white men, for instance a necklace of glass beads, was known immediately in the whole village; the victim, however, suffers in silence without any demonstration and doesn't attempt any revenge.

As an institution which is essentially a product of fear appears that of the shamans. Nonexistent in certain South American tribes and little developed in others, it is so important in the Tapirapé that they informed me of certain local groups having recovered their independence and joined the inhabitants of another village because there were no more shamans among them.[8] This becomes credible when one considers Charles Wagley's[9] quotation of one of his informants' words: "Without our pajé, all our Tapirapé die." According to the same author,[9] "the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman." This means that the first place in Tapirapé society belongs to the person who defends the community against the ever terrible dangers of the supernatural world. It is collective fear which gives him this status. But the easy and continuous contact with the forces of destruction makes the shaman for his part also a man to be feared, and consequently exposes him to other dangers, to dangers which we would not call supernatural. When cases of death occur in the village, and especially several in a short time, it is usual to attribute the cause to a shaman and therefore many shamans are murdered. Then it is also collective fear which, in such cases, moves a Tapirapé to defend the community

against the supposed menace and to kill the shaman who is suspected of having become an evil sorcerer.

Though, also as regards the institution of shamanism, fear works out as a factor of socialization by exercising the dangers to the tribal life, we cannot say the same about the fear which produces in many Tapirapé a disposition to adapt themselves complacently to the white man. During my stay in 1935, in the village called Tanquinawa, I could distinguish clearly between the great group of timorous people led by Kamaiurahé who received with open arms all that came from our civilization, and a smaller group composed of decided and valorous people who didn't want anything to do with us. So there were two opposite trends in their "foreign policy" and consequently germs of tribal disintegration.

Of the direct causes of fear I want to mention the following: The Tapirapé were alarmed by my fury when I saw a man whipping his wife. To rehabilitate this man means to confirm a most ethnocentric and therefore in no way ethnological behaviour. But I think that in order to be an ethnologist it is necessary to be able not to be an ethnologist in certain situations. At noon on July 15 I see that behind the house in which I was living with Kamaiurahé and thirty other Indians, the athletic Inamomin, nearly twenty-two years old, is beating a woman. With a cane and the blade of his bush-knife he is whipping his wife. She is so small and tender that she seems to be a child in spite of being perhaps twenty years old. I run towards the couple to interfere. The little woman is weeping despairingly, but doesn't go away. The man tries to tug her towards the house which is their house and mine also. She struggles. Three he enters the house. Finally she follows. I enter also. The man holds the knife. I have nothing in my hands, but I am bound by my upbringing; I am the weapon of my culture and my culture is my weapon. I say to Inamomin that people do not beat a woman like a dog. (I refer to this animal because frequently, among the Tapirapé, it can only thus be prevented from eating the people's food.) Inamomin pronounces insults and his wife sobs. Now I explain to all the people present that beating a woman is a bad thing. Later, when I am sitting together with Kamaiurahé and his wife, I tell them that if a white man should whip his wife, another white man would kill him with a revolver. Jokingly I add: "If you, Kamaiurahé, beat your wife, I have to kill you with my revolver." With these words I go away.

After a while Kamaiurahé passed me with a depressed face. I ask him: "Where are you going?" Without smiling he answers: "I am afraid of you." I embrace him, I kiss him importunately in the Tapirapé manner, that is, rubbing my nose against his nose; but all this is in vain. He waits patiently until I let him go, continues walking, and tells the men and women whom he is passing that he is afraid of me, the white man who kills those who beat women. May I observe here that I always went around without a weapon among the Tapirapé, keeping the revolver, as Kamaiurahé knew, in my hammock hanging close to his hammock, and even there the revolver was at hand only to be at the disposal of the same Kamaiurahé in order to protect him against the event of nocturnal attack by the Karajá Indians, the most terrible neighbours. Kamaiurahé leaves his house and immediately from there sounds an agitated and long talk. With the speed of lightning the news spreads through the village that Kamaiurahé is afraid of me and is lying in his hammock and that I would kill with a revolver the husbands who whip their wives. A middle-aged woman joins me, saying: "I am afraid of you." I assure her again that I am not bad, that, on the con-

B: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



trary, I am good, and in order to demonstrate it, I embrace cordially a man on 123
her side so that I don't need to embrace her. And I say to my English companion 152
who at this moment joins me: "Certain research-workers who were killed by the Indians with whom they lived, as, for instance, Boggiani among the Chamacoco, were murdered only through fear." At that instant, as if he had understood my words, the man I have just embraced asks me if the Shavante really have killed the white man by the name of Father John and if they have murdered him with a club. I don't know from where the Tapirapé had received this information and if his question represented a reaction or only conversation. What I know is that the man couldn't have understood my comment about the murders through fear.

An hour later I see Kamairabó going to the brook carrying two calabash [431]
rattles which he had obtained from the Karajá neighbours, but never used. I follow him and ask him what he intends to do with the rattles. He explains that they are dirty and that he wants to clean them with water, and adds: "When you go away and I remain here, the rattles will go with you." He continues with a resentful face. Besides, everyone looks sad, and when I enter our hut, I am [570]
not received as usual with the friendly exclamation: "You arrive!" But, looking to this or that person, I immediately receive a polite smile. Even at night Kamairabó says to the Englishman that he is still afraid of me, and when my companion reassures him, confirming the jocose character of my threat, he is [574]
invited immediately by Kamairabó to eat bananas and by other inhabitants of the house to have kasi, a fermented drink, in payment for this consolation. Meanwhile Inamorebo, who had beaten his wife, has already gone peacefully to [573]
sleep with her in the hammock and explains later that he whipped her only with the arrow—which is not true. I invite Kamairabó for a dinner of deer. He eats well, but with a sad face complaining of a headache. He receives aspirin.

It is necessary to consider that the fear described above may have been caused less by the threat with the revolver than by the agitated manner with which I expressed my indignation and which contrasts with Tapirapé behaviour. Even Kamairabó's wife, who used to quarrel much, always pronounced insults in a monotonous voice and with apparent calm, quite different, for instance, from the Karajá women who shout without reserve. But it may be mentioned that the Tapirapé were also afraid of the Englishman when a woman had stolen a great quantity of kitchen oil from him, putting it in her hair, and when dogs of the village tore his towel to pieces. And my companion was less explosive than I!

Greater causes of fear are the Kayapó attacks. I have already mentioned that, 152
on account of these, I was asked to sleep armed. When a rumour maker is 6+8
talking about the approach of these Indians, all the village is immediately alarmed. And there are reasons for this, because in 1947, soon after my second visit to the Tapirapé, these warlike neighbours assaulted the village, plundered it, and burned it, killing and kidnapping women.

Fear was produced also by the eclipse of the moon on 13th of June, 1935. 152
When at night I was awakened with the words "chuby vuy" "moon blood," all 821
the people were dejected and the men were talking only in low tones. Really, the moon appears dark red like congealed blood. Next day everybody was still preoccupied with the phenomenon, considering it a bad omen of carnage.

But while the eclipse was an uncommon cause of fear, there were other 152
causes in every moment and in any place, for the Tapirapé lives surrounded 775
by malevolent spirits. Here is the so-called "imaginary fear" regarding which Max y López observes that "even the bravest warriors, able to throw themselves

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



152 in the open against a rampart of fire or lances, records terrified in view of the
775 suspicion of a tenacious and invisible enemy." In fact, the Tapirapé who opposes
[761] the jaguar with only bow and club in I had occasion to observe, and who is not afraid of dying, as they frequently assured me, is terrified by the presence of the souls of the dead and of other bad beings. It is not only the soul of a dead shaman which causes fear. I knew a kind father who became afraid of the soul of his beloved little child when this was deceased. And whoever is not a shaman finds a dread of dreaming while asleep, because during the dream he has to travel through the dangerous supernatural world. And not infrequently boys who wanted to drink water at night in the nearby brook asked me to go with them, because a ghost had been seen taking a bath. Unfortunately, whenever I arrived, the well-scrubbed ghost had already gone away. Frequently the boys sang loudly when going to the brook at night in order to calm their fear as I have observed in Europe when children went for something in a dark cellar.

123 Although the Tapirapé didn't react in any way against the fear produced by
152 the eclipse, they were not always so passive as regards the fear caused by the
648 white men, the Kayapó, and the *spirits*. When my English companion fell ill, they didn't hesitate in demanding his departure, and when a little girl of the house where I was living fell sick, all the people around me wore a threatening air as if I had been the magic author of the disease. The fear inspired by the Kayapó was combated not only by the Tapirapé hobbling clubs during the nocturnal collective dances, but also by their parodying their neighbours by a pantomime which represented a supposed attack against peaceful villagers.
[514] The fear of the spirits gives not only great prestige to the shaman, official protector against them, but also puts in the hand of every Tapirapé a torch which he agitates without interruption if by night he has to go out of the house in order to relieve himself.

152 So far the frightened Tapirapé also, life is struggle, action and reaction, fear
157 and wrath. And this fearful people is the gayest I ever found in my life, and Kamairabó, the pessimist who more than anyone declared himself to be afraid, had a glad smile on his face everytime when I saw him awake in the morning.

*São Paulo, Brazil.*

## Notes

113 1. Cf. Herbert Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*. S. Paulo, 1937, pp. 136–138.
2. Ashley Montagu: *The Natural Superiority of Women*. London, 1954, p. 92.
3. Emilio Mira y López: *Quatro gigantes da alma*. 3a. edição, Rio de Janeiro, 1955, pp. 39–40.
4. Cf. Herbert Baldus: Os Tapirapé. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, 110: 192, 1948. S. Paulo.
5. Cf. Amilcar A. Botelho de Magalhães: *Folclore político do Brasil*, 2a. edição, S. Paulo, 1941, pp. 497–498; Martin Gusinde: *Die Feuerlandindianer, II: Die Selk'nam*, Mödling bei Wien, 1931, pp. 456–458.
6. Cf. Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, p. 86.
7. Xamanismo tapirapé (Tapirapé Shamanism), *Boletim do Museu Nacional, n.s., Antropologia*, 3: 79, 1943. Rio de Janeiro.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *ñwiñrahé*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
[P. 404] SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Champukwi on the Trip to Furo de Pedra

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of my life, a feeling that was shared, I believe, by Valentim Gomes and by Champukwi.

Champukwi adjusted to Furo de Pedra with amazing rapidity. His short visit as a youth to the mission station undoubtedly contributed to his quick adaptation although, to be sure, there were minor problems and incidents. The Brazilians of Furo de Pedra were accustomed to Indians, for nearby there was a village of semi-civilized Carajá Indians who frequently visited and traded in the settlement. Yet, Champukwi was a bit of a curiosity—the townspeople had seen only one other Tapirapé. The local Brazilians invited him into their homes and offered him coffee and sweets. Both Valentim Gomes and I watched over his movements with all the anxiety of overprotective parents for fear that he might be exposed to a respiratory infection (he did not contract any) or that the hospitality of the local Brazilians might persuade him to drink cachaça (sugar cane *aguardiente*). Alcoholic beverages were unknown to the Tapirapé who are unlike most South American groups in this respect.

[293]

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



in this respect. According to Champukwi's own report, he tried cachaça only once in Furo de Pedra and (quite normally) found it distasteful and unpleasant. Yet there were moments that were awkward at the time however humorous they seem in retrospect. One day when I bought several dozen oranges in the street, Champukwi calmly removed the trousers that had been provided for him and made a sack to carry home the oranges by tying up the legs. In Furo de Pedra, he often went nude in the house we had rented for our stay. Even the Brazilian woman who came to prepare our meals became more or less accustomed to his nakedness, but sometimes he forgot to dress before sallying forth into the street. The rural Brazilian diet, derived in large measure from native Indian foods, seemed to please Champukwi, but he could not be comfortable eating at the table. He preferred during meals to sit across the room on a low stool.

Champukwi's reaction to this rural form of Brazilian civilization was not childlike in any way. He in turn became an ethnologist. He wanted to see the gardens that provided the food for so many people (Furo de Pedra had hardly more than 400 people at that time). He was fascinated by the sewing machines with which he saw the women working. He attended the Catholic ceremonies held in the little chapel. He saw pairs of men and women dance face to face in semblance of an intimate embrace. About these and other strange customs he had many questions. But like the inquisitive anthropologist who had come to live in his village, his own curiosity sometimes became obtrusive. He peered into the homes of people and sometimes entered uninvited. And he followed the Brazilian women to their rather isolated bathing spot in the Araguaia River to discover if there were any anatomical differences between these women and those in his village. He even made sexual advances to Brazilian women, actions which, if he had known, were very dangerous in view of the jealous zeal with which Brazilian males protect the honor of their wives and daughters. On the whole, however, Champukwi became quite a favorite of the local Brazilians during his two week visit to Furo de Pedra. His Portuguese improved while he visited in their homes, and he collected simple presents, such as fish hooks, bottles, tin cans, and the like, to take home with him. Even during this short period away from the village, my work with him continued. He told me of antagonisms, gossip, and schisms in the

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



not at once offered coffee, he left offended. But the very next day he might return, gay and joking, yet without his former patience for teaching or explaining Tapirapé culture. Once he returned tired from a hunting trip, and, irritated by his wife, he beat her with the flat side of his bushknife and marched off in anger, thoughtfully taking the family hammock and a basket of manioc flour, to sleep four nights in the forest near his garden. Soon afterwards, he left his wife to take the wife of a younger man. This did not become a major scandal in the village. After some tense yet calm words between the two men, it seemed clear that the young woman preferred Champukwi and the abandoned husband peacefully moved into the men's house. Champukwi's former wife and their two young daughters continued to live with her relatives as is the Tapirapé rule. But the switch of spouses caused tension between Champukwi and his former wife's kinsmen, and between Champukwi and the abandoned husband's kinsmen; and, to multiply his woes, he now had a new set of in-laws to satisfy. For about a month thereafter I rarely saw Champukwi; he obviously avoided our house. When we met in the village or in the men's house, he simply said that he was busy repairing his house or hunting.

Discussing emotions with someone from a culture as widely different as Tapirapé is from my own was difficult, and the language barrier was still a real one. Although my Tapirapé vocabulary was increasing, it was hardly adequate to probe deeply into emotional responses; nor was Champukwi given to introspection. I shall probably never fully understand Champukwi's temporary rejection of me, but the cause was probably both sociological and psychological. First, his apparent influence with me and our close friendship had created antagonism on the part of other villagers. By rejecting the outsider, he now hoped to reinstate himself in his own society. A second, deeper and more personal reason, contributed to his rejection of me; he had told me too much about himself, and feared that he had lost face in the process. Also, it was obvious that I was growing less dependent upon him for knowledge as my facility with the language improved and my information about the culture grew. Finally, the rejection was not one-sided. Now additional informants were desirable for my research. Also, if I remember correctly (it is not stated in my notebooks), I was annoyed by Champukwi's neglect and disappointed by his lack of loyalty.

264 The pots were soon emptied. Then the women and girls came,
462 picked them up, and took them home. The men followed. The
476 Anantxã walked first, with the Vuirantxinió behind them and the
Tãnãvé last. They kept this order, and sent me back to the rear when
[123] I stepped--not unintentionally--in the midst of the Vuirantxinió.

[109] As soon as the village was in sight, things began to move.
535 The men ran straight to the takána and paired up for the dance. The
women and girls showed no interest in this and for the most part had
already gone to their huts.

The dancing pairs stood in a dense cluster in front of the entrance. In each pair, as was customary, one of the men held his arm across the other's shoulders, while his companion held his arm across the other's hips. Both held a club, bush knife, or bow in the other hand. In the midst of the group stood the leading pair, Tanupantxóa and Vuĩraĩ, the ãntaĩva of the Anantxã. The Anantxã had now mixed with the Vuirantxinió. Of the Tãnãvé, only Kamairahó, Urukumĩ', and I had come. We stayed nearby as onlookers.

First, the men danced for a while on the same spot. As usual, they pawed the ground, all at the same time and always with the same foot, alternating from right to left, keeping their knees slightly bent and the middle part of the body slightly bent forward. Then the leading pair gradually moved away from the spot. They danced with small steps out of the takána. The others followed in the same fashion. They all moved, one pair after the other, slowly, toward the house of Vũtanamĩ', singing with sounds and shouts rather than words.

When they reached the house of the second leader, the procession broke up. They did not scatter, however, but remained close to-
526 gether. [110] The race began. It is called ãhẽũ, which means "I
883 run." The adolescents, who were in their initiation year and hence had their faces and bodies completely blackened with genipap, ran two at a time in a straight line across the dance plaza to the back of Kamairahó's house. Actually, there was no spot to be reached first by the winner, and there was no applause from the spectators. It
[124] might almost be said that there was no winner. As a rule, indeed, the desire to be singled out or to single out someone is not manifested by these Indians and is probably even regarded by them as a danger to the harmony of the community. These races seemed to be merely runs to be made as fast as possible across the plaza to convince the boys themselves of their own ability. As soon as the two runners reached

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



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152 the eclipse, they were not always so passive as regards the fear caused by the
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113 1. Cf. Herbert Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*. S. Paulo, 1937, pp. 136–138.
2. Ashley Montagu: *The Natural Superiority of Women*. London, 1954, p. 92.
3. Emilio Mira y López: *Quatro gigantes da alma*. 3a. edição, Rio de Janeiro, 1953, pp. 39–40.
4. Cf. Herbert Baldus: Os Tapirapé. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, 110: 192, 1946. S. Paulo.
5. Cf. Amilcar A. Botelho de Magalhães: *Folclore médico do Brasil*, 2a. edição, S. Paulo, 1941, pp. 497–498; Martin Gusinde: *Die Feuerlandindianer, I: Die Selk'nam*, Mödling bei Wien, 1931, pp. 456–458.
6. Cf. Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, p. 86.
7. Xamanismo tapirapé (Tapirapé Shamanism), *Boletim do Museu Nacional*, n.s., Antropologia, 3: 79, 1943. Rio de Janeiro.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Op. cit., p. 30.

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175 was the first time that these savages had seen civilized people, or, to use the popular term, Christians. It was God's will that savages and Christians should fraternize. Alfredo became a friend of the Tapirapé and brought to Conceição a group consisting of an elderly woman, her granddaughter of 11 or 12, and a few men. During the trip the men ran away. The girl was provided with clothes when she reached the mission."

[13] On October 9, 1912, the Rio newspaper O Paiz transcribed from the fortnightly Goiás paper O Estado de Goyaz of September 15 of the same year an article entitled "Proteção aos Indios [Indian Protection Service]," according to which Dr. Francisco Mandacarú had visited a Tapirapé village located six and three-quarters leagues from the river of the same name and had returned "a Tapirapé woman and her son of 12" whom he had "rescued" in Conceição, where they were "enslaved" (Kissenberth 2, 36, 43). They were probably the grandmother and granddaughter brought by Mr. Alfredo and mentioned in the report of the Dominicans quoted above.

Speaking of the tribes of the Araguaia, Glass (139) says that in 1913, "the Government Inspector of the Indians of this region [161] ascended the Tapirapé River and discovered about 1000 or 1500 {448} of this tribe still existing, but living forty miles away from the river for fear of the Carajás. He estimates that the Carajás, Tapirapés, Javahés, Cherentes [Sherente], Chavantes, and one or two other tribes around that district, number over 20,000 Indians" [cited in English].

In June, 1914, the French Dominicans, Domingos Carrerot, Sebastião Thomas, and Francisco Bigorre, visited the Tapirapé village located 50 kilometers from the river. They were led by the Indian Valadar, the son of a Karajá father and a Tapirapé mother. This guide had participated in Mr. Alfredo's expedition.

Ten years later, according to the Mensageiro do Santo [113] Rosario of April, 1934, page 207, the "regular catechization" of 797 the [99:74] Tapirapé by the Dominicans had a "definitive start." 175 That means that the Fathers of Conceição do Araguaia have ascended the Tapirapé River to the port of São Domingos every two years or so since 1934, awaiting there the arrival of the Indians, alerted to their presence by the smoke rising from burned grassland. Sometimes they proceed on foot to the summer dwellings

apparently was aggravated by pneumonia. During the rainy season that followed, this epidemic caused great mortality throughout the tribe, also killing Ikaranchó and his wife. Then the separatists returned to Tampiitsua.

The eighteenth century map reproduced in this work points out with three triangles the "Aldeas do Gentio Tapirapé [villages of the Tapirapé people]." In his account of Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira's 1911 expedition, Angyone Costa (222-223) writes as follows about the Tapirapé of the time: "These Indians occupy three villages, the first one located two days' journey from the riverbank, the second one three days' away. The explorer did not visit the third one."

The following appears in the account of the Dominican expedition of 1914 printed in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosário (317): "The Tapirapé form three groups, or rather three malocas [villages], five days' journey apart. The Indians can walk 50 kilometers a day. This shows how huge is the region inhabited by such a relatively sparse tribe. The village we visited had 16 huts, each one sheltering several families. It is true that when the Fathers drew near, some of the huts were emptied, and famil[illegible] urged on by a suspicious chief, ran to hide in the forest. The people we found did not exceed 160 souls, and from this it may easily be inferred that the tribe does not include more than about a thousand members."

[103:186] The note published in 1912 about Dr. Francisco Mandacarú's journey states that the Tapirapé village visited by this explorer contained 268 inhabitants and that "almost invariably, a village merely consists of a single and numerous family." The number of villages, however, is not mentioned (cf. Kissenberth 2, 43-44).

The same applies to the account of the trip by the inspector of the Indians, mentioned earlier, which only states that "some 1,000 or 1,500" Tapirapé were found (Glass, 139).

Reverend Kegel told me that in August of 1932 he found in Tampiitsua some 14 houses with slightly more than 220 occupants. These people, as we have already mentioned, split up in September, but were together again when we visited them the following year. From 50 to 60 of them died during the 1932-1933 rainy season, and only three or four children born at that time were seen by this missionary.

621 by this missionary. There was at the time only one couple with
[163] three children, while other couples with progeny only had one or two. When Mr. Kegel was in Tampiitsua in 1934, after the departure of the oft-mentioned "20" who had not yet returned in
[161] 1935, he only saw seven houses with 113 occupants. It is to be assumed that a few additional families were absent during the missionary's visit that year, for in 1935 I counted 130 Tapirapé. They were living in the seven houses seen by Mr. Kegel the
[342] previous year, and also in the so-called takana [men's house] and in another hut (marked with the letter g on the ground plan of the village) which was not as finished as the others. The distribution of those 130 individuals among the houses is indicated on the ground plan of the village (Fig. 8).

62 621 The following table shows the ratios by age, sex, marital status, and progeny. [Table appears here.]

[103:187] It is apparent, therefore, that at the time of this census, made in 1935, there were 70 married individuals and 60 unmarried ones in Tampiitsua.

The 38 men between the ages of 18 and 45 included the fathers of 20 children. The 26 women between the ages of 21 and 60 included the mothers of 32 children. These 64 men and women, therefore, included the fathers and mothers of 52 children.

These 52 children do not include those who were cited as
[597] stepchildren or adopted offspring. It is possible, furthermore, that they may include step- or adopted children who were not cited as such. In this case, the number of children with a living father or mother, which is already relatively small, would be even smaller.

Among the couples who had issue from their current marriages, there was one with three children, two with two, and five with one child each.

There was a 45-year-old grandfather with a three-year-old granddaughter, and a grandmother of 60 with a granddaughter who was also three. A man of 33 said that he was the grandfather of a girl of five who had neither father nor mother. He may have been the brother of the girl's grandfather.

No less striking than the above figures are the following.

In the age group ranging from less than one year to 14, there were 26 males and 29 females, that is to say, 55 individuals of both sexes.

[Text continues on p. 40]

166 756 621 underline more clearly the importance of these men.

The village abandoned in 1932 was called Moytíua, a word
103 made up of moyva, "cane," and tíua, "village." The other three
166 extinct villages were called (1) Kuruantíua, from kuruí or koruí "squash" (Brazilian Cucurbitacea), which remained in the Brazilian vernacular as cruí [Tr., Sicana odorifera]; (2) Mankotíua, from Manko, the name of a Karajá who was the village chief; and (3) Chechotíua, chechó probably being jejú (Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus), a fish akin to the traíra [Tr., Amazon lungfish], or else a contraction of chechoó, "big chechó," that is to say, the piracurú (Arapaima gigas). It may be that Chechotíua was the "Chichutíua" Wagley heard about, and that the Tampiitíua emigrants [103:189] moved to the site of the former village of this name on account of the food plants which undoubtedly still grew in the surrounding plots.

166 Tampiitíua, the "village of the tapir," no longer stands
361 where it was at the time of my visit. It was moved farther from the river. This represents a move away from the Whites and, to some extent, "toward the Kayapó." Such a move appears to me as
648 a "healthy policy." There were, and continue to be, attempts to relocate the Tapirapé at a "Protective Post" located near the Araguaia. The immediate and continuous contact of these Indians with the most varied representatives of our civilization, which would be inevitable if the above-mentioned project were to be carried out, would bring about the certain annihilation of this peaceful
• [161] Tupí tribe, whose numbers, as I write this (1944), probably do not reach 150. [Ed., end of Vol. 103; the section in Vol. 104, pp. 93-100, is omitted.]

[105:77] Chapter 6

## Physical Appearance and Ornamentation

142 Coming from the Karajá to the Tapirapé, one immediately notices that the latter, on the average, are much shorter and less sturdy, especially shorter than the Karajá I saw in Santa Isabel, and less sturdy than the inhabitants of Berororandú and other villages located north of the mouth of the Tapirapé River. Fritz

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirape SP22



Tapirape River. They have had only sporadic contact with Europeans. About 1906, the first Brazilians visited them in their village, and, each July or August since 1914, the Dominican priests meet them at a port on the Tapirape River and bring them presents—axes, hoes, salt, etc. Between 1930 and 1935, a Scotch Protestant missionary made three trips to the village, staying there two to three months at a stretch. During the dry season, the Tapirape regularly go down to the river for fishing and collecting turtle eggs and to wait in hope that the Dominican priests will come with a new supply of presents. There they sometimes meet trappers and hunters, and occasionally a Brazilian hunter will make the long trip to their village as an adventure, or—rarely— a Tapirape will go back with a missionary or hunter to the Araguaya—some 200 miles away—and return to the village loaded with presents and tall stories. These few contacts, the only ones which these people have had with Europeans, have nevertheless affected the Tapirape culture profoundly and in many ways. For lack of time, however, I shall describe only the effects resulting from the introduction of foreign diseases, which even antedated European contact, and the consequent wiping out of the great part of the Tapirape population.

In the memory of one Tapirape informant, there were five villages (about 1900), each of which must have contained well over two hundred people. The introduction of smallpox about 1890* caused one village to disband, since most of the inhabitants had died. About 1900, another European disease, probably influenza, caused a second village to break up through loss of people. Yellow fever must have taken its toll among the Tapirape at various times, as it did among the neighboring Caraja Indians, and, in 1920, the world-wide influenza epidemic came belatedly to the Araguaya and on to the Tapirape. In 1932, the survivors of a third village, depopulated by disease, joined the most southern village, Tampitawa, and, during my residence there in 1939, the survivors of a fourth village joined us. As a result of this wholesale depopulation from disease, there remained only one village

* Probably through the Caraja.

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



and only 167 inhabitants. This is an extraordinary example of the ravages of European diseases among a native American people.

Tampitawa (Village of the Tapir) is composed, therefore, of a residue from all of the five original villages. All of the customs and ceremony attached to inter-village relations have of course disappeared. People remember their former village affiliation, or that of their parents. They still speak of a person as being "the son of Fish Village," but village loyalty, once strong, has disappeared. Formerly, villages were basically endogamous, but some marriage outside of the village did take place. Today, only three people can say that they are descendants of people from Tapir Village. Ancient inter-village antagonism existed, especially between Tapir and the village which joined with it in 1906. Today, this conflict is only remembered under the stress of some quarrel and is referred to only as a taunt.

Depopulation has had little effect on the economic life of the Tapirapé. They are basically a forest agricultural people with large plantations. Manioc is their staple. Plantations are large enough, and the economic organization fluid enough, to allow for the support of large numbers of refugees for a year or so until they can make gardens for themselves. Refugees have joined one of the large households, at present eight, each with some twenty-five to thirty people. Formerly these households were matrilineal groups headed by a man of high prestige. His wife's relatives formed the matrilineal group and he demanded labor from his numerous sons-in-law (husbands of daughters of wife, including extended "daughters"). The coming of refugees disrupted these matrilineal households. If a refugee woman lacked a close female kin, her husband often arranged for habitation with a friend or a relative of his. Men of high status offered the hospitality of their houses to incoming men of rank. Today, therefore, many reassortments of relatives live under one roof, and two and even three separate groups of female relatives live under as many older men, whereas formerly they would have formed one household under the leadership of one household head. In no one case, does a man control a complete household as he would have done under the old system.

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



The men's moieties form the basis for Tapirapé ceremonial and for cooperative gardening and hunting. Each moiety is divided into three age grades. Thus, in the village, there are two groups of "boys" and "youths" (up to sixteen years of age), two of mature men or "warriors" (up to approximately 45), and two groups of "older men." Really old and inactive men give up moiety activity and have no affiliation. A boy belongs automatically to the moiety of his father and formerly he progressed through the three age grades of that moiety. All ceremonies involve the moiety age grades, which dance against each other, race against each other, and give reciprocal feast exchanges. Cooperative hunts and clearing of the forest likewise involve reciprocal activities. However, with the great loss of population, and especially a loss of men of the oldest age group, this organization was thrown out of balance. In order to continue ceremonial life, several youths, who were spoken of as "lazy" and who were not capable hunters or workers, passed into the "older men's" age groups, in which there is little active cooperative hunting and gardening, in order to give those groups sufficient numbers for ceremonial activity. This rapid passing from boys' age grade to that of older men has influenced native thought in two ways:—First, young men are losing the idea of automatic progression through the three age grades, and there is a tendency now to think that the better young men become "warriors," while less capable ones pass rapidly to the older men's group. Second, the older men's age grades, formerly the groups of highest prestige, tend to be looked on with little favor, and only those individuals are thought of with respect who have status for other reasons.

Depopulation has also affected the second Tapirapé social grouping—the feast groups. These are made up of all men and women. They are matrilocal for women and patrilocal for men. These feast groups meet periodically during the dry season for ceremonial meals. At present, three of the original ten feast groups have disappeared because of lack of members.

Chieftainship has changed under the influence of both depopulation and the sporadic contacts with Brazilians. All men of

2: Wagley E-3 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



all men of

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status are, today, called "capitaoes" (The Tapirape use the Portuguese word. There is no equivalent in their language.) These "capitaoes" are village elders (who were village "favorite children" in their youth, and therefore people of prestige), leaders of the warriors, age grades, and able shamans. Formerly, there were only two village elders, two warrior leaders, and, ideally, two favorite children in a village. Today, with congregation of people from all villages in one, several "noble" families are present and there is an oversupply of "capitaoes."

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Marriage arrangements, too, have been affected by depopulation. At present, there are some ten men of marriageable age, for whom there are no possible wives, and immediate families are so broken up that there are no possible groups of women to care for these unattached men. A man must have a wife to cook for him and perform women's tasks. To do any woman's work would play complete havoc with a man's personal prestige, which is a matter of greatest importance. Most of these Tapirape men have solved their problem by contracting convenient "social" marriages with extremely young girls. They attach themselves to a household, in which they perform a man's customary economic duties, and, in turn, their mothers-in-law do women's work for them.

(962)
(557)

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Lack of time prevents mention of many other aspects of native life pertaining to marriage, kinship, and leadership, which have been profoundly affected by depopulation. Possibly, in other cultures, the effects of introduced disease have not been quite so disastrous, nor the loss of people so important to the social life, as in the case of the Tapirape. Without a doubt, however, wherever there have been sporadic contacts with Europeans, these or other alien factors have been introduced and have caused important changes in the structure of native life.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

# TAPIRAPÉ SOCIAL AND CULTURE CHANGE 1940-1953

by

CHARLES WAGLEY

The Tapirapé are a Tupi-speaking tribe whose aborigi- 101
nal habitat lay between the Araguaya and Xingu rivers [197]
in central Brazil. Tapirapé society and culture, as it existed before 1940, has been described by Herbert Baldus and the present author in a series of articles and monographs.[1] In 1940, when I left the Tapirapé village after 161
approximately eighteen months of residence and research, 178
I was convinced that Tapirapé society was rapidly disintegrating and that it would soon cease to exist as a distinct organized unit. At that time, although Tapirapé culture was essentially unchanged from its aboriginal condition, severe depopulation had so disrupted the social structure that the society seemed no longer to satisfy the minimal conditions for group survival.[2] A mere 147 individuals grouped in but one village were all that remained in 1940 of this tribe that once had numbered at least one thousand people living in five large villages. In 1953, when I returned for a short visit of three weeks with the Tapirapé Indians in their new village at the [131]
mouth of the Tapirapé River on the Araguaya, I found but 81 individuals. The rapid process of depopulation

1. Cf. Herbert Baldus, *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, São Paulo, 1937, and "Os Tapirapé, tribo Tupi no Brasil Central," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, Vols. XXVI-XV, CVIII-CXXVII, São Paulo, 1944-50; and Charles Wagley, "Tapirapé Shamanism," *Boletim do Museu Nacional, Antropologia*, N.º 8, Rio, 1943.

2. Charles Wagley, "The Effects of Depopulation upon Social Organization as Illustrated by the Tapirapé Indians," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Series II, Vol. 2, N.º 1, pp. 12-16, New York, 1939.

[p. 99]

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



161 178 had continued during the last thirteen years. Yet I found that even with so small a population Tapirapé society still functioned as an organised unit and Tapirapé culture persisted, although highly modified by the events of the last thirteen years. Several points of theoretical importance can be learned from recent Tapirapé history and from some observations on social and cultural changes since 1940.

175 [127] The sketchy outline of Tapirapé history between 1940 and 1953, which I have been able to piece together with the help of the Indians themselves, of Sr. Valentim Gomes (the officer of the post of the Brazilian Indian Service which services the Tapirapé, and my companion during both visits to the tribe in 1939-40), and of a published report by Herbert Baldus,[2] indicates the tremendous shocks this society has suffered in the last decade. Briefly, this history is as follows: In 1941, just a year after my 1940 visit, a serious epidemic broke out in the [731 578] Tapirapé village in which I had lived. As usual, following an epidemic during which there is a series of deaths, dissension broke out within the village. A well-known shaman was killed and a group of Tapirapé ("perhaps thirty in number") fled the village to the Brazilian town of Furo de Pedra, some two hundred kilometers from their village. It is reported that at least two people died during this trip and that the group returned to their village infected with common colds. By August of 1940, Sr. Gomes was able to ascertain that twenty-six people had died since June of the same year. In September of 175 648 1941 an Indian Post for the protection of the Tapirapé was opened, but it was established at the mouth of the Tapirapé River, near the Carajá whom the Tapirapé feared and near Brazilians from whom they contracted new infections. That year, a few Indians visited the Post but after the death of a young Tapirapé man at the Post and an unfortunate experience with a group of drunken Brazilian men, only rarely did a Tapirapé

2. "Tribus da Bacia do Araguaia e o Serviço de Proteção aos Índios", in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, N. S., Vol. II, São Paulo, 1948, pp. 137-168.

## INTRODUCTION

The Tapirapé Indians are a Tupi-speaking tribe living in Central Brazil west of the Araguaya River. Their villages formerly extended some two hundred miles to the north of the Tapirapé River, an affluent of the Araguaya; but today their one remaining village lies west of the Araguaya, about forty miles north of the Tapirapé and 160 miles from the point of union of the two rivers. This settlement contains a total population that does not exceed 150 people, the residue of five villages that probably existed as late as the turn of the century and that are said to have had a population of about two hundred people each. A progressive population decline has followed the acquiring of diseases from contact with the neighboring Carajá Indians of the Araguaya River and from European visitors. Such contacts, however, have left their aboriginal culture little changed.

The Tapirapé are primarily a forest people, maintaining an agricultural life on clearings hewed from the great tropical forest. Their cultivated fields are large producing manioc (both *Manihot esculenta* and the sweet species *Manihot palmata aggi*), maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, yams, hard (*Dioscorea* sp.), cotton, and bananas.

The dry months of June through September of each year are devoted to clearing the garden sites. This work is done by men, frequently working individually, sometimes in communal labor formed by the men's society groups (1). When the clearing is done collectively, the large field is divided into individual plots which become individual property;

(1) There is an excellent description of this communal activity called *ajuri* by the Tapirapé in Herbert Baldus, 1937, "Os grupos de *ajuri* e os grupos de trabalho dos Tapirapé", in *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, pp. 96-111. São Paulo.

[p. 61]
[p. 60 blank]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



The eight living men (*mardezenhaeres* or "killers") who had (683)
killed *panirés* attest to the frequency of revenge killing of shamans because of suspected sorcery. Within the memory of one informant, *Kamaiá*, who was approximately forty years old, ten shamans had been killed (14). During his youth he had killed a shaman, *Panirwéni* because he believed him responsable for his younger brother's death. Going to the shaman's house the second night after his brother's death, *Kamaiá* found the shaman asleep and killed him with several arrows through the abdomen. According to various informants, the epidemic of deaths that had been occurring then came to a halt, thus proving *Panirwéni*'s guilt. In another case the killer hid in the forest and shot the suspected shaman as he passed on his way to his garden; still another shaman was clubbed to death as he sat with his family in the village plaza. Two living "killers" had murdered women shamans by [756
clubbing them to death. *Kalo-ranlé* (*kalan*, woman; *panlé*, shaman) 562]
generally die by violence, according to informants; women shamans "are dangerous". They dream more than men [shamans] and they kill many Tapirapé [in dreams]", said one man. Ironically, all three of the more powerful shamans living today, at least two of whom are currently in danger because they are considered powerful enough to be suspected of "evil dreaming", murdered shamans during their youth (15).

Informants could not remember any one occasion where a shaman 593
thus murdered was avenged by his relatives; yet informants did say that 683
a shaman with several adult brothers — true siblings — strong enough 756

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(14) The span of this man's life has seen the tremendous depopulation of the Tapirapé from imported diseases; thus it represents an abnormal period with more than the usual number of deaths and perhaps, therefore, an unusual number of revenge murders of shamans. [164]

(15) As I write this paper, a letter comes from Valentim Gomes, my guide and companion during both trips to the Tapirapé. I quote in part this letter translated from Portuguese: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the twenty-sixth of July [1941]. They were all in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, etc. — There were few hummos".

"But I am sorry to say that when we left there [in May, 1941] twenty-one [165]
adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and hummos were dead. Among those who died was Canpakwi, the best informant in the village. Also Urubumo had been killed by the young Tapirapé I called *Antonio*". (During my stay the Tapirapé had several times spoken of the necessity of liquidating Urubumo and several had predicted that it would occur).

121 [122] [137] Having been invited by Dr. Modesto Donatini Dias da Cruz, Director of the Indian Service, to represent the São Paulo Museum and the Free School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo on the team he organized to inspect the Indian posts and to explore certain areas of central Brazil, I imparted to him in a report dated October 31, 1947, the observations made in the course of the journey carried out during the months of June, July, and August of the same year, as well as a few suggestions on the matter. The following pages are a reproduction of this report with a few modifications and additions.

## I. The Tapirapé

142 62 On July 19, 1947, we counted 62 inhabitants in the Tapirapé village of Tampitifua, 50 of whom were subjected to a medical examination by my traveling companion, Dr. Haroldo Cândido de Oliveira. The following table provides the age and sex ratio:

| | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 years and under | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| from 6 to 15 years | 7 | 3 | 10 |
| from 16 to 30 years | 14 | 17 | 31 |
| over 30 years old | 6 | 4 | 10 |
| Total | 32 | 27 | 59 |

It is to be assumed that the three who evaded the examination were boys. In addition, we found at Pôrto Velho a Tapirapé woman over 30 years old who was living among the frontier people.

In 1935, Tampitifua had 130 inhabitants, 69 of them male and 61 female.

It should be mentioned that since that time certain individuals [146] have emigrated to Taixunfua, another Tapirapé village located quite a distance away. Their number, however, seems to be inferior to that of persons who have moved from there to Tampitifua. According to various [138] reports, Taixunfua is much smaller than this village, [144] so that today the entire Tapirapé tribe probably does not exceed 100 members.

are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural rather than physical one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampitíua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them are completely clothed.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actually experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their new neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the number of Tampitíua inhabitants has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following [139] were not lacking, however. "Now the Tapirapé only eat small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs."

These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the dry season, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna as well as the human beings in the region have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the frontiersmen, by settling permanently in all the habitable places along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampitíua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers.

When I ascended the length of the Tapirapé River in a canoe in 1935, its banks were uninhabited. There was a single inhabitant at the river mouth, and he manned, so to speak, the most advanced post of our civilization. In July, 1947, there were eight houses in Pôrto Velho, which stands more or less at the middle point of the navigable stretch, that is, 15 or 18 leagues from the mouth, and nearly all of their occupants came from the state of Pará and had lived previously at various spots on the Araguaia.

Their settlement, and with it the occupation of the Indian lands, began about five years ago and presents aspects characteristic of the processes that were repeated, with certain variations, throughout the colonization of Brazil. Their leader is a farmer by the name of Lucio

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

# WORLD VIEW OF THE TAPIRAPE INDIANS

By Charles Wagley

The Tapirape live in Central Brazil north of the Tapirape River, a western affluent of the Araguaya River. They are a Tupi-speaking people isolated from other peoples speaking the same language. Culturally they are related more closely to the Tupi-speaking people of the coast than to those of the head waters of the Xingu River. The only peoples with whom they have had contacts within historic times are their northern neighbors, the Gê-speaking Northern Kayapo and the Carajá (including the Javahe branch) of the Araguaya. Because of hostility with both these neighboring peoples, the Tapirape have withdrawn farther from the Araguaya and have contacts at present with the Carajá only through occasional European visitors. Introduced disease, acquired from these visitors and earlier from the Carajá, have reduced the Tapirape from five large villages (originally more than two hundred per village) to one with less than 150 people. Contacts with Europeans, however, have been short and few, leaving the Tapirape aboriginal culture little changed.

According to Tapirape tradition, they came to their present home from the north and east.[1] One group of them lived on the Araguaya and for a time shared a common village with the Javahe branch of the Carajá. The Tapirape are traditionally oriented in country to the east, not to the west. It is to the east that Maranaxo, the "home of the gods," lies, and in this direction, too, in the home of two legendary peoples: the Wanchiru, a cannibalistic tribe which are a female mythical ancestor of the Tapirape, and the "other Tapirape," speaking the same language and sharing the same culture. East of the Araguaya River there is said to be another large river and great mountains where various supernaturals live.

Formerly, Tapirape who were captives of the Carajá returned to tell of that country and people, and in modern times Tapirape have visited both Carajá and Kayapo, as well as various Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya. No foreign or hostile tribes prevent them from wandering westward into the open country toward the Xingu River, but it is a region of little interest to them, and they never travel far in this direction. Of the Xingu River and people, they know only what Brazilian visitors have told

[1] According to Métraux, the Tapirape were known to have been on the Araguaya as early as the 18th century. He believes the Tapirape to be migrants from the coast of Brazil, probably from the vicinity of Rio, possibly from the Tamoyo. Certainly they came from the east, but any material points to a migration from the northeast rather than from the southeast, as would be the case if migration had been from the forests of Rio. Métraux, Alfred, Migrations Historiques des Tupi-Guarani, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, N.S. vol. 29 (1937).

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contact and to revive, or which led to quasi — or total extinction of a people may also be found in the culture and the society of peoples concerned. Each culture has a population policy — — — an implicit or explicit set of cultural values relating to population size. The social structure of each society is closely inter-related with a specific population level. A modification of the external environment, such as that brought about by contact with Europeans, generally calls for change both in cultural values as well as in social structure. In addition to environment, technology, and other material factors, cultural values and social structure act also to determine population size and demographic trends in face of modified external circumstances. A rapid decrease in population due to new disease or an increase in population resulting from an increased food supply calls for adjustments in population policy (implicit or explicit) and in social structure. It is the purpose of the present paper to examine the relationship between these social and cultural factors and the population trends following European contact of two Tupi speaking tribes of Brazil.

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The two Tupi speaking tribes in question are the Tenetehara of northeastern Brazil and the Tapirapé of central Brazil. (2) After more than 300 years of contact with Luso-Brazilians the Tenetehara in 1945 still numbered some 3000 people —— not much less, if at all, than the aboriginal population. On the other hand, by 1947 the Tapirapé with less than forty years of sporadic still peaceful contact with Luso-Brazilians had been reduced to less than one hundred people, the remnant of an aboriginal population which must have numbered more than one thousand. While the Tenetehara still maintained a functioning social system and continued as a distinct ethnic group, Tapirapé society was in 1947 almost totally disorganized and the Tapirapé as a distinct people were clearly on the road to extinction. (3)

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A partial answer to this very different reaction to Luso-Brazilian contact may be found in the nature of the acculturation process which each has experienced. Although the first decades of Tenetehara relations with Europeans were marked by slave raids, massacres, and epidemics, the protection of the Jesuits during more than one century (1653-1759) seems to have given the Tenetehara time to make adjustments in their culture and society to changing external circumstances. The administrators were able to prevent the movement of colonists into Tenetehara territory, and after the expulsion

(2) Basic description of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara have been published elsewhere: C. Wagley and Galvão, 1948 A, 1948 B, and 1949; Baldus, 1937, 1946-1948, 1948 B, 1948 C. We only directly pertinent descriptive data is present in this paper.

(3) C. Wagley (1943) and Baldus (1948 and, 1948, 1948 B, 1948 C), for discussion of Tapirapé depopulation and disorganization. Baldus (1948 B) on pp. 197-198, lists about one eighty adult Tapirapé inhabitant in the individuals in 1938, and only 43 in 1947, mentions that during this space of time several individuals had emigrated to another Tapirapé village only for from Tenetehara, but that their number seems to be fewer than the number of those who came from there to Tenetehara, according to information received by this author, the other village is another than Tenetehara, so that in 1947 the whole tribe probably numbered less than a hundred members. In the same year, shortly after Baldus' visit, the Tapirapé were attacked by Kayapó Indians and lost several individuals.

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of the Jesuits in 1759, the increased importation of African slaves into Maranhão eased the pressure for Indian slaves. Close relations with the missionaries, and later with the civil authorities and the rural Luso-Brazilian population, presented the Tenetehara with new culture patterns, new attitudes which either replaced aboriginal elements or were incorporated in their culture as alternative patterns. The missionaries urged larger families in order to have numerous innocents to baptize. Warfare was prohibited in the area. (4) The Tenetehara learned that children might be useful in collecting balsamo nuts for sale to Luso-Brazilians. Steel instruments and new plants (such as rice, bananas, lemons, etc.) made agriculture more productive. The sale of balsamo nuts, copaiba oil, and other forest products brought the Tenetehara imported products. Although Tenetehara culture and society were modified, the aboriginal and the borrowed elements slowly combined to form a new culture and a new social system which at least met the minimum requirements for survival.

The Tapirapé, on the other hand, have had only intermittent contact with Luso-Brazilians. Since about 1911, the Tapirapé have had occasional contact with Luso-Brazilians. A few Tapirapé have visited Luso-Brazilian settlements and missionary stations on the Araguaya River and a few Luso-Brazilians have visited Tapirapé villages. Tapirapé contact with Luso-Brazilians has been limited to relatively short periods and to small groups of people. They have acquired a few axes, hoes, some salt, cloth, beads and other material objects from their occasional visitors but, on the whole, their culture was little modified by borrowed patterns and elements from Luso-Brazilians. Yet the presence of Luso-Brazilians brought about a crucial modification in their environment. With the arrival of Luso-Brazilians in the area, the Tapirapé were subjected to a series of foreign diseases. If the memory of older Tapirapé informants may be trusted, foreign diseases (common colds, measles, and smallpox) came at first via the neighboring Karajá sometime before their first meeting with Luso-Brazilians. Since about 1911 to 1914, however foreign diseases acquired directly from Luso-Brazilians, has steadily decimated the Tapirapé. Unlike the Tenetehara, before the Tapirapé were presented with a broad segment of Luso-Brazilian culture, which might have provided them with alternative patterns and values with which they might have made adjustments to their new circumstances, they have been practically wiped out.

Still, the difference in population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact of these two tribes cannot be explained entirely in terms of the difference in the contact continuum. The first fifty years of contact between the Tenetehara and Europeans was more violent than anything the Tapirapé have experienced. In the early 17th century organized slave raiding parties penetrated into Tenetehara territory and armed forces such as the one led

(4) There are no indications that the Tenetehara shared the warfare-complication complex of the Tupinambá, but the cross cousins of the Mundurucú-Parintintin River system and the Island of Marajó at the mouth were attacked by Tupinambá groups. Métraux (1948), p. 95 ff. See also Métraux (1946).

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by Santo Inácio Peixoto in 1616 made war upon the Tenetehara. Epidemics, which raged in the early 17th century among the Indian populations of northeast Brazil, certainly reached the Tenetehara. From time to time smallpox, measles, and other diseases have taken a heavy toll among these Indians. The impact of the dominant culture upon the Tenetehara was more intense than it has been upon the Tapirapé. In addition to differences in the nature of the contact continuum, factors inherent in the society and the culture of the two tribes were responsible for the reaction of these societies to Luso-Brazilian contact and for the population trends which followed. Since the Tenetehara and the Tapirapé have historically related cultures, sharing many patterns and institutions common to most Tupí speaking tribes, a comparison of the two societies and cultures should allow us to determine the variables responsible for their contrasting reactions.

The subsistence methods of the tribes were in aboriginal times basically similar. Both were tropical forest horticulturists depending upon hunting, fishing, and forest fruits to supplement their diet. For fishing, the Tenetehara had an advantage since their villages were normally situated near rivers and streams while the Tapirapé villages were located inland many kilometers from the river. In hunting, the Tapirapé had the advantage of nearby open plains country where hunting was more productive than in the tropical forest. Neither tribe had a land problem, the nearest village of the Karajá, who were Tapirapé neighbors, was at least two hundred kilometers away and the Timbira neighbors of the Tenetehara were sufficiently people offering no competition for forest land. Both tribes during aboriginal times had sufficient territory to move their villages every five or six years when suitable garden sites near their villages had been used up by the slash-and-burn system of horticulture. The two tribes inhabited similar physical environments and they had approximately the same technological equipment to cope with it. Their technology and their subsistence methods must have limited the maximum population of any one village and there are indications that approximately two hundred people was the average village size for both groups. On the other hand, a lack of territory evidently did not enforce a limitation on the number of villages for the tribe. Yet while the Tapirapé tell of only five villages in aboriginal times, many times that number are reported by early observers for the Tenetehara. Although specific data is not available, it seems that in aboriginal times Tapirapé population was relatively small and stable while the Tenetehara population was at least twice as large and probably expanding.

This difference in population level between the two tribes in aboriginal times was related to the population policies held by the two groups as well as to differences in social structure of the groups concerned. These cultural values relating to population level are explicit in attitudes toward family size and in positive factors to limit families. Among the Tenetehara infanticide is indicated only in the case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused

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Ta 262 Tc 262 168 "hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is (and was in the past) just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size. Ta 168 183 262 Population control among the Tapirapé seems as to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

Tc 161 168 182 [165] This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new diseases for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population Tc 161 168 182 [165] during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the natural environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Tc Ta 596 591 612 Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapé, on the other Ta 616 541 hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial societies limited to men. Each society was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the Ta 616 [596] [591] Tapirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's societies and age grades and the "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic production and distribution. The related dances with impersonation of

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
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hand spirits performed by the men during the dry season were a function of the men's societies. The "Feast Groups" met at intervals during the dry season at their traditional stations in the central plaza for ceremonial meals. At such times, as Herbert Baldus has shown, these "Feast Groups" functioned as a mechanism for food distribution in a season when more food was available than a family would normally consume. (7) The "Feast Groups" sometimes formed to collect honey and to hunt. The age grades of the men's societies also frequently acted together economically; they organized work parties for clearing of large garden sites and they went out on large cooperative hunts after herds of wild pigs.

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In aboriginal Tapirapé society ceremonial life and many important cooperative subsistence activities were based upon this balanced set of associations. A Tapirapé village in order to ensure adequate representation in the various age grades of the men's societies as well as in the "Feast Groups" by necessity had to consist of about 200 people or more. A small village of fifty to a hundred people, for example, would not have provided sufficient number of males of the proper ages to allow the age graded societies to carry out their ceremonials nor to organize their cooperative subsistence activities. Tapirapé village organization was therefore not conducive to a process of "splitting off" of groups from one village to form another. The size of Tapirapé villages was limited by their technological equipment within their tropical forest environment yet the social structure made the formation of numerous small villages difficult. In contrast, the less formalized social structure of the Tenetehara allowed for villages of varying size within the limits of their ecological adjustment. Extended family groups easily might break off from a larger village to form a new settlement fully able to carry out the cooperative economic activities and even ceremonials of the society. This process is constantly occurring in contemporary Tenetehara society. When tensions arise between extended families, one group simply splits off from the parent village to join another or to form a separate village without serious effects on the ceremonial or economic system. The Tenetehara social structure offered a favorable condition for an expanding population after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected population.

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Tapirapé social structure seems also to have been more vulnerable to disorganization in face of a rapid change in population size. Rapid depopulation after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected the normal functioning of their highly segmented and balanced social structure. By 1940, the lack of men had thrown the system of reciprocal and competitive activities of the men's age-graded societies out of balance. There were not enough men of the "older" age-grade of either society nor of the young men "warriors" age-grade of one society to have functioning units to participate in cooperative garden clearing and in participate in group hunts. Several of the "Feast Groups" had been disbanded for lack of members.

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(7) Baldus (1947) p. 10 ff.

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of members. Ceremonials in 1940 had not been abandoned but they were performed in an attenuated and disorganized manner. There was little participation to accumulate the meat, the forest fruits, and the garden products which important ceremonials require among the Tapirapé.

Ceremonial and cooperative economic activities in Tenetehara society are organized by extended family and life groups. Lack of numbers, of course, creates difficulties in carrying out ceremonials and in organizing economic activities but it does not have the effect of disorganizing the society. Cooperation of large extended families in gardening and in collecting balsam nuts and copaiba oil is still the general pattern among the Tenetehara. Tenetehara social structure was susceptible to change. Adjustment to new circumstances after Luso-Brazilian contact must have been easier for the Tenetehara than for the Tapirapé.

The brief comparison of the cultural values and of those aspects of social structure of the Tenetehara and of the Tapirapé in terms of their effect upon population size and on population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact suggest several general hypotheses. First, the available information concerning the population size of these two tribes in aboriginal times indicates that the Tenetehara were much more numerous than the Tapirapé. Yet both tribes were tropical forest peoples with roughly similar technological equipment. It seems to the writer that the difference in population size between the two tribes was functionally related to ideological values and to social structure and not to differences in technology and environment. In other words, such differences in population size hardly lie interpretable strictly in Malthusian terms. While population potentials are certainly limited by food supply, the level of technology, the application of medical knowledge, and other material factors, social institutions and culturally derived values are influential in determining trends in population size within the limits set by such "natural" factors.

Second, the social structure and the cultural values of any society are functionally related to a given population level. With change in population size, both the cultural values regarding population size and social structure must be adjusted. The Tapirapé concept of family size remained unchanged in face of modified conditions, i.e. higher death-rate caused by foreign diseases with the result that the adult population was no longer replaced by births. A rapidly declining population disrupted Tapirapé socio-ceremonial organization and affected the internal system of production and distribution. The Tenetehara with a more malleable social structure than that of the Tapirapé were able to survive the initial impact of Luso-Brazilian contact until the population of the Indian showed them to make necessary adjustments to the new circumstances.

Finally, the comparison between the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara calls to mind other primitive societies whose social structure must have been functionally related to population level and to demographic trends in face of European civilization. In Brazil, the Botocudo-speaking Shokeng Indians with their complex moiety system and the Apinayé with their late marriage

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chiefs, to mention only two examples, had social systems comparable to that of the Tapirapé. Such social structure depended upon a balanced representation of population in each of the numerous social units. A sudden decline of population might easily throw such highly segmented societies out of balance, so to speak. Without sufficient representation in one or more of these social units reciprocal socio-ceremonial affairs become impossible or may be carried out in a highly attenuated manner. Again, the social structure of the Kayapó of the Araguaya River is based essentially upon extended family and kinship ties and lacks the highly segmented social units which cross cut villages and even family groups. Like that of the Tenetehara, Kayapó social structure would seem to be less vulnerable to change in population size and more conducive to population growth. In addition to technological equipment and subsistence methods, social structure and cultural values also influence strongly the final adjustment of each society to its environment. Differences in social structure and of value systems between societies must be taken into account in studies of population size and of population trends in any cultural area, such as the Tropical forest of South America.

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## RESUMO

O autor compara a sociedade dos Tenetehara e Tapirapé no concreto com as teorias no que diz respeito ao desenvolvimento da população e à organização social. Enquanto a população dessas tribos brasileiras dos índios tropicais do Brasil, depois de cada dia maior com de tal contacto, conta um número de comparações geralmente pouco inferior ao de antes, concorrendo em função com organização social, os Tapirapé se encontram em via de extinção física e desintegração social. O autor sabe que, por um lado, a topologia dessas tribos e seus métodos de sobrevivência dessas ter limitado o número de habitantes de cada aldeia, não tendo havido, por outro lado, falta de espaço territorial para limitar o número das aldeias. Porque-lhe que, contrariamente, a população tupiapé era relativamente pequena e estável, ao passo que a dos Tenetehara era, pelo menos, a dobro disquilo à, provavelmente, suficiente. Essas diferenças, em geral, não permitem sociologia e tomadas da família e cada dos Tapirapé quer no quais o mesmo não deve ser cada de não tribos. Embora os Tapirapé justificam-se com ligação com falta de alimento, cada dificuldade, o aspecto pressiona ser outras formas culturais. O autor procura mostrar a influência das tecnologias e valores culturais sobre a tamanho das populações dentro das tribos, quanto pelas formas ceremoniais, pelo comportamento relativo, pelo equipamento civilizador e por outras formas materiais. Frisa que a estrutura social e os valores culturais de cada sociedade são fundamentais relacionados com determinado tamanho da população, particularmente em relação, por fim, em caso de mudanças da situação demográfica.

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# THE TAPIRAPÉ

By Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvão

## INTRODUCTION

Isolated from other *Tupí-Guaraní*-speaking people, the *Tapirapé* live [51]
in Central Brazil, west of the Araguaya River and north of the Tapirapé River, a western tributary flowing into the Araguaya near the northern tip of the Island of Bananal (lat. 2° S., long. 52° W.). According to [73]
tradition, the *Tapirapé* lived for a time on the banks of the Araguaya and Javahé Rivers with the *Cayapó*. They quarreled, and the *Tapirapé* moved west to their present territory (map 1, *No. 1;* see Volume 1, map 7). At the beginning of last century, five *Tapirapé* villages formed a line [71]
stretching northward into *Cayapó* country beginning at a point a few [16]
miles back from the Tapirapé River about 150 miles from its mouth. The [75]
*Tapirapé* have always been at war with the *Cayapó*, except for a brief period. Each of these villages contained at least 200 individuals with a [4]
total *Tapirapé* population of about 1,000. Since 1900, however, there has been a terrific reduction of *Tapirapé* population.

In 1939, there was only one remaining *Tapirapé* village situated about 20 miles north of the Tapirapé River with a total population of 147 people. This decline in population is basically due to disease (smallpox, respira- [64]
torial diseases, etc.) acquired either directly from Neo-Brazilians or from [48]
the *Carajá*, who are continually in contact with Neo-Brazilians. *Tapirapé* groups have been also massacred on several occasions by both the *Carajá* and *Cayapó*.

The *Tapirapé* have had too few contacts, however, with Neo-Brazilians. Except [147]
for the demoralizing effect of depopulation, their culture has been little modified. [77]
Although stories are told of Neo-Brazilian hunters visiting the *Tapirapé* in 1900, the first registered contact with them was in 1912. During that year, Heber Maybury, leading an expedition of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service, visited the village nearest the Tapirapé River. In 1924, the Dominican priests visited the [77]
*Tapirapé*. From that date on, the Dominicans returned each year or so to a camp on the Tapirapé River for 3 or 4 days at a time and were met by the *Tapirapé*, to whom they distributed trade goods. Almost 1934, a Protestant missionary, Frederick Kloppel, made several trips, staying 2 or 3 months in a *Tapirapé* village. In 1938, the first trained ethnologist, Dr. Herbert Baldus, resided several months with the *Tapirapé*, and in 1939-40, Wagley spent 12 months with them making the study on which this article is based. [114]

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and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite child, being given special attention and education and being highly decorated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life. 554 658

**Puberty.**—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong. 867 [302] [301]

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers set in a heavy block of wood (*pl. 19, top, left*). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance. [302] 981 [292]

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of women. [301] [582]

**Marriage.**—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antagonism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage marriage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village particism exist only in the memory of older people. 621 [578] [582] [579]

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close consanguinity, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule. 582

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him. [61] [82] [178] [579]

To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *hoitewaki*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of

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241 region and come to the river further upstream, before it turns
226 toward the northeast. Here, by means of poisonous cipo, they
[352] fish successive lakes blocked off by fences. They seem to travel from upstream downward, for the upper roasting place showed only a few new beams among very old ones, whereas the lower one was apparently quite recently built. This lower one, beside which they fished from the middle to the end of August 1908, lies about 16 kilometers south-southwest of the first village (24 kilometers
[397] from the second and third). The well-worn paths that go from the two roasting places, join, and lead by way of the first village to the other two, seem to indicate that the Indians visit this spot annually. Where they go from here I was unable to find out: perhaps they went across the Tapirapé to the south. In any case a campo lake abounding in fish, several kilometers away from the trading place, showed no traces of human beings.

●161 These people seem to be very numerous. The number of
[342] houses is small, to be sure, but their dimensions seemed to be
[352] quite considerable. The 26 huge grills at the first roasting place and 10-15 at the second, the sandbanks completely trodden down with footprints beside the first fish lake, certainly lead one to
513 conclude that there is a large crowd of people. Sleeping is
352 apparently done in hammocks. This is indicated first by the net coverings that the Kanajé buy from them, and then by the complete absence of sleeping places beside the roasting place, which was certainly used for many days.

241 Besides maize (according to the account of the Kanajé), these people also plant maize, as is indicated by many, partly
231 charred corncobs at the roasting place. As domestic animals they keep dogs, the traces of which were numerous on the sand-
324 banks. It may surely be assumed that they devote themselves to
[136] hunting. The campo is extremely rich in deer, the forests in wild pigs. Certainly they will not forgo these sources of meat.

324 In addition, fishing is practiced on a large scale through poisoning the /408/ /Ill. 287 appears here/ /409/ water of blocked-off lakes. We saw barrier poles everywhere in the territory of this tribe in front of lake outlets. The first lake that we came across was completely blocked off by a fence that was

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 344]

621 by this missionary. There was at the time only one couple with
[169] three children, while other couples with progeny only had one or two. When Mr. Kegel was in Tampitíua in 1934, after the departure of the oft-mentioned "20" who had not yet returned in
[161] 1935, he only saw seven houses with 113 occupants. It is to be assumed that a few additional families were absent during the missionary's visit that year, for in 1935 I counted 130 Tapirapé. They were living in the seven houses seen by Mr. Kegel the
[342] previous year, and also in the so-called takaxa [men's house] and in another hut (marked with the letter g on the ground plan of the village) which was not as finished as the others. The distribution of these 130 individuals among the houses is indicated on the ground plan of the village (Fig. 8).

*62 The following table shows the ratios by age, sex, marital
621 status, and progeny. [Table appears here.]

[105:187] It is apparent, therefore, that at the time of this census, made in 1935, there were 70 married individuals and 60 unmarried ones in Tampitíua.

The 38 men between the ages of 18 and 45 included the fathers of 30 children. The 26 women between the ages of 21 and 60 included the mothers of 32 children. These 64 men and women, therefore, included the fathers and mothers of 32 children.

These 32 children do not include those who were cited as
[597] stepchildren or adopted offspring. It is possible, furthermore, that they may include step- or adopted children who were not cited as such. In this case, the number of children with a living father or mother, which is already relatively small, would be even smaller.

Among the couples who had issue from their current marriages, there was one with three children, two with two, and five with one child each.

There was a 45-year-old grandfather with a three-year-old granddaughter, and a grandmother of 60 with a granddaughter who was also three. A man of 33 said that he was the grandfather of a girl of five who had neither father nor mother. He may have been the brother of the girl's grandfather.

No less striking than the above figures are the following.

In the age group ranging from less than one year to 14, there were 26 males and 29 females, that is to say, 55 individuals of both sexes.

[Text continues on p. 49]

Lifeline--SP E-5 (1936,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapleaf SP22

W2
621

| | MALES | | | | FEMALES | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Individuals | Married | Sons | Daughters | Individuals | Married | Sons | Daughters |
| Less than 1 year | — | — | — | — | 2 | — | — | — |
| 1-2 years | 1 | — | — | — | 2 | — | — | — |
| 3-5 years | 9 | — | — | — | 7 | — | — | — |
| 6-10 years | 7 | — | — | — | 11 | — | — | — |
| 11-14 years | 9 | — | — | — | 7 | 6 | — | — |
| 15-17 years | 5 | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 18-20 years | 9 | 8 | — | 2 | 6 | 6 | — | — |
| 21-25 years | 11 | 10 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 2 |
| 26-30 years | 5 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 9 | 4 | 10 |
| 31-35 years | 8 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 2 |
| 36-40 years | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 41-45 years | 2 | 2 | 1 | — | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| 46-50 years | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| 56-60 years | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | 2 | — |
| Total | 69 | 35 | 6 | 14 (16) | 61 | 35 | 16 | 16 |

162 621 In the age group ranging from 15 to 30, there were 30 males and 20 females, that is, 50 individuals of both sexes.

In the age group ranging from 31 to 60, there were 13 males and 12 females, that is to say, 25 individuals of both sexes. Only two among them were older than 45, one woman who was 48 and one who was 60.

There was not a single individual older than 60.

The most striking fact is the small number of individuals over 30 years of age. On the other hand, the number of individuals younger than 15 is not, in proportion, as small as the corresponding group among certain "civilized" peoples. [Ed., the remainder of p. 187 is omitted.]

[103:188] The 35 Tampiitsua couples included 20 where [582] the husband appeared to be older than the wife, 12 where the opposite seemed to be the case, and three where they seemed to be of the same age. I say "appeared to be older" to acknowledge minor inaccuracies in reckoning people's ages, even though I did not do this alone but in collaboration with Mr. Kegel, who had more points of reference than I because he had observed these Indians for several years.

592 162 The following table shows the number, sex, and age of the occupants of each house indicated on the ground plan of the village. [Table appears here.]

621 166 I heard in 1935, and published in 1937, that the Tapirapé formerly had five villages whose descendants make up the present population of Tampiitsua (cf. Baldus 17, 86). Wagley (2, 408-409) confirmed this, adding (4, 5) that those five villages "probably existed as late as the turn of the century and are said to have had a population of about 200 people each." He also refers (ibid.) [731] to epidemics as the only cause for the abandonment of these villages. I have already mentioned that in the case of the village [648] abandoned in 1932 fear of the Kayapó must have been a contributing factor. It is worth noting the explanation given for the move of 756 the occupants of three other villages to Tampiitsua: there were 166 no médicos-feiticeiros [Tr., sorcerers--medicine men] left 621 among them. This might, of course, have occurred as the result of an epidemic. The interesting fact, however, is that the Tapirapé did not mention disease but the lack of pagés [Tr., shamans] as the reason for abandoning the villages. Nothing could

[Text continues on p.42]

| | MALES | | | FEMALES | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Under 15 | 15 and over | Total | Under 15 | 15 and over | Total | Total Number of Occupants |
| House a | 2 | 12 | 14 | 8 | 9 | 17 | 31 |
| House b | 2 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 13 |
| House c | 2 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 8 |
| House d | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| House e | 5 | 9 | 14 | 7 | 6 | 13 | 27 |
| House f | 3 | 4 | 7 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 12 |
| House g | 4 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 9 |
| House h | 2 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 2 | 8 | 14 |
| Takasa | 5 | 3 | 8 | - | - | - | 8 |
| Total | 26 | 43 | 69 | 29 | 32 | 61 | 130 |

842 of years that had elapsed since my way in Tampiitaua. He also noted that Vuanomanchi was playing the part of the boy's father. And Vuanomanchi had been my close friend in 1938.

A few weeks later, Wagley learned that the "child's spirit" is brought to the woman by a good shaman in the course of the journeys he is wont to make in his dreams. The Tapirapé were familiar with my capacity to "dream from Tampiitaua to São Paulo," that is, to make that long trip while my body was asleep in a hammock in Kamaiurahó's house. They did not doubt that I
[123] was a great shaman. Obviously, therefore, they considered me capable of bringing children's spirits. The fact that I was regarded as the carrier of the spirit of Vuanomanchi's son must have been, first and foremost, an acknowledgement of the tie of sympathy between this Indian and myself.

Contrary to some other Indians, such as the Guaikuru described
845 by Sánchez Labrador (II, 30), who kill newborn twins, the Tapirapé
842 like such dual births. Husbands and wives in this Tupi tribe eat
[171] linked bananas in order to give birth to twins, preferably of opposite sex. They call both the twins and those double bananas apekumia, and this term is also used when there are three bananas within one skin. Kamaiurahó said with reference to such a triple banana that it consisted of one boy and two girls. The Tapirapé had never heard of a triple human birth.

In view of their behavior toward twins, it might be assumed
171 that the vagrant life of the Guaikuru led them to infanticide, while
847 the Tapirapé, as farmers tied to the soil, like to have several children and save all those who are born. The way of life of those hunting and herding Indians of the Paraguay basin contributed to their custom of killing some of the newborn babies. On the other
847 hand, it seems that the Tapirapé do not allow every child to live, either. According to what I was told, they think that it is bad for a couple to have more than three children and more than two of the same sex, and hence kill those who are in excess of these numbers. Wagley and Galvão (3, 172) confirm this, adding that the child who is to be killed is buried in a hole dug for the afterbirth inside the
162 house. As was shown in Chapter 5, in Tampiitaua in 1935 there was only one couple with three children who were issue of that same marriage, and none with more. The children were a boy [123:56]

of about four, a girl of about 11, and another girl of less than a year. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

We see, therefore, that the Tapirapé resemble the Karajá and Kayapó, as well as Indians of the upper Xingu basin, the Tupinambá, and other Tupi tribes, in practicing the couvade. [Ed., end of Vol. 123.]

[124:139] In Tapirapé, herang means "name" and corresponds to the word hêra cited by Montoya (2, II, 154) and cêra by Sandelli (413). The inhabitants of Tampiitsua told me that, among them, it is the mother who gives the newborn baby a name and who perforates the lower lip and ear lobes of a boy with a bone pin at dawn of the day following birth. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

No two or more Tapirapé ever bear the same name at the same time. I was able to discover the meaning of only a few. Animal names prevail among the women. In 1935 there was a woman over 40 years old whose name was Purangkeí, that is, "little electric eel." Another, about 35 years old, was called Tamamaí, or "great anteater" with [124:140] the addition of the diminutive i, and an old woman of about 45 had the name Anampaí, anampá being a fresh-water eel. A girl of 11 was called Chanevuyra, that is, "fresh-water ray," and another girl of six Tanchahó, the name of the white-lipped peccary. In 1947 there was a year-old girl whose name, Kaí, is that of the capuchin monkey. Among the men, I only found one in 1935 whose name I could identify with that of an animal, and it was a generic name, Vuyraí, "little bird," a somewhat humorous appellation in view of the man's thick, robust body. Other translatable names, aside from those of animals, are Kanuana, belonging to an eight-year-old girl, meaning "thunder" and "gourd rattle," and the names of two boys I knew in 1947, who were two and four years old, respectively, Yvynaí, "wind," and Ekonomíchinga, "white boy."

According to Gabriel Soares de Souza (370), the Tupinambá bore the names of "animals, fish, birds, trees, foods, weapons and various other things," according to Staden (r 1) of "forest animals," and according to Vicente de Salvador (41) of "animals, plants, or whatever chances to come before their eyes."

This last author also notes about those Indians that "... they do not regard killing as prowess unless they break heads, even

/406 cont./

114 On the campo path from the first meeting place, which was later
[319] joined by the second coming from the left, we reached a large
[361] village on the second day of the land march, two smaller villages
[312] on the third day, all three abandoned and in utter ruins. Water was not to be found on the campo on which the villages were located; the swamps and brooks to which paths led were dried out and, when excavated, in part to a depth of one meter, did not even yield moist earth, to say nothing of water.

131 On the basis of the discoveries and observations that I
133 made at these places, I formed the following opinion. The tribe lives on the high campo that extends from the southern bend of the Tapirapé to the north as far as the high mountains (or plateau borders) that enclose it in the north and west. In front of these borders there extends a tremendous trough, apparently the source region of the Tapirapé, which from there flows around out of the high campo in the west and south, then turns off to the north-
[361] east. /407/ Here, approximately 130 kilometers due west from
[162] the Tapirapé mouth, the tribe lives in one large and two smaller
361 villages during the rainy season. The large village seemed to have had three to four houses; the second, smaller one, two to
[342] three; the third perhaps the same number. The houses were in such a state of ruin that their construction was no longer recognizable; apparently they were large rectangular buildings with a pointed gable roof. The villages lie close to the large forest
[133] area that accompanies the trough in front of the mountains. All around in smaller troughs extend large swamps to which brooks
221 lead. During the dry season these water areas dry up completely, so that even holes up to a meter deep in the brook bed do not yield moist earth. As a result, the Indians are compelled to migrate to water areas, and apparently they then first seek the
[437] upper Tapirapé. In former times they seem to have come farther downstream to a certain place where they met the Karajá, who extended their fishing expeditions this far, and traded with them. This trading place lies about 30 kilometers southeast of the first village (34 kilometers from the second and third). As
[204] a result of the conflicts with the Karajá, they now avoid this

121 [122] [137] Having been invited by Dr. Modesto Denotini Dias da Cruz, Director of the Indian Service, to represent the São Paulo Museum and the Free School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo on the team be organized to inspect the Indian posts and to explore certain areas of central Brazil, I imparted to him in a report dated October 21, 1947, the observations made in the course of the journey carried out during the months of June, July, and August of the same year, as well as a few suggestions on the matter. The following pages are a reproduction of this report with a few modifications and additions.

## 1. The Tapirapé

162 621 On July 19, 1947, we counted 62 inhabitants in the Tapirapé village of Tampiitsúa, 59 of whom were subjected to a medical examination by my traveling companion, Dr. Haroldo Cândido de Oliveira. The following table provides the age and sex ratios:

| | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 years and under | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| from 6 to 15 years | 7 | 3 | 10 |
| from 16 to 30 years | 14 | 17 | 31 |
| over 30 years old | 6 | 4 | 10 |
| Total | 32 | 27 | 59 |

It is to be assumed that the three who evaded the examination were boys. In addition, we found at Pôrto Velho a Tapirapé woman over 30 years old who was living among the frontier people.

In 1935, Tampiitsúa had 130 inhabitants, 69 of them male and 61 female.

It should be mentioned that since that time certain individuals [166] have emigrated to Txitxutsúa, another Tapirapé village located quite a distance away. Their number, however, seems to be inferior to that of persons who have moved from there to Tampiitsúa. According to various [138] reports, Txitxutsúa is much smaller than this village, so that today the entire Tapirapé tribe probably does not exceed 100 members. [167]

162 What unites us in the above table is, on the one hand, the small number of children in relation to adults (18 individuals through 15 years of age and 41 over 15 years of age), and, on the other hand, [465] the brevity of the life span (only ten individuals were over 20). Only one man and one woman were slightly over 40.

According to the reports that I received in October, 1947, from [115] Mr. Valentim Gomes, the man in charge of the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres, and from Father M. H. Lalong at Conceição do Araguaia, the numerical ratios listed above underwent modifications [726] caused by the Kaiapó [Cayapo] attack on Tampitéua at the end of August, in the course of which three women were killed and two women and one boy were abducted. Of the 59 individuals examined, therefore, there remained 32 males and 22 females.

[487] Aside from illness, the custom of killing newborn children under certain circumstances contributes to the decimation of the tribe.

Of the changes in Tapirapé culture which occurred since my first 178 visit 12 years ago, I wish to mention primarily the scarcity of 262 vegetable foods. The literature on these peaceful and industrious 241 Tupi Indians contains numerous references to their large plots. I may add that in the quantity and variety of their garden produce they outstripped not only the neighboring tribes but also the frontier people. In 1936, in the months of June to August, I found the village provided abundantly with the most delicious bananas, five varieties of manioc and numerous other tubers, beans, peanuts, and maize. In 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little carú [Tr., a variety of yam], or manioc cake. The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts, for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such [574] a change in the food situation affects the tribal behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality.

It is true that this may also have resulted in part from contact 177 with the neighboring Whites who have settled on the Tapirapé River [648] over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their 177 body is undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. 291 Thus, instead of satisfying the appetites of their Indian visitors, they

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 306



by Santo Inácio Peixoto in 1814 made war upon the Tenetehara. Epidemics, which raged in the early 17th century among the Indian populations of northeast Brazil, certainly reached the Tenetehara. From time to time smallpox, measles, and other diseases have taken a heavy toll among these Indians. The impact of the dominant culture upon the Tenetehara was more intense than it has been upon the Tapirapé. In addition to differences in the nature of the contact continuum, factors inherent in the society and the culture of the two tribes were responsible for the reactions of these societies to Luso-Brazilian contact and for the population trends which followed. Since the Tenetehara and the Tapirapé have historically related cultures sharing many patterns and institutions common to most Tupi speaking tribes, a comparison of the two societies and cultures should allow us to determine the variables responsible for their contrasting reactions.

The subsistence methods of the tribes were in aboriginal times basically similar. Both were tropical forest horticulturists depending upon hunting, fishing, and forest fruits to supplement their diet. For fishing, the Tenetehara had an advantage since their villages were normally situated near rivers and streams while the Tapirapé villages were located inland many kilometers from the river. In hunting, the Tapirapé had the advantage of nearby open plains country where hunting was more productive than in the tropical forest. Neither tribe had a land problem, the nearest village of the Karajá, who were Tapirapé neighbors, was at least two hundred kilometers away and the Timbira neighbors of the Tenetehara were numerous people offering no competition for forest land. Both tribes during aboriginal times had sufficient territory to move their villages every five or six years when suitable garden sites near their villages had been used up by the slash-and-burn system of horticulture. The two tribes inhabited similar physical environments and they had approximately the same technological equipment to cope with it. Their technology and their subsistence methods must have limited the maximum population of any one village and there are indications that approximately two hundred people was the average village size for both groups. On the other hand, a lack of territory evidently did not enforce a limitation on the number of villages for the tribe. Yet while the Tapirapé tell of only five villages in aboriginal times many times that number are reported by early observers for the Tenetehara. Although specific data is not available, it seems that in aboriginal times Tapirapé population was relatively small and stable while the Tenetehara population was at least twice as large and probably expanding.

This difference in population level between the two tribes in aboriginal times was related to the population policies held by the two groups as well as to differences in social structure of the groups concerned. These cultural values relating to population level are explicit in attitudes toward family size and in positive actions to limit families. Among the Tenetehara infanticide is indicated only in the case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused

115 Champuki was not the first person who came to mind when a contribution to this volume was considered. I thought of Gregorio Martin, a dignified and wise old Mayan Indian of Santiago Chimaltenango in Guatemala, who in 1937 had taught me the way of life of his people. I thought of Camirang, the dynamic young chieftain whom I had known in 1941 in a village of Tenetehara Indians along the Pindaré River in northeastern Brazil. I thought also of Nhandeca, a gifted and witty storyteller from a small Amazon community, who in 1948 introduced me to the rich folklore of the Amazon caboclo or peasant. But then, among all the people I had known in the various primitive and peasant cultures in which I have done ethnological research, I chose Champukwi, a man of no outstanding talent, yet talented all the same—a man of not the highest prestige in his society, yet admired by all. For the brief span of about a year he was my most intimate friend.

115 I knew Champukwi some 20 years ago when I lived in his small village of about 175 Tapirapé Indians in central Brazil. I must have seen him at once, for presents were distributed to the whole population on the day of my arrival in late April of 1939. But I did not distinguish Champukwi as an individual, nor did he, at first, stand out in any way from the other men of his village. His name does not appear in the notes taken during my first month among the Tapirapé.

114 For me, and even more for Valentim Gomes, the Brazilian frontiersman who was my companion and employee, the first weeks in the Village of the Tapirs, as the small settlement was known, were a period of grappling with a strange and often confusing world. The Tapirapé Indians lived between the Araguaia and Xingú Rivers, an area at that time almost entirely isolated from modern Brazil. They had been visited by only a few people from the "outside"—by one or two missionaries; by Herbert Baldus, a German-Brazilian anthropologist; and by a few frontiersmen from the Araguaia River. The nearest Brazilian settlement to the Village of the Tapirs was Furo de Pedra, a town of 400–500 persons that lay some 300 miles

62 by this missionary. There was at the time only one couple with
[49] three children, while other couples with progeny only had one or two. When Mr. Kegel was in Tampinãua in 1936, after the departure of the oft-mentioned "20" who had not yet returned in
[64] 1935, he only saw seven houses with 113 occupants. It is to be assumed that a few additional families were absent during the missionary's visit that year, for in 1935 I counted 130 Tapirapé. They were living in the seven houses seen by Mr. Kegel the
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[597] stepchildren or adopted offspring. It is possible, furthermore, that they may include step- or adopted children who were not cited as such. In this case, the number of children with a living father or mother, which is already relatively small, would be even smaller.

Among the couples who had issue from their current marriages, there was one with three children, two with two, and five with one child each.

There was a 45-year-old grandfather with a three-year-old granddaughter, and a grandmother of 60 with a granddaughter who was also three. A man of 33 said that he was the grandfather of a girl of five who had neither father nor mother. He may have been the brother of the girl's grandfather.

No less striking than the above figures are the following.

In the age group ranging from less than one year to 14, there were 26 males and 29 females, that is to say, 55 individuals of both sexes.

[Text continues on p. 40]

114 and from December of the same year until May, 1940.
115 A few Tapirapé accompanied the Dominicans and Mr. Kegel to the Araguaia and stayed briefly in the settlements of the Fathers and of the Evangelical missionary.

Considering all the various contacts that the Tapirapé have
M had with the Whites, it is clearly impossible to determine the in-
797 fluence of each one of them. True, I was able to identify certain melodies as having been imported by Reverend Kegel and to determine the origin of some beads, clothes, and iron tools. The source of the vague allusions to Jesus Christ, however, had already become undecipherable owing to the number and variety of catechists and other visitors who might have mentioned the subject. Iron tools had already been introduced by the Karajá long before the arrival of the rubber gatherers from Ceará. And non-autochthonous plants, such as certain varieties of the banana, have been cultivated by the Tapirapé from time immemorial.
[64] Also, the diseases of European origin had already reached the Tupí tribe, probably through indirect contact with the Whites, that is to say, through other Indians.

If we look at the total influence of the Whites, both direct
M and indirect, we may say that it has impoverished Tapirapé culture. The iron tools make it easier to farm and to manufacture various implements, but the need to replace them constantly makes the Indians who become used to them dependent on our civilization. No such consequence derived from the introduction of sugar cane and other plants, but these remain unessential in view of the successful cultivation of numerous autochthonous plants. It is worth noting, incidentally, that while iron tools have replaced previous implements made of other materials, they have not changed the traditional division of labor between the sexes. Nor do traits of European origin appear as fertilizing elements in other areas of the culture, such as ornamentation, house building, diet, industry, or the concept of the supernatural. Metal spoons are found along with shells and gourds, beads along with strung seeds; a piece of our clothing is worn with body painting; a pipe with an upright bowl, in the fashion of the Whites, is used alongside the simple smoking tube; Jesus Christ is identified with a figure who appears in their mythology as the owner of large pigs and iron implements, as "captain [chief]," husband, and father.

177 All these imports from us, living alongside the traditional traits, are no more than curiosities [99-76] in the minds of the Tapirapé, curiosities hardly more important to the functioning of their culture than one of their arrows or legends would be to the average European.

177 From what I was able to observe, Reverend Kegel usually restricted himself to the teaching of songs and the administration
797 of medicines. Owing to their sporadic quality and short duration, and especially to the difficulty of communicating through words, the encounters with the Dominicans and other visitors have enriched Tapirapé culture even less. Unfruitful, too, were the attempts to wield an influence through individuals who had been taken to the Araguaia by the missionaries and who knew more about the White way of life than those who had never left tribal territory. It is well known how easily many of the Brazilian Indians educated in our civilized centers have re-adjusted to and been re-absorbed by their native environment (cf. Baldus 7, 165, and Araujo Lima 134-136). Actually, I did not see any Tapirapé who had lived with the Whites long enough to experience the conflicts of the "marginal man" of Park, Stonequist, and other American sociologists.

164 The impoverishment of Tapirapé culture was induced largely by the diseases of the Whites, but these were introduced only partly as a result of direct contact. It is probable that the neighboring Karajá, continually exposed to contagion as inhabitants of the Araguaia, frequently acted as transmitters. This at least may be assumed as regards the strange diseases which were introduced prior to direct contact with the Whites. As Wagley (2) masterfully
[114] pointed out, the catastrophic depopulation caused by the epidemics
[165] that raged around 1895 and 1900, and later ones as well, affected
[731] the social organization to such an extent that important traits of
[178] Tapirapé culture were modified or lost.

The Tapirapé often told me that in the old days their people
177 knew everything about such celestial phenomena as eclipses and
[821] about many other mythological subjects, and now know almost nothing. This may not be solely the result of the mortality caused
[731] by epidemics and by the bellicose attacks of neighboring Karajá
[126] and Kayapó. Some old people did survive. I can imagine the pressure exercised by the presence of our culture upon the minds

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[627]

It may be that the emigrants, leaving under the pressure of public opinion, stated that they were merely going on a hunt. Such a statement might have been motivated by a wish not to ruin any possibility of return with a definitive and hostile farewell. It actually seems that they returned a few years later and were not killed by the Kayapó. Wagley, indeed, told me that when he was in Tampiitáua in 1939 he heard of a Tapirapé village named Chichutáua, located six days' journey to the north and inhabited by 45 people. The inhabitants of that village appeared one fine day and joined the people of Tampiitáua, making a total of 147 [103:185] individuals (cf. Wagley 2, 409). In 1935, I counted 130 inhabitants in Tampiitáua. The discrepancy of 17 may well tally with the figure "20" for the emigrants, granting that among the total Tapirapé population the number of deaths was higher than that of births and taking into account the inadequate familiarity of this tribe with numbers. The quoted figure of "45" relating to the number of inhabitants in Chichutáua may be explained by the fact that the population of this village had increased since 1935 with the arrival of other emigrants from Tampiitáua. When he looked at the photographs I had taken, Wagley found that a large number of the Chichutáua inhabitants had been in Tampiitáua at the time of my visit. This is a good example of "horizontal social mobility" (cf. Baldus and Willems 153).

Regarding the propensity of these Tupí Indians for splitting up, it is fitting to cite also the following case. In September, 1932, the young and forceful "capitain" Ikaranchó, who had quarreled with Kamairahó, founded a new village one league east of Tampiitáua. Reverend Kegel, to whom I owe this piece of information, visited both villages. Ikaranchó had so much energy that he managed to post well-disciplined sentries around his settlement at night. Such a precaution, taken probably on account of the Kayapó, was unheard-of among the Tapirapé. One third of the inhabitants of Tampiitáua moved to the new village. Nearly all of them were young people [Ed., the remainder of the sentence is omitted]. At the time when Ikaranchó's village was founded, camaradas of the Dominicans at Conceição transmitted to the Tapirapé, with whom they had been in contact on the river of the same name, an attack of influenza which

[115]
[721]

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apparently was aggravated by pneumonia. During the rainy season that followed, this epidemic caused great mortality throughout the tribe, also killing Iharanché and his wife. Then the expedition returned to Tampiitsua.

The eighteenth century map reproduced in this work points out with three triangles the "Aldeas do Gentio Tapirapé [villages of the Tapirapé people]." In his account of Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira's 1911 expedition, Angyone Costa (222-223) writes as follows about the Tapirapé of the time: "These Indians occupy three villages, the first one located two days' journey from the riverbank, the second one three days' away. The explorer did not visit the third one."

The following appears in the account of the Dominican expedition of 1914 printed in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosário (317): "The Tapirapé form three groups, or rather three malocas [villages], five days' journey apart. The Indians can walk 50 kilometers a day. This shows how huge is the region inhabited by such a relatively sparse tribe. The village we visited had 16 huts, each one sheltering several families. It is true that when the Fathers drew near, some of the huts were emptied, and families, urged on by a suspicious chief, ran to hide in the forest. The people we found did not exceed 160 souls, and from this it may easily be inferred that the tribe does not include more than about a thousand members."

[103:186] The note published in 1912 about Dr. Francisco Mandacaré's journey states that the Tapirapé village visited by this explorer contained 268 inhabitants and that "almost invariably, a village merely consists of a single and numerous family." The number of villages, however, is not mentioned (cf. Kissenberth 2, 43-44).

The same applies to the account of the trip by the inspector of the Indians, mentioned earlier, which only states that "some 1,000 or 1,500" Tapirapé were found (Glass, 139).

Reverend Kegel told me that in August of 1932 he found in Tampiitsua some 14 houses with slightly more than 220 occupants. These people, as we have already mentioned, split up in September, but were together again when we visited them the following year. From 50 to 60 of them died during the 1932-1933 rainy season, and only three or four children born at that time were seen by this missionary.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 304



of the Jesuits in 1759, the increased importation of African slaves into Maranhão caused the pressure for Indian slaves. Close relations with the missionaries, and later with the civil authorities and the rural Luso-Brazilian population, presented the Tenetehara with new culture patterns, new attitudes which either replaced aboriginal elements or were incorporated in their culture as alternative patterns. The missionaries urged larger families in order to have numerous converts to baptize. Warfare was prohibited in the area. (4) The Tenetehara learned that children might be useful in collecting babassu nuts for sale to Luso-Brazilians. Steel instruments and new plants (such as rice, bananas, lemons, etc.) made agriculture more productive. The sale of babassu nuts, copaiba oil, and other forest products brought the Tenetehara imported products. Although Tenetehara culture and society were modified, the aboriginal and the borrowed elements closely combined to form a new culture and a new social system which at least met the minimum requirements for survival.

Te 177 648 797 Te 439

The Tapirapé, on the other hand, have had only intermittent contact with Luso-Brazilians. Since about 1911, the Tapirapé have had occasional contact with Luso-Brazilians. A few Tapirapé have visited Luso-Brazilian settlements and missionary stations on the Araguaya River and a few Luso-Brazilians have visited Tapirapé villages. Tapirapé contact with Luso-Brazilians has been limited to relatively short periods and to small groups of people. They have acquired a few axes, hoes, some salt, cloth, beads and other material objects from their occasional visitors but, on the whole, their culture was little modified by borrowed patterns and elements from Luso-Brazilians. Yet the presence of Luso-Brazilians brought about a crucial modification in their environment. With the arrival of Luso-Brazilians in the area, the Tapirapé were subjected to a series of foreign diseases. If the memory of older Tapirapé informants may be trusted, foreign diseases (common colds, measles, and smallpox) came at first via the neighboring Karajá sometime before their first meeting with Luso-Brazilians. Since about 1911 to 1914, however foreign diseases acquired directly from Luso-Brazilians, has steadily decimated the Tapirapé. Unlike the Tenetehara, before the Tapirapé were presented with a broad segment of Luso-Brazilians culture, which might have provided them with alternative patterns and values with which they might have made adjustments to their new circumstances, they have been practically wiped out.

Ta 177 648 Ta 439 Ta 61 164 648

Still, the difference in population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact of these two tribes cannot be explained entirely in terms of the differences in the contact continuum. The first fifty years of contact between the Tenetehara and Europeans was more violent than anything the Tapirapé have experienced. In the early 17th century organized slave raiding parties penetrated into Tenetehara territory and armed forces such as the one led

Te 177 648

(4) There are no indications that the Tenetehara shared the warfare-cannibalism complex of the Tupinambá, but the lower reaches of the Mearim-Grajaú-Pindaré River system and the Island of Maranhão at its mouth were inhabited by Tupinambá groups. Métraux (1948) p. 95 ff. See also Fernandes (1948).

Te [171] [101]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

# THE TAPIRAPÉ

By Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvão

## INTRODUCTION

Isolated from other *Tupi-Guarani*-speaking people, the *Tapirapé* live in Central Brazil, west of the Araguaya River and north of the Tapirapé River, a western tributary flowing into the Araguaya near the northern tip of the Island of Bananal (lat. 2° S., long. 52° W.). According to tradition, the *Tapirapé* lived for a time on the banks of the Araguaya and Javahé Rivers with the *Carajá*. They quarreled, and the *Tapirapé* moved west to their present territory (map 1, *No. 1;* see Volume 1, map 7). At the beginning of last century, five *Tapirapé* villages formed a line stretching northward into *Ceyapó* country beginning at a point a few miles back from the Tapirapé River about 150 miles from its mouth. The *Tapirapé* have always been at war with the *Ceyapó*, except for a brief period. Each of these villages contained at least 200 individuals with a total *Tapirapé* population of about 1,000. Since 1900, however, there has been a terrific reduction of *Tapirapé* population.

In 1939, there was only one remaining *Tapirapé* village situated about 20 miles north of the Tapirapé River with a total population of 147 people. This decline in population is basically due to disease (smallpox, respiratorial diseases, etc.) acquired either directly from Neo-Brazilians or from the *Carajá*, who are continually in contact with Neo-Brazilians. *Tapirapé* groups have been also massacred on several occasions by both the *Carajá* and *Ceyapó*.

The *Tapirapé* have had but few contacts, however, with Neo-Brazilians. Except for the demoralizing effect of depopulation, their culture has been little modified. Although stories are told of Neo-Brazilian hunters visiting the *Tapirapé* in 1909, the first registered contact with them was in 1912. During that year, Señor Mantecorb, leading an expedition of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service, visited the village nearest the Tapirapé River. In 1914, the Dominican priests visited the *Tapirapé*. From that date on, the Dominicans returned each year or so to a camp on the Tapirapé River for 3 or 4 days at a time and were met by the *Tapirapé*, to whom they distributed trade goods. About 1934, a Protestant missionary, Frederick Kiegel, made several trips, staying 2 or 3 months in a *Tapirapé* village. In 1935, the first trained ethnologist, Dr. Herbert Baldus, resided several months with the *Tapirapé*, and in 1939–40, Wagley spent 12 months with them making the study on which this article is based.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



the next two months we had daily sessions, some very brief and others lasting two or more hours. 115 123 124

In October of 1939, some six months after my arrival, I found it necessary to leave the Village of the Tapirs to go to Furo de Pedra for supplies and to collect mail that was held there for me. Valentim Gomes and I had come up the Tapirapé River, a tributary of the Araguaia, pulled by an outboard motor belonging to an anthropological colleague who had since returned to the United States. Now we had to paddle ourselves downstream. We could expect little help from the sluggish current and since the river was so low, it might be necessary to haul our canoe through shallows. Malaria had left me weak and I doubted that I was equal to this strenuous task. Several Tapirapé men, including Champukwi, were anxious to accompany us, but having Indians with us in Furo de Pedra was not advisable. First, they were susceptible to the common cold, which among relatively uncontaminated peoples such as these American aborigines often turns into a serious, and even fatal, disease. Second, unaccustomed to clothes, money, many foods, and other Brazilian customs and forms of etiquette, they would be totally dependent upon us during our stay in this frontier community. Nevertheless, the temptation to have my best informant with me during the trip and during our stay in Furo de Pedra was great and so we agreed to take Champukwi. 122 [164] [179]

The trip was made slowly. Two good frontiersmen in a light canoe could have made it in three days, but we took eight. Champukwi was of little help in the canoe; unlike the riverine tribes the Tapirapé are a forest people who know little about the water, and few of them had ever traveled by canoe. Champukwi was unusual in that he could swim. Although he had more endurance than I, his efforts at paddling endangered the equilibrium of our canoe. However, he could shoot fish with his bow and arrow. The dry season had driven game from the open savanna which borders the Tapirapé River so that we were able to kill deer, *mutum* (another species of large forest fowl), and a wild goose to supplement the less palatable fare we had brought with us. Each night we camped on a beach from which we were able to collect the eggs of a small turtle, the *tracaja*, that had been buried in the sand. Only the mosquitoes which swarmed during sundown and early evening marred our trip. The experience remains one of the most memorable 115 484 [481] [226] [224] [222] [136]

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



115 could come quietly to us at night to drink water, to ask for some-
593 thing to eat, and even to sleep in an extra hammock we had for
[837] visitors. His affairs were evidently extensive, for he once divided all of the adult women of the village into two categories—those "I know how to talk with" (i.e., to seduce) and those "I do not know how to talk with." There were many with whom he "could talk."

115 Unfortunately, by late November of 1939, I knew too much about
123 Champukwi's affairs either for his comfort or for mine. His wife
578 sometimes came to my house to ask if I knew where he had gone
[837] (I could generally guess), and once an irate husband even came to inquire of his whereabouts. His Don Juan activities had evidently increased. His friendship with me caused him trouble with other Tapirapé who were envious of the presents he received. The story was circulated that he had stolen a pair of scissors which, in fact,
[164] I had given to him. Moreover, several people caught colds, and he was accused of bringing the infection from Furo de Pedra (actually it was probably transmitted by the frontiersman who had helped transport us to the village in November). Champukwi sought
[345] revenge by cutting down one of the main supports of the men's
[358] house, which promptly caved in. No one died or was seriously injured and the destruction of the men's house was soon forgotten since it is normally rebuilt each year. However, people continued to criticize Champukwi, much of their criticism revolving around his
[984] relationship with me. There are no realms of esoteric secrets in Tapi-
[562] rapé culture (as there are in many cultures) that must not be re-
[996] vealed to an outsider; there is only the "secret" of the men from the women that the masked dancers are not supernatural beings but merely masquerading men, but I had been fully and openly brought into this "secret." I was, moreover, exceedingly careful in conversation never to refer to any bit of personal information that some
[203] informant, Champukwi or another, had told me. But rumors were rife in the small village—that I was angry and would soon leave (I was by then a valuable asset), that Champukwi told me lies about others, that I refused to give a bushknife to a household leader because Champukwi had urged me not to do so (I refused because I had already given him one bushknife), and the like.

115 Champukwi reacted moodily, often violently, to this situation. I
123 could no longer count on his visits nor on our research interviews. He now visited us with a glum look on his face, and when he was

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



morning we embarked downriver. My last memory of Champukwi was of him standing on the bank waving in *tori* style until our boat made the curve of the river.

I did not return to visit the Tapirapé until 1953, but news of them came to me at intervals. Valentim Gomes returned to the region in 1941 as an officer of the Brazilian Indian Service, and his post was charged with the protection of the Tapirapé Indians. In his first year in this capacity, he wrote me: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the 26th of July [1941]. They were in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, and the like. There were plenty of bananas. But I am sorry to say that after we left them, twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Champukwi, the best informant in the village, and our best friend." Several slow exchanges of letters brought further details from Valentim. In some manner, perhaps through a visit from a Brazilian frontiersman, several Tapirapé had contracted common colds. Its fatalness to them is indicated by the name they give it—*ó-ó* (*ó* is the augmentative which might be translated as "big, big"). Since they have no knowledge of the process of contagion and have not acquired immunity to the common cold, the disease spread rapidly throughout the village. The Tapirapé realized, I knew, that colds and other diseases such as measles which they had suffered before, were derived from visitors. Yet they also believed that death resulted from evil magic or sorcery. Why do some people who are very sick from colds get well, they asked, while others who are no more ill, soon die? It is only because those who die are the victims of sorcery, they had explained to me. So, following many deaths, including that of a young man like Champukwi, who enjoyed prestige and had many kinsmen, I was not surprised to learn from Valentim Gomes that the powerful shaman, Urukumu, had been assassinated. As Champukwi had told me, suspicion of Urukumu had already been growing even during my residence in the village. After the death of Champukwi, one of his many "brothers" (actually a cousin but called by the same term as brother in Tapirapé) had entered Urukumu's house late at night and clubbed him to death. To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related

177 All those imports from us, living alongside the traditional traits, are no more than curiosities [99:76] in the minds of the Tapirapé, curiosities hardly more important to the functioning of their culture than one of their arrows or legends would be to the average European.

From what I was able to observe, Reverend Kegel usually
177 restricted himself to the teaching of songs and the administration
797 of medicines. Owing to their sporadic quality and short duration, and especially to the difficulty of communicating through words, the encounters with the Dominicans and other visitors have enriched Tapirapé culture even less. Unfruitful, too, were the attempts to wield an influence through individuals who had been taken to the Araguaia by the missionaries and who knew more about the White way of life than those who had never left tribal territory. It is well known how easily many of the Brazilian Indians educated in our civilized centers have re-adjusted to and been re-absorbed by their native environment (cf. Baldus 7, 165, and Araujo Lima 134-135). Actually, I did not see any Tapirapé who had lived with the Whites long enough to experience the conflicts of the "marginal man" of Park, Stonequist, and other American sociologists.

The impoverishment of Tapirapé culture was induced large-
164 ly by the diseases of the Whites, but these were introduced only partly as a result of direct contact. It is probable that the neighboring Karajá, continually exposed to contagion as inhabitants of the Araguaia, frequently acted as transmitters. This at least may be assumed as regards the strange diseases which were introduced prior to direct contact with the Whites. As Wagley (2) masterfully
[114] pointed out, the catastrophic depopulation caused by the epidemics
[165] that raged around 1895 and 1900, and later ones as well, affected
[731] the social organization to such an extent that important traits of
[178] Tapirapé culture were modified or lost.

The Tapirapé often told me that in the old days their people
177 knew everything about such celestial phenomena as eclipses and
[821] about many other mythological subjects, and now know almost nothing. This may not be solely the result of the mortality caused
[731] by epidemics and by the bellicose attacks of neighboring Karajá
[726] and Kayapó. Some old people did survive. I can imagine the pressure exercised by the presence of our culture upon the minds

164 apparently was aggravated by pneumonia. During the rainy season
731 that followed, this epidemic caused great mortality throughout
[165] the tribe, also killing Ikaranchó and his wife. Then the separa-
[166] tists returned to Tampiitáua.

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361 out with three triangles the "Aldeas do Gentio Tapirapé [ villages of the Tapirapé people]." In his account of Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira's 1911 expedition, Angyone Costa (222-223) writes as follows about the Tapirapé of the time: "These Indians occupy three villages, the first one located two days' journey from the riverbank, the second one three days' away. The explorer did not visit the third one."

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Reverend Kegel told me that in August of 1932 he found in
[161] Tampiitáua some 14 houses with slightly more than 220 occupants. These people, as we have already mentioned, split up in September, but were together again when we visited them the following year. From 50 to 60 of them died during the 1932-1933 rainy
[165] season, and only three or four children born at that time were seen by this missionary.

844 poles. A large pot full of water is placed nearby to wash the mother and child. If the confinement is difficult, a woman presses the mother's belly until the child comes out. The baby is received in the arms of another woman who waits beneath the mother. The umbilical cord is severed with a cane shiver, and the afterbirth is buried. Both father and mother abstain from any food for one day. Both stay in their nets "until the loss of blood 846 ceases, that is, often for several days." There are no food absten- [843] tions for the future parents prior to the birth. For about two years 262 after the birth of the child, the parents give up peanuts and 784 bananas. In addition, the father frequently abstains from those animal foods that are never eaten by the woman, especially tapir, marsh deer, rhea, and alligator, until the child is almost six years [756] old. Only if he is a shaman may he eat of everything. The wife of a shaman, however, does not share this privilege.

The Tapirapé believe that the child will die if these absten- [761] tions are not observed. They say that in this case death would not be caused by an evil sorcerer, as they usually believe, but by the food that should not be consumed and that turns evil when it is eaten. And they add that in such cases the Whites have many medicines that might save the child, while the Tapirapé do not have any, and so among them the child would be lost. [123:54] When I offered them deer meat, which is coveted by all Tampiitaua men (perhaps because it is a type of game that, although abundant, is seldom killed without firearms), it was not accepted by the fathers of one-year-old children. Even Urukumy who, as a shaman, could have eaten the meat, was careful to pass it on to someone else after courteously accepting it from me.

The abstention from bananas and peanuts is impressive when we consider the important role played by these foods in the Tapirapé [165] diet. It is possible that the high mortality among children during the first two years of life may have led to such onerous rules. [755] Actually, these Indians assert that their Karajá neighbors and the Whites eat of anything when their child is ill, while Tapirapé parents, in such cases, subsist exclusively on mahioc flour and maize and manioc cauí, even when the child is older than six.

171 The behavior of Indian parents toward the newborn recalls to 946 some extent a custom of the colonists of São Bonifácio, in the state of Santa Catarina, who come for the most part from Westphalia.

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



Tapirape River. They have had only sporadic contact with Europeans. About 1909, the first Brazilians visited them in their village, and, each July or August since 1914, the Dominican priests meet them at a port on the Tapirape River and bring them presents—axes, hoes, salt, etc. Between 1930 and 1935, a Scotch Protestant missionary made three trips to the village, staying there two to three months at a stretch. During the dry season, the Tapirape regularly go down to the river for fishing and collecting turtle eggs and to wait in hope that the Dominican priests will come with a new supply of presents. There they sometimes meet trappers and hunters, and occasionally a Brazilian hunter will make the long trip to their village as an adventure, or—rarely— a Tapirape will go back with a missionary or hunter to the Araguaya—some 200 miles away—and return to the village loaded with presents and tall stories. These few contacts, the only ones which these people have had with Europeans, have nevertheless affected the Tapirape culture profoundly and in many ways. For lack of time, however, I shall describe only the effects resulting from the introduction of foreign diseases, which even antedated European contact, and the consequent wiping out of the great part of the Tapirape population.

In the memory of one Tapirape informant, there were five villages (about 1890), each of which must have contained well over two hundred people. The introduction of smallpox about 1895[3] caused one village to disband, since most of the inhabitants had died. About 1900, another European disease, probably influenza, caused a second village to break up through loss of people. Yellow fever must have taken its toll among the Tapirape at various times, as it did among the neighboring Caraja Indians, and, in 1920, the world-wide influenza epidemic came belatedly to the Araguaya and on to the Tapirape. In 1932, the survivors of a third village, depopulated by disease, joined the most southern village, Tampitawa, and, during my residence there in 1939, the survivors of a fourth village joined us. As a result of this wholesale depopulation from disease, there remained only one village

[3] Probably through the Caraja.

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



and only 147 inhabitants. This is an extraordinary example of the ravages of European diseases among a native American people.

Tampitawa (Village of the Tapir) is composed, therefore, of a residue from all of the five original villages. All of the customs and ceremony attached to inter-village relations have of course disappeared. People remember their former village affiliation, or that of their parents. They still speak of a person as being "the son of Fish Village," but village loyalty, once strong, has disappeared. Formerly, villages were basically endogamous, but some marriage outside of the village did take place. Today, only three people can say that they are descendants of people from Tapir Village. Ancient inter-village antagonism existed, especially between Tapir and the village which joined with it in 1900. Today, this conflict is only remembered under the stress of some quarrel and is referred to only as a taunt.

Depopulation has had little effect on the economic life of the Tapirapé. They are basically a forest agricultural people with large plantations. Manioc is their staple. Plantations are large enough, and the economic organization fluid enough, to allow for the support of large numbers of refugees for a year or so until they can make gardens for themselves. Refugees have joined one of the large households, at present eight, each with some twenty-five to thirty people. Formerly these households were matrilineal groups headed by a man of high prestige. His wife's relatives formed the matrilineal group and he demanded labor from his numerous sons-in-law (husbands of daughters of wife, including extended "daughters"). The coming of refugees disrupted these matrilocal households. If a refugee woman lacked a close female kin, her husband often arranged for habitation with a friend or a relative of his. Men of high status offered the hospitality of their houses to incoming men of rank. Today, therefore, many reassortments of relatives live under one roof, and two and even three separate groups of female relatives live under as many older men, whereas formerly they would have formed one household under the leadership of one household head. In no one case, does a man control a complete household as he would have done under the old system.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



The eight living men (*marántxunkanera* or "killers") who had 683
killed *pančés* attest to the frequency of revenge killing of shamans because of suspected sorcery. Within the memory of one informant, Kamairá, who was approximately forty years old, ten shamans had been killed (14). During his youth he had killed a shaman, *Pančewáni*, because he believed him responsible for his younger brother's death. Going to the shaman's house the second night after his brother's death, Kamairá found the shaman asleep and killed him with several arrows through the abdomen. According to various informants, the epidemic of deaths that had been occuring then came to a halt, thus proving *Pančewáni*'s guilt. In another case the killer hid in the forest and shot the suspected shaman as he passed on his way to his garden: still another shaman was clubbed to death as he sat with his family in the village plaza. Two living "killers" had murdered women shamans by [756
clubbing them to death. *Kučanančé* (*kučan*, woman; *pančé*, shaman) 562]
generally die by violence, according to informants; women shamans "are dangerous". They dream more than men [shamans] and they kill many Tapirapé [in dreams]", said one man. Ironically, all three of the more powerful shamans living today, at least two of whom are currently in danger because they are considered powerful enough to be suspected of "evil dreaming", murdered shamans during their youth (15).

Informants could not remember any one occasion when a shaman 593
thus murdered was avenged by his relatives; yet informants did say that 683
a shaman with several adult brothers — true siblings — strong enough 756

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(14) The span of this man's life has seen the tremendous depopulation of [161]
the Tapirapé from imported diseases; thus it represents an abnormal period with more than the usual number of deaths and perhaps, therefore, an unusual number of revenge murders of shamans.

(15) As I write this paper, a letter comes from Valentim Gomes, my guide, and companion during both trips to the Tapirapé. I quote in part this letter translated from Portuguese: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the twenty-sixth of July [1941]. They were all in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, etc. — There were few bananas".

"But I am sorry to say that after we left them [in May, 1940] twenty-nine [165]
adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Campukwi, the best informant in the village. Also Urukumu had been killed by the young Tapirapé I called Antonio". (During my stay the Tapirapé had several times spoken of the necessity of liquidating Urukumu and several had predicted that it would occur).

162 What strikes us in the above table is, on the one hand, the small number of children in relation to adults (18 individuals through 15 years of age and 41 over 15 years of age), and, on the other hand, [165] the brevity of the life span (only ten individuals were over 30). Only one man and one woman were slightly over 40.

According to the reports that I received in October, 1947, from [115] Mr. Valentim Gomes, the man in charge of the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres, and from Father M. H. Lelong at Conceição do Araguaia, the numerical ratios listed above underwent modifications [726] caused by the Kaiapó [Cayapo] attack on Tampiitáua at the end of August, in the course of which three women were killed and two women and one boy were abducted. Of the 59 individuals examined, therefore, there remained 31 males and 22 females.

Aside from illness, the custom of killing newborn children under [847] certain circumstances contributes to the decimation of the tribe.

Of the changes in Tapirapé culture which occurred since my first 178 visit 12 years ago, I wish to mention primarily the scarcity of 262 vegetable foods. The literature on these peaceful and industrious 241 Tupi Indians contains numerous references to their large plots. I may add that in the quantity and variety of their garden produce they outstripped not only the neighboring tribes but also the frontier people. In 1935, in the months of June to August, I found the village provided abundantly with the most delicious bananas, five varieties of manioc and numerous other tubers, beans, peanuts, and maize. In 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little cará [Tr., a variety of yam], or manioc cake. The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts, for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such [574] a change in the food situation affects the tribal behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality.

It is true that this may also have resulted in part from contact 177 with the neighboring Whites who have settled on the Tapirapé River [648] over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their 177 body is undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. 291 Thus, instead of satisfying the appetites of their Indian visitors, they

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara SO 6



Ta 262 Te 262 168 "hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is (and was in the past) just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size. Ta 168 183 262 Population control among the Tapirapé seems no to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

Ta 161 168 182 [165] This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new disease for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid Te 161 168 182 [165] population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Te Ta 596 591 612 Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapé, on the other Ta 616 561 hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial moieties limited to men. Each moiety was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the Ta Ta 476 264 574 616 [796] [535] pirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's moieties and age grades and the "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic prodution and distribuition. The masked dances with impersonation of

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



Tapirapé village which he would have hesitated to relate on home grounds. He told me of adulterous affairs in process and of the growing determination among one group of kinsmen to assassinate Urukumu, the powerful medicine man, because they suspected him of performing death-dealing sorcery.

After two weeks in Furo de Pedra, I found that it would be necessary for Valentim Gomes and me to go to Rio de Janeiro. It was not possible for Champukwi to accompany us and so I arranged for two Brazilian frontiersmen to return him to a point on the Tapirapé River from which he could easily hike to his village in a day. Valentim and I then began our slow trip up the Araguaia River to the motor road and thence to Rio de Janeiro. Two months later, rid of malaria and with a new stock of supplies, we returned to spend the long rainy months from November until the end of May in the Village of the Tapirs. Champukwi was there to welcome us, and he came each day to help repair and enlarge our house. We easily fell into our former friendly relationship, now strengthened by the experience in common of the trip to Furo de Pedra and by the feeling which many anthropologists have shared with the people of their communities—that anyone who returns is an "old friend."

My return to the village that November marked, in a sense, the end of what might be called the first phase of my relationship with Champukwi as friend and as anthropological informant. During the course of at least 200 hours of conversation (many of which may be methodologically dignified as interviews), I had learned much about Champukwi as a person as well as about Tapirapé culture. I knew that as a small boy he had come from Fish Village, where his parents had died, to live in the Village of the Tapirs. He had lived with his father's younger brother, Kamaira, who was the leader of a large household. He even confided to me his boyhood name; Tapirapé change their names several times during their lifetimes and mention of a person's first childhood name, generally that of a fish, an animal, or simply descriptive of some personal characteristic, causes laughter among the audience and considerable embarrassment to the individual. I knew that Champukwi had been married before he took his current wife, and that his first wife had died in childbirth. He revealed that her kinsmen had gossiped that her death was caused by his lack of respect for the food taboos imposed

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



morning we embarked downriver. My last memory of Champukwi was of him standing on the bank waving in *tori* style until our boat made the curve of the river.

I did not return to visit the Tapirapé until 1953, but news of them came to me at intervals. Valentim Gomes returned to the region in 1941 as an officer of the Brazilian Indian Service, and his post was charged with the protection of the Tapirapé Indians. In his first year in this capacity, he wrote me: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the 26th of July [1941]. They were in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, and the like. There were plenty of bananas. But I am sorry to say that after we left them, twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Champukwi, the best informant in the village, and our best friend." Several slow exchanges of letters brought further details from Valentim. In some manner, perhaps through a visit from a Brazilian frontiersman, several Tapirapé had contracted common colds. Its fatalness to them is indicated by the name they give it—*ó-ó* (*ó* is the augmentative which might be translated as "big, big"). Since they have no knowledge of the process of contagion and have not acquired immunity to the common cold, the disease spread rapidly throughout the village. The Tapirapé realized, I knew, that colds and other diseases such as measles which they had suffered before, were derived from visitors. Yet they also believed that death resulted from evil magic or sorcery. Why do some people who are very sick from colds get well, they asked, while others who are no more ill, soon die? It is only because those who die are the victims of sorcery, they had explained to me. So, following many deaths, including that of a young man like Champukwi, who enjoyed prestige and had many kinsmen, I was not surprised to learn from Valentim Gomes that the powerful shaman, Urukumu, had been assassinated. As Champukwi had told me, suspicion of Urukumu had already been growing even during my residence in the village. After the death of Champukwi, one of his many "brothers" (actually a cousin but called by the same term as brother in Tapirapé) had entered Urukumu's house late at night and clubbed him to death. To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related

To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *iwúterahú*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of

171 Xingu headwaters, writes that the dance of the jacuí ("yakuí") is
535 "original to" the Auetõ and Kamayurá [Camayura], that is, the
[114] Tupí tribes of the Culuene basin and thus the eastern part of that region which is separated from Tapirapé territory by the waters of the Xingu and the Araguaia. Furthermore, [100:192] both the Auetõ and the Kamayurá had two kinds of masked dances, the dance of the jacuí and that of a fish called koahálu among the former and hũvát among the latter (ibid., 310-317). True, the masks used by those tribes (ibid., Figs. 107-114) differ completely from the masks made by the Tapirapé. In addition, what little may be inferred from the brief references to the dancing and songs of those Xingu Indians (ibid., 313-315) discloses no similarity to the chankuí and iranchá performances. On the other hand, the Tapirapé also differ from the Karajá in the design of their masks, their songs, and their dance motions.

Thus, the complex of masked dances that extends between the Xingu and the Araguaia assumes special forms in each of the above-mentioned tribes, and these forms, although they hint at a mutual relationship, do not reveal which of the tribes was the first to use masks or where it got the idea to do so. It can only be said
[648] that there are no historical data to substantiate contact between the Tapirapé and the tribes of the Culuene basin, while age-old relations between the Tapirapé and the Karajá are thoroughly documented. [Ed., the remainder of this section in Vol. 100, pp. 192-198, and the section in Vol. 101, pp. 67-75, are omitted.]

[102:123] While in Tampiitáua no one bothered with the
648 neighboring Kyrydjá [Tr., Ge-speaking, in this case Chavante] to the south, the Kayapó neighboring on the north, called Kananchahó, were mentioned frequently and with feeling. When dealing with the "Karajá of the Xingu," I referred to them and to the fear they inspire. I was informed that in 1932 they had de-
[726] stroyed a large Tapirapé village located "ten days' march" north of Tampiitáua and killed most of its inhabitants. According to
[731] other reports, an epidemic depopulated that village and compelled the survivors to abandon it. No matter what the cause of this
648 mortality may have been, fear of the Kananchahó undoubtedly con-
166 tributed to the desire of the survivors to put as much distance as possible between themselves and these neighbors and to take refuge in the southernmost village of their tribe, that is Tampiitáua. The

648 same feeling, the same fear of the Kananchahó, aroused even in
166 the inhabitants of this latter village a desire to abandon it and to settle under the protection of the Whites on Bananal Island. Reverend Kegel told me that when he arrived at Porto Salvação in
797 1934 he was visited by Kamairahó who came to the river bank
166 especially to ask him to come back, to have large boats built,
648 and to take the entire tribe to Macauba. The reason for this request was fear of the Kayapó. It was assumed that they had killed 20 men and women from Tampiitáua who had not returned from a hunting trip. Mr. Kegel told the most influential man among the Tapirapé that it would be impossible to feed the whole tribe since there was no longer time to prepare plots on the land of the Evangelical Union.

When we heard the harrowing cry of the potoo during the
648 night of June 23, 1935, the Tapirapé took this as a sign that the
[825] Kayapó were coming. Four days later, at night, as I stretched out on my net beside Kamairahó's hammock, the Indian "bigwig" said, "I am afraid." I retorted, with the courteous arrogance proper to a "captain [chief]" of my rank, "I am here, and therefore you need not be afraid." A little later [102:124], Kamairahó inquired,
[123] on account of the Kayapó, whether I had with me the "little killer," as we used to call the revolver to differentiate it from the "big killer," or rifle. I told him that I always slept well armed, and he laughed happily.

At the nocturnal group dances, the men hold a heavy club or
[535] bush knife in their hands, and this is not just to mark time since
[411] during the day they find an arrow or bow adequate for that purpose.

On the evening of July 8, as I talked with Mr. Kegel in front of the little house beside the village which had been built for him and camarada Daniel, several men and women came running, one of the men holding a bush knife and another a club, and they told us excitedly that there were Kananchahó in the neighboring forest. Followed by an Indian, I proceeded immediately to the spot they had pointed out. We found nothing, and I calmed the Tapirapé by telling them that the Kananchahó were sleeping very far away. They returned in silence to their hammocks, and a middle-aged woman merely said, "They will come when the moon goes to sleep."

578 In this regard one should mention, first and foremost, the
621 survivors of the village abandoned in 1932. They may be distin-
guished from the other inhabitants of Tampiitáua by their scowl,
their perennial tendency to make mocking remarks in a low voice,
and their lack of hospitality. Their village, located "ten days'
march" to the north, reputedly hated the Whites. It established
contact with Tampiitáua through trade and a few marriages. I
still found about 20 of those "enemies," counting the men, women,
[123] and children. I got along well with them. One of them, Maninohô,
became my close friend and an exception among his people in his
increasingly hospitable behavior toward me. This did not prevent
many Tampiitáua people from hating him. Perhaps it even in-
creased the antagonism.

Gradually, I learned that the 20 individuals who disappeared
621 in 1934 had been, for the most part, former inhabitants of the vil-
•166 lage that became extinct in 1932. Mr. Kegel recalled that al-
578 ready in 1933 there was a rumor in Tampiitáua that they would
move far away. They were, on the whole, unpopular and re-
mained enemies of the Whites. When they left, they took with
them everything they owned. They walked away towards the north.
[622] A sorcerer--medicine man, an influential and vigorous man who
had been accused of causing the death of Kamairá's wife, joined
them and became their leader. They had not been seen again in
1935, and it was so widely believed that they had been killed by
the Kayapó that, as I have already mentioned, the whole tribe
wanted to run away to Macauba and later commemorated the at-
tack through the pantomime described earlier. There was no abso-
lute certainty, however, as to the end met by the 20 persons. It
was said, as I have already mentioned, that they never returned
from a hunting trip. All the Tapirapé I asked spoke of this com-
[621] munal hunt, but it is probable that those 20 persons were expelled
from the community. It is well to note, however, that this
hypothesis would not be corroborated by the fact that they took with
them everything they owned. Indeed, they left at the very time
[361] when the entire village was being transferred to a new site. Fur-
[224] thermore, when people leave the village for several days with their
[226] families in order to hunt or fish communally, they usually take
along all their household goods, which as a rule are quite easy to
[352] carry because they are few and light in weight.

166 621 [627] It may be that the emigrants, leaving under the pressure of public opinion, stated that they were merely going on a hunt. Such a statement might have been motivated by a wish not to ruin any possibility of return with a definitive and hostile farewell. It actually seems that they returned a few years later and were not killed by the Kayapó. Wagley, indeed, told me that when he was in Tampiitáua in 1939 he heard of a Tapirapé village named Chichutáua, located six days' journey to the north and inhabited by 45 people. The inhabitants of that village appeared one fine day and joined the people of Tampiitáua, making a total of 147 [103:185] individuals (cf. Wagley 2, 409). In 1935, I counted 130 inhabitants in Tampiitáua. The discrepancy of 17 may well tally with the figure "20" for the emigrants, granting that among the total Tapirapé population the number of deaths was higher than that of births and taking into account the inadequate familiarity of this tribe with numbers. The quoted figure of "45" relating to the number of inhabitants in Chichutáua may be explained by the fact that the population of this village had increased since 1935 with the arrival of other emigrants from Tampiitáua. When he looked at the photographs I had taken, Wagley found that a large number of the Chichutáua inhabitants had been in Tampiitáua at the time of my visit. This is a good example of "horizontal social mobility" (cf. Baldus and Willems 153).

Regarding the propensity of these Tupí Indians for splitting up, it is fitting to cite also the following case. In September, 1932, the young and forceful "capitain" Ikaranchó, who had quarreled with Kamairahó, founded a new village one league [115] east of Tampiitáua. Reverend Kegel, to whom I owe this piece of information, visited both villages. Ikaranchó had so much [721] energy that he managed to post well-disciplined sentries around his settlement at night. Such a precaution, taken probably on account of the Kayapó, was unheard-of among the Tapirapé. One third of the inhabitants of Tampiitáua moved to the new village. Nearly all of them were young people [Ed., the remainder of the sentence is omitted]. At the time when Ikaranchó's village was founded, 164 731 camaradas of the Dominicans at Conceição transmitted to the Tapirapé, with whom they had been in contact on the river of the same name, an attack of influenza which

164 apparently was aggravated by pneumonia. During the rainy season
731 that followed, this epidemic caused great mortality throughout
[165] the tribe, also killing Ikaranchó and his wife. Then the separa-
[166] tists returned to Tampiitsúa.

The eighteenth century map reproduced in this work points
361 out with three triangles the "Aldeas do Gentio Tapirapé [villages of the Tapirapé people]." In his account of Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira's 1911 expedition, Angyone Costa (222-223) writes as follows about the Tapirapé of the time: "These Indians occupy three villages, the first one located two days' journey from the riverbank, the second one three days' away. The explorer did not visit the third one."

The following appears in the account of the Dominican ex-
[113] pedition of 1914 printed in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosário (317): "The Tapirapé form three groups, or rather three malocas [villages], five days' journey apart. The Indians can walk 50 kilo-
[481] meters a day. This shows how huge is the region inhabited by such a relatively sparse tribe. The village we visited had 16 huts,
[592] each one sheltering several families. It is true that when the
[609] Fathers drew near, some of the huts were emptied, and families, urged on by a suspicious chief, ran to hide in the forest. The peo-
[161] ple we found did not exceed 160 souls, and from this it may easily be inferred that the tribe does not include more than about a thousand members."

[103:186] The note published in 1912 about Dr. Francisco
621 Mandacarú's journey states that the Tapirapé village visited by
[161] this explorer contained 268 inhabitants and that "almost invariably, a village merely consists of a single and numerous family." The number of villages, however, is not mentioned (cf. Kissenberth 2, 43-44).

The same applies to the account of the trip by the inspector
[161] of the Indians, mentioned earlier, which only states that "some 1,000 or 1,500" Tapirapé were found (Glass, 139).

Reverend Kegel told me that in August of 1932 he found in
[161] Tampiitsúa some 14 houses with slightly more than 220 occupants. These people, as we have already mentioned, split up in September, but were together again when we visited them the following
[165] year. From 50 to 60 of them died during the 1932-1933 rainy season, and only three or four children born at that time were seen by this missionary.

162 621 In the age group ranging from 15 to 30, there were 30 males and 20 females, that is, 50 individuals of both sexes.

In the age group ranging from 31 to 60, there were 13 males and 12 females, that is to say, 25 individuals of both sexes. Only two among them were older than 45, one woman who was 48 and one who was 60.

There was not a single individual older than 60.

The most striking fact is the small number of individuals over 30 years of age. On the other hand, the number of individuals younger than 15 is not, in proportion, as small as the corresponding group among certain "civilized" peoples. [Ed., the remainder of p. 187 is omitted.]

[103:188] The 35 Tampiitáua couples included 20 where [582] the husband appeared to be older than the wife, 12 where the opposite seemed to be the case, and three where they seemed to be of the same age. I say "appeared to be older" to acknowledge minor inaccuracies in reckoning people's ages, even though I did not do this alone but in collaboration with Mr. Kegel, who had more points of reference than I because he had observed these Indians for several years.

592 162 The following table shows the number, sex, and age of the occupants of each house indicated on the ground plan of the village. [Table appears here.]

621 ●166 I heard in 1935, and published in 1937, that the Tapirapé formerly had five villages whose descendants make up the present population of Tampiitáua (cf. Baldus 17, 86). Wagley (2, 408-409) confirmed this, adding (4, 5) that those five villages "probably existed as late as the turn of the century and are said to have had a population of about 200 people each." He also refers (ibid.) [731] to epidemics as the only cause for the abandonment of these villages. I have already mentioned that in the case of the village [648] abandoned in 1932 fear of the Kayapó must have been a contributing factor. It is worth noting the explanation given for the move of 758 the occupants of three other villages to Tampiitáua: there were 166 no médicos-feiticeiros [Tr., sorcerers--medicine men] left 621 among them. This might, of course, have occurred as the result of an epidemic. The interesting fact, however, is that the Tapirapé did not mention disease but the lack of pagés [Tr., shamans] as the reason for abandoning the villages. Nothing could

[Text continues on p.42]

166 [756] [621] underline more clearly the importance of these men.

The village abandoned in 1932 was called Moytáua, a word
103 made up of moyva, "cane," and táua, "village." The other three
166 extinct villages were called (1) Kuruantáua, from kuruá or koruá "squash" (Brazilian Cucurbitacea), which remained in the Brazilian vernacular as cruá [Tr., Sicana odorifera]; (2) Mankotáua, from Manko, the name of a Karajá who was the village chief; and (3) Chechotáua, chechó probably being jejú (Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus), a fish akin to the traíra [Tr., Amazon lungfish], or else a contraction of chechoó, "big chechó," that is to say, the piracurú (Arapaima gigas). It may be that Chechotáua was the "Chichutáua" Wagley heard about, and that the Tampiitáua emigrants [103:189] moved to the site of the former village of this name on account of the food plants which undoubtedly still grew in the surrounding plots.

Tampiitáua, the "village of the tapir," no longer stands
166 where it was at the time of my visit. It was moved farther from
361 the river. This represents a move away from the Whites and, to some extent, "toward the Kayapó." Such a move appears to me as
648 a "healthy policy." There were, and continue to be, attempts to relocate the Tapirapé at a "Protective Post" located near the Araguaia. The immediate and continuous contact of these Indians with the most varied representatives of our civilization, which would be inevitable if the above-mentioned project were to be carried out, would bring about the certain annihilation of this peaceful
[161] Tupí tribe, whose numbers, as I write this (1944), probably do not reach 150. [Ed., end of Vol. 103; the section in Vol. 104, pp. 93-100, is omitted.]

[105:77] Chapter 6

## Physical Appearance and Ornamentation

142 Coming from the Karajá to the Tapirapé, one immediately notices that the latter, on the average, are much shorter and less sturdy, especially shorter than the Karajá I saw in Santa Isabel, and less sturdy than the inhabitants of Beroromandú and other villages located north of the mouth of the Tapirapé River. Fritz

249 476 that the Indians suck. It was, incidentally, the only cultivated plot within the clearing where Tampiitaua stood.

The center of Tampiitaua was the takana, the large men's 361 342 345 house. Eight communal huts were grouped around it, with their entrances set in such a way that it was impossible to look from the inside of one hut into that of another (cf. Fig. 8, in which the chief entrances are represented with black rectangles and the secondary ones with blank rectangles). The village plaza stretched between the front of the takana and the semicircle formed by the houses on the east side of the settlement, and it was the setting for dances, singing, games, races, speeches, and banquets.

The "village of the tapirs," however, had not always stood 361 in the clearing where I found it, nor did it remain there after my 166 departure (cf. Ch. 5). At certain times, the Tapirapé move far away. At regular intervals varying from two to five years, however, they move the village to a spot only one or a few leagues away. When they abandoned the village located on the banks of the lower Tapirapé, the distance they covered was considerable, that is to say, probably a few dozen kilometers. Long distances [621] [578] were also covered at various times when villages split up or joined together, as a result, in the former case, of internal dissensions, and in the latter case of dwindling population [Fig. 8 appears here] [110:193] or lack of shamans. The chief causes for the smaller, 136 habitual moves are the plagues of cockroaches and the number of 166 graves within the huts. The unchecked proliferation of Blattella 361 germanica L. compels the Indians to abandon and burn down all their houses every few years. The recurrence of this event is ensured by the carelessness of the Indians, for after the village has been destroyed the household goods carried to the new site are never sufficiently free from cockroaches to prevent them from soon swarming all over the dwellings. When epidemics cause the [764] [731] floors of the huts to fill rapidly with graves, this manner of burial may entail the erection of a new village within an even shorter period of time.

361 Not only does the settlement change as to site, however, but it also changes in size. I have already mentioned in Chapter 5 the data furnished by Reverend Kegel, according to which [342] Tampiitaua consisted of about 14 houses in August, 1932. The

[Text continues on p. 78]

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



175 648 they might beg from the Brazilian. Another group of families came to live at the Indian post near the mouth of the Tapirapé River, where the Indian officer helped them build temporary shelters and provided them with food. And earlier, before the Kayapo attack, a small group of families had broken from the main village to migrate to a distant village site called Čičutawa, far to the north.[4] During these years, ceremonial and religious life, normal family life, aboriginal economic activities, and in fact most of the regular activities of their society were either completely suspended or affected by a marginal existence to the Brazilian frontiersmen.

131 But in 1950 Tapirapé society was, in a sense, re-
● 166 -organized. As a result of the efforts of the Indian officer,
178 all of the remaining Tapirapé (except those who had
[648] migrated to the north) came together to form a village which they called *Tawidho* (New Village), some six kilometers from the Post Heloísa Alberto Torres. By 1953 this village had been fully completed, and the Tapirapé had relatively large and productive gardens in the forest
361 some three or four kilometers from it. The village had
178 been constructed, as in aboriginal times, in a circle surrounding a large men's ceremonial house. The houses were in general of the aboriginal type, each housing several biological families. Ceremonials had begun again and, as before, the nights were filled with singing. Although considerably modified, normal Tapirapé social life was again possible. Although for a short period Tapirapé *society* might be said not to have existed, Tapirapé *culture* continued to live in the minds of these few remaining individuals and it allowed them, given the opportunity, to recreate, although in a much attenuated form, their social life. This is a striking example of the difference between a society and its culture.

177 But both Tapirapé society and Tapirapé culture had been considerably modified by the events of the last decade. There were striking differences in social

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138. This group has never been heard of since they left. It is the opinion of the remaining Tapirapé that they were killed by the Kayapo since Čičutawa is near Kayapo territory.

121 [137] Having been invited by Dr. Modesto Donatini Dias da
[122] Cruz, Director of the Indian Service, to represent the São Paulo Museum and the Free School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo on the team he organized to inspect the Indian posts and to explore certain areas of central Brazil, I imparted to him in a report dated October 31, 1947, the observations made in the course of the journey carried out during the months of June, July, and August of the same year, as well as a few suggestions on the matter. The following pages are a reproduction of this report with a few modifications and additions.

## I. The Tapirapé

On July 19, 1947, we counted 62 inhabitants in the Tapirapé vil-
162 lage of Tampiitáua, 59 of whom were subjected to a medical exami-
621 nation by my traveling companion, Dr. Harolodo Cândido de Oliveira. The following table provides the age and sex ratios:

| | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 years and under | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| from 6 to 15 years | 7 | 3 | 10 |
| from 16 to 30 years | 14 | 17 | 31 |
| over 30 years old | 6 | 4 | 10 |
| Total | 32 | 27 | 59 |

It is to be assumed that the three who evaded the examination were boys. In addition, we found at Pôrto Velho a Tapirapé woman over 30 years old who was living among the frontier people.

In 1935, Tampiitáua had 130 inhabitants, 69 of them male and 61 female.

It should be mentioned that since that time certain individuals
[166] have emigrated to Txitxutáua, another Tapirapé village located quite a distance away. Their number, however, seems to be inferior to that of persons who have moved from there to Tampiitáua. According to various [138] reports, Txitxutáua is much smaller than this village,
[161] so that today the entire Tapirapé tribe probably does not exceed 100 members.

726 During the last days of August, Cayapo warriors--Gorotirés evidently--attacked the Tapirapé village while all the men were at Lake Tucunaré. Only the women, children, and the old man Camaraé were left. They killed two women and a young girl: Eirôa, wife of Tampiri, Amoou, wife of Perera, and Tamamãtchoa, and abducted a woman, a young girl, and a small boy: Iparénahí, wife of Camaraé, Amarai, daughter of Pereira, and Uãcuré, son of Eirôa (please excuse the transcription of these Tupy [Tupi] words). The old man shot his arrows, and the Cayapo "braves" fled after burning down two houses.
[648] Father Palha and I found the frightened population at Pôrto Velho, where they had sought
727 refuge, lacking everything, hungry, disheartened. In short, a heart-rending sight similar to what I have seen in Europe. We convinced the Tapirapés to go to their village. The women were afraid and tried to dissuade the men. Seven left with us, and four stuck it out to the end. We found this charming little village, which you were the last to visit along with Dr. Haroldo, savagely looted. We brought back the cudgels that were used in the slaughter. I shall describe them to you and give you many other details of this event. The Cayapos had returned that very morning to continue the looting. Unfortunately, we did not come upon them. We remained one day and one night. The three Tapirapés took up a load of cotton and flour (they have no more hammocks and suffer a great deal) and set fire to their village to prevent the enemy from utilizing it further. It was rather tragic. We
[166] returned to Pôrto Velho. They intend to settle a few leagues from São João. I saw the large
648 plots of these good, industrious, peaceful

648 people, and it is a pity. Ten armed men would suffice to clear the territory of these assassins, but no one does anything about it. I shall leave in three or four days for Maraba, where I shall catch the plane. I hope to proceed directly to São Paulo, where I shall promptly look you up to see whether it would be possible to obtain urgent help for these poor Tapirapés.

I hope to see you soon and send you, esteemed Professor, my sincerest regards.

(S) M. H. Lelong, O.P.

[Translated from French.]

648 727 and that the survivors sought refuge in Pôrto Velho, where they lack foodstuffs, sleeping hammocks, cotton to make new hammocks, agricultural tools, and kitchen implements (2).

2. I have omitted those parts of my report in which I emphasized the need to send help to the survivors. The man who saved them was Mr. Lucio Penna da Luz, who gave them shelter and food. In September, 1948, Mr. Harald Schultz, Assistant in Ethnology at the São Paulo Museum, found the majority of them living in sheds at the São Pedro ranch, the property of Mr. Lucio, located on the right bank of the Tapirapé.

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648 An urgent measure to be taken is the establishment of a post on the upper Tapirapé River. Up to now, the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres [143], located at the mouth of that river, was intende to protect the Tapirapé Indians. It turned out to be inadequate for th purpose because it was too far removed from the habitat of the tribe. On the other hand, as early as 1942, when I commented on the attempts to resettle the Tapirapé at that spot on the Araguaia, I called attention to the fact that "the immediate and continuous contact of these Indians with the most varied representatives of our civilization, which would be inevitable if the above-mentioned project were to be

648 offer them a refuge in case of northern Kaiapó advances or attacks. It might also preclude the entry of adventurers into the lands to the south and west, which are assumed to be inhabited by the Akué-Chavante and by the Tupi tribe of the Ampaneá (in this respect, cf. my works, "Uma ponte etnográfica entre o Xingu e o Araguaia, [An ethnographic bridge between the Xingu and the Araguaia]," [113] Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 43, São Paulo, 1938, and "Os Tapirapé, tribo tupi no Brasil Central [The Tapirapé, a Tupi tribe of Central Brazil]," ibid., Vol. 100, São Paulo, 1945).

[911] [144] Since the Tapirapé are traditionally forest Indians, we must consider the possibility of establishing the new post in the vicinity of the recently burned village, that is, at the edge of the great forest. I regard this possibility as extremely slight owing to the difficulties of communication during the yearly floods that cover the savanna and the forest ground.

Another possible way of protecting the Tapirapé would be to gather them into a post to be established on Bananal Island. The advantage here would be their localization in a Federal territory intended exclusively as a reservation for the local Indians and more easily accessible than the upper Tapirapé River. On the other hand, this very accessibility might make it difficult to preserve the tribe as an ethnic entity. In addition, the following factors must be con-
131 sidered: although some Tapirapé groups, according to certain sources,
182 lived for a while on Bananal Island more than 100 years ago, everything indicates that the bulk of the tribe has lived in its present habitat since the eighteenth century (cf. my study of this question in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 98, São Paulo, 1944), and the Tapirapé, therefore, are physically and culturally adapted to this environment and capable of preserving their culture within it. It should
619 be added that in this case, also, the contact between the inhabitants of
166 Tampiitáua and Txitxutáua would be retained, and with it the possibility of marrying outside the village or moving from one village to the other as a result of disappointments, political factors, etc. (1).

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166 1. In a report on his visit to the Tapirapé that took place in September, 1948, Mr. Harald Schultz tells me that "none of the Tapirapé like the idea of being transferred to a spot near

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Conceição do Araguaia, as was Father Luiz Palha's plan." He says that these Indians wish to build a village near the houses of the above-mentioned São Pedro ranch, on the right margin of the Tapirapé, and he adds: "If the Indian Service is not in a position to establish a post for the Tapirapé Indians, it would be worth studying the possibility of entrusting Mr. Lucio da Luz with their protection. Mr. Lucio da Luz is a man of great means, and he would not be primarily interested in the meager wages of a man-in-charge or whatever he might be to those Indians, but would do this rather out of the humanitarian feelings which he seems to possess."

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Whatever the case may be, there are three basic needs to be considered in any resettlement of the Tapirapé: 1) the existence of an extensive forest adequate for the large gardens of this essentially farming tribe; 2) the exclusion of all representatives of our civilization who are not employees of the Indian Service, anthropologists, or physicians associated with the Service; 3) the exclusion of members of other aboriginal tribes.

I believe that Father Lelong is correct when he writes in his letter with reference to the Kaiapó who invaded Tapirapé territory: "Ten armed men would suffice to clear the territory of these assassins." These ten men, however, should be under the orders of the Indian Service so as to catch the culprits in the slaughter without shedding blood and take them to the idyllic penitentiary established at the Indian post of Icatu in the state of São Paulo. One of the most urgent tasks is unquestionably the lasting pacification of the northern Kaiapó who, unlike the Akué-Chavante, have the habit of leaving the traditional boundaries of their territory to attack harmless neighbors (cf. what I wrote about this in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 102, São Paulo, 1945, pp. 123-130).

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



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contact and to revive, or which led to quasi — or total extinction of a people may also be found in the culture and the society of peoples concerned. Each culture has a population policy — — — an implicit or explicit set of cultural values relating to population size. The social structure of each society is closely inter-related with a specific population level. A modification of the external environment, such as that brought about by contact with Europeans, generally calls for change both in cultural values as well as in social structure. In addition to environment, technology, and other material factors, cultural values and social structure act also to determine population size and demographic trends in face of modified external circumstances. A rapid decrease in population due to new disease or an increase in population resulting from an increased food supply calls for adjustments in population policy (implicit or explicit) and in social structure. It is the purpose of the present paper to examine the relationship between these social and cultural factors and the population trends following European contact of two Tupí speaking tribes of Brazil.

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The two Tupí speaking tribes in question are the Tenetehara of northeastern Brazil and the Tapirapé of central Brazil. (2) After more than 300 years of contact with Luso-Brazilians the Tenetehara in 1945 still numbered some 2000 people —— not much less, if at all, than the aboriginal population. On the other hand, by 1947 the Tapirapé with less than forty years of sporadic and peaceful contact with Luso-Brazilians had been reduced to less than one hundred people, the remnant of an aboriginal population which must have numbered more than one thousand. While the Tenetehara still maintained a functioning social system and continued as a distinct ethnic group, Tapirapé society was in 1947 almost totally disorganized and the Tapirapé as a distinct people were clearly on the road to extinction. (3)

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A partial answer to this very different reaction to Luso-Brazilian contact may be found in the nature of the acculturation process which each has experienced. Although the first decades of Tenetehara relations with Europeans were marked by slave raids, massacres, and epidemics, the protection of the Jesuits during more than one century (1653-1759) seems to have given the Tenetehara time to make adjustments in their culture and society to changing external circumstances. The missionaries were able to prevent the movement of colonists into Tenetehara territory; and after the expulsion

(2) Basic description of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara have been published elsewhere: Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1948 A, 1948 B, and 1949. Baldus, 1937, 1944-1949, 1948 B, 1949 9B, 12. Only directly pertinent descriptive data is present in this paper.

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(3) Cf. Wagley (1940) and Baldus (1945 vol. CIII, 1948 B, 1949 B), for discussion of Tapirapé depopulation and disorganization. Baldus (1948 B) pp. 137-138, who found the village called Tampilitáua inhabited by 130 individuals in 1935, and only 62 in 1947, mentions that during this lapse of time several inhabitants had emigrated to another Tapirapé village very far from Tampilitáua, but that their number seems to be lower than the number of those who came from there to Tampilitáua. According to information received by this author, the other village is smaller than Tampilitáua, so that in 1947 the whole tribe probably counted less than a hundred members. In the same year, shortly after Baldus' visit, the Tapirapé were attacked by Kayapó Indians and lost several individuals.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
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Te 177 648 [731] [164] Te Ta 177 Ta Te [171] by Bento Maciel Parente in 1616 made war upon the Tenetehara. Epidemics, which raged in the early 17th century among the Indian populations of northeast Brazil, certainly reached the Tenetehara. From time to time smallpox, measles, and other diseases have taken a heavy toll among these Indians. The impact of the dominant culture upon the Tenetehara was more intense than it has been upon the Tapirapé. In addition to differences in the nature of the contact continuum, factors inherent in the society and the culture of the two tribes were responsible for the reaction of these societies to Luso-Brazilian contact and for the population trends which followed. Since the Tenetehara and the Tapirapé have historically related cultures sharing many patterns and institutions common to most Tupi speaking tribes, a comparison of the two societies and cultures should allow us to determine the variables responsible for their contrasting reactions.

Te Ta 22 [241] [361] Te Ta 311 361 [166] [241] Te Ta [162] [621] Te Ta 161 The subsistence methods of the tribes were in aboriginal times basically similar. Both were tropical forest horticulturalists depending upon hunting, fishing, and forest fruits to supplement their diet. For fishing, the Tenetehara had an advantage since their villages were normally situated near rivers and streams while the Tapirapé villages were located inland many kilometers from the river. In hunting, the Tapirapé had the advantage of nearby open plains country where hunting was more productive than in the tropical forest. Neither tribe had a land problem: the nearest village of the Karajá, who were Tapirapé neighbors, was at least two hundred kilometers away and the Timbira neighbors of the Tenetehara were savanna people offering no competition for forest land. Both tribes during aboriginal times had sufficient territory to move their villages every five or six years when suitable garden sites near their villages had been used up by the slash-and-burn system of horticulture. The two tribes inhabited similar physical environments and they had approximately the same technological equipment to cope with it. Their technology and their subsistence methods must have limited the maximum population of any one village and there are indications that approximately two hundred people was the average village size for both groups. On the other hand, a lack of territory evidently did not enforce a limitation on the number of villages for the tribe. Yet while the Tapirapé tell of only five villages in aboriginal times many times that number are reported by early observers for the Tenetehara. Although specific data is not available, it seems that in aboriginal times Tapirapé population was relatively small and stable while the Tenetehara population was at least twice as large and probably expanding.

Te Ta 168 847 Te [842] [845] 847 This difference in population level between the two tribes in aboriginal times was related to the population policies held by the two groups as well as to differences in social structure of the groups concerned. These cultural values relating to population level are explicit in attitudes toward family size and in positive actions to limit families. Among the Tenetehara infanticide is indicated only in the case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *iwúterahú*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
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This difference in population level between the two tribes in aboriginal times was related to the population policies held by the two groups as well as to differences in social structure of the groups concerned. These cultural values relating to population level are explicit in attitudes toward family size and in positive actions to limit families. Among the Tenetehara infanticide is indicated only in the case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
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abnormalities. Since there is a low incidence of twins and since in several known cases "abnormal" children have been allowed to live, infanticide has had little or no effect upon Tenetehara population trends. The Tenetehara tell of one or two formulas thought to produce abortion. The long taboos imposed on both parents during the pregnancy of the mother and during the early infancy of the child are a source of irritation and discomfort which would seem to tend to discourage large families. But, in general, there is little planned effort among the Tenetehara to limit family size. Men seem proud of several children; women are eager to bear children and they will leave a husband whom they believe to be sterile.

Te 847 [845] Te [843] Te 842 [68] [586]

In contrast, the Tapirapé value small families. They take specific steps to limit their families and have explicit ideas as to maximum family size. Not only do the Tapirapé bury twins at birth as do the Tenetehara (and for similar reasons) but they believe that a woman should not have more than three live children. (5) In addition, the three children of a woman should not be of the same sex. In other words, if a woman has two living daughters and her third child is also a girl, it is usually buried at birth. Similarly, if she has two male children and her third is a male, infanticide is in order. Furthermore, all men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers to her child. More than two co-fathers leads to complications. All co-fathers are expected to observe taboos on sexual relations and on the eating of certain meats during the pregnancy of the woman and the early infancy of the child. If there are three, four, or more co—fathers one of them is certain to break these taboos thus endangering the health of the infant; consequently the woman is urged to bury the child. (6)

Ta 168 842 847 [845] Ta 168 851 847 [843]

On an overt level, the Tapirapé justify these checks on population by saying, "We do not want thin children" or "They would be hungry". They enlarge upon such statements by adding that it is difficult for a father to supply a large family with meat from hunting. In aboriginal times, manioc was plentiful and no one lacked the tubers with which to manufacture flour but meat was especially scarce during the rainy season when the forest is partially flooded and the paths to the savanna country are impassable. In addition, a complex set of food taboos make the job of supplying meat for a family more difficult. Children before adolescence are allowed to eat only specific meats and women are prohibited others. When a Tapirapé says "I am hungry" he generally means by implication:

Ta 168 842 Ta 262

(5) Baldus (1948) vol. CXXXIII, p. 58, was told the same regarding the limitation of number of children of the Tapirapé family, but the contrary in relation to twins. According to information given to him by these Indians, the Tapirapé appreciate twins and, therefore, husband and wife eat twin or double bananas, i. e., with two fruits in the same peel.

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(6) Genealogies indicated that these rules are adhered to almost without exception. In 1939, during my residence in a Tapirapé village, one woman hesitated in allowing her third male child to be buried. Less than a month after its birth, she appeared one day without the infant and announced that he had died of a cold. Another woman whose child had four fathers allowed the child to live only to have it die of an intestinal disorder. The villagers took a definite «I - told - you - so» attitude.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara SO 6



Ta 262 Te 262 168 "hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is (and was in the past) just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size. Ta 168 183 262 Population control among the Tapirapé seems ne to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

Ta 161 168 182 [165] This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new disease for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population Te 161 168 182 [165] during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Te Ta 596 591 612 Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapé, on the other Ta 616 561 hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial moieties limited to men. Each moiety was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the Ta 476 264 574 616 [796] [535] Tapirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's moieties and age grades and the "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic production and distribution. The masked dances with impersonation of

177 of the Tampiitáua inhabitants. This presence is made perceptible through the complex made up of diseases, of the fantastic stories of tribal members who went to the Araguaia, of the domineering behavior of White visitors, and of the latter's display of "riches." The effects of this type of [99:77] inter-ethnic pressure vary from culture to culture. Among peoples of vitality, they may arouse responsive forces which are manifested, for example, in the creation of new magical devices among aborigines, or in improvements in airplanes, tanks, or propaganda techniques among those who regard themselves as more "civilized." Among other peoples, however, they may cause resignation instead of resistance, and bring about what might be called a "cultural shrinkage," that is to say, a disregard for their own things without a concomitant desire to replace them with new ones, whether new creations of their own or imports. Thus, it seems possible to me that this pressure may have caused the Tapirapé to lose interest in certain traditions that did not seem to them to possess any immediate value in the struggle for existence. [Ed., end of Vol. 99.]

## Chapter 4

### [100:191] Contact with Other Indians

While it is possible to discern, up to a point, the effects of the direct and indirect contacts with the Whites, it is more difficult to perceive the influences derived from other Indian tribes. [726] I have already alluded to the murderous acts the Kayapó and Karajá and to their role as transmitters of epidemics and importers of iron tools. It must be added that the Karajá, aside from acting as intermediaries, also furnished products of their own culture, such as songs. I dare not, however, formulate hypotheses about the • 711 535 origin of the masked-dance complex as a whole, to which these songs belong and which is one of the most characteristic aspects of both Tapirapé and the Karajá culture. The Tapirapé attach special importance to the masked dances of the chankuf, that is, jacuf [Tr., little jacu or guan] and of the iranchá, a fish. They perform them daily for weeks on end. [114] Karl von den Steinen (2, 313), when dealing with the masked dances of the Indians of the

171 Xingu headwaters, writes that the dance of the jacuí ("yakuí") is
535 "original to" the Auetõ and Kamayurá [Camayura], that is, the
[114] Tupí tribes of the Culuene basin and thus the eastern part of that region which is separated from Tapirapé territory by the waters of the Xingu and the Araguaia. Furthermore, [100:192] both the Auetõ and the Kamayurá had two kinds of masked dances, the dance of the jacuí and that of a fish called koahálu among the former and hũvát among the latter (ibid., 310-317). True, the masks used by those tribes (ibid., Figs. 107-114) differ completely from the masks made by the Tapirapé. In addition, what little may be inferred from the brief references to the dancing and songs of those Xingu Indians (ibid., 313-315) discloses no similarity to the chankuí and iranchá performances. On the other hand, the Tapirapé also differ from the Karajá in the design of their masks, their songs, and their dance motions.

Thus, the complex of masked dances that extends between the Xingu and the Araguaia assumes special forms in each of the above-mentioned tribes, and these forms, although they hint at a mutual relationship, do not reveal which of the tribes was the first to use masks or where it got the idea to do so. It can only be said
[648] that there are no historical data to substantiate contact between the Tapirapé and the tribes of the Culuene basin, while age-old relations between the Tapirapé and the Karajá are thoroughly documented. [Ed., the remainder of this section in Vol. 100, pp. 192-198, and the section in Vol. 101, pp. 67-75, are omitted.]

[102:123] While in Tampiitáua no one bothered with the
648 neighboring Kyrydjá [Tr., Ge-speaking, in this case Chavante] to the south, the Kayapó neighboring on the north, called Kananchahó, were mentioned frequently and with feeling. When dealing with the "Karajá of the Xingu," I referred to them and to the fear they inspire. I was informed that in 1932 they had de-
[726] stroyed a large Tapirapé village located "ten days' march" north of Tampiitáua and killed most of its inhabitants. According to
[731] other reports, an epidemic depopulated that village and compelled the survivors to abandon it. No matter what the cause of this
648 mortality may have been, fear of the Kananchahó undoubtedly con-
166 tributed to the desire of the survivors to put as much distance as possible between themselves and these neighbors and to take refuge in the southernmost village of their tribe, that is Tampiitáua. The

114 The Kayapó who have intimidated the Tapirapé over the
175 past few years, however, do not belong to the bands visited by
726 Krause in 1908 and by Kissenberth in the same year and the following one, that is to say, the Indians called Kayapó-Mẽkubengokré by this author. Kissenberth (2, 40) heard Mẽkubengokré elders relate that the last hostile encounters between their people and the Tapirapé had occurred approximately in the middle of the last century. This traveler does not [102:126] explain, however, how the near-sexagenarian Tapirapé he saw in a Mẽkubengokré village (ibid., 47 and Figs. 4 and 5; 1, Figs. 18 and 19) got there and was annexed to the tribe.

171 I shall show later that the Tapirapé have a few cultural traits that are similar to traits of these Kayapó, but not as many as the ones that reveal their kinship with the Karajá. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 102, pp. 126-130, is omitted.]

[103:183] Chapter 5

## The Number of Villages and of Tribal Members

621 Sixteenth-century authors, such as Pero de Magalhães de
171 Gandavo (45) and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (362), already pointed out the propensity of the Tupí Indians to divide into bands as a result of certain dissensions. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

621 In the case of the Tapirapé, the disruptive forces were not only countered by the authority of Kamairahó in Tampiitáua, but
[731] were also kept at bay by more powerful destructive forces, that is
[554] to say, terrible epidemics. Kamairahó's authority became apparent when I attempted to ascertain in which of the various villages, now extinct, the individuals who make up the present population of Tampiitáua had originated. Those who had revealed their birthplace to me [103:184] did not dare repeat the information in the presence of this most influential leader. The unifying
[578] activity of Kamairahó was justified by the fact that old antagonisms between the villages were not yet entirely forgotten, although they were seldom recalled.

826 admiration for the whiteness of my skin, not for its softness, for in this respect they could not be surpassed. My camarada Daniel, a northern Brazilian who was almost as dark as they were, did not attract as much attention. The skin tone they consider most attractive, however, must not seem to them as remote from their own color as it seems to us, for they characterized their own skin exactly as they did mine, with the terms chinga and typiánia, both of which mean "white." Whether these Tapirapé words differ in [196] scope from our own term for "white," or whether the yearning for the ideal makes the Indians appear to themselves as lighter than they actually are, this is in any case a prime example of the possibility of broad differences in the conceptualization of such seemingly concrete phenomena and shows the researcher the desirability of comparing, whenever possible, his own observations with the information provided by the Indians.

Other native peoples of South America also prefer white skins. Fritz Krause (2, 185) writes: "The ideal of the Karajá is the whitest skin possible; they prized my white complexion very highly, and they themselves wished to be quite white (cf. the role of white people in their myths)."

In 1663, Simão de Vasconcellos (LX) wrote that the Indians of Brazil told the Portuguese their own ancestors had been "people of white complexion," and when they were asked why they had not remained white, they answered (LXI): "Let us make an experiment: exchange your clothing for ours, and go about naked in the sun and in the rain, as we do; and you will soon see that [105:83] you have turned from white to our own hue." Consequently, just as according to the words of the Tapirapé there is no difference between their color and mine, the Indians to whom Vasconcellos is referring clearly stated that they regarded their own skin as basically identical to that of the Portuguese.

Not only do forest Indians, such as the Tapirapé, and river Indians, such as the Karajá, prefer white complexions, but so do savanna Indians, such as the Toba. In the universal conflagration myth of this Chaco tribe, only one man survived the fire that destroyed the entire earth. "But there was no woman. Then they lowered down from the sky a woman tied to a rope, and they cut the rope from above when the woman was close to the earth. Because they cut it very close to the ground, she came out ugly, but

171 826 if they had cut the rope higher up, the woman would have come out beautiful, and then all Indians would be white and beautiful" (Lehmann-Nitsche 6, 195, 196). As we can see, "white" and "beautiful" are clearly equated in this myth.

826 Just as most Tapirapé do not fit their own ideal of beauty with regard to skin color, they do not fit it either with regard to stature, for while most of them are small, they like large men.

They also like a body where none of the parts provided by [302] nature are missing, except for the hair, which is cut on specific occasions, and the body hair, which is carefully plucked. For this reason, namely, for esthetic motives, Chief Kamairahó would not allow one of his incisors to be removed, although it was quite loose and the source of frequent complaints on his part.

291 [171] Like most Brazilian Indians who do not yet live in close and continuous contact with the Whites, the Tapirapé, both men and women, go altogether naked. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] And like most Indians in this country, the Tapirapé always go barefoot. The men merely wear the penis sheath and sometimes the waist cord.

171 192 When I asked the Tapirapé for the name of their penis sheath, someone first told me the word nohó. This is the name given to the penis in Karajá, but those Indians do not use a sheath. They tie the prepuce just over the glans with a cotton cord that they call noodakán (Krause 2, 204). Later I heard among the Tapirapé the word cherakuichivohãua to designate "my penis sheath," from cherakuí, "my penis," and hãua, which is related to the word for "leaf." [Ed., the first paragraph of p. 84 is omitted.]

291 [287] [105:84] The penis sheath of the Tapirapé is made of a strip of inner bark, from one and a half to two centimeters wide, taken from the stalk of the central leaf of a palm called pinavó by these Indians and simply "palm tree" by the non-Indian population of the Araguaia. As a rule, each man possesses a number of these strips, hung in bundles and rolls on the walls of his hut.

To make the sheath, the strip is folded so that its tips nearly join. Then the tips are slipped together into the resulting knot. [531] This produces a funnel with oblique walls, sometimes adorned with a few burns made with lightly applied live coals (Photo. 20). A special device prevents the funnel from opening too easily: before

291 folding the strip in half, the men fold a small part of it obliquely, and then fold the strip once more so that the triangle is placed exactly over it. The strip is not folded stiffly, since owing to its natural toughness it has a tendency to unfold. As a result of this tendency, the tip folded in this fashion remains securely held in the knot along with the other tip.

As a rule, a man will prepare a new sheath as he gets up in the morning. The prepuce is pushed through the funnel in such a way that it projects beyond the smaller opening and is tied all around like the end of a sausage, remaining erect. Thus, the funnel is worn upside-down, that is to say, with the smaller opening on top and the larger rim facing toward the front (cf. Photos. 5, 63, and 68).

As may be seen in these photographs, the yellow color of the inner-bark strip stands out clearly against the skin. In view of [832] this, a desire to attract the attention of the opposite sex may be involved in the use of the sheath. At the same time, it is also [834] possible that the men assign to the sheath the same purpose that, [171] according to Krause (2, 204), the Karajá assign to their penis cord, that is to say, that of concealing the glans from the eyes of women. There is no doubt, however, that both sheath and cord serve as 751 protection against crustaceans and insects, such as ticks, for example. We have known cases where these parasites fastened their proboscis [105:85] right at the opening of the urethra. The [825] Tapirapé make no distinctions among these various kinds of little creatures and call them all tantevoga. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Small boys do not protect their member. Just as the Karajá 291 [881] adolescents do not use the penis cord until their hair is cut for the [171] initiation, Tapirapé youths first use the sheath at the time of the haircut.

The importance of the penis sheath to the Tapirapé is perhaps [524] made evident by the fact that even the dolls made for fun were supplied with such sheaths (Photo. 77). [Ed., the last half of p. 85, p. 86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted.]

[105:87] The waist cord is called anchekuakuán or [283] chikoangkohâua in Tapirapé. It is made of cotton threads twisted [462] by the women on their thighs, but it is used solely by the men. The latter wear it so that it lies a good distance below the navel

291 (cf. Photos. 5, 25, 69). This may corroborate the conjecture of
[114] the evolutionist Von den Steinen (2, 192) that the waist cord for-
[174] merly had the function of the penis sheath. Among present-day
Tapirapé this cord may be regarded, along with the tembetá, as
[482] a prerogative of the males. It is rarely used to carry [105:88]
[412] things. Occasionally they will hang a comb from it, or in recent
times a pair of scissors as well.

Dr. Charles Wagley told me that in 1939 he found straps for
114 carrying children that were worn by the Tapirapé women over the
854 shoulder and across the chest. In 1937, Dominican missionaries
177 had gone up the Tapirapé River with large quantities of fabrics.
The straps were made of those fabrics. It is interesting to note
that in 1935 there were no such objects in existence. It is inter-
esting because it would have been possible to carry the children
in small hammocks. Furthermore, I had given away many pieces
of cloth which could have been used as straps for carrying children.
[171] Such straps not only are used by the neighboring Kayapó (Krause,
2, 394) but are also a typical cultural trait of the Tupí Indians.
[Ed., two sentences are omitted.] It is worth noting, however,
that straps for carrying children are not used by the eastern neigh-
bors of the Tapirapé, that is to say, the Karajá (Krause 2, 276
and Plates 12, 37, and 42).

In the case of the Tapirapé, it was apparently the numerous
pieces of fabric brought by the Dominicans in 1937 that played a
decisive role in the introduction of straps for carrying children. In
291 1935, all the fabrics and cloth articles coming from our factories
177 had a merely decorative function among those Indians. The men
[562] alone used them, since most adornments are prerogatives of their
[301] sex and such impressive ornaments as those made of feathers and
claws are worn only by them. Kamairahó, the most important
chief, liked best of all to wear a red dress which his wife had re-
ceived as a gift. Thus, the aim the giver had in mind, probably
inspired by catechizing hopes, was missed entirely for the lady
remained altogether naked while her husband was covered down to
177 the knees and below. It is worth noting, however, that in the even-
29 ing, when Kamairahó retired, he would undress and carefully fold
513 the garment. Thus, at an hour when every protection against the
mosquitoes and the cold would have seemed to me exceedingly

177 301 the favorite ornament of both sexes, of adults as well as children (cf. Photos. 3, 4, 5, 8, and many others).

The Tapirapé showed the same love for those beads as did the 301 Karajá, wanting always the smallest and whitest ones (cf. Photo. [171] 2) and showing intense dislike for those of other colors and those made of clear [105:90] glass. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the beads I saw were used merely as necklaces. It is true that these Indians are also very fond of deck- [855] ing out their children in these ornaments, and the larger the number of beads at the neck of a girl, the more beautiful she seems in everyone's eyes. People often borrow beads from each other to enhance this sort of beauty, and not only do married couples use their beads in turn, but this is also done between parents and children and between friends belonging to different families.

Beads were the object of the only theft between two Tapirapé [674] committed during my stay at Tampiitáua. When Maeyma was deserted by his wife and hung his hammock next to that of Taipá, a matronly widow, she appeared on the following morning with beads around her neck. [Ed., the last sentence, which concludes the section in Vol. 105, is omitted; there is no section in Vol. 106.]

[107:107] Tapirapé of both sexes usually wear their hair cut 302 straight across the forehead just above the eyes, so that it cannot fall across the face (Photos. 3 and 28). They do allow it to grow on the sides and in the back, however. Some of the men, women, and children sometimes part their hair anywhere on the forehead, thus partly baring it (Photos. 59, 61, and 63). The hair reaches shoulder length in the back, and this occurs more frequently among the women than among the men (Photos. 4, 67, and 69). The latter sometimes hold it with a strip of inner bark tied around the head (Photos. 4 and 5) or gather it into a pigtail (Photos. 1, 4, and 7), while the women and children always wear it loose. The hair 171 of some boys seems to have been cut at several lengths (Photos. 2 302 and 8), as described by Krause (2, 209 and Fig. 37) for Karajá boys. It may be said that, as a rule, there are many similarities between Tapirapé and Karajá hair styles. In both tribes also, the hair of boys [856] is cut all over to half a centimeter when they are about ten years old, except for a narrow strip of hair three centimeters long that surrounds the head like a crown (cf. Krause, ibid. and Plate 43, Fig. 2).

171 Another occasion to cut the hair short is the death of a close
302 relative, when not only the males (cf. Photos. 51 and 52) but the
765 opposite sex as well (Photo. 64) are compelled to undergo this procedure. This custom is quite widespread in South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

302 Among the Tapirapé at the present time, the hair is cut with
[177] scissors received from the Whites. [Ed., the remainder of p. 107
[412] is omitted, which includes the beginning of the sentence finished at the top of p. 108.]

[107:108] . . . in 1614, Father Claude d'Abbeville (267)
302 wrote of the hair of the Tupinambá of Maranhão: "[Ed., two
171 sentences are omitted.] They [the women] are quite meticulous
515 about combing their hair and do not fail to wash it and rub it with oil and Roucou every morning" [translated from French]. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

Some Tapirapé comb their hair with great care, although they do not wash it as frequently as the Tupinambá women observed by Father Claude, or massage it as often with oil and urucú. They
[314] would no doubt anoint it more frequently if it were not for the scarcity of the raw material, a palm nut that grows only at certain times of year. This scarcity impelled an honest matron to steal from us our only bottle of oil, which we had brought to remedy the lack of fat in the diet. Instead of lining our stomachs, the entire liter of nutritious liquid ended up on the good woman's head. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 108 is omitted.]

302 [107:109] The Tapirapé also put urucú in their hair, but only on special occasions. They apply it to boys on the festive day of
[881] initiation, to girls on the day when their first menstruation ends,
[764] and to the dead. It may have religious significance, but I cannot tell.

515 Aside from hair combing, delousing is a gesture of love. The
593 bugs caught end their existence between the teeth of the catcher, who thus swallows the blood of his or her beloved. This tender duty is performed on a mutual basis by parents and children and by loving spouses. Girls show the greatest enthusiasm for this type of quest. It does happen, however, that an old man still delouses an already married son (cf. Photo. 55).

826 Not only do they avoid losing the blood stolen by lice and
261 mosquitoes by eating the culprits caught in the act, but they also

302 genipap. They have given up for keeps the tamankurá or cotton
881 ornaments they wore in childhood. Some of them change names,
[553] if they did not already do so at the time of their first menstruation. They eat nothing but green-maize cauí [a soup]. Both men and women sing the kaó, a kind of national anthem. When the whole ceremony is over, the girl is painted with the genipap stripes characteristic of women.

304 The tattooing is done by certain mature men. They need not
412 be sorcerer--medicine men, but some of them are, like Urukumy for example (Photo. 53). The aim of the tattooing is to differentiate the women from the girls. The small knife used to make the incisions (Photo. 22) is called voamé. It consists of a fragment of
[237] rodent incisor embedded in a small piece of thin cane wrapped in a narrow strip of philodendron inner bark. This strip strengthens
[314] the small rod, which was previously covered with resin to provide a better hold. The tooth fragment in the knife reproduced here (Photo. 22) consists of that part of a paca (kanoanó) incisor nearest to
[237] the gum, and thus not of its cutting section. The edge was created by scraping the fragment with a knife. Sometimes the fragment is also taken from the tooth of an agouti (akutí, ankuchí), another rodent that, like the paca, belongs to the Caviidae family.

304 Krause (2, 404) writes of Tapirapé tattooing: "Tattooing exists
114 among married women; they cut vertical lines in their chins, and a line that goes down obliquely from either side of the mouth." As we can see, this does not quite agree with the tattooing I observed. And the drawings published by Krause (ibid., Fig. 262), although they disagree with the description above by the same author in showing several oblique lines originating at the corners of the lips, rather than just one, still do not resemble the crossed horizontal and vertical lines that I saw on the faces of Tapirapé women. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 115, pp. 116-119 which include several pages of comparative data on scarification, and all but the last paragraph on p. 120 are omitted.]

107:120] To summarize, we may say that the special character
304 of female tattooing differentiates the Tapirapé from all neighboring
● 171 tribes about which anything is known in this connection. The data
[114] of Herrmann Meyer about the Aravine and their tattooing, which are given in Chapter 4 of this work, are not sufficient to be taken into account in studying this topic. It should be pointed out further

It should be pointed out further
304 171 882 that tattooing as a badge of the marriageable girl is found in South America not only in such widely separated regions as Guiana and Paraguay, but also among tribes belonging to such distinct linguistic families as the Karaib [Carib] and the Tupí. [Ed., end of Vol. 107.]

[108:121] Body painting is widely used among the Tapirapé. 302 386 In this respect, however, there are differences dictated by sex, age, and the particular individual involved. The colors used are: black, obtained from the juice of the genipap (chenipáua in Tapirapé), the fruit of a tree of the Rubiaceae family (Genipa americana, Lin.); and red extracted from the pulp of urucú, the fruit of a shrub of the Bixaceae family (Bixa orellana, Lin.). [192] The Tapirapé, too, call it urukú, lending the vowel a sound that lies between u and a closed o. The manufacture of the paste derived from this fruit is not as simple as the obtention of genipap juice and will be described in Chapter 10 [Tr., apparently not published].

The genipap is simply chewed, as Staden (v. 3) related of the [171] Tupinambá, and the juice is left in a gourd. Among the Tapirapé, [462] both men and women do this work, allowing the juice to run directly from their mouths into the container. The liquid is clear, like water, and turns black upon drying. The juice can only be used as a dye when the fruit is almost ripe, at the time when it stops growing, for the staining quality vanishes when the rind turns brownish and the pulp grows soft. This dye, according to Staden 302 (ibid.) and [108:122] Soares de Sousa (215), lasts for nine days on the skin and cannot be washed off before then. I must say, however, that on my skin it did not endure more than two or three days.

Among the women, body painting with genipap was so widespread that the absence of this painting gave me almost the same feeling as I get when I see a "civilized" lady in a negligee at the wrong hour. The design uniformly used by all members of the female sex, with the exception of children and old women, is completely different from the [Fig. 2 appears here] various types of body painting displayed by the men. It is called ioképaí, while [192] kuantiana is the generic term for all designs, including those on plaited objects, gourds, etc. Straight lines stretch down obliquely from between the breasts to the belly and thighs. The latter are

302 covered, in addition, with a number of irregular lines, and so is the leg from the knee to the ankle, and sometimes the arm and forearm as well (Photos. 3, 4, 7, 8, 48, 67). The woman is not
[841] painted during menstruation. [108:123] As soon as the blood stops flowing, however, the characteristic lines on the belly and thighs are renewed. Photograph 67 shows a girl of about 13 who has not yet menstruated, but who nevertheless wears the women's painting.
[513] This is because she shares her sleeping hammock with a 20-year-old boy.

The chief genipap paintings used by the men are, with slight

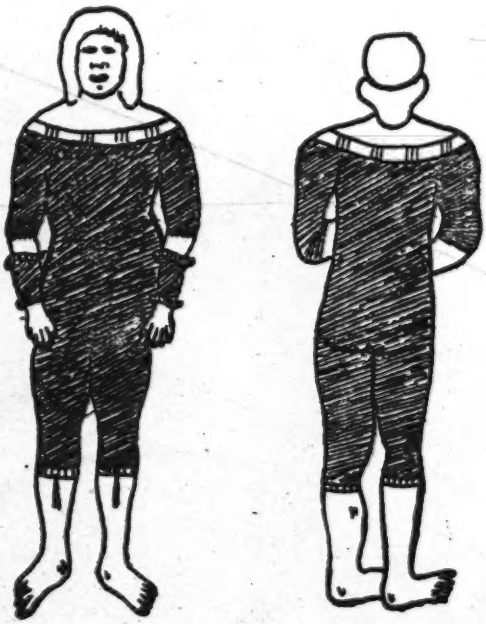

Fig. 2. Vuangkané male body painting.

[825] variations, (1) vuangkané (Fig. 2), the name of a water bird, [Fig. 3 appears here] possibly a kingfisher (Ceryle spec.); (2) ipihauáua (Fig. 3), the name of a fish; (3) chankoaka (Fig. 4), the name of an anchinga, a spirit seen by a sorcerer--medicine man; (4)
[101] kananchahó (Fig. 5), the name by which the northern Kayapó are known (cf. Ch. 4). It is doubtful that the name of this latter painting alludes to its origin. Krause (2, 386) found nothing similar
● [171] among the Kayapó. [Ed., the last sentence on p. 123 and the first paragraph of p. 124 are omitted.]

302 [108:124] [Fig. 4 appears here.] I have sometimes seen Tapirapé men whose painting merely consisted of a series of handprints scattered all over the body. They called this vaipapé, a word [192] which may be derived from vaitepe, "many," and pa, "hand."

The Tapirapé often blacken their hands with genipap or outline their mouths with it. In the vuangkané painting (Fig. 2), the man also has a black border around the mouth. This decora- [171] tion is also used by the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Fig. 48a). [108: 125] The genipap design on the inside of a man's thigh (Fig. 6) [584] was drawn by his lover at the outset of their relationship. They call it anampaí and maintain that it is a "fish." They also draw

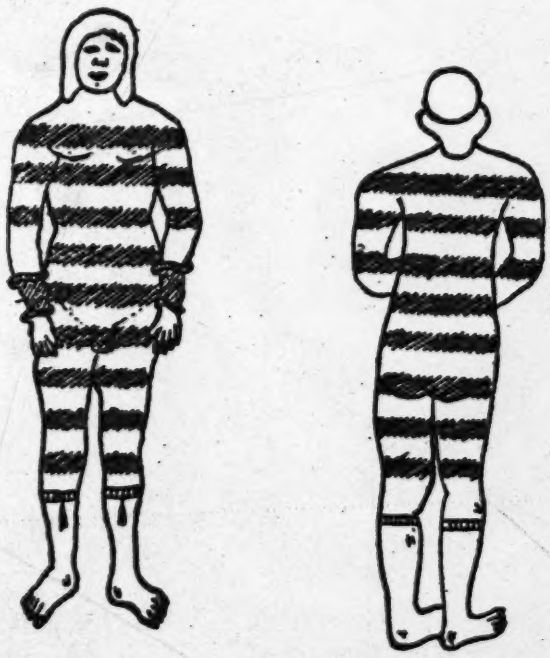

Fig. 3. Ipihauáua male body painting.

it on the arms.

While the above-mentioned male paintings are worn by the 302 men from their initiation up to the time when they no longer 881 participate in daytime dances, boys have their entire bodies blackened with genipap for a whole year preceding the day of their

302 initiation. [Fig. 5 appears here.] I noted the same custom
881 among the Karajá. According to Reverend Kegel's observations,
[171] the Tapirapé boy who is about to be initiated bears a genipap design on the day of the ceremony, which consists of two parallel lines with dots between them, stretching from the corners of the mouth to the ears, from the root of the nose to its tip, from the chin cavity to the Adam's apple, from the shoulder to the elbow on the front and back surface of each arm, and from each side of the chest in duplicate down to a little above the knees, with a matching design on [108:126] the back. The tips of these last

Fig. 4. Chankoaka male body painting.

eight pairs of parallel lines with dots between them are connected by two bands of the same design, one running across the shoulders and the other around the thighs.

On this occasion, the urucú paste was applied not only to the boy's hair, but also to his cotton bracelets and knee bands, as well
302 as to the lower part of his legs and to his feet. Such red "stockings"

114 urucú "stockings" are often applied, are one of the body parts
302 most frequently exposed to the attack of various troublesome in-
751 sects. The following objections, however, are in order: (1) as
body paint, although widespread in South America, urucú is used
[171] to cover the entire body only in a very few tribes and is usually
applied only to certain skin areas; (2) among the tribes with which
we are familiar, this staining material is not used every day, but
only on certain occasions; (3) on such occasions, the Indians do
not paint all members of the tribe with urucú, but only certain
persons; (4) there are [108:127] tribes who prefer to blacken the

Fig. 6. Design on a man's thigh.

skin with genipap juice rather than anoint it with the oily urucú, although they possess both staining materials in abundance. Such a preference would not be explained by the following sentence in Gabriel Soares de Sousa (215) about genipap: "This dye has the property of drying the yaws pustules of the Indians, and of anyone who uses it as a salve."

The supposition that body painting originally had a magical
302 purpose, which was forgotten by many tribes in the course of time,
789 would seem to me more adequate than any rationalistic explanation
[114] set forth by ethnocentric Europeans.

302 set forth by ethnocentric Europeans. Among the precautionary
789 measures taken by the killer of the Tapirapé shaman, listed by Wagley (4, 16-17 [Tr., in English at 4, 72]), there is also painting the entire body with genipap and the hair with urucú. According to the same author (ibid., 11 [Tr., in English at 4, 67]), a certain Tapirapé medicine man painted his chest and chin with urucú to represent the cauí of blood that drools from the mouth of forest spirits. [Ed., the remainder of p. 127, p. 128, and all but the last paragraph of p. 129 are omitted.]

000 [108:129] Krause (2, 214) writes that the Karajá, when they paint their bodies, usually reserve the color red for men and adolescent boys, and the black for boys and young girls. He adds (ibid.), "Only once did I see a woman painted wholly with red." I wish [108:130] to note in this connection, however, that as far as our trading fabrics are concerned, the Karajá in 1935 left the red ones exclusively to the women, while the men dressed in those of other colors, such as white or green. They might already have learned from the Whites that men do not wear red. A person like the
[291] Tapirapé Kamairahó, who had had less contact with so-called civilized people than the Karajá, hid his charms at that time under a woman's dress which had originally been red and which might be said to have remained red in spite of daily wear for weeks on end.

In view of the facts noted by Krause (ibid., 386) about the
101 northern Kayapó and by Von den Steinen (2, 184-188) about the
●171 Indians of the upper Xingu basin, it may be said in summary that
302 the Tapirapé are quite sharply differentiated from their neighbors in facial and body painting, although certain similarities exist with the Karajá in torso painting, and with the Kayapó and Xingu Indians in the red "stockings." It is worth noting that such "stockings" were also used by the Tupinambá.

According to what I saw, the Tapirapé stick soft plumage
301 (avió, aviú) chiefly on the arms and legs of children. The girl
237 Ampitánia was often adorned in this way. Grownups, however, also use white down glued on the arm when wearing a certain
[881] mask (Photo. 70). At the initiation ceremony, the adolescent has white down glued on the forehead, arms, torso, and thighs, with the exception of the buttocks. The glue is a resin (ykyryva in

The glue is a resin (ykyryva in
301 Tapirapé) used by both sexes to anoint the body and hair. Once
237 crushed, it is mixed with peanut oil (chany). [Ed., the last two
[314] paragraphs of p. 130 and all but the last paragraph of p. 131 are
[381] omitted.]

[108:131] Larger feather ornaments are used by the Tapirapé, as a rule, only on festive occasions. The Tapirapé Kanchovaní, however, when I invited him to come with me to the Araguaia, showed me the large red macaw feathers that he intended to wear on his head upon reaching the Karajá villages. These are the
[171] feathers prized most highly both in his own tribe and among the shore dwellers of the big river. I never saw any Tapirapé use them aside from such occasions. [Ed., the remainder of p. 131 and the first half of p. 132 are omitted.]

[108:132] The circular feather headdress is of the greatest
292 importance to the Tapirapé. Referring to its use in the Thunder
796 ceremony, Wagley writes (4, 33-34 [Tr., in English at 4, 89-90]): "... each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate
[776] headdress--the ankungitána. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer. Without exception all who
292 wore the ankungitána, even Panterí and Urukumú, showed genuine
781 fear and fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder. Before a man could put the headdress on, a shaman waved it slowly before
[756] his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific 'heat.' When Urukumú wore the ankungitána, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circuit of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid, and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panterí. Panterí likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the
787 headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song, and when he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of
776 Thunder. Later, Panterí [108:133] related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: 'I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They

292 pairs are joined into a knot after having been twined once around
285 every strip. Their starting point at the other end of the band was also a knot, so that the band displays 28 knots at each end. The strings are cut three or four centimeters beyond the knot, except for the strings involved in the four outermost knots on each side. These strings extend about 30 [108:135] centimeters beyond the knots on one side, and slightly over 11 centimeters on the other side. These strings are twisted into a cord in groups of four, while the other strings are not joined in any way along the three or four centimeters that extend beyond the knots. The strips, when they retain their natural curvature, leave an empty space within their folded ends. The large tail feathers of the red macaw are inserted in this opening to complete the impressive ornament. They are kept in an internode of thick cane when not in use.

292 The frame specimen described and reproduced above was the only one I found in Tampiitáua. It was in Maninohó's possession. I
[114] have not found any reference in the literature to such objects among the Karajá, the Kayapó, or any other Indians. Nor do I know whether
[171] anything like the Tapirapé head "edifice" reproduced by Wagley is to be found in any other tribe.

Reverend Kegel described to me the circular occipital head-
292 dress he saw at the initiation ceremony as a wooden disk about 15
881 centimeters in diameter and two centimeters thick, blackened with
237 genipap, and bearing three concentric circles of feathers laid out in a radiating pattern. The inner circle consisted of scalloped, dark-green duck feathers, the middle one of white jabiru feathers, and the outer one of red macaw tail feathers. The hair of the boy who was being initiated was gathered into a pigtail and drawn through a hole in the center of the disk. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 135 and the first paragraph of p. 136 are omitted.]

[108:136] I saw a large semicircular wooden disk with small
532 holes in the center hanging from the wall of the men's house in Tampiitáua. The Tapirapé showed me that those holes were meant for the eyes and that the disk, when covered with a mosaic of feathers and a crown of macaw feathers, was used as a dance mask (Photo. 70). Unfortunately, however, I did not have an opportunity
171 to find out the specific function of this mask, which is as distinct
532 from other Tapirapé masks as it is from those of the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 20) and which bears no resemblance to the masks

532 of wood, plaited and woven material found by Von den Steinen
[171] (2, Figs. 94-118) among the Xingu tribes.

The cylindrical masks of the Tapirapé are also adorned with feathers (Photo. 72). In the daytime dances of these Indians, some
301 of the male participants wear one or several red macaw tail feathers vertically on the occiput (Photo. 5). On such occasions they also wore the ear ornament (Photo. 21), which I acquired in Tampiitáua and which I shall now describe. Two strings, twisted
[283] counter-clockwise and consisting of two threads spun clockwise, are tied to a cotton cord twisted clockwise and consisting of two strings twisted counter-clockwise and made up in turn of two threads spun clockwise. The first two strings mentioned are each folded in the middle and placed on the rope in such a way that on one side there is a loop, and on the other the two free-swinging ends. These ends are slipped through the loop and stretched to make a knot. Each end, after being slipped through a perforated palm nut,
[237] is attached to three or four tail feathers of the green oropendola (Ostinops viridis), which are yellow with black spots and up to nine centimeters long. The feathers are tied by the lower, denuded part of the stem, which is folded up at the tip for the purpose. When the cord is worn across the forehead and tied on the occiput, the
[386] feathers fall over the ears. All the threads are dyed with genipap. [Ed., the last two lines of p. 136 and the first paragraph of p. 137 are omitted.]

[108:137] According to Reverend Kegel, the Tapirapé adoles-
301 cent at the initiation ceremony wears around his neck two cotton
881 strips, three centimeters wide, which hang down in front to below the knees and in the back to below the calves. These strips end in tassels, and under the tassel is a palm-nut shell, its opening facing downward, surrounded with small breast feathers of the red macaw. On each arm the boy wears a cotton cord from which hang five of these shells with the same little red feathers.

To summarize: the Tapirapé feather ornaments are not only
171 distinct from those of the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó visited by
301 Krause (2, passim), from those of the inhabitants of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen 2, 328), the Boróro (Colbacchini and Albisetti, passim), the Tupi tribe of the Urubu (Lopes 2, passim), and the Tupinambá (Métraux 2, 130-148), but also much less numerous and varied than the featherwork in any of these tribes.

171 This scarcity may be one of the consequences of the great epi-
301 demics, since the dead are buried with all their feather ornaments.
[182] In addition, the Tapirapé, as cultivators and forest Indians, have
[764] fewer opportunities to obtain the raw materials for these ornaments than the more game-oriented tribes who live close to rivers and to other areas rich in bird life.

415 Like the ancient Tupinambá (Léry 159), the Tapirapé keep the large macaw feathers in internodes of thick cane (vuanamú). [Ed., the last sentence on p. 137, which concludes the section in Vol. 108, is omitted.]

237 [109:75] I found a single specimen of a crown of jaguar claws
292 in Tampiitáua (Photo. 16). It belonged to Maninohó, who used it only for certain daytime dances (Photo. 4). Its name was simply chauvuanohó pyampé, "jaguar claw." It consisted of a wooden ring that reached one centimeter in width and 20 centimeters in diameter, wrapped in cotton thread blackened with genipap and charcoal. Not only does this thread keep the ring closed, but it also holds 14 jaguar claws, all of which are set pointing in the same direction. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

301 The use of flowers as a head ornament is unusual among South American Indians. I observed it only once in Tampiitáua. Iravuy, a married man 26 years old, returned once from the forest with a bunch of flowers in his hand. On entering the village, he met Ampitánia on the path and gave her the flowers. This girl, who was four or five years old, immediately tied them to her hair. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

304 Male Tapirapé have pierced ears. I was told that among them it is the mother who [109:76] makes these perforations in the early hours of the day following the birth of her child. She does this with the bone needle used in the manufacture of the cotton ornaments called tamankuré. Small pieces of tucum wood [Tr.,
301 Bactris setosa) or thin cane are placed in the holes, and for initiates
881 these pieces may reach two centimeters in length. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

To summarize, it may be said that as far as ear ornaments and
171 their attendant cultural traits are concerned, the Tapirapé differ
301 considerably not only from all their neighbors about whom anything is known in this connection, but from the ancient Tupinambá as well.

301 324 word is usually given to all the hard, stiff objects worn by Brazilian Indians in the artificial lower-lip hole, except for the botoque which differs from the tembetá in shape and size (cf. Baldus and Willems 33-34 and 218). [Fig. 7 appears here.] It is true that the Tapirapé [192] are unfamiliar with this word and speak only of itachinga, "white stone," when they point at this quartz ornament. I was told by [135] them that the raw material is found "in large quantities" in a stream they call Tochypiá, which flows several days' journey northwest of Tampiitúa, near Moytúa, the Tapirapé village abandoned in 1932. The specimen I saw (Fig. 7) measured nine and a half centimeters along its full length and four and a half centimeters around the slender part, while the thick part was ten and a half centimeters all around and three and a half centimeters in diameter. It was the only specimen extant in Tampiitúa, and Kamairahó, in whose possession it was, did not want to let me have it at any price. This shows the importance of this ornament in the life of the tribe. Since the tembetá was no longer complete, I asked the Indian Kaniõ to show me how it was worn. It became

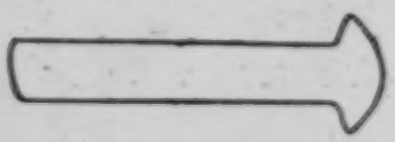

Fig. 7. Ceremonial quartz tembetá.

evident that the thicker part remains outside the mouth, for Kaniõ coated the other end with wax and introduced it into the lip hole (Photo. 2).

In Chapter 4 I mentioned the notices of João Manuel de Menezes, 171 Aristides de Souza Spinola, Fritz Krause, and Wilhelm Kissenberth 301 concerning the existence of Tapirapé tembetá among the [109:78] Karajá. The specimen acquired by Kissenberth (2, 72 and Fig. 15) from these Indians, which he reproduces in its actual size, has almost the same length as the fragment I saw in Tampiitúa, that is to say, 8.6 centimeters, and it too is incomplete. The difference, however, lies in the fact that the broadened, convex, plug-shaped end is missing, rather than the securing piece. The latter has the shape of a T, that is to say, it is a crosspiece like those on the

171 301 bone ornaments mentioned above. Its width is 27 millimeters. The thin part of the tembetá is 14 millimeters wide at the point where it begins to swell to form the crosspiece.

Ehrenreich (1, 10-11 and Fig. 2a), in his monograph on the Karajá, reproduces a complete specimen and makes the following remarks: "The most precious lip ornament, which is only worn on festive occasions and which is carefully kept at other times wrapped in cotton, is a long and heavy tembetá (manutere) of rosy hyalite or quartz whose T-shaped tip is introduced into the lower lip, while the conical plug hangs underneath. The largest of the four specimens in the collection is 17.5 centimeters long. The [439] Karajá do not make these lip stones but trade for them from the Tapirapé. The elevations on the left bank of the river (Araguaia), such as the Caiapó Range, abound in this material."

The specimen reproduced by Krause (2, Fig. 62) resembles the one just mentioned. The author notes in this connection (ibid., 223-224): "Unmarried men alone use these tembetás, which they wear only at special festivities. When they marry, they present them to a young kinsman. The stone tembetá is very thick, and [304] requires previous enlargement of the lip opening. To achieve this, the Indians wear increasingly thick wooden tembetá. I saw a single specimen of a stone tembetá among the northern band. I was unable to acquire it. It was only long after leaving their village that I heard of a specimen extant among the southern band. These tembetás are not made by the Karajá but by the Tapirapé, [439] from whom the Karajá of the northern band trade for them. The people of the southern band, in turn, purchase them from the latter. They say that the current price is a dugout, an axe, a pot, and a bush knife, in short, it is very high..." [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 78 and the first two paragraphs on p. 79 are omitted.]

[109:79] The same author [Métraux] states (2, 167-168): "Among the present-day Tupi-Guarani, the Tapirapé alone have tembetás comparable in shape and material to those of the Tupinambá." [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

To summarize, the manufacture of quartz tembetá is a Tapirapé culture trait. We know of no such trait among other present-day Tupi cultures or among tribes neighboring the Tapirapé, with the exception of the northern Kayapó. Their stone tembetá,

171 301 however, differ from those of the Tapirapé in lacking a "plug." I know of no such "plugs" on the stone lip cylinders of the ancient Tupinambá. Those found on the São Paulo coast and in the vicinity of Bahia, reproduced by H. von Ihering (apud Wegner 3, 34, Fig. 5), do not have any. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 79, p. 80, and the first two paragraphs on p. 81 are omitted.]

[109:81] To summarize, it may be said that among the Tapirapé, just as among the Tupinambá, Karajá, and Kayapó, the tembetá is an exclusively male ornament that varies in its shape and material according to the age of the wearer. The Tapirapé differ from the Tupinambá in that adults do not have the coin-shaped stone tembetá mentioned by Léry. As far as material, shape, and size are concerned, the differences between the Tapirapé, Karajá, and Kayapó tembetá are, on the whole, greater than the resemblances. The Central Tupi differ from the Tapirapé in not having any lip ornaments.

The arm and leg ornaments made of cotton dyed with urucú are a striking link between the Tapirapé and Karajá cultures. They are everyday ornaments worn by both sexes. Among the Karajá, according to [109:82] Krause (2, 226), they are "the distinctive badge of unmarried men, therefore used from earliest childhood until marriage, and in widowhood." The same author (ibid.) adds, however, that these bands may also be used by married men "if their wives are pleased with them."

Among the Tapirapé, I saw married men wearing the cotton ornaments called tamankurá in their language. This name covers three different kinds, namely, the bracelet, the garter, and the ankle band. They are all made by the women with the crochet needle (chuúnia, chu meaning "thorn"), which was originally made of bone and today, as a result of White imports, may also be of metal. Among the Karajá, this is also woman's work (cf. ibid.).

[462] [412] [439]

The bracelets (dexí in Karajá) are cylinders with reinforced, outcurving edges. Each of the two bracelets that had been worn by a Tapirapé man and are reproduced in Photograph 14b is 14 centimeters long, 19 centimeters in circumference at the upper end, and 17 at the lower end, while the upper edge is four centimeters wide and the lower one two and a half centimeters wide. The initial phase of their manufacture is shown in Photograph 11.

171
301

I saw few of them in Tampiitáua, and those extant were worn exclusively by youths who had already been initiated (Photos. 10 and 70). Among the Karajá, however, these objects are also worn on the forearms of young girls and children (Krause, ibid., Plates 16, 18, 45, Fig. 3).

The garters (deobuté in Karajá, according to Krause, ibid.) are strips with reinforced edges and tassels hanging down the front. Indian women close them with crochet stitches directly on the leg, that is to say, just below the knee. Each of the garters in the pair reproduced in Photograph 14a, which had been used by a Tapirapé man, is two and a half centimeters wide and 25 centimeters in circumference, while the tassels are 12 centimeters long. A pair of garters belonging to a little girl had the same width, and its tassels were 20 centimeters long. Among the Tapirapé, the garters are worn by girls before puberty (Photos. 3 and 9), by boys (Photos. 28, 53, 61, and 69) and by adult males (Photos. 7, 8, 25, 26, 28, 61, and 68). The same applies to the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plates 11, 15, 16, 36, 38, 43, and 45). According to Krause (ibid., 226 and Plate 44), they frequently tie up the tassels in the back to prevent them from being an encumbrance while running and on long walks. Sometimes, among the Tapirapé, these tassels are merely cut off (Photo. 39).

Only a few little girls in Tampiitáua wore tamankurá at the ankles while I was there (Photos. 3, 9, 12). This ornament is a cylinder with a reinforced and outcurving lower edge and fringes as long as the tamankurá itself hanging from the upper edge. One specimen was 12 centimeters long, 19 centimeters in circumference at the upper end and 16 at the lower end, while the lower edge was four centimeters wide. I was told that certain social and spiritual leaders such as Kamairahó, Vuatanamy, and Urukumy had also worn similar ornaments before puberty. Among the Karajá, I saw boys as well as girls with bands at the ankles. These were distinct, however, from the corresponding tamankurá of Tapirapé girls in that they did not have an outcurving edge (cf. Krause 2, Fig. 44 and Plates 16 and 45). Their Karajá name is walaõ (ibid., 226).

[109:83] According to Krause (ibid., 227), the Karajá begin to use leg bands right after birth, and cut them off and replace

[71] 301 them as they become too tight. The same is done by the Tapirapé. I even found in Tampiitáua a forked stick which was used as a frame to make tamankuá for the ankles of children yet to be born (Photo. 13). This fork holds one unfinished tamankuá and a finished one which is four centimeters long with an edge two centimeters wide. [Ed., the remainder of p. 83, pp. 84-86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted. Pages 84, 85, 86, and 87 contain comparative data from the Tupinambá and other tribes on wrist and leg ornaments.]

[109:87] To summarize: one of the chief resemblances between the Tapirapé, Karajá, and Javahé cultures resides in the tamankuá complex, and differences among the three cultures in this area are insignificant. Kayapó culture, as described by Krause, differs from these cultures in [109:88] the absence of this complex, which left only a few traces upon it. According to the data mentioned above, certain elements of the complex distinguish the culture of the Tapirapé from that of other Tupi Indians, as well as from that of the Xingu Indians, while other elements reveal similarities among all these cultures. Although such similarities do not prove that this complex or any part of it originated among the Tupi Indians, they do not permit the formulation of the opposite hypothesis either. It is probable that the garter should be regarded as a trait of cultural relationship between the Tapirapé, the northern Tupinambá, and other Tupi Indians. Among certain Tupi tribes (Tapirapé, Yuruna), the cotton leg ornaments differ from those of certain Gê tribes in that they are made with a crochet needle instead of being woven. It will be the task of future research to determine whether this is the case among so many tribes in both families that it may serve as a general differentiating factor between the Tupi and the Gê peoples. [Ed., end of Vol. 109.]

[110:191] Chapter 7

## The Village and the Houses

[561] 35 At the time of my visit, Tampiitaua was located in the center of a large clearing. Around each house (avuyra in Tapirapé)

351 lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the vil-
lage square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstruc-
[372] tions. The trunks served as seats and, bit by bit, as firewood.
They lay in such numbers over the vast area stretching between
the houses and the edge of the forest, and were so entangled and
[114] ensnarled by their branches, that the imaginative Madame de
[712] la Falaise (196), who visited Tampiitaua on August 23, 1935, that
is to say, shortly after my departure, went so far as to write the
following: "We proceeded toward the village, where the tribe,
for fear of armed aggression, has fortified the surroundings. The
felled, tangled trees, the traps and ingenious obstacles, are dis-
couraging. The boldest aggressor would break his neck long be-
fore he got the better of them" [translated from French].

361 In this respect, however, I must confess that the only serious
712 obstacles I encountered daily on crossing the area in question were
114 the products of the tribal digestive processes, for the supposed
[514] fortification held no role other than that of a huge toilet. [110:
192] I do not wish to determine whether such obstacles may be
termed "ingenious," but I wish to emphasize that they did not
discourage me. The truth is that the Tapirapé do not fortify their
●[171] village in any way, and differ in this respect from the Tupinambá,
who surrounded their villages (Jean Parmentier apud J.F. de
Almeida Prado, 180; Hans Staden, p. 3; Gabriel Soares de Sousa,
366). The "traps and ingenious obstacles" mentioned above exist
only in the imagination of the author. Even the act of placing
[721] sentries, a precaution referred to in Chapter 5, is strikingly incon-
sistent with the natural bent of the Tapirapé.

361 Toward the east a stream meandered, a few paces from the
[312] village. Its clear, fresh waters ran free of the thick forest for only
[515] a short stretch, which was used at the same time as bathroom and
[226] drinking fountain, and as a spot for fishing and for washing the
[487] sleeping hammocks. A well-beaten path led from it to the vil-
lage plaza, skirting a plot of sugar cane to the left. According to
219 what Reverend Kegel told me, this plot resulted from collective
476 labor performed for Kamairahó. The latter had ruled on the site
of the plot and concurrently on that of the village, which had been
built later beside the communally prepared garden. It was, so to
speak, a luxury plot, for it contained nothing but the sweet grass

512 not far from the door, and every quarter of an hour a pair of dancers, singing in loud voices and hammering the ground with their feet, pass before the opening. The other occupants of the house also have trouble getting an uninterrupted night's sleep. After midnight it turns increasingly cold. Then the Indian takes a piece of burning wood from the fire beside his net, breaks it into embers by striking it against the ground, and lays the pieces directly under his hammock. A small boy is asleep, curled up on a net that is already too small for him. He has no mother to make him a new one. His long rhea-bone tembetá hangs down into thin air. Suddenly the boy moans; the mosquitoes and the cold have awakened him. He gets up, heavy with sleep, squats by the nearly burned-out embers of his small fire, and blows until the flame revives. Then he sits in his hammock once more, rubs the soles of his feet together to remove the light grey dust of the floor, and swings while sighing once in a while, "Aky, tanchió (Ai, mosquito!)." When daylight breaks dimly into the house, everyone awakens. The women get up first, blow on the fire, [462] place the pots upon it, fetch cotton and spindle, sit beside their [283] still prone spouses, and spin for a while. Then they set the spindle aside to fetch a few bananas for their husbands and themselves, stir the pots while the men get up, and thus, gradually, all the occupants of the house start moving.

[110:200] When they are in the village and there are no festivities underway, both sexes usually spend not only most of the night, but most of the day at home. For a while before and after sundown, however, they sit in the space fronting their house, which is called takupé, or in the plaza in front of the takana. At the [345] time of my visit, the men's house served as permanent dwelling only for the few initiates and for one or two bachelors. Other men would go in only to "have a chat" or to dance a little, and never stayed there for hours on end as do Boróro married men in their men's house. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 110, pp. 200-202, and the first page, p. 105, of the section in Vol. 111, as well as the first paragraph on p. 106, are omitted. Vol. 110, pp. 200-202, and Vol. 111, p. 105, contain data on Tupinambá houses.]

171 361 [111:106] These data show a certain similarity between Tupinambá villages and Tampiitaua in the arrangement of the

171 houses, since in both cases the structures stand around the central
361 plaza. The chief difference lies in the fact that the large men's house stands in the center of the Tampiitaua plaza, while according to all references and pertinent woodcuts the Tupinambá village plaza had no building whatever in the center.

There seems to be a closer similarity between Tapirapé and Mundurukú [Mundurucu] villages. [Ed., the remainder of p. 106 and all but the last paragraph on p. 107 are omitted.]

[111:107] On the plan of Tampiitaua (Fig. 8), the arrange-
361 ment of houses around the takana clearly reveals two semicircles
621 standing [111:108] at some distance from each other, one on the
616 northern side and the other on the southern side. The largest house in each group stands in the middle of the others, so that these two larger houses, a and e, stand more or less opposite with the takana between them. The important kauihó dance, which
[535] will be described in a later chapter, was performed first in house a, and immediately afterward by the same persons in house e. In various masked dances, the pairs, when crossing the village plaza, moved alternately from one of these houses to the other. The
[622] heads of the two houses, Kamairahó and Vuatanamy, not only were the main leaders of Tampiitaua, but also performed as a pair in one of those dances. It is thus possible that they represented the "patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties" mentioned by Wagley (4, 7 [Tr., in English at 4, 63]).

591 According to that author (ibid.), Tapirapé residence is matri-
114 local. At the time of my stay in Tampiitaua, there were eight couples with living ancestors: (1) in house a, the couple designated by the numbers 3 and 10 on the village plan (Fig. 8) lived with No. 1, that is, the husband's father (the husband's mother and the wife's parents were dead); (2) couple 11 and 16, in the same house, did not live with No. 29, that is, the wife's father, in house b (the husband's parents and the wife's mother were dead); (3) couple 13 and 18 lived in the same house, a, as No. 8, that is, the husband's mother, and this was also the house of 17 and 24, that is, the wife's parents (the husband's father was dead); (4) couple 29 and 36, in house b, did not live with No. 22, that is, the wife's mother, in house a (the husband's parents and the wife's father were dead); (5) couple 33 and 42, in house b, lived

114 in this house with No. 48, that is, the husband's mother (the hus-
591 band's father and the wife's parents were dead); (6) couple 35 and 40, in the same house, did not live with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother, who lived in house d (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (7) couple 51 and 58, in house d, lived in this house with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (8) couple 85 and 92, in house f, did not live with No. 22, that is, the husband's mother, in house a (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead). As we can see, these data do not permit us to mention the existence of either a matrilocal or a patrilocal pattern among the Tapirapé in 1935, nor do they contribute any answer to the question as to whether these Indians were formerly patrilocal or matrilocal. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 108, p. 109, and the first paragraph of p. 110 are omitted.]

[111:110] Thus, while the villages of various tribes at the
171 headwaters of the Xingu resemble Tampiitaua in their inclusion
361 of a ceremonial house and in the arrangement of the dwellings around it, they differ from it in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of dwellings and ceremonial houses. In that
171 region of the Xingu basin, the houses do not have, like those of the
342 Tapirapé, a rectangular plan. They are elliptical or round, and similar in their beehive shape to the hemispherical houses of the Rio das Mortes Chavante rather than to the elongated dome (cf. Max Schmidt 3, 460-461; Meyer, 1, 62; and the figure in Von den Steinen 1, 124). There, in addition, the ceremonial house
171 is not larger than the family dwellings around it, as is the takana
345 at Tampiitaua, but as a rule is actually smaller (Max Schmidt 3, 462). [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 110, p. 111, and all but the last two paragraphs on p. 112 are omitted.]

[101] [111:112] The use of a sleeping hammock also points out the
171 kinship of the Tapirapé with the Tupinanbá and with the Tupi fam-
513 ily as a whole (cf. Métraux 2, 60-62). Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá also slept naked and without blankets, maintaining a fire beside the net through the night (cf. Staden p. 4; Dialogos
114 das grandezas do Brazil [Dialogues on the Grandeurs of Brazil] 270;
171 Salvador 35). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] While according to
513 Father Vicente de Salvador (35), the Tupinambá husband usually

114 slept with his wife in the same net, this also being the custom
171 among the Tapirapé with certain exceptions, couples in the region
513 of the Xingu headwaters, according to Herrmann Meyer's diary (1, 64), sleep separately in nets set up one above the other. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá, according to Léry (276), took their nets along when they went hunting and fishing, hanging them from trees when it was time to sleep.

171 The Tapirapé custom of swinging the hammock was also
516 found among Indians of the eastern Bolivian forest. Each of the following words by Richard N. Wegner (1, 70) about the Siriono may be applied to many inhabitants of Tampiitaua: [111:113] "Both naked Siriono lay in short hammocks. Only the buttocks and the head more or less fitted in. The right foot was balanced on the cord that held up the net, while the left leg, which hung out even in sleep, kept the net swinging throughout the night."

352 The menstruation net is a peculiarity of Tapirapé culture.
513 Certain hammocks have an opening at the spot where the woman's
841 buttocks lie. As a rule, these nets are also used at other times. In house d, however, the couple consisting of Techipy and Manchiró slept with Marekantú, their three-year-old daughter, in the same net, and also possessed a menstruation hammock. The latter, however, was used by Manchiró only at the time for which it was intended, and this is why I left it blank in Figure 8. I have never heard of the existence of menstruating nets in other cultures. It is possible, of course, that they may exist among other peoples and go unnoticed by explorers.

231 The net in house c, which I left blank on the same figure, was tiny because it belonged to a small dog. It was the bed of a "dog child," in the words of the Tapirapé.

171 In their use of the hammock, these Indians differ from their
513 eastern, northern, and probably also their southern neighbors.
352 The Karajá and Kayapó sleep on the ground (cf. Krause 2, 198 and 373), and the same must be assumed of the Rio das Mortes Chavante, among whom many mats have been found, but to my knowledge no sleeping hammocks.

114 The small bench was an article of which only one specimen
171 existed in Tampiitaua. We read in Métraux (2, 63): "No cultural
352

114 trait is as characteristic of northern and central South America
171 as the wooden stool. Its southern boundary, like that of the
352 hammock, is the southernmost region inhabited by the Tupi-Guarani tribes. We find it mentioned, indeed, among the Tupinamba, Caingua, Chiriguano, Guarayú, Yuruna, Chipaya, Curuaya, Auetö, Kamayurá, and Oyampi. Ortiguera lists among
[531] the wonders owned by the Omagua their painted and varnished
[532] stools. Those of the Chiriguano, Caingua, Yuruna, and Kamayurá are made in the shape of animals" [translated from French].

It should be remembered, however, that as Father Wilhelm
114 Schmidt showed on a comparative table, there is a wide variety
171 of types, not only among the benches as a whole but also among
352 those representing animals. One of the latter is peculiar to the
532 Indians of the upper Xingu (Von den Steinen 2, 286-288), to the Karajá (Krause 2, 199), and to the Tapirapé. It consists of a single piece of wood for the seat, and two supporting boards set up as they would be in a sled. Among the Kamayurá, Mehinakú [Mehinacu], and Trumai, however, the representation of birds retains a certain naturalism (cf. Von den Steinen 2, Figs. 82-84), while it is altogether stylized among the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 19), where the ellipsoidal seat of the bench ends on either side in a sort of triangular head with mother-of-pearl eyes supplied with wax pupils, and tassels [111:114] of yellow-red parrot feathers at the ear openings. The bench I saw in Tampiitaua was similar in shape to the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause (ibid.) and was also painted black with genipap juice (cf. Krause 2, 199), but it possessed neither eyes nor ear openings and ornaments. Although its appearance indicated a closer relationship with the stool of the Araguaia Indians, its name related it to the Xingu bench. While the Karajá call the stool kolixú (Krause, ibid.),
114 the Tapirapé give it the name ampykaua, which in the Tupi of
171 the Auetö and Kamayurá comes out as apykáp (apükáp in Von den
352 Steinen's spelling, 2, 286). It is worth noting that a Karaib tribe
192 in the same region, the Bakairi, use the same Tupi term changed to apyka (apüka in Von den Steinen's monograph). The same word, but with the tonic accent on the last syllable, that is to say, apyká, means "bench" in the Tupi-Guarani dialect heard by Montoya (2, I, 105) in the upper Paraná basin, while the Amazon

114 Nheêngatu [Tr., the native name for Tupi, meaning "good lan-
●171 guage"] language recorded by Stradelli (694) has uapikasaua or
352 uapikatyua for "bench," and uapikauá for the person sitting on it.
192 Claude d'Abbeville (308) mentions among the Tupinambá of Maranhão "very nice little stools which they call Apouycaue" [translated from French].

As far as the function of these benches is concerned, we
171 must take into account the observation relayed by Krause (loc.
352 cit.) that among the Karajá "they are only for the chiefs," and
554 the note by Von den Steinen (2, 287) that there are not many specimens in existence among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin, but that they are always found in the chiefs' houses where they are offered to guests. (This latter observation is confirmed by Meyer 1, 63.)

Kamairahó was the owner of the stool in Tampiitaua. This man was the most important leader among the Tapirapé, and wherever he went there went the wooden seat as though it were a badge of distinction. Kamairahó took it and sat on the Tampiitaua plaza or outside the village before the little house built and inhabited by my companion Kegel and our camarada Daniel. Only when he was in his own house would he place the stool against the wall close to his net and sit or lie in the latter.
[574] As among the Xingu tribes, this "ceremonial seat" was also offered to guests among the Tapirapé. I never sat on it alone, however. Since two people could sit on it at once if they pressed very close together, Kamairahó never granted me more than half his throne. In order to do this, he could not merely move over to the side. He had to stand up and establish with me a complete harmony of movement. For although the horizontal board of the seat was large enough for both of us, the central support, like that of the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause, was so small, dwindling further toward the ground, that we had to take over our respective halves with the most rigorous synchronization to avoid tipping the seat over and either hitting the floor or being hit in the buttocks by the bench.

516 Kamairahó and I frequently spent the early hours of the night
562 in such equipoise, while beside [111:115] and before us the other men and boys sat on a tree trunk and the women and girls sat

516 directly upon the ground. Actually, the manner of sitting is
562 one of the cultural traits in which the sexes are radically differentiated among the Tapirapé. A woman, when she is not sitting in her hammock, sits on the ground without previously covering it, and only exceptionally does she sit on a tree trunk beside
[834] her husband (cf. Photo. 58). She always hides her sexual organs, however, either by covering them with the hand or with a leg folded against the body while the other leg is stretched out (Photo. 59) or by crossing her legs (Photos. 11 and 32). When she wields the pestle and kneels to hold the mortar between her knees, this object hides, up to a point, her sexual organs (Baldus 7, Fig. 31). The men usually sit with open legs and cover the ground with a mat (Photo. 53) or a piece of cloth (Photo. 63), when they do not squat (Photo. 39) or sit on a tree trunk (Photo. 61). When several of them sit on the same trunk, they prefer to press close together rather than to leave space between them. When eating at home, the husband eases himself into the net while the woman sits before him on the floor. [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

171 The Tapirapé resemble the majority of Brazilian tribes in not
354 having any special implements to light up their houses, but merely relying at night on the weak flames of their fires for the purpose.

I did not witness the making of fire among the Tapirapé, for
372 they never allowed it to go out and carried burning sticks with
171 them on their journeys. In Wagley's collection at the National Museum [Rio de Janeiro], however, there are fire drills to indicate that this tribe, whenever necessary, makes fire by the process used in all [111:116] Brazilian tribes and already described and reproduced in Hans Staden's woodcuts (p 3), that is to say, by twirling between the open hands a rod resting perpendicularly on a piece of wood.

To kindle the fire, the Tapirapé use fans which are made, as in a number of Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 101), of plaited palm leaves. The Tupinambá also had fans for this purpose, as is shown in one of Staden's woodcuts (t 1).

When the inhabitants of Tampiitaua leave the house at night
[514] to answer the calls of nature, they light their way with a burning stick which they wave about constantly to prevent the fire from dying out. Adalbert, Prince of Prussia (679), when he traveled in

372 Juruna [Yuruna] territory, called this habit of waving a burning
171 piece of wood to one side and another "the Indian way" in his diary. Among the Tapirapé, the burning sticks shaken in this
372 fashion serve as nocturnal protection against certain anchinga,
776 that is to say, evil spirits. Hans Staden (p 4) also wrote of the
171 Tupinambá: "At night, when they must attend to their needs, they do not like to leave their houses without taking a light, for such is their fear of the devil called Ingange and frequently seen by them." According to Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 168), the fear of evil spirits (mauarí) impels the Taulipáng to carry a burning stick when they leave the house at night.

In spite of the constant danger presented by the anchinga and
514 naturally also by the fearsome Kayapó neighbors, the Tapirapé never defecate near the house even at night, but go into the labyrinth of felled trunks lying between the village and the forest, far enough so the clean open spaces near the dwelling will not be soiled and the odor of the feces will not reach the house. The
[195] custom of retiring to a good distance for this purpose is embodied in the expression kaa-pe-pyá ("belly-to-the-woods"), or to translate it more freely, "I shall now take my belly toward the woods," a phrase with which every well-bred lady in Tampiitaua must announce to her housemates her intention to go and defecate.

When it comes to urinating, however, these women are not quite as formal. When we rose from a night session carried out in front of the house and presided over by Kamairahó, the moon was out and I could see dark spots on the ground where members of the female sex had been sitting. Without moving or showing the slightest sign of unrest, the ladies, young and old, who had been sitting around us, had urinated copiously while the great man and I aired the most profound mythological questions. Apparently, the wet spots on which they sat had not been overly unpleasant to them.

Naturally, a woman who is standing does not sit directly upon the ground, but squats, when she wishes to urinate. The men also adopt this position. There were some interesting endeavors at
177 cultural change in this respect, however, Once, some time after
514 my arrival in the village, while I urinated in the neighboring woods, I was surprised to see several young men imitate me by standing also. No sooner had they started out in this way, however,

interested would remain where it is. Also, I have already mentioned the enthusiastic battling of the chickens against roaches, which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (159-160), incidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Arauers by the savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked and poorly wrapped at night, these Arauers gnawed them to the bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning." [translated from French].

The word written arauers in the French spelling of the sixteenth century author tallies perfectly with the anavé, anaué, and araué with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient coastal Tupi in not fortifying their village with fences and in possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most typically Tupi are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial, and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Karajá in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupi name they give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings, in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:119] of houses around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

171 other Gê tribes and of the Bororo, but they differ from their north-
361 ern neighbors in the ground plan and framework of the houses, in
[342] the manner of burial, and in the use of the sleeping hammock.
[964] The Tapirapé resemble various tribes of the upper Xingu basin in the layout of the houses around a ceremonial house and in the use of the sleeping hammock, but differ from them in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of the dwellings versus the ceremonial house, as well as in the custom of burying the dead inside the house. It is also worth noting the difference between the elongated-dome shape of the Tapirapé and northern Kayapó houses and the beehive shape of the Kayamo-Chavante dwellings on the Rio das Mortes. [Ed., end of Vol. 111.]

## Chapter 8

### [112:51] Subsistence

222 The Tapirapé derive their subsistence largely from farming and fishing. This does not keep them from using any opportunity they may have to gather wild fruits and honey and to hunt. The fruits of certain trees are plucked as they chance to be found along the way, but those of the tucum-açú (Astrocharyum spec.), called chavana in Tapirapé, are sought out systematically during the month of October. In September or thereabouts, the men equip themselves with axes and gourds and go into the forest to look for honey. During the same month they catch turtles and turtle eggs. At different times of the year they gather the larvae of various kinds of wasps (kaua, "wasp" in Tapirapé) and kill animals both small and large. Although some of them hunt at all times of the year,
224 February and March are the special hunting months, for this is the time when game, especially wild pigs, armadilloes, and pacas, is crowded in by the rising waters.

During my stay in Tampiitaua, there was only one man who preferred hunting to any other occupation. He was Kanchovani, a Tapirapé about 32 years of age who was more slender in body than many other members of his tribe. While the others worked in their

224 plots or at some task in the village, he would be on the lookout in the jungle or in the scrub forest. Some younger men also went hunting from time to time, but Kanchovani stood out as a specialist, a hunter par excellence.

Aside from individual hunting, there are collective hunts carried out by a few men (Photo. 24) or by the work groups.

The hunting weapons consist of bow and arrow and club. While traveling, the Indian usually takes along a bow and arrow, and often a club as well. On August 5, when we met a pair of jaguars as we marched from the village to the river, Kamairá and Chapokó ran after them with bow and club in hand. On July 14, a Tapirapé killed a wild pig with a club.

The bow (vuirampana) shown in Figure 13 and in Photographs
411 25, 26, 27, and 29 is typical [112:52] [Fig. 13 appears here.] [112:53] In the specimen shown in Photograph 29, the stave of patí palm wood (Syagrus botryophora), tantaú or tantayva in Tapirapé, is 175 centimeters long, and its circumference is eight centimeters in the center part, five centimeters near the notches at the ends, and three and a half at the tips, of which the upper one is four and a half and the lower one three and a half centimeters long. The cross-section is circular. The cord of vegetable matter (iniyma, ámayma) is 162 centimeters long. Sometimes it is rubbed with the greasy urucú paste, and this is done even more frequently to the bow stave and to the club. On certain bows made
[531] with special care, which are used by the dance leaders as decorative weapons and to mark time, the cord is whitened all over (Photos. 4, 68, 69).

Krause (2, 264) gives the length of the Karajá bow cord as
171 184-204 centimeters. Except for its size, this bow is identical to
411 that of the Tapirapé. In Meyer's (3, 8) classification, these bows belong to the "eastern Brazilian" type. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Krause (2, 262) writes as follows about the palm wood of which
439 the Karajá bow stave is made: "They say that this wood (olotó, woaluó) grows only in the Tapirapé area. In any case, according to their unanimous assertion, the Indians of the southern band obtain their bows, or the materials for them, from the Karajá of the northern band or from the Tapirapé themselves. As a result, I was able to acquire bows only from the northern band, for among the

[Text continues on p. 98]

439 southern band they were regarded as precious articles." This may explain why Nuerehí, a Karajá about 50 years old and an inhabitant of Beroromandú, a village located near Santa Teresinha, asked me to bring him a bow and a handful of arrows from the Tapirapé, stating that these objects were better in the Tupi tribe than in his own. I already mentioned in Chapter 2 that, according to Krause (2, 456), the word uohú, with *which the Karajá* designate the Tapirapé, means "arrow." This may possibly refer to their capacity as arrow suppliers. [101]

171 411 The arrows (oyva) of these Indians, shown in Photographs 27, 29, and 30, resemble the corresponding Karajá and Kayapó arrows described by Krause (2, 264-270, 392-393). The corresponding arrows are the barbed ones and those with a simple, rounded, wooden tip. I have not seen any Tapirapé arrows like the two encountered by the same author (2, 411 and Fig. 270), of which one had a flat wooden tip with "barbs cut out on both sides and a double edge," while the other had a cane tip. Nor did I find [112:54] arrows with notched wooden tips among the Tapirapé, such as those Krause (2, 265) encountered among the Karajá. On the other hand, the bird arrow with a thick wax tip which that author (2, 247) noted in the same tribe is also used by the Tapirapé (see Photos. 25 and 26).

Like the Karajá, Kayapó (loc. cit., 267 and 392), and tribes of the Xingu headwaters (Von den Steinen 2, 229), the Tapirapé also make a kind of barbed arrow by fastening to the tip of the wooden part of the shaft, previously grooved laterally, a small piece of bone that is slightly curved and sharp at both ends. This piece is tied on, and the whole binding is covered with black resin. In the barbed Tapirapé arrows tipped with the spine of the sting-ray, the barb is not made with the spine also, as Krause (2, 393 and Fig. 249h) asserts of a Kayapó arrow that is similar but made of wood. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.] [314]

The length of barbed arrows with bone or sting-ray tips is roughly identical among the Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé. The tip, on the average, is six centimeters long, the wooden part of the shaft from 35 to 50 centimeters, and the cane part about one meter long. [237]

The wooden rod bearing the arrow point (oyvanchí, chi meaning "point") is inserted into the cane stem (angkamanchyva) and

•171
411 secured there with resin. It was previously placed near the fire to be straightened out while still hot. As a rule, however, the rod becomes straight in general orientation only and remains crooked in one or several places. An essentially agricultural tribe like the Tapirapé does not make weapons with the care expended on such work by a hunting tribe, such as the Bororo, for example. The heat of the fire also serves to harden the wood, which is sometimes dyed red or black.

The section of the cane shaft that encircles the rod is bound
[824] spirally with a narrow black strip of philodendron bark (vuamé)
[314] glued on with resin. This covering is from nine to 16 centimeters long and makes the shaft stronger.

The feathered part (pepá or "wing," pe meaning "path," "direction," "forward motion," and pa meaning "hand") is, on the average, from 16 to 25 centimeters long. Like the Karajá and the Kayapó, the Tapirapé fasten two feathers in opposition to each
[237] other at the extreme tip of the shaft. The feathers are usually those of macaws, hawks, or hoatzins. Their stems are tied to the shaft with cotton thread (inimá). The twisting of the feathers, which aims at spinning the arrow in flight, seldom covers a quarter of the shaft circumference and often does not even cover an eighth of it. The barbs of the feathers are crudely cut out
[439] with scissors acquired from the Whites, and the half that juts out is broader than the other half. The stem of the feather is slit at the tip and glued to the cane covered with resin. Both spiral bindings of cotton thread are fastened to the shaft with resin. The front one is of [112:55] blackened cotton, about six centimeters long, and holds small red and sometimes yellow macaw breast feathers whose barbs extend backward, that is to say, inside the feathering. The rear binding is of white cotton, about one and a half centimeters long, and serves not only to secure the thinner part of the feather stems, but also to strengthen the tip of the arrow. This tip has an oblique notch (vuatachimeakáua), more than half a centimeter deep, that receives the bow cord. The binding reaches up to this notch, and its third function seems to be that of a tribal marking, for aside from the parallel threads it bears two crossed ones which are, as Krause (2, 270) heard among the Karajá, characteristic of the Tapirapé.

171 These Indians, like the Karajá (ibid.) and Kayapó (ibid., 393)
411 decorate the shaft section between the two cotton bindings with
531 one or more rings of red resin (totayga, chotahypyrynga). In the Tupi tribe, the width of these rings varies from one to eight centimeters. The raw material is cooked in a pot with water by the [462] woman, since, according to the Tapirapé behavior pattern, all [252] cooking in pots is female work, while roasting falls to the men. The cotton thread is also made by the woman. Otherwise, the arrow, like other weapons and their component parts, is made by [422] the man, and usually the owner of the weapon was also its maker.

Thevet (1, 291) writes as follows of a tree called "Vhebehasou"
171 which is extremely tall, with leaves similar to those of a cabbage
314 and fruits over a foot long which never ripen because they are soon eaten up by wild bees: "In addition, it bears a red gum, suitable to many different ends, which they handle skillfully" [translated from French]. Could it be that the Indians visited by Thevet, that is to say, the Tupinambá of the sixteenth century, used the above-mentioned "red gum" for the same end as the Tapirapé use totayaga?

227 The barbed arrow is better suited to the pursuit of large fish
411 than any other, since the barb, by fastening the weapon to the animal's body, not only prevents it from escaping and weakens and kills it, as also happens with mammals, but also facilitates the removal of the fish from the water. The conditions are different, however, when small fish are shot in shallow waters where the arrowpoint easily penetrates into the sand. In such cases the Tapirapé use a small bow (vuirampampí) and special arrows, 60 to 70 centimeters long, with simple rounded wooden points, ten to 20 centimeters long, which are inserted directly into the cane shaft. In harmony with the overall size of these arrows, parrot [237] feathers are used at the tip instead of the plumage of macaws and other large birds used on barbed arrows. In other respects, however, these two types of arrows are identical from the tip of the cane shaft, which is bound with a strip of philodendron bark, to the other tip where the bow cord rests upon the notch, and all the details of the feathered section are exactly the same. As far as the point is concerned, however, it is worth noting that sometimes the small arrows have up to three of those simple, rounded, wooden points instead of just one (see Photo. 30). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

171 411 [112:56] In Meyer's classification (3, 9, 33), the feathering of the Tapirapé arrow belongs to the "eastern Brazilian or Gê-Tupi" type, and it is clearly distinct from the "sewn feathering of the Xingu" in which two half feathers are sewn to the shaft (ibid., Plate 1, Fig. 9). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

114 171 411 524 Krause (2, 273-274 and Fig. 127) describes the spear thrower (aubí, obirú) of the Karajá as a sporting weapon used in a game called anarkámed-uohú, that is, "game of the Tapirapé," and says he was told by those Araguaia Indians that both spear thrower and game also exist in this Tupi tribe. [Ed., two sentences are omitted.] Among the Tapirapé, I did not see or hear anything about this weapon or about the game referred to by Krause.

114 171 411 This author (2, Fig. 265) presents as a Tapirapé club a weapon that he acquired in a Karajá village located near the mouth of the Tapirapé River, which resembles the rounded club (gohordé) of the Karajá not only in shape but also in the grooves on its rear section and handle (cf. ibid., Fig. 123). Regarding the Karajá, Krause (ibid., 271) notes: "Nowhere did I see smooth clubs like those brought by Ehrenreich." The Javahé club is grooved on the rear section and handle (ibid., 361 and Fig. 196), like that of the Karajá, while most of the rounded Kayapó clubs are entirely covered with these grooves (ibid., 390 and Fig. 245). It is worth noting, however, that these northern neighbors of the Tapirapé also have flat clubs (ibid., Fig. 246).

171 411 All the Tapirapé clubs I saw (yvyrá, "stick," the generic term for "wood") had the shape of the above-mentioned rounded clubs possessed by their neighbors, but they were not grooved in any way, and they were usually smaller than those of the Karajá. According to Ehrenreich (1, 19), Karajá clubs are from 95 to 137 centimeters long, and one of these weapons in my own private collection measures 111 centimeters, while its maximum circumference is 20 centimeters and the minimum one ten centimeters. In other words, it has average measurements. The Tapirapé club (Photo. 29), however, which is also average in size, is 90 centimeters long, 17 centimeters at its maximum circumference, and eight centimeters at the minimum one. As we can see in the photograph, it has the shape of a cudgel, being thicker at the hitting end. The ring between the handle and the body is three centimeters wide and 11 centimeters [112:57] in circumference on this Tapirapé club, and

171 25 centimeters wide and 12 centimeters in circumference on the
411 above-mentioned Karajá club which is in my possession. Both specimens are made of heavy wood. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

In hand-to-hand fighting, to kill at a short distance, the club
411 is usually preferable to the arrow. The Tapirapé will also grab
[724] their clubs when quarreling with a member of their own tribe, but
[578] in spite of this menacing gesture the quarrel is usually limited to a string of verbal insults. While in daytime dances the men of
411 Tampitawa held in their hands an arrow or bow, and only excep-
535 tionally a club, in the kaó, or great nocturnal group dance, they held clubs and bush knives. These weapons were not used largely to mark time, as was the case with the bow and arrow in the daytime dances. They were displayed to make clear the character of kaó, which, as shown also by the intonation of the accompanying chant and by other elements, is basically a martial one. Fur-
[721] thermore, when equipped with clubs and bush knives, the warriors stood ready every night to repel any dreaded attack by their Kayapó neighbors. As far as hunting is concerned, it must be re-
224 called that the density of the forest vegetation and the height of
411 the grass in the savanna frequently ruled against the use of bow and
[137] arrow and impelled the Indian to attack from a short distance, that is to say, to use the club. In spite of this, during the march between the village and the river I observed that all the men carried
[683] bows and arrows, while they did not all carry clubs. Another specialized function of the Tapirapé club is to kill those people who are regarded as evil sorcerers.

The Tapirapé spear (yvyra-hâia, "pointed stick," or mina,
114 "spear") may have been imported from the Karajá. There are no
411 references to spears among the ancient Tupinambá or among the
[439] upper Xingu tribes. In Montoya's work (2, II), however, we find
[171] the terms ibirâhaquâbae, "pointed stick" (haquâ, "point") and my, "spear, prong." I did not see any spears while I was with the
[535] Tapirapé, but at Macauba on Banana Island, Mr. Frederico Kegel showed me one that he had brought back from a previous visit to those Indians, and told me that they used it exclusively in their dances to mark the time, in the same manner as the above-men-
171 tioned weapons. This spear resembled the Karajá spear (donolf)
411 described by Krause (2, 272-273 and Fig. 126). It was likewise a

171 decorative object used on festive occasions and equipped with a
411 large bone point superposed on the shaft and adorned with tufts of pendant feathers. On the Karajá spear, however, these tufts are secured between the bone point and a braided ornament that covers the front part of the shaft along a length of 50 to 80 centimeters, while in the Tapirapé photographs published in the article "A civilização dos indios de Goyaz" [The Civilization of the Goiás Indians] (Revista [112:58] da Semana), they are fastened behind (or, if the spear is held vertically, under) the two-tone braiding. The Karajá told Krause (loc. cit.) that in olden times, when the spear was used to hunt jaguars, the tufts served to frighten the animal. Speaking of the Kayapó, the same author (2, 390) writes that he observed a few spears similar to those of the Karajá in the course of a ceremony.

Judging by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use hunting traps
224 and differ in this respect from the ancient coastal Tupi whose
171 traps are mentioned by several authors, for example, by Léry (134, 143) in the sixteenth century and by Vasconcellos (p. LXXVII) in the seventeenth. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

During our march to the river, the Tapirapé set fire to the
311 high, dry grass. According to them, they did this to make walking
414 easier on the return journey. This reason differs from that indi-
171 cated to me by the Brazilian frontiersmen when they set grass fields
224 on fire. They said that new grass would grow as a result of the burning and would attract deer and other animals, thus improving hunting conditions. Krause (2, 247) got the same explanation from the Karajá, who also liked to set fire to the grass fields. It may be
224 that the reason given by the Tapirapé reflects their lack of inclination for hunting. To my knowledge, they do not set fire to the fields for the purpose of killing the animals who run away from the fire and of gathering the small rodents who die in the flames, like, for example, the Chamakoko [Chamacoco] of the Chaco (Baldus 1, 32) and the Paresi of Mato Grosso (Roquette Pinto 126).

Among the dozen dogs (chavuana) in Tampiitaua, I did not
224 find a single one specialized for a certain type of game. The two
231 dogs who were with us when we encountered the pair of jaguars were immediately frightened by the animals and dared not run after them even in the company of the Indians. On the other hand, the wild

224 pig killed on July 14 was brought to bay by Tapirapé dogs. Krause
23 (2, 407) found numerous tracks of Tapirapé dogs on a sandbar of the river that goes by the same name. The same author (2, 245
171 and 386) mentions dogs belonging to the Karajá (kjolozá in their
231 language) and the Kayapó. According to the Tapirapé, the
[649] Ampanéá stole young dogs from them. The complete absence of dogs in the upper Xingu region, which was noted by Von den Steinen (1, 326) in 1884, was confirmed in 1924 by Hintermann (255).

224 I was unable to obtain a satisfactory explanation for the following custom, which was related to me by my companion Kegel: the Tapirapé, after killing game, place a number of small sticks, corresponding to the number of animals killed, at the spot where they re-enter one of the paths used by the tribe; they tear each stick slightly and insert a feather or a few hairs of the slain animal in the resulting slit. I encountered the same custom in 1946 among the Kaingang [Caingang] of the upper Ivaí. There, the Indian Salvador Veiniá, after hunting baitaca [Tr., parrots of the Pionias genus], plucked a few feathers from one of these birds in my presence and tossed them beside the path. This same Kaingang, while in [112:59] the company of my assistant Harald Schultz, once found a stick lying on a footpath with two clusters of tãteto hair in its split upper tip, and he said that two of those wild pigs had been killed at that spot and that the stick with the hair had been left there by the hunter to impart the news to passersby.

I did not observe any magic with the explicit purpose of catch-
224 ing or multiplying game. It is uncertain whether the animal dances
533 and songs which I shall describe in the chapter dealing with re-
535 ligion [Tr., apparently not published] have such a purpose, or whether their aim is merely to express joy. The Indians themselves
[226] say that there is a lot of fish when they sing, but that there is also a lot of fish when they do not sing. To judge from this statement, the animal songs and dances are not hunting magic. The Tapirapé
533 sing and dance because they like to sing and dance. For this reason,
535 also, they borrowed songs and dances from the Karajá. It would
177 be necessary to find out (1) whether the animal dances and songs were originally magical, (2) whether anyone still regards them as such, and (3) if so, who does. I was unable to settle these questions.

533 In any case, the greater part of the animal dances and songs
535 that I witnessed dealt with fish. Only the dance of the chankui, that is, "little guan," was also performed frequently. A dance
[171] by this name is mentioned by Von den Steinen (2, 313) for the Auetö and Kamayurá as "original" to these Tupi tribes. Actually,
[137] those gallinaceans of the Penelope genus, which are easy to catch, abound in Tapirapé territory, and their tasty meat is not barred to either sex. It would be possible to build fine hypotheses about the connection between these facts and the above-mentioned dance, but I shall abstain.

The predominance of fish dances accords with the importance
226 of fishing. The chief fishing period lasts from June to October. During these months, the waters are low and clearer, and in many places it is possible to see all the way down to the bottom. The
[133] small streams gradually dry out, and the fish are compelled to crowd into certain stretches of the river and into the lakes. The latter lose their connections with the river, or they are closed off artificially with dams, observed by Krause (2, 409, Fig. 7, and 267, Plate 29), which consist of stakes connected with crosspieces and covered with thick foliage.

The areas thus dammed are poisoned with a vine called chimá in Tapirapé. The Indians pound the water with pieces of this vine, and call the procedure anchimaká. The water turns a purplish blue. Only the very small fry are killed, however. Other fish are stunned.
[312] To get drinking water the Indians dig holes in the banks, which sometimes lie no farther than one meter from the poisoned waters, but whose contents, filtered through the sand, are harmless to man. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[112:60] Another Tapirapé fishing method, which I have already mentioned, is with the bow and arrow. While the large barbed arrow is used exclusively by adult men, the small one with one or several simple wooden points is used by the boys. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

At Tampitaua I saw a fish trap (chekiá) consisting of a cylin-
227 drical, funnel-shaped basket made of cane strips (Photo. 32). Aside from this, the Indians showed me a strange object, according to them, used to catch the tiniest fish, which is placed in the water, like the trap, in such a way that the current makes it easy for the fish to get in and impossible for it to get out. This object

227 consists of cane internodes, slit lengthwise in such a way that a ring of the same material placed across the middle of each internode constitutes, so to speak, the common base of two cones formed by the splayed and distended strips, which remain joined only at the tips of the internode, that is to say, at the two nodes (Photo. 31). The Tapirapé name for this "rod-trap" is chekiñ-
[192] nayngaua, and the name of the material used is angkamanchyva, the same kind of cane that is used in making arrows. I must
● 171 confess that I never saw the chekiñ-nayngaua in use and have not
227 heard of its existence in other tribes. Among the eastern Bororo, however, there are hair ornaments consisting of cane internodes which are also distended with a ring of the same material and adorned with feathers. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

The strainer (yrupema) of cane strips is used by children and
227 adults of both sexes to catch small fish, as I frequently observed at the village stream. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[112:61] There are couples who go to the fishing waters at
226 night with burning sticks. The fish are drawn by the light, and they are killed easily with a club or bush knife or caught with the hand. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not see any fishing with nets among the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not witness any harpoon fishing among the Tapirapé. [Ed.; the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, I did not see any fishing with the im-
171 plement of small pointed sticks arranged in the shape of a truncated
227 cone, which is called kutu by the Bakairi (Von den Steinen 2, 73, 74, and 236). It is also used by the Tembé (Nordenskiöld 6, 102 and Map 11), but is not found among the Kamajá and Kayapó.

To judge by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use fishhooks and
227 do not care much for them as gifts. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

On a lake whose waters had been poisoned by the Tapirapé,
114 the same author [Krause] (2, 409) saw a few light tree trunks
501 bound together, which he assumed had been used for navigation. As I already mentioned in Chapter 2, I found on the Tampilitaua stream a trunk hollowed out in the shape of a canoe, but lying with

114 its opening facing downward. As a result, it served us nicely to
501 wash our clothes on. It had apparently been made just to pass the time and did not seem to have any further purpose. The
171 Tapirapé do not usually travel in boats, differing in this respect
501 from the Tupinambá and from most of the present-day Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 207-211), from the Xingu Indians (Von den Steinen 2, 234), and from the Karajá (Krause 2, 276), but not from the Kayapó (ibid., 393). The Chavante, who do not have canoes either, cross the Rio das Mortes on the crude rafts described by Szaffka. It is worth noting, however, that the Tapirapé retain
[192] the old Tupi word for "canoe," that is, yana, written yara by Stradelli and considered by him (715) "a contraction of y, 'water,' and iara, 'mistress,' 'mistress of the water.'" In any case, it is not impossible that the Tapirapé formerly possessed canoes for navigation.

As far as fishing is concerned, let us also mention Manggambí's
787 "dream." The people of Tampiitaua often say that they dreamed
776 of something which they actually suspect or know about. Manggambí
226 was the fattest Tapirapé at the time of my visit. He dreamed of an abundance of fish at a specific spot in a certain stream, [112:62] which held so many fish that the anchinga would be able to eat them
[535] in large quantities. The name anchinga is applied not only to certain spirits, but also to the masked dancers who represent them. All the anchinga who inhabit the hills and waters feed on fish. This
[182] Tapirapé belief, incidentally, is a token of the importance of fishing. Manggambí said that "all" the men should go and fetch the fish he had dreamed of. What Tampiitaua regards as "all" the men did go. They were Manggambí himself and eight companions. When they returned, Manggambí held a large basket full of tiny fish, which were cooked and eaten shortly before dawn in the ceremonial house by the men and adolescents who had impersonated [in the dance] anchinga, chankuí [a bird], and irangchá [a fish]. [Ed., end of Vol. 112.]

105 [113:191] Although fishing is one of their chief means of subsistence, the Tapirapé cannot be regarded essentially as a fishing tribe, as their neighbors the Karajá might fittingly be described. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua do not lead the amphibian life of those big-river navigators. They are forest Indians and cultivators par excellence. In this respect, they remain typical Tupi Indians.

241 The Karajá plots are wretched as compared with those of the Tapirapé. I found Karajá Indians living north of the mouth of the ●171 Tapirapé River who suffered hunger for several years because they had always planted on the same spot. The Araguaia had flooded it several times, depriving them of the fruit of their labor and punishing them for their lack of foresight. The fact that this happened to a people who had known the river so thoroughly and for such a long time goes to show that they are not very adept and capable at tilling the soil. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph on p. 191 and the first paragraph on p. 192 are omitted.]

241 [113: 192] From June to August, that is to say, during the [221] driest months of the year, the Tapirapé cut down forest growth to [171] make new plots. The felling of trees is carried out by the method so widespread among South American tribes and also used by the White colonists of Brazil and neighboring countries. It consists of causing a whole cluster of trees to topple together by incising them in such a way that they all must fall in the same direction when their swaying neighbor leans against them from the opposite side. The largest tree in the group, usually a veritable giant, is felled in such a way that it drags to the ground along with it all its companions weakened by the axe. [Ed., the last half of p. 192 and the first paragraph of p. 193 are omitted.]

171 [113:193] The following note by Steere (385) refers to the Yamamadí, an Aruak [Arawak] tribe of the Purus River: "The 241 first civilized men who visited them say that, at that time, they incised the trees in the shape of a belt, removing the bark with the stone ax. Then, they felled the trees by burning them with firewood piled up around their base."

Stradelli (575) provides a more detailed description of the same procedure as used by the Indians of the upper Uaupés: "The ax is used to make an initial incision all around the tree, which bruises rather than cuts the bark. When this has been done, and after a few days have elapsed to allow the bruised spot to dry or at least to wither, they pile up around the tree a lot of dry wood and then set fire to it. The bruised part, which is at least withered if the time was not sufficient for it to dry, naturally catches fire more readily than the rest. Once the fire has gone out, they remove the layer of charcoal resulting from this initial procedure and scrape the wood bare. They immediately light a new fire, then remove

171 the new layer of charcoal, and repeat this until the tree is felled."
241 [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[113:194] I do not know whether the Tapirapé used the method described by Stradelli. I heard that they felled large trees by setting up a fire beneath the roots. If this is confirmed by the vestiges of carbonization on the roots of fallen trunks and in the holes lying around them, which were still visible in the old plots in 1935, not much time would have elapsed since fire was used for this purpose. Considering that the Tapirapé have owned
[177] iron axes for dozens of years, it should then be assumed that fire was used in connection with these products of our civilization.

In any case, I did not find stone axes among the Tapirapé,
174 nor did I find anyone in Tampiitaua who had used them, or anyone
412 who had found similar implements at sites formerly occupied by the tribe. Of course, there is no doubt that the Tapirapé did possess them in the past, and they may have been as small as those of the Ampaneá, according to the Tapirapé. It is certain, however, that
174 several generations ago the Tapirapé obtained iron objects
412 (itanchoa, "iron," "glass," from ita, "stone," and choa, "yellow")
439 through the Karajá, and not only axes, but bush knives as well (kyché-eté, from kyché, "knife," and eté, "real," an augmentative, the term kiché being already mentioned in the Vocabulário da Língua Brasílica [Vocabulary of the Indigenous Brazilian Language] as quigce, by Montoya as quicé [author: i= y in our spelling], and
[177] by Stradelli as kicé). It is worth noting that the Tapirapé, who have used metal cutting tools for so long, cannot bring themselves to sharpen them, although this procedure has already been taught to them several times by the Whites, who also offered them sharpening stones. This is an illustration of the fact that the acceptance of foreign cultural traits does not necessarily imply the acceptance of all the procedures connected with them.

On July 30, I witnessed the felling of some trees, carried out
241 as a collective endeavor called apachirú by the Tapirapé (the
476 puchirum of the frontiersmen in the states of Pará and Amazonas). The leader, Tanuapanchoa, marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those places without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax. He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others. The other men selected their own trees around his as they pleased. They incised the small ones and finally

241 incidentally, although separated from one another by strips of forest, are not provided with fences or scarecrows.

171 512 Gabriel Soares de Sousa (377) wrote of the sixteenth century Tupi in Bahia: "When the Tupinambá go to their gardens, they work only from seven in the morning until midday." Except for the apachirú, which involves afternoon work, this also applies to the Tapirapé. The couples leave the village early in the morning and return at the hottest hours. The Portuguese chronicler goes on to say (ibid.): "The males customarily clear the forest growth, 171 462 burn it, and dress the ground, while the females plant the foodstuffs and weed them." Among the Tapirapé, not only do the men have the same duties as the ancient Tupinambá, but aside from this they also do the planting and weeding and carry the large baskets in which the farm produce is taken home. The women participate only in the planting of maize, peanuts, and cotton, that is to say, both sexes sow these plants and harvest them.

Krause wrote of the Karajá (2, 243): "They say that the planting of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, and urucú falls to the women." The division of labor among those Indians is exactly the same as among the Tapirapé, as far as the dressing of the ground, the planting of manioc and cará, and the conveyance of the large baskets are concerned, for all those tasks devolve to the male sex in both tribes (cf. Krause ibid. and Plate 15).

Among the majority of other South American Indians, it is the woman who carries heavy burdens from the plot, as, for example, among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen 2, 214; Max Schmidt 2, 429) and among those of the Guianas and Venezuela (Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 50 and Plate 53). Von den Steinen's generalization (loc. cit.) is incorrect, however, when he states of the Indians in that Xingu region: "As in all of Brazil [113: 197], not only does the home preparation of manioc fall to the women, but so does its planting." I have already mentioned that this planting is male work among the Tapirapé and Karajá, and, according to Koch-Grünberg (loc. cit.), the same applies to the Taulipáng and their neighbors.

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé also cultivate various plants in large quantities. These will be listed in the following chapter.

231 When I was in Tampiitaua, there were no domestic animals aside from dogs and chickens. There were no vestiges of a pair of

235 [113:198] I did not see any tamed animals in Tampiitaua. In my talks with the inhabitants, however, I gathered that, like Indians in general, they would have liked to have such animals, and that they had formerly owned various mammals and wild birds. The most important among these were the red-blue-and-green macaw (Ara chloroptera Gray, arana in Tapirapé), much rarer in the Araguaia basin than the blue-and-yellow macaw (Ara ararauna Lin., kaniné in Tapirapé), for the [113:199] former's red feathers are more highly prized as ornaments than the latter's blue and yellow ones. This is the case not only among the Tapirapé, 171 but also among the Karajá, and this is why shortly before my ar- 235 rival to the Araguaia a man of this tribe of canoemen had traded in a canoe, which at that time and in that area was worth from 50 to 100 milreis or one rifle, for the nestling of a red-blue-and-green macaw. At the time when the Karajá traded regularly with 439 the Tapirapé, these nestlings were one of the chief commodities of trade.

This trade, through which the Tupi tribe received iron articles [412] in exchange for tamed macaws, urucú, hammocks, quartz tembetá, [241] and other products of their industry, actually played a decisive role in their subsistence, owing especially to the importance of the iron tools in farming. In this respect, it was fortunate for the Tapirapé that they established direct contact with the Whites shortly after they broke relations with the Karajá. For the lack of iron tools among people who had never worked with stone axes would probably have led either to rash behavior in their "foreign relations," or to intratribal conflicts.

Thus, as far as the subsistence of the Tapirapé is concerned, 797 their most important relations with the Whites are their contacts with [412] the Dominicans, which have occurred with some regularity every year or two since 1914 and which keep them supplied with the necessary tools. Actually, no real trading is involved in this case, since as a rule the Indians are not required to furnish any products of their industry in exchange for the materials, but only to pay attention to certain words and procedures peculiar to the Fathers. This 437 is not to say that they are ignorant of the concept of reciprocal trade 123 with the Whites. When I wanted to acquire an arrow for my collection, they not only knew how to set high prices, but also how to raise the value of the common object by calling it a "captain's

123 437 [chief's] arrow." This "mercantilism" even operated in the area of "spiritual" (or "non-material") culture, for just as they had bartered dances and songs with the Karajá, they also demanded songs from me in exchange for theirs, and I had to teach them a song from my childhood, in which the fox is accused of having [533] stolen the goose ("Fuchs, du hast die Gans gestohlen") to learn from them a children's ballad dealing with a mouse.

When the Tapirapé bartered among themselves, I observed considerable haggling. [Ed., end of Vol. 113.]

## Chapter 9

### [114:185] The Diet

262 824 The last chapter referred to the importance of plants in the Tapirapé diet. First and foremost, there is manioc. Aside from fish, it is the only food mentioned in these Indians' description of [772] the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven lying above our visible one. The inhabitants of Tampiitáua call the roots of that Euphorbiacea by the generic name mandiaga. Ayrosa (4, 112) questions the Tupi origin of the word mandioca [manioc],

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have both "wild manioc" [171] (Manihot utilissima Pohl) and "sweet manioc" (Manihot dulcis Pax.). They distinguish five varieties of the Manihot genus, while the number of varieties known to the ancient Tupi was even greater (cf. Soares de Sousa 187; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXVIII; Métraux 2, 65).

171 252 Like those Indians, the Tapirapé have two basic ways of preparing the manioc roots for consumption: (1) by placing them for a few days in water until they become soft, turning them into what they call mandiyvungna and what is called puba [manioc mash] by the neo-Brazilians; (2) by grating them without putting them through the water treatment [114:186] (cf. Staden q 2; Soares de Sousa 189 and 191; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXIX; Claude d'Abbeville 304-305). Some of the varieties are prepared in either way, and others are prepared only in one way. The roots softened [251] in water are dried in the sun and pounded in the mortar, and the mashed substance is used in the manufacture of beiju [flat cakes] and cauí [a soup].

171 and cauí [a soup]. The fresh, grated manioc, after being dried
252 in the sun, put through the sifter, and roasted in a clay pot, yields the flour that goes into the making of certain dishes and that accompanies others by being tossed straight into the mouth with the hand. The Tupinambá had these three ways of consuming manioc, that is to say, the cake, the more or less fermented liquid varying in consistency between a porridge and a soup, and the flour which is added to other foods either in the pot or in the mouth (cf. Soares de Sousa 189 and 196; Simão de Vasconcellos, pp. LXXXV, CXXIX, and CXXX; and others).

Like the Tapirapé and many other tribes, those ancient inhabitants of the coast grated or pounded the manioc roots, dried them in the sun, ran the particles through a sifter, and roasted them in pots over the fire. The only notable difference in the procedures used in making the tubers edible was in the manner of wringing the grated mass of "wild manioc" to extract its poisonous juice. While Hans Staden (q 2) found the tipiti among the Tupinambá of the capitania [Tr., province] of São Vicente, and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (189) found it among the Tupinambá of Bahia, this press of braided palm leaves shaped like a tube or bag (cf. Baldus and Willems 219-220) was not mentioned by the French authors who visited Indians of the same name in other parts of Brazil in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (cf. Métraux 2, 104). Claude d'Abbeville (304) says specifically of the Tupinambá of Maranhão that "they take all the gratings from these roots and squeeze them with their hands..." [translated from French]. The
[174] use of the same procedure and the absence of tipiti among the Tapirapé are, therefore, corroborative of the assumption that these Indians came from Maranhão. [Ed., the remainder of p. 186, p. 187, and the first paragraph of p. 188 are omitted.]

[114:188] One variety of "sweet manioc" cultivated by the
262 Tapirapé, called vuaykyra, reaches more than 30 centimeters in
924 circumference and more than half a meter in length. I ate it frequently and with pleasure, boiled or roasted in the embers.

Other tubers that I tried among the Tapirapé, roasted in the
[252] same manner, were from the following plants: (1) a variety of sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas Lam., chetyka in Tapirapé), orange-colored inside and almost like pumpkin in taste; (2) purple cará (Dioscorea spec., urukú-ampaí in Tapirapé), purple inside, shaped

262 like a turnip, the size of a child's fist, and slightly more pungent
824 in taste than the white cará with which we are familiar; (3) this
[177] same white cará, which was imported from the Whites as is shown by its Tapirapé name of mayrangkanakuera (mayra, "White man"; kaná, "cará"; kuera, "that was"), often 70 centimeters in circumference, half a meter in length, and tasteless; (4) a third Dioscoreaceâ, found wild in the forest and called kanachinga or "white cará" in Tapirapé because the tubers are white inside, which is shaped like a carrot, 20 centimeters around, 30 centimeters long, and as tasteless as mairangkanakuera; (5) a yam that reaches 60 centimeters in circumference and 35 in length (Alocasia spec., iampokumaé in Tapirapé), tastier than the various cará; (6) a smaller yam called uvanchaira in Tapirapé. It is a known fact that the sweet potato and the cará plants are autochthonous to America, while the yams are imported (cf. Hoehne 2, 187). The Tapirapé assert that they cultivated iampokumaé in remote times and remember having received uvanchaira from the Whites

Hans Staden (v. 3) liked the sweet potato of the Tupinambá
171 and wrote its name as jettiki. The Tupi term was entered in the
824 vernacular as jetica (Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua
192 Portuguesa [Small Brazilian Dictionary of the Portuguese Language], 5th edition, 1944). Stradelli (500), in his Nheêngatu vocabulary, [114:189] listed iutyca as the word for "potato." Incidentally, the Tapirapé plant chetyka only in small quantities. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Aside from the tubers mentioned above, bananas are the vege-
262 table food of greatest importance to the Tapirapé. Like manioc, they are gathered by these Indians almost throughout the entire year. At the time of my visit in July, 1947, however, thee were considerably fewer bananas and other foodstuffs in the village than in the months of June to August, 1935. In Chapter 2, it has al-
[192] ready been mentioned that the generic term chatá or tatá, with
[171] which the inhabitants of Tampiitáua designate the bananas they cultivate, resembles the Karajá word for this fruit. In Tanpiitáua I ate the following varieties of this Musacea.

262 (1) A banana 30 centimeters long and from 15 to 20 centi-
824 meters in circumference, the largest one cultivated by the Tapirapé and for this reason called tatahó, that is, the generic term plus the augmentative. The neo-Brazilians of the Araguaia cal it

262 "long banana." It is probably a variety of the banana da terra
824 (Musa paradisiaca L., normalis subspec.). During my first stay with the Tapirapé, they ate it every day in large quantities. I, too, never tired of devouring the huge and extremely tasty fruits, with the result that my body acquired the same proportions as those of a horse that feeds on grass alone for months at a stretch.
252 The [114:190] Tapirapé gather these bananas when green and hang them inside the house until they become yellow and ripe. Then they expose them to the sun until they are black outside and turning brownish inside. To achieve this, they place them on wooden frameworks that are erected at the place where the bananas grew, or at some other place regarded as adequate. The Karajá,
[171] who also cultivate these large bananas, bury them too, and so did the Péua (Takunhapeba) of the lower Xingu visited by Von den Steinen (1, 275). The Tapirapé like to eat these fruits when they are not only rotting, but also warm from the immediate action of the sun or from the sand warmed by its rays. They do not peel
264 them, but open the hard skin a little at one of the tips, put the tip between their lips, and slowly empty the skin by squeezing it with their fingers so that the soft and brownish pulp gradually penetrates into their mouths. In this respect I did not agree with the taste of the Indians, for I found these bananas a revolting thing when rotten and preferred to eat them while still yellow on the outside and pinkish-yellow on the inside, when they were already quite juicy.

(2) The white flesh of one of the larger bananas was not dry
262 either, and its sweet flavor was reminiscent of candy permeated
824 with the scent used by a cheap barber, while its skin was pinkish-green. The Tapirapé name for this fruit is tatampiringó. Its length is equal to its circumference, that is to say, about 15 centimeters. My camarada called it "purple banana," asserting that among "civilized people" it reaches twice that circumference. It is probably Musa paradisiaca L., sapientum subspec., rubra var.

(3) The banana 15 centimeters long and ten centimeters in circumference, whose white and soft flesh had a mild flavor and whose green skin did not turn yellow, was probably the "São Tomé"
[252] banana. The Tapirapé hang it inside the house and call it inanchanynî.

(4) The banana called abîbakíngamaé by the Tapirapé is yellow both inside and out and similar in shape and flavor to the tatah´ banana, although a little smaller and drier.

262 824 (5) Another banana with highly "scented" flesh is also yellow both inside and out as indicated by its name, tatanchova. It is 15 centimeters long and 12 in circumference.

(6) Tatakyra is the name given in Tampiitáua to a green, medium-sized banana that tastes like a very dry potato when roasted in the embers.

[114:191] (7) The inhabitants of this village also cultivate the banana ouro (regia variety of the sapientum subspec.) which in their gardens reaches up to ten centimeters in length and eight in circumference. [Ed., the subsequent paragraph is omitted down to the last sentence.]

The scarcity of bananas noted by Krause [2, 241-242] among [171] the Karajá reveals, in any case, a characteristic difference between these Indians and the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of p. 191, pp. 192-193, and the first paragraph on p. 194 are omitted.]

[114:194] Although the same author [Nordenskiöld] (5, 114 29 and 76) assumes that in view of the similarity of the terms 171 mentioned earlier the Tapirapé became familiar with the banana 824 through the Karajá, we may note that on the extensive list of names used by South American Indians to designate the banana, which was published by Nordenskiöld along with a distribution map (ibid., 78-85 and Map IV), there is no term resembling chatá or tatá.

It is worth noting that the paankuá of the Tapirapé also plays 262 a certain role in their diet. In Tampiitáua, this "wild banana" 824 supplies not only leaves for the thatching of houses, but also seeds that the children eat roasted after removing the skin of the pip. The rather bland flavor is vaguely reminiscent of milk and wheat flour.

Among other wild plants used as food by the Tapirapé, the following should be mentioned.

The tree they call ampí, whose red fruits, shaped like cherries, ripen in October and taste like a sweet cherry.

The mangabeira (Hancornia speciosa Gomes, mangaua in Tapirapé), already described by Gabriel Soares de Sousa (210-211), whose yellow-green fruits, resembling small apples in shape and size, ripen in October. They are eaten raw, and without their skins they taste like a roasted apple. According to Hoehne (2, 227),

262 the mangaba [Tr., fruit of the mangabeira] is "the best wild fruit"
824 in the Paressi Range and in many other localities of Mato Grosso and the northeastern part of Brazil.

The palm tree called pinaua by the Tapirapé and macaba by my north-Brazilian camarada, with a nut, slightly larger than a cherry, that ripens in October or November. This nut is boiled
[252] until the flesh is softened and then rubbed on a strainer lying in a pot, so that the flesh is worked loose from the pit and falls into the pot where it is boiled in water. The end result is reminiscent of walnuts in flavor and is refreshing.

[114:195] The small nut of another tree, the tucuma palm or tucum-açu (Astrocaryun spec., chavana in Tapirapé) is prized for its oil content and is gathered in October.

The Tapirapé like to eat a kind of mushroom they call yvãpá.

These Indians cultivate several other plants aside from those
243 mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Maize (Zea mays L.,
252 avandxí in Tapirapé) is harvested while still green, hung inside
262 the house to yellow, and then crushed and used to make porridge
824 or cauí. Its Tapirapé name corresponds to abati in Staden (e 2), auati in Léry (120), ubatim in Soares de Sousa (199), auatî in Stradelli (384), and abatí in Montoya (2, I, 357 and II, 10). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The seeds of peanuts (Arachis spec., monoví in Tapirapé) are
244 pounded and then added to certain mushes, or else roasted, pounded,
252 and eaten in this way, or roasted and eaten without being subjected
262 to the pestle, or chewed and spit into the pot to ferment and turn
824 into cauí. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195, p. 196, and the first paragraph on p. 197 are omitted.]

[114:197] In the previous chapter, we mentioned that the
262 Tapirapé women participate in sowing and harvesting only peanuts,
824 maize, and cotton. The observation by the sixteenth century
[462] Portuguese author [Gabriel Soares de Sousa] that peanuts are "very
[241] hot when eaten excessively," and harmful in certain cases, seems to agree with the idea expressed by the Tapirapé custom that re-
[751] quires father and mother to abstain from this food during their child's first two years so as not to endanger his life.

The peanuts I saw in large quantities among the Tapirapé seem
137 to be a variety of Arachis nambyquarae. This species was found
17 by Kuhlmann in 1919 among the Nambikuara [Nambicuara] of
244

137 Pimenta Bueno in the state of Mato Grosso and described by Hoehne
171 (1, 21-22 and Table 190; 2). Like it, the Tapirapé monovĩ differs
244 from the "common peanut" (Arachis hypogaea) in its size, which is much larger, for its pod may reach seven centimeters in length and its seeds two or three centimeters. According to Hoehne (1, 22), each specimen of Arachis nambyquarae may yield from 50 to 100 pods. Owing to its oil content and abundance, the peanut is
262 of some importance in the Tapirapé diet and also was one of my favorite foods during my stay in Tampiitáua. Krause (2, 241-242, 358-359, and 387) does not mention this plant among the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó. A legend I heard in July, 1947, at the Karajá village of Santa Isabel, however, states that a civilizing hero of that tribe, the evening star, taught them to plant peanuts among other things.

244 Less important than peanuts to the Tapirapé were the large
262 flat beans [Tr., lima beans], slightly larger than those of Europe.
824 Only a few individuals cultivated them, planting them in small quantities. Their Tapirapé name, kumaná, corresponds to comendá in Soares de Sousa (200) and cumandá in Montoya (2, II, 105v) and Stradelli (427). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] The large Tapirapé bean seems to be a variety of [114:198] Phaseolus lunatus L. and thus to belong to the same species as the beans mentioned by Anchieta (Hoehne 2, 107), Thevet (ibid., 132), and Soares de
[252] Sousa (ibid., 211-213). In Tampiitáua, it is boiled in small earthenware pots. Then its green skin is removed. Underneath this skin, the bean is white. I ate it with great pleasure.

Smaller than these beans are the round yellow fruits of a leguminous shrub cultivated by the Tapirapé and called kumaná-yvyraí, "bean-shrub." The neo-Brazilians plant this shrub on Morro da Areia [Tr., a high outcrop hill on the Araguaia River] and other places in the region and give it the name anduzeiro. This name might lead us to assume that the plant belongs to the Cytisus cajanus Lin. species.

262 The Tapirapé use the fruits of certain Cucurbitaceae as recep-
824 tacles after removing the flesh, and they use those of another variety
252 in the same family to prepare a highly prized dish with the juice.
[415] This juice is heated, and as it begins to boil it is mixed in with pounded raw maize; the boiling mixture is stirred for ten minutes until it thickens. Sometimes they add crushed peanuts. In this

252 case, the addition is made before the juice begins to boil. The
262 fruit that supplies this juice reaches 35 centimeters in length, 30
824 in circumference, and has a thick, hard shell. Its Tapirapé name is koruanchoa, choa (or chova) referring to the color yellow. The neo-Brazilians in the area know this fruit by the name croá which, according to the Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa, 5th edition, is synonymous with cruá, crauá, and melão-caboclo (Sicana odorifera Naud.) [Tr., the cassabanana]. In Stradelli's Nheengatú vocabulary (435), curúua is "a kind of squash covered with protuberances." [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

Kamairahó's small sugar-cane plantation lay close to
249 Tampiitáua in 1935. No other member of the tribe owned a plan-
263 tation of Saccharum officinarum L., and in 1947 I did not see any.
114 The sugar cane was used exclusively for sucking and was a recent
[177] import. Krause (2, 242) refutes Ehrenreich's statement that the
[171] Karajá planted sugar cane on sandbars, and says that what he saw was manioc and maize. He writes in reference to those Indians: "... I saw no sugar cane. If they had possessed it, they probably would not have been so eager for my sugar... " This conclusion is wrong. The fact that they sucked on sugar cane never kept the Tapirapé from asking for my rapadura [Tr., raw brown sugar in lumps].

These Indians make beiju (meijú or mãjú in their language),
252 sometimes with the tapioca extracted from manioc mash, as al-
262 ready mentioned, [114:199] and at other times with peanut or maize flour. According to Ayrosa (1, 54), the word "mbeiú or mbeyú of the Tupi-Guarani" is "equivalent to 'coil,' 'roll,' 'fold,' etc." The same author (ibid., 51-54) lists several varieties of this cake, which has been described by various authors. The Tapirapé beijú is similar in shape to the so-called beiju-açú, which is a large, thin disk roasted in a shallow earthen pan. It is not everyday food. During my stays in Tampiitáua, I saw it only once. This was on June 29, 1935, at the time of a festival of "masks." They placed a large pan full of these disks of manioc-mash tapioca, made by Anampí, the wife of Tanupanchoa, in the middle of the takana. This important man offered it to several of the people
171 present and apportioned it himself. I, too, got my share and liked
252 it. Hans Staden (q 2) mentions similar Tupinambá cakes made in the
262 same fashion with the same material and writes their name as byyw.
192

171 According to Karl von den Steinen (2, 539), the Kamayurá voice
192 a nasalized meiũ, that is to say, almost meniũ (meyu and menyu
252 in his spelling). The same author (ibid., Fig. 54) reproduces a
262 spade decorated with geometric designs that was used by these Indians to turn the cakes over. In Tampiitáua I did not see any special implement for this purpose, and in Wagley's collection at the [Brazilian] National Museum there is nothing like it either. [Ed., the last two sentences concluding the section in Vol. 114 are omitted.]

[115:255] To the Tapirapé, the most important vegetable
262 dish is unquestionably cauĩ. [Ed., five sentences are omitted.]
171 In sixteenth century references, the intoxicating drinks of the
192 Tupinambá appear as Kaa.wy and Kawi in the spelling of the German Hans Staden (e 2, f 3), Cahouin in Thevet (1, 121), and Caou-in in De Léry (125). The nasalized i indicated by the two
194 Frenchmen, and later pointed out in various Tupi languages by authors coming from different countries, does not exist either in Tapirapé or in Kamayurá, but in both these languages the u in kauĩ is nasalized, and the i is the tonic syllable (cf. Von den Steinen 2, 213). Furthermore, neither the [115:256] Tapirapé
[273] nor the Kamayurá make intoxicating beverages. The Tapirapé
272 designate with the word kauĩ their peanut, maize, manioc, cotton-
192 seed, squash, and banana soups, and even straight drinking water
171 (ỹ-kauĩ), while the Kamayurá use this term for the simple refreshing drink made of water and crumbled beiju (ibid.). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The kauĩ of the Tapirapé is not always made exclusively from
272 one of the plants mentioned above. There are mixtures, such as crushed maize with chewed peanuts or with chewed cottonseed. No other plant aside from those listed are used, however, and no such soups are made, for example, with cará or yams. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 256 and the first paragraph on p. 257 are omitted.]

[115:257] None of the [early] authors mentions expressly the
[114] three kinds of cauĩ that are made by the Tapirapé with cotton seeds,
[252] peanuts, and squash. As I have already mentioned, the cotton seeds are chewed with crushed maize. The resulting drink has a yellowish-green appearance and little flavor. It is true that the
171 Tupinambá of Bahia also found those seeds nutritious, but they pre-
252 pared them in a different fashion. Gabriel Soares de Sousa (235)

171 252 writes: "The natives eat these cotton seeds crushed and then boiled into a mush which they call mingau."

At the time of my stays among the Tapirapé, the monoví-
272 kauí was the kind most frequently used and the one I myself took most often. I confess that I liked this drink so much and developed such nostalgia for it that in 1947, when I again met the people whose hammocks had hung beside mine 12 years earlier, the first wish I expressed was this, "Monoví-kauí." It is worth noting
114 that Gabriel Soares de Sousa (203), in describing the use of the
191 peanut among the Tupinambá, does not mention it in connection
272 with the preparation of a liquid. The same applies to squash, incidentally, of which, according to the sixteenth century Portuguese author (ibid., 201), "there are ten or 12 varieties" called gerumús by the Tupinambá of Bahia. The Tapirapé drink made
272 with crumbled squash is called kuruá-kauí. Kuruá may not be
[137] one of the "varieties" of "gerumús" known in Bahia, but like them, in any case, it belongs to the edible Cucurbitaceae.

The vegetable substances used in preparing the various kinds
[462] of Tapirapé kauí are crumbled or mashed by the women in three different ways, namely, between the hands, in the mortar, and between the teeth. Squash and bananas go between the hands; maize and manioc, the latter previously soaked in water and then sun-dried, go into the mortar; while maize, manioc, peanuts, and cotton seeds are chewed. In the Tapirapé language, amatykú
[192] means "I chew," and andjahák, "I pound." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 257, p. 258, and the first paragraph on p. 259 are omitted.]

[115:259] The custom of turning a food into mush by chewing
252 it is used by the Tapirapé not only to make cauí, but for the two
[757] following purposes: they chew peanuts to make a paste with which they anoint their bodies when they have been made ill by spoiled
[858] manioc, and they chew certain foods and give the mush to nursing children. These children are also given true cauí. It is to be supposed that observing the already considerable saccharification that takes place in chewing led the Indians to apply this procedure to the preparation of their favorite food. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 259 and p. 260, which concludes the section in Vol. 115, are omitted.]

272 [116:55] Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have three stages in the preparation of their masticated-fermented drink: (1) they

272 boil the substance to be masticated, (2) they chew it and thus add to it the ferment contained in the saliva, (3) they once more heat the liquid mixed with the chewed mass (cf. Staden q 4, Léry 124, Claude d'Abbeville 302). [Ed., the remainder of p. 55 and the first two paragraphs on p. 56 are omitted.]

[116:56] The Tapirapé heat the liquid mixed with the masti-
• 171 cated mass over the embers. In this connection, it is well to quote
272 Georg Wilhelm Freyreiss (102), who visited Espírito Santo in the first quarter of the nineteenth century and stated that "the Indians of the coast prepare cauí from manioc roots which are boiled and then chewed by the women, spit into a large pot, and covered with water. They leave it there to ferment. Also, probably to accelerate the fermenting process, they place the pan near the fire" (the italics are ours, and the original text of this sentence reads "... auch wohl um die Gährung zu befördern den Topf in die Nähe des Feuers setzt"). The German author adds that this drink is taken, as a rule, before 24 hours have elapsed. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Drinks whose fermentation is fostered by chewing may be
272 divided into intoxicating and non-intoxicating ones. The cauí of the Tapirapé belongs in the second category, for it is taken, like the one mentioned by Freyreiss, before 24 hours have elapsed from the time of mastication. [Ed., the last three lines on p. 56, pp. 57-58, and the first paragraph on p. 59 are omitted.]

[116:59] The fermented drinks are taken by the Tapirapé either warm or unheated. For example, on the morning following my arrival in Tampitíua in 1947, when my little friend Ampitúnia fulfilled my wish by serving me monovî-kauí, I took it in the manner most agreeable to the Tapirapé and to myself, that is to say, good
123 and hot. Ampitúnia demonstrated her affection by filling up a truly gigantic pot during the night. She must have pounded and masticated a great deal. From the bubbling liquid she took out a goodly portion with a large gourd, stirred it with a smaller gourd to cool it off a little, and then placed the large gourd before me, putting into one of my hands the smaller gourd as a dish and in the other hand another gourd, still smaller, to serve as a spoon. Sitting in the girl's net, I voraciously swallowed the hot soup, sweetish and nutritious, half floury and half grainy, filling my "dish" over and over again from the large gourd until I had emptied it completely.

272 Cold cauí, however, is also enjoyed by these Indians. I often saw one of them wake up in the middle of the night and, while everyone slept, take a gourdful of cauí that still stood in a pot removed from the fire several hours earlier. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

To the Tapirapé, the chewed and fermented drink represents not only the high point of festive banquets, but also the pièce de résistance of everyday meals, and its importance is well illustrated
773] by the fact that the flood myth ends with the following words: "When the flood ended, (the survivors) came out from under the earth, and there was cauí and many Tapirapé." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 59, p. 60, and the first two paragraphs on p. 61 are omitted.]

171 [116:61] To summarise, we may say that the elements of the
272 cauí complex we have studied reveal a close cultural relationship between the Tapirapé and the Tupinambá (1) in the name of the drink, (2) in the important role played by manioc and maize in its preparation, (3) in the above-mentioned three stages in the preparation of the drink, which is fermented by the saliva produced in chewing, (4) in the important role played in the diet by the various kinds of cauí prepared in this fashion. When set off against these similarities, the fact mentioned by certain sixteenth century authors that the Tupinambá, in contrast to the Tapirapé, got drunk on certain occasions is of little importance.

Unquestionably less close than this cultural relationship is that relating the Tapirapé, as far as the cauí complex is concerned, to the Tupi of the upper Xingu basin. The inhabitants of Tampiitúna hold in common with the Kamayurá the name of a non-intoxicating drink, but the manufacture and function of these drinks are entirely different.

Although it would be sufficient to eliminate two consonants
[192] from the Karajá word kaluxí to transform it into the word kauí, I dare not build any hypotheses around possible connections between these two words. In any case, kaluxí is to the Karajá not only what cafezinho [Tr., the frequent demitasse] is to the people of São Paulo, but also what kauí is to the Tapirapé, that is to say, an important aliment. There is also a similarity in the preparation of these drinks among the Karajá and the Tapirapé. It is true, however, that the former often omit the mastication. The fact that the various kaluxí I tasted were less thick than the maize, manioc, peanut, and cottonseed kauí I tried, and different in their composition, does not

171 necessarily mean that Karajá women are unfamiliar with the
272 recipes for these Tapirapé drinks. They might have come to know them through the girls from the Tupi tribe who were abducted by the Karajá at various times and under various circumstances. [Ed., end of Vol. 116.]

[117:91] The Tapirapé do not eat meat raw or rare, but
252 roasted in the embers or broiled, while smaller fish are boiled in a pot. Fish are often tossed whole into the embers, that is, without being gutted. They are left there until they are charred on the outside. This manner of preparing them lends them a delicious flavor. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

"I boil" is avdin in Tapirapé, "I roast," aihyn, and "I broil,"
[192] amakaé. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

When studying the widespread distribution of the barbecue in
171 South America, Nordenskiöld (6, 135-137 and Map 15) distin-
252 guished two types, namely: (1) a quadrangular platform of sticks supported by four or, rarely, three stakes, and (2) three sticks set up, like stacked rifles, with a grille laid out between them horizontally. He lists (ibid., 136) the Tapirapé among those having the first type on the basis of the information provided by Krause (2). This author (ibid., 122, 407, 409, Plate 29, and Fig. 269 a-c) found several subspecies of that type with three or four supports, one of the supports being a tree. The stakes were not forked like those of the Tupinambá barbecue of the same type (Staden k 4, [117:92] l 3, m 1, m 2, t 11; Léry 135; Claude d'Abbeville 294), which is apparently identical to those of the Karajá and Javahé seen by Krause (2, 251 and Plate 61). As far as the barbecue is concerned, however, the Tapirapé seem to differ even more from those tribes, since they also possess, as is shown in Photograph 33, the second type distinguished by Nordenskiöld and not mentioned by him as existing among the Tupinambá, Karajá, or Javahé. On the other hand, the same pyramid-shaped barbecue was found among the northern Kayapó (Krause 2, 387 and Plate 28) and the tribes of the upper Xingu basin visited by Von den Steinen (2, 236 and Fig. 36). To summarize, we may say that the inhabitants of Tampitinha use both types of barbecue described by Nordenskiöld, while their neighbors, the Xingu Indians and the Tupinambá, are listed by the same author among the representatives having one type only.

252 In the Tapirapé barbecues, the height at which the grille is fastened varies with its different functions. It is placed low to [251] roast meat or fish, and higher to dry it.

171 The pot is held by three stones laid around the fire, as I also 252 noted among the Karajá and as Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 48) ob- [354] served among the Taulipáng of the Rio Branco basin. What Karl von den Steinen (2, 215) said of the Xingu Indians, that is: "The men roasted [meat], but never boiled it," may be said also of the Tapirapé and of numerous other South American tribes (cf. Baldus 7, 142 and Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 91, 335, 351). Speaking of the Karajá, Krause (2, 253) amends this rule with the fact that "the men also know how to boil [meat]," as they show on trips whenever necessary. This cannot be said of the Tapirapé. They do [481] not carry pots on their journeys since they go on foot, while those Indians travel by canoe and therefore can take along with them heavy and breakable cooking utensils. Aside from this, the 252 division of labor is so strict among the sexes that the Tapirapé man, 462 if for some reason he does not have a wife, misses her simply from the fact that he cannot eat stew unless he is willing to take it from other families. On the other hand, the roasting of large animals is usually done by the men. It is only when game is killed close to the village that in some cases the women barbecue it. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

124 With the aim of setting up a Tapirapé zoological vocabulary, and also of finding out which animals were eaten by the inhabitants of Tampiitáua or by certain groups among them, I repeatedly showed to numerous persons of different ages and sex the figures in Rodolpho von Ihering s book entitled Da vida dos nossos animais. Fauna do Brasil [The Habits of Our Animals. Brazilian Fauna] (Rotermund & Co., São Leopoldo, 1934). This gave them much pleasure, and I recommend this method to Indianists as a way of establishing rapport. It also makes rather strict controls possible, since each animal is identified by several if not by numerous experts, and its name is pronounced several times by many individuals. Of course, a single look is not always sufficient for the Indian to recognize the animal represented. It is often necessary to [117:93] add comments about its size, color, motions, cry, and habits. Concerning certain insects, for example, the size of the

136 differences in size and general appearance between these two
262 rodents, and taking the information by R. von Ihering (28) that the second one "is found only in the southern Brazilian states," I take it that the Tapirapé made a mistake. They said of both that only men eat them. It is also interesting to note the augmentative suffix ho when we read of the coypu: "Its body has the shape of a huge rat, but in size it is almost an agouti with short legs and a rat tail, almost as long as the body, measuring from 45 to 55 centimeters" (ibid.). The same Tapirapé word with the diminutive suffix i, that is, kuanoí, designates the coendou which I shall mention under item 12.

(8) kererohó -- rice rat (Calomys longicaudatus). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 21.

(9) anuchá -- mouse that lives in tree trunks and not on the ground. Not depicted by R. von Ihering.

(10) anochaó -- mouse that builds a straw nest. Not depicted by R. von Ihering. The suffix o is augmentative.

(11) ñiavetéi -- serelepe [Pr., a kind of chipmunk or ground squirrel] (Sciurus spec.). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 23.

(12) kuanoí -- porcupine (Coendu spec.). Eaten by the men.

(13) amperea -- cavy (Cavia aperea). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 25.

(14) ankuchí, akutí -- agouti (Dasyprocta spec.). Eaten.

(15) kanoanó -- paca (Coelogenys paca). Eaten. It is inter-
•[171] esting to note that the Tapirapé are not familiar with the Tupi word paca. Many white hunters regard the meat of this animal as the best in the world.

[117:96] (16) angkampfyvuana -- capybara (Hydrochoerus capybara). Eaten by grown men. According to Karl von den Steinen, (1, 174) the meat of the capybara tastes like "machine oil."

(17) ypiravuira -- white porpoise (Inia geoffroyensis). Not eaten. This fresh-water variety is not depicted by R. von Ihering. Joaquim Branco (XVI, 213) gives pirayaguara as the name of the white Amazon porpoise, adding that this means "dog-fish" (cf. also Stradelli, 132 and 663). The Tapirapé word, however, means "bird-fish."

196 or by knocking them against the hand. Both men and women eat
262 all wasp larvae. They regard them as special delicacies and usually eat them mixed with manioc flour.

(186) yyyraantana -- tree-living wasp (species?). With the Tapirapé, I ate its white larvae which are two centimeters long. Their taste, extremely floury and sweetish in the unsmoked parts, was not unpleasant. It came from the almost liquid substance of the larva and not from its skin. Several of the larvae were still moving because they had not been as close to the fire as the others. Living or dead, however, they were eaten indiscriminately. [Ed., end of Vol. 119.]

[120:51] We may draw the following conclusions from the preceding list. [Ed., a paragraph giving the first conclusion is omitted.]

191 2. With the exception of the spider monkey (No. 38), there is
262 no animal eaten by the Karajá and not by the Tapirapé, but there are numerous mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibians, fishes, and *crustaceans that are eaten by the latter and not by the former.*

3. With the exception of the bat (No. 1), which "a few men eat" among the Cherente, and of the teju (No. 89) which "some people eat" among these Indians and which "nowadays some people eat, but no one ate in the old days" among the Kaingang of the Ivaí, there is no animal eaten by these two tribes and not by the Tapirapé. The animals eaten by the latter and not by the Cherente are: the tayra (No. 20), the roseate spoonbill (No. 49), the darter (No. 53), the harpy eagle (No. 59), the owl (No. 60), the motmot (No. 63), the kingfisher (No. 64), the hummingbird (No. 65), the potoo (No. 67), the frog (No. 100), and the crustaceans (Nos. 143 and 144). The following animals are eaten by the Tapirapé and not by the Kaingang: the great anteater (No. 3), the small anteater (No. 4), the porcupine (No. 12), the wild cat (No. 26), the darter (No. 53), the kingfisher (No. 64), the potoo (No. 67), the ani (No. 74), the bem-ta-vi (No. 76), the alligator (No. 81), the cágado (No. 82), the horned frog (No. 102), and the crab (No. 144).

[120:52]

4. We see, therefore, that of the four tribes in question, it is the Tapirapé who eat the greatest variety of animals, while the opposite applies to the Karajá.

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5. Just as these four tribes differ among themselves as far as language is concerned, they also differ as far as their concept of the edible is concerned.

6. The majority of the animals eaten by the Tapirapé and not by the other three tribes are regarded, among these Indians, as exclusively male food.

7. While among the Tapirapé there are numerous mammals and birds, various reptiles, amphibians, and fish which are eaten exclusively by the men, the only male foods among the Karajá are the paca (No. 18), the coati (No. 19), the tapir (No. 27), and the spider monkey (No. 38). As for the paca, which is regarded as excellent meat by many white hunters and which is valued by the Tapirapé and Cherente of both sexes, it is well to recall that among the ancient Kaingang this rodent was eaten only by individuals who were regarded as less vulnerable to supernatural evil forces. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

8. Among the Cherente, also, the number of animals eaten *exclusively by the men is small.* They are: the bat (No. 1), the howling monkey (No. 37), the jabiru (No. 47), the alligator (No. 81), the teju (No. 89), the iguana (No. 90), and the electric eel (No. 114). Among these animals, the bat is not eaten by any of the other tribes in question; the howling monkey, which Cherente women do not eat "because it looks like people," is also eaten only by the men among the Tapirapé, while among the Kaingang it is eaten only by "some people" and among the Karajá by no one; the jabiru and electric eel are, among the Tapirapé, exclusively male food, while the Karajá do not eat them and the Kaingang are not familiar with them; the alligator, of which Cherente men eat the tail, is eaten among the Tapirapé only by the men while no one eats it among the Karajá and Kaingang; the teju, although its flesh is so tasty to many Whites, is not eaten by either the Tapirapé or the Karajá, and it is eaten by only a few present-day Kaingang; the iguana, which is highly prized by the Karajá, is eaten only by men among the Tapirapé and is unknown to the Kaingang. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[120:53]

9. [Ed., the first sentence is omitted.] There is no animal restricted to the women among the Tapirapé, Karajá, or Cherente. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

171 262 784 10. [Ed., the first two sentences are omitted.] Whenever I told the Tapirapé that among other tribes the woman would become ill or even die if she were to eat of the animals whose flesh is forbidden to her, I was told that it would not harm a Tapirapé woman to eat the animals whose flesh, as a rule, is eaten only by men. According to Kamairabó, a woman will not eat of such flesh of her own accord. This means that in this case the abstentions are not connected with the supernatural. Actually, the mammals, birds, reptiles, and fish regarded as most delicious, not only by the Tapirapé but by most other Indians and also by the Whites, are all eaten by the women of this Tupi tribe, while as a rule the animals they do not eat are those that are not prized by us either. Although it may be hazardous to look for a relationship [562] between the concept of the edible and the social status of the sexes, it is appropriate to mention: (a) among the Chamakoko the woman plays a predominant role (Baldus 1, 64); (b) Tapirapé culture, in its essential traits, reveals a male preponderance; (c) important aspects of Kaingang culture disclose an equality between the sexes.

171 262 11. As far as the concept of the edible is concerned, age has less importance than sex among the Tapirapé and Cherente, while it has very little importance among the Kaingang and none among the Karajá. When listing the animals eaten exclusively by males, the Tapirapé mentioned for the most part that only "men" eat them, specifying in two cases (the common ani, No. 74, and the guira cuckoo, No. 75) that "men and boys" eat them, and stating about the rest that "men do, boys don't." According to this, the animals eaten only by "grown men" are: the small anteater (No. 4), the tapiti (No. 6), the serelepe (No. 11), the capybara (No. 16), the jabiru (No. 47), the owl (No. 60), the woodpecker (No. 62), the kingfisher (No. 64), the swallow (No. 66), the potoo (No. 67), the macaws and parrots (Nos. 69-71), the oriole (No. 78), the jay (No. 79), the japu (No. 80), the iguana (No. 90), the frog (No. 100), and the horned frog (No. 102). Concerning the hoatzin (No. 61), the Tapirapé stated that only the old people eat it, and concerning the motmot (No. 63), they said that this bird is eaten exclusively by adults. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

12. The animals not eaten by any Tapirapé are: the bat (No. 1), the white porpoise (No. 17), the wild dog (No. 18), the river

171 262 otter (No. 22), the [120:54] spider monkey (No. 38), the vultures (Nos. 54-56), the hawk (No. 58), the small lizard (No. 87), Mabuia agilis (No. 88), the teju (No. 89), the papavento (No. 91), the truira-peva (No. 92), the snakes (Nos. 93-98), the toad (No. 101), the mollusks (Nos. 140-142), the arachnoids (Nos. 146-148) (except for the ticks removed from the human body), the myriapods (Nos. 149-151), and the insects (Nos. 152-186) (except for those caught in flagrante sucking human blood and for certain larvae and honey). Most of the animals that are not eaten by the Tapirapé are known to the Karajá, Cherente, and Kaingang and are not eaten by these three tribes either, except for the bat which is eaten by "some men" among the Cherente, the spider monkey which is eaten by Karajá men, and the teju which is eaten by "some men" among the Cherente and by a few present-day Kaingang.

13. Just as I was told that it would not harm a Tapirapé woman to eat of the animals whose flesh is usually eaten only by the men (cf. item 10 above), I also heard that those animals not eaten by any Tapirapé would not harm anyone who should happen to eat them. There are, however, certain animals eaten exclusively by [753] the men, namely, the tapir (No. 27), the marsh deer (No. 30), the rhea (No. 41), and the alligator (No. 81), which, if eaten by the father of a small child, would cause the latter to fall ill and die. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the subsequent paragraph, No. 14, are omitted.]

262 Concerning animal foods, the following observations are also in order.

The Tapirapé do not consume the raw blood of animals, for they regard it as bad.

226 262 In spite of the distance between Tampiitaua and the river, and in spite of the fact that the life of the Tapirapé as forest dwellers and farmers does not allow fish to play as important a role in their [171] diet as in that of the Karajá water-dwellers, this animal is of greater importance to the Tapirapé than any other. From early childhood, they are constantly looking for small fish in the stream near the vil- [781] lage. They dream that there is abundant fish at certain spots, and

263 The pepper used by the Tapirapé and called by them ykaynia or ikeynia is apparently the bush red-pepper (Capsicum frutescens, Willd.). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph on this page and at the top of p. 56 is omitted.]

[120:56] The Tapirapé are immensely fond of raw brown sugar and our salt, and eat them as soon as they get them, that is, without waiting to use them as ingredients. To my knowledge, they do not replace salt with substances extracted from vegetable ashes [171] as do the Nahuquá (Von den Steinen 2, 100), Mehinaku (ibid., 106), Kamayurá (Meyer 1, 61), and other Brazilian tribes (Staden 9, 3; Martius 2, 497). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the first sentence of the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

261 The Tapirapé, too, are great geophagists. They have no salt and suffer from worms and intestinal disorders. A wattle-and-daub house built by my companion Frederico C. Kegel alongside the village lost the clay from its walls, for the inhabitants of Tampiitaua kept breaking off small pieces all day long which they savored as though they were candy. [Ed., the remainder of p. 56, p. 57 which concludes the section in Vol. 120, and all the section in Vol. 121, pp. 79-82, are omitted.]

146 [122:167] If we look at the Tapirapé diet from the standpoint of nutritive values, we may repeat the observation of Josué de Castro (66) about the Amazon diet in general: "It strikes one immediately as inadequate in the extreme paucity or even absence of some of the protective foods: meat, milk, cheese, butter, eggs, green vegetables, and fruits." "The amount of vitamins of the B complex contained in manioc, which is the staple food, is much smaller than that contained in cereals, rice, and wheat, the husks of which are saturated with these elements. In addition, what small quantities exist are practically destroyed in the process of preparing the flour" (ibid., 89). Also worthy of note are the following words by the same author: "... maize protein is quite incomplete, for it lacks several active acids essential to growth and organic equilibrium. Manioc, too, is very poor in proteins, poorer even than maize and qualitatively inferior to it. The Amazon dweller is saved by the fact that he does not eat pure flour as the Mexican eats maize and maize alone for days on end" (ibid., 73). In any case, various opinions were cited at the beginning of this chapter about the nutritive values of manioc flour.

171 264 [122:170] In their manner of eating the Tapirapé retain many similarities with the ancient Tupinambá. As was the case among the latter, the Tampiitaua family usually eats together from the same container, which stands in the middle, with the father lying in the hammock and the wife and children squatting on the ground (cf. Gabriel Soares de Sousa 366 and 375; Vicente de Salvador 35). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

These present-day Tupi, like the ancient coastal ones, do not drink while they eat (cf. Vicente de Salvador 33; Soares de Sousa 375; Anchieta 2, 330; Cardim 165; Léry 127). Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé eat "all the time, night and day, at any hour or moment" (Cardim 164), and what Simão de Vasconcellos (p. LXXXV) wrote about those Indians may be applied to these: "Eating time comes whenever nature demands it, as with wild animals; and nature demands it so often, that they eat during the day, and during the night if they must." It so happened that at midnight, when everyone was asleep, my hammock neighbor Kamairahó suddenly awoke because he was hungry. He got up, awakening his wife and children. The woman prepared fish, and finally they all began to eat and to take cauí.

The habit of tossing manioc flour into the mouth is a cultural trait that the Tapirapé share not only with the ancient coastal Tupi (cf. Léry 118-119; Thevet I, 303; Cardim 166; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. LXXXV), but also with the peasants who live near the city of São Paulo. The only difference is that around this modern metropolis the flour is propelled into the mouth with a spoon, while among the Indians this is done directly with the fingers.

262 252 Boiled food is eaten or drunk by the Tapirapé as hot as they can stand it. In this respect they can stand more than I, for example. If the food is still too hot even for them, they cool it off by blowing upon it or, if it is liquid, by stirring it with a gourd.

[192] [122:171] In Tapirapé, aõ means "I eat," and ayõ "I drink water," the o sounding almost like a u.

312 To obtain clear, fresh water, the Tapirapé dig a hole so close to still water or to the river that the liquid penetrates through the dividing wall of earth. The use of this filtering process shows that what Anchieta (II, 330) wrote about the Indians he knew cannot be applied to these: "... they hardly distinguish bad water from good, and are satisfied with any kind." In this respect, the inhabitants of

312 Tampiitaua could teach a lesson to the "civilized" frontiersmen, whom I never observed to use any filtering process in any of the Brazilian states I visited, but who merely drew water from river, pond, or swamp. It is true that when they have fresh, clear water available from small streams such as the one that flowed by the 1935 village, the Tapirapé omit the filtering. They seldom keep water longer than a few hours, and they leave it in gourds, usually small, that they also use as a rule to fetch the water.

The only narcotic used by the Tapirapé is tobacco (Nicotiana
276 tabacum L.). They call it petyma. The small species they smoke grows in the forest without being cultivated. Only exceptionally
[249] do they transplant a few specimens close to their gardens. They dry the leaves of this Solanacea in the sun, and then store them in
[415] the large braided cylinders (orokoroa) that are worn on the head in certain masked dances. They do not allow the tobacco to ferment. Before putting it into the pipe, they crumble the leaves by rubbing them between their hands.

In 1935 they had two kinds of pipe (petyaua), that is, clay pipes, and pipes made of the fruit of the jequitibá [Tr., any tree of the Cariniana genus]. In 1947, the clay pipes had vanished. The
171] Karajá and Kayapó also use pipes made of the fruit of the jequitibá
276 (Krause II, 260 and 388). These two tribes and the Tapirapé do not chew tobacco and do not take snuff, nor do they smoke cigars or cigarettes like the numerous Tupi tribes mentioned by Métraux (II, 116), among them the Tupinambá, Auetó, and Yuruna, and to which we may add the Kamayurá (cf. Meyer I, 61). This how, ever, does not mean that my Tampiitaua friends did not pounce avidly on the butt of every cigarette I threw upon the ground, and smoke it until they burned their mouth and fingers. The Karajá are also crazy about smoking, and koty', that is, tobacco, is what they ask for most often from the traveler. While among them both women and men smoke the pipe, [122:172] only the men smoke among the Tapirapé. Speaking of the Tupinambá, Léry (190) states that he did not see the women use "Petun smoke."

The Tapirapé transfer the smoke from mouth to stomach, and then expel it noisily in a rapid sequence of belches. I did not see them expel it through the nostrils, as reported by Léry (190) and

171 Yves d'Evreux (110) for the Tupinambá, and by Koch-Grünberg
276 (1, I, 128) for the Káua of the upper Aiari. They could not inhale the smoke as I did. Every time they tried, they began to cough violently. My smoke-swallowing demonstrations, when I released the smoke only after having talked and drunk some water, aroused respectful admiration, but no one dared to emulate me. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, two purposes for smoking tobacco can be clearly distinguished: one that is simply recreative and one
[155] that is medicinal. As a medicine, the smoke is blown over painful areas of the body or over the entire body of the patient. A Bakairi told Karl von den Steinen (II, 347) that on the upper Xingu there are two varieties of tobacco, the one smoked for pleasure being much milder than the medicinal one.

To summarize, we may say that the Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá in the term they use to designate tobacco, in their manner of swallowing smoke, and in the fact that among them only the men smoke. They differ from these Indians, from the Xingu Indians, and from other Tupi tribes in not smoking cigars. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua resemble the northern Karajá and Kayapó in their use of the jequitibá-fruit pipe; they differ from those tribes in their words for tobacco and pipe, and from the Karajá in the fact that only the men smoke in Tampiitaua. [Ed., end of Vol. 122.]

[123:53] Chapter 11

## The Life Cycle of the Individual

### Birth

192 In Tapirapé, aán means "I fall" and "I am born" [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the remainder of the paragraph are omitted.]

[123] I did not have the opportunity to witness a birth among the
[115] Tapirapé, and I can only relay the information given to me by
849 Reverend Kegel and by the Indians. Childbirth takes place inside the house. While the future father remains in his hammock, the women assist the woman in labor, who is either lying in another hammock with her legs drawn up or supported by horizontal wooden

844/poles. A large pot full of water is placed nearby to wash the mother and child. If the confinement is difficult, a woman presses the mother's belly until the child comes out. The baby is received in the arms of another woman who waits beneath the mother. The umbilical cord is severed with a cane shiver and the afterbirth is buried. Both father and mother abstain from any food for one day. Both stay in their nets "until the loss of blood 846 ceases, that is, often for several days." There are no food absten- [847] tions for the future parents prior to the birth. For about two years 262 after the birth of the child, the parents give up peanuts and 784 bananas. In addition, the father frequently abstains from those animal foods that are never eaten by the woman, especialy tapir, marsh deer, rhea, and alligator, until the child is almost six years [752] old. Only if he is a shaman may he eat of everything. The wife of a shaman, however, does not share this privilege.

The Tapirapé believe that the child will die if these absten- [761] tions are not observed. They say that in this case death would not be caused by an evil sorcerer, as they usually believe but by the food that should not be consumed and that turns evil when it is eaten. And they add that in such cases the Whites have many medicines that might save the child, while the Tapirapé do not have any, and so among them the child would be lost. [123:54] When I offered them deer meat, which is coveted by all Tampiitaua men (perhaps because it is a type of game that, although abundant, is seldom killed without firearms), it was not accepted by the fathers of one-year-old children. Even Urukumy who, as a shaman, could have eaten the meat, was careful to pass it on to someone else after courteously accepting it from me.

The abstention from bananas and peanuts is impressive when we consider the important role played by these foods in the Tapirapé [165] diet. It is possible that the high mortality among children during the first two years of life may have led to such onerous rules. [755] Actually, these Indians assert that their Karajá neighbors and the Whites eat of anything when their child is ill, while Tapirapé parents, in such cases, subsist exclusively on mahioc flour and maize and manioc cauí, even when the child is older than six.

171 The behavior of Indian parents toward the newborn recalls to 946 some extent a custom of the colonists of São Bonifácio, in the state of Santa Catarina, who come for the most part from Westphalia.

171 According to Francisco S.G.Schaden (30), the fathers in this
846 locality, accompanied by their wives, visit the new mother on the Sunday following the birth and must not refuse a draught of spirits at the time of this so-called Kindchenkaffee, for otherwise it is said that the newborn child would be unable to urinate. We see, therefore, that in this case the child's well-being hinges on the behavior of its parents' friends.

Among certain South American tribes, the father is not per-
[224] mitted to go hunting during the first few days following the birth (cf. Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 136). I was told that the Tapirapé goes hunting at this time and is even accompanied by his wife as soon as she is able to come.

853 Wagley and Galvão (3, 172) assert that Tapirapé parents must
933 abstain from sexual relations until the child is "weaned." They
[114] may intend this word to refer to the time when the child begins to take other foods aside from its mother's milk, for the latter is taken, whenever possible, for two or three years or even longer. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The Tapirapé seem to believe in magic conception, although
942 they know that pregnancy results from sexual relations. On March 31, 1942, Dr. Wagley told me the following story: once, at the beginning of his way in Tampitawa, he suddenly heard, "Here comes Dotoí." He knew that this was the name which the women and children of the village used to call me, adding the diminutive i to the title by which the camarada Daniel addressed me [Tr., in Brazilian pronunciation, "Doctor" sounds like doutô]. Wagley, surprised, [123:55] turned around and saw coming toward him not the colleague from São Paulo but a Tapirapé boy. "Where is Dotoí?" he asked. They pointed to the boy. "But Dotoí is far away," he objected. Then they told him that the boy was also called Dotoí because he was the son of the Dotoí from São Paulo. And as proof of this kinship they showed the ethnologist that the boy, like his distant progenitor, had no tembetá orifice in his lower lip as did other Tapirapé boys of his age. In a dry scientific work such as this, it is idle to conjecture what Wagley thought about me then and whether he compared the skin color of Dotoí II with that of the other other children. It is enough to say that he is my friend and the most understanding North American I know. Naturally, he did not fail to notice that the boy's age tallied roughly with the number

842 of years that had elapsed since my stay in Tampiitaua. He also noted that Vuanomanchi was playing the part of the boy's father. And Vuanomanchi had been my close friend in 1935.

A few weeks later, Wagley learned that the "child's spirit" is brought to the woman by a good shaman in the course of the journeys he is wont to make in his dreams. The Tapirapé were familiar with my capacity to "dream from Tampiitaua to São Paulo," that is, to make that long trip while my body was asleep in a hammock in Kamairahó's house. They did not doubt that I [123] was a great shaman. Obviously, therefore, they considered me capable of bringing children's spirits. The fact that I was regarded as the carrier of the spirit of Vuanomanchi's son must have been, first and foremost, an acknowledgement of the ties of sympathy between this Indian and myself.

Contrary to some other Indians, such as the Guaikuru described 845 by Sánchez Labrador (II, 30), who kill newborn twins, the Tapirapé 842 like such dual births. Husbands and wives in this Tupi tribe eat [171] linked bananas in order to give birth to twins, preferably of opposite sex. They call both the twins and those double bananas apekunia, and this term is also used when there are three bananas within one skin. Kamairahó said with reference to such a triple banana that it consisted of one boy and two girls. The Tapirapé had never heard of a triple human birth.

In view of their behavior toward twins, it might be assumed 171 that the vagrant life of the Guaikuru led them to infanticide, while 847 the Tapirapé, as farmers tied to the soil, like to have several children and save all those who are born. The way of life of those hunting and herding Indians of the Paraguay basin contributed to their custom of killing some of the newborn babies. On the other 847 hand, it seems that the Tapirapé do not allow every child to live, either. According to what I was told, they think that it is bad for a couple to have more than three children and more than two of the same sex, and hence kill those who are in excess of these numbers. Wagley and Galvão (3, 172) confirm this, adding that the child who is to be killed is buried in a hole dug for the afterbirth inside the 162 house. As was shown in Chapter 5, in Tampiitaua in 1935 there was only one couple with three children who were issue of that same marriage, and none with more. The children were a boy [123:56]

162 of about four, a girl of about 11, and another girl of less than a year. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

171 846 We see, therefore, that the Tapirapé resemble the Karajá and Kayapó, as well as Indians of the upper Xingu basin, the Tupinambá, and other Tupi tribes, in practicing the couvade. [Ed., end of Vol. 123.]

553 [192] [124:139] In Tapirapé, herang means "name" and corresponds to the word héra cited by Montoya (2, II, 154) and céra by Stradelli (413). The inhabitants of Tampiitaua told me that, among them, it is the mother who gives the newborn baby a name and who [304] perforates the lower lip and ear lobes of a boy with a bone pin at dawn of the day following birth. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

551 No two or more Tapirapé ever bear the same name at the same time. I was able to discover the meaning of only a few. Animal names prevail among the women. In 1935 there was a woman over 40 years old whose name was Purangkeí, that is, "little electric eel." Another, about 35 years old, was called Tamanuaí, or "great anteater" with [124:140] the addition of the diminutive i, and an old woman of about 45 had the name Anampaí, anampá being a fresh-water eel. A girl of 11 was called Chauevuyra, that is, "fresh-water ray," and another girl of six Tanchahó, the name of the white-lipped peccary. In 1947 there was a year-old girl whose name, Kaí, is that of the capuchin monkey. Among the men, I only found one in 1935 whose name I could identify with that of an animal, and it was a generic name, Vuyraí, "little bird," a somewhat humorous appellation in view of the man s thick, robust body. Other translatable names, aside from those of animals, are Kanuana, belonging to an eight-year-old girl, meaning "thunder" and "gourd rattle," and the names of two boys I knew in 1947, who were two and four years old, respectively, Yvytuí, "wind," and Ekonomíchinga, "white boy."

171 551 According to Gabriel Soares de Sousa (370), the Tupinambá bore the names of "animals, fish, birds, trees, foods, weapons and various other things," according to Staden (r 1) of "forest animals," and according to Vicente de Salvador (41) of "animals, plants, or whatever chances to come before their eyes."

000 This last author also notes about those Indians that "... they do not regard killing as prowess unless they break heads, even

553 still young and lacked the political weight of the illustrious dead man.

One day, as I talked to Kamairahó about the "name-giving festivity" mentioned above, I complained about not having received a Tapirapé name as Reverend Kegel had and this only because my companion had the opportunity to be present at that gathering while I did not. The Indian immediately gave me his own name. Yves d'Evreux writes of the Tupinambá in Maranhão: 171 "They also have another manner of giving names, and this is when 553 they are fond of you, and show the high regard in which they hold you, by giving you their own name" [translated from French]. The exchange of names for motives of respect and friendship is a custom found among tribes in various parts of South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

It should be added that I, naturally, also gave my name to 553 Kamairahó. Such exchanges of names, at least among the Tapirapé, are to some extent merely done in jest. Thus, I was called Kamairahó only a few times and smilingly, while I never heard Reverend Kegel called by his Tapirapé name or the Indian leader by my own.

It certainly cannot be said that the Tapirapé hide their 171 name, or one of their names, as did the Tupinambá according to 551 the above-quoted observation by Vicente de Salvador. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua told me their names with apparent pleasure, and many of them repeated the name several times until I pronounced it properly, and asked me about it [124:143] again on subsequent occasions to see whether I had learned it correctly. They differed in this respect from the Kayapó, who do not reveal their own name according to Krause (2, 401). The latter was able to find out their names only through a third person, and they were given in a very low voice. The Karajá never made it a problem to tell me their own names. Like the Tapirapé, they are very desirous to find out about ours, and soon after the visitor s arrival they ask for his name, that of his wife, his children, and other relatives.

On the other hand, many of the inhabitants of Tampiitaua 551 were ignorant of the names of their deceased parents, and nearly 171 all were unfamiliar with those of their grandparents and other rela- 173 tives who were no longer alive, so we cannot assert that the Tapirapé are as interested in their own genealogy as are, for example, the Kaingang tribe of the so-called Botocudo of Santa

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Catarina, Xokleng [Shokleng] or Aveikoma [Aweikoma], studied by Henry (50). [Ed., end of Vol. 124.]

[127:231] CHILDHOOD

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Father Fernão Cardim (310) wrote of the Tupinambá: "There is nothing parents love more than their own children, and he who does something for the children can obtain anything from the parents." Roughly, this sentence could be applied to nearly all Brazilian tribes and to the Tapirapé among them. This love is manifested in the understanding with which the adults treat the children. An Indian father would never answer his child's question with: "This is grownup stuff you can't understand," thus destroying, in the fashion of certain White fathers, the trust with which the child seeks out his most learned friend. The Indian father does not speak to the child with an air of superiority, and consequently there is no chasm between them, such as frequently separates children from adults among us.

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In fact, a Tapirapé will show patience toward a child even before he reaches the age of asking for explanations. I shall never forget the attitude of Vuanomanchí when a small child seated in his lap urinated on his bare legs. No fuss! This worthy family man did not even get up. He took a piece of straw from the ground and pushed down the liquid with it. He neither scrubbed nor washed himself. He uttered no word and made no motion that might disturb the child.

[127:232] Nor shall I forget the behavior of Maeyma during the illness of his little girl. Several women were weeping around the girl's hammock, and Maeyma was the only man who was crying. Seated in his hammock, he covered his face with his hands and sobbed. He seemed to have lost weight during the short period of his child's illness. As befits a mindful father, he ate nothing during this time except for a little maize cauí and manioc flour. On the following day, when the girl seemed to have improved, Maeyma, lying in the hammock held her like something breakable, and when he moved his hands he did so gingerly.

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In the Tapirapé tribe, as in many others, the intimate and continuous connection between child and parents is acknowledged and

855 [1464] respected by the latter through abstentions to which they submit for the child's sake over a long period of time, and not only when the child is sick. The period of physical contact also lasts longer 853 than among us. Although the statement of Father Vicente de [114] Salvador (37), according to which certain Tupinambá mothers [171] nursed their children "seven or eight years" is exaggerated, we may assume that the same thing occurred among those Tupi as we observed among the Tapirapé and numerous other Brazilian tribes, that is to say, a child who already plays and runs about with other children without adult supervision and who still nurses at his mother's breast. According to Lipkind (2, 187), Karajá children sleep with [171] their mother until they stop nursing. In Tampiitaua, I found one 513 boy and one girl, each a year old, two girls of three years, and one girl of four years who slept with both parents in the same net in 1935, and two girls of one year who did so in 1947. In 1935, I found one girl of a few months, one girl of less than a year, one girl a little over a year, and one boy of three who slept with their mother, and in 1947 I found one boy of one year, one boy of two, and one boy of four who did the same. I found one girl and one boy of four and one girl of six who slept with their father in 1935 (the mother slept in an adjoining hammock with a smaller child) and one boy of two who did so in 1947. In that same year, a girl of about 10 slept with her father, a man of 35, while his wife, about seven months pregnant, who was not the girl's mother, slept in the next hammock. And in 1935, a boy of six slept with his mother's older sister while the mother slept in another house with her husband, who was not the boy's father.

The Tapirapé adorn the children with special care. I showed 301 in Chapter 6 (Photo. 13) how even before the birth they make 854 tamankuré for a child's ankles. When he is born, they proceed to adorn him with the traditional ornaments of the tribe, [127:233] and in addition they hang beads obtained from the Whites around his neck. Like everything else they may give him, these beads are [1422] acknowledged henceforth as the child's property. A museum collector may sometimes have difficulty obtaining an object owned exclusively by a child not yet old enough to understand his wish.

I was moved when I saw a Tapirapé mother attempt to protect 854 her weeks-old baby against the strong noon sun while crossing the village plaza. She held it close against her abdomen and ran bent

854 over so that the child lay in the shadow of the woman's nude body. Only when she reached the house did the mother hold herself erect and take the child in her arms again.

171 854 As a rule, when carried, the Tampiitaua child rides on the hip of the adult, who holds him with the hand. We also saw this among the Karajá (cf. also Krause 2, 276). I did not observe in either tribe the use of straps for carrying children, which I dealt with in some detail in Chapter 6. Although Tupinambá women, according to Fernão Cardim (170), carried their children "wrapped in hammock strips," they held them in the Tapirapé fashion, "like gypsies, straddling the hip." And just as among the inhabitants of Tampiitaua, so also among the ancient eastern Tupi, according to Vicente de Salvador (37), fathers as well as mothers carried the children in their arms.

171 861 Referring to the Taulipáng, Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 147) notes that it is extremely rare for parents to speak harshly to their child or to spank him, and adds, "I never saw corrective punishment." This could be said of nearly all Brazilian tribes, and especially of the Tapirapé. Fernão Cardim (170) notes of the Tupinambá that they did not subject their children to "punishments of any sort." Among the Karajá, according to Lipkind (2, 187), "sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children" [cited in English]. Tapirapé parents usually laugh at a crying child, unless he is sick.

736 In Tampiitaua in 1935, I found nine children under ten who had neither father nor mother, six of whom were boys, namely, one of three years, three of five years, and two of eight years, and three girls between six and eight. Among the latter, one hung her net beside that of her father's brother, and another had hers in her stepmother's home. One of the five-year-old boys hung his net beside that of his father's sister. I found no close relatives for the other six orphans. The fate of the youngest one, the boy of three, was not an enviable one. He served as the village plaything, and he was the victim of everyone's moods, good and bad. He was dirty and sad. The older orphans, however, were not in such a lamentable state and were not distinguishable in behavior [127:234] from other children of the same age. According to Wagley and Galvão (4, 76), in the Tupi tribe of the Tenetehara (Guajajara) of Maranhão, only

736 male orphans are neglected. In Tampiitaua in 1947, I found a single child under ten without father or mother. He was a boy of about two years. He was captured by the Kayapó when they [724] attacked the village shortly after my visit. The fact that he was the only child to be abducted at the time may help to define the position of orphans under four years of age.

In contrast to these insufficiently protected children, we found 858 among the Tapirapé a figure who differed from the usual child in 554 being treated with far greater attention and pampering. In 1935 Ampitania was the "favorite child." This girl of four or five was indeed the little princess of Tampiitaua. She was always gentle and polite, and constantly disclosed new charms. She was far more ornamented than other children, wearing white fluff glued to her body and several bead necklaces, aside from the cotton ornaments painted with urucú. She stayed alternately with the two most important men in the village, spending one day and one night with Kamaiabó and his wife, and the following day and night with Vuatanatty and wife. She lived, therefore, in the two largest houses and with the leaders who were, to some extent, [621] rivals. She thus held, undoubtedly, a unifying function. Kamaiabó made a point of telling me repeatedly that she was descended from "captains," thus calling my attention to the girl's "blue blood." Incidentally, he himself also seems to have been a "favorite child" (cf. Wagley 4, 23).

The institution of the "favorite child" also exists among the •[171] Karajá, according to my inquiry of 1935 (cf. Baldus 7, 83) and confirmed years later by Lipkind (2, 186). These Indians of the Araguaia have a special term for such children, whom they call ioió.

Among the Tapirapé, as among all other South American tribes 171/ I visited, I observed the behavior of children among themselves 858 and in relation to adults, which differs markedly from the behavior of the children I knew in Germany. These seemed, so to speak, much more "childish" than the Indian children and many neo-Brazilian children. They had less interest in the adult world because it was much less accessible to them than it is to the children of the Brazilian forests and cities. Because they did not talk to adults on an equal footing, as children here so commonly do, the

[171] 858 children raised under the German authoritarianism of the turn of the century did not seem as "grownup." The attitude of the Indian child, [127:235] however, is determined not only by the freedom he enjoys along with many neo-Brazilian children, but also by two other factors which make him more like the adults: (1) among the [859] Indians, the activities of the child are much closer to those of the adults than among us and are never different in type from the work of the parents; (2) from the earliest age, the Indian child owns [821] individual property which he and he alone may dispose of as he wishes.

We have already alluded above to the strict respect shown for 857 the child's property. As far as work is concerned, it may be said 868 that the Tapirapé children learn adult work through play. The boy 822 of three already has a small bow and arrow, the size of which corresponds to his size. The girl of three already has a small sifter, the size of which corresponds to her size. Thus, the two of them go fishing like a grownup couple, with the little man shooting the fish and the little woman gathering them in the sifter. Naturally, the size of the fish is also in proportion to the size of the fishermen. When they return home, they put the little fish in the embers and roast them. Then they eat them, thus showing that a Tapirapé of three already knows how to take care of himself. As the boy and girl grow, so do the bow and sifter, until they become a man's bow and a woman's sifter when their owners reach puberty. This applies to all the implements used by these Indians, namely, clubs, baskets, pestles, spindles, and other utensils. This, however, does not mean that prior to puberty the boys participate in the economic life to the same extent as the girls, who often, while the boys loaf, help their mothers from a tender age according to their strength and to the capacities of their years and thus constitute an increasingly productive element.

Naturally, Tapirapé children imitate grownups in areas other 857 than work. They soon learn the so-called automatic smile that [201] characterizes those Indians, a certain coquettishness, and what stirs most vividly the soul of their tribe, that is, dances and songs. I saw boys from four to seven years old making dance masks for themselves with wild-banana leaves, put them on their heads, and then dance and sing in a manner corresponding to the type of mask used. In the Karajá village of Santa Isabel, I witnessed similar scenes in 1947.

1:Baldus--169 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

171 We may say of the children of that village on the isle of
865 Bananal, of Tampiitaua, and of many other Brazilian Indian communities, what Fernão Cardim (175) wrote with reference to the Tupinambá: "...the boys are cheerful and given to frolic and play with much gentleness and friendship, for among them no evil words are heard, no [127:236] indecencies, nor do they call their fathers and mothers names, and rarely do they disagree as they play, or quarrel about anything, hit each other, or do battle..." Modern authors also speak of the pleasant children they found among South American Indians (cf., for example, Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 147). Small children of both sexes, up to
192 about five years of age, are called antaí in Tapirapé. In
561 Swadelli's Nheengatú vocabulary (656), we find the following
858 entry: "Tafiá, 'child.' Name applied to both sexes during the
171 first years of life, until they begin to walk and talk, are given a name, and begin to specialize in their respective tasks, at which point the boy becomes curumi and girl cunhantaí." Aside from these terms, the Tapirapé use ampyki for the small boy and pinyngí for the little girl. Yves d'Evreux (86), dealing with the age "levels" among the Tupinambá of Maranhão, writes as follows: "The first level, assumed to be common to males and females as they come out of their mother's womb, is called Peïtan..." [translated from French]. In Montoya we read (2, 384): "A girl, or a boy up to age three, Mitang" [translated from Spanish].

From about six to around 12, that is, until the girl's first menstruation and the beginning of the boy's puberty, the Tapirapé call the former kutantaí and the latter ekonomí. Montoya (2, I, 383 and 377) gives Cuña taí for a "girl up to 10 years" and Cunumí for a "youth."

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



## THE THUNDER CEREMONY

[171] In common with many Tupi peoples the Tapirapé consider thunder
776 as a powerful supernatural. He is called *Kanawana* by the Tapirapé.
[821] Kanawana lives in his house at Maratawa surrounded by his various
[175] supernumeraries. He has with him the souls of deceased Tapirapé shamans
[156] (*pancé-ãnawera*), messengers called *awanpewa* that carry news to these *pancé ãnawera*, and finally, *topi* (28).

*Topi* are described as small anthropomorphic beings about the size of a man's hand. Their bodies are covered with downy white hair, and they wear European beads, little headdresses of parrot feathers, and lip plugs. They travel with great swiftness through the air small "canoes", which are only halves of gourds, and they carry with them red feathers and beads to use as arrows to shoot at Tapirapé. Sometimes *topi* are referred to as "pets" of Thunder and sometimes as his children: but in any case, they are many and do his bidding.

776 Each year in approximately late December and January, when
821 there are heavy thunder showers, lightning, and strong winds, the Tapirapé believe that Thunder is angry. The noise of the storm is the rumbling of his *topi's* canoes and the lightning is their speeding arrows. Once, when a strong wind ripped off part of the roof of a house, Tapirapé men were frightened because they knew that *pancé-ãnawera* sent by Thunder had caused the wind. At this time each year shamans "call Thunder" and match their powers against him. In frenzied intoxi-
[786] cation from gulping tobacco smoke, constant singing and dancing, they fall into trances during which they travel to the house of Thunder. Shamans and the courageous laymen who take part in this ceremony are struck down by *topi's* arrows and fall writhing upon the ground. Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies against Thunder and his beings.

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(28) *Topi* is obviously the Tapirapé equivalent of *Tupan*, the word recorded as used by the Tupinambá and other coastal Tupi. Among the coastal Tupi *Tupan* was the supernatural being who made the thunder and lightning. Tupan was so important that the early Catholic missionaries used the word for God. See Alfred Métraux's, 1928, *La Religion des Tupinambá*, pages 52-56. Paris. Note, however, that among the Tapirapé *topi* are merely creatures of Thunder.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



that same evening the men danced single file over the circuit, starting 535
from the large house where the principal ceremonies had been held. As 776
they danced, they sang that Thunder had gone and all was safe again (31).

During the four-day period of the combat against Thunder and 833
his creatures sexual intercourse had been taboo; but on the night after 834
Thunder leaves "all Tapirapé will have intercourse with their wives and many women will become pregnant". Traditionally, women are freer with their favours for a few days after this ceremony. People, however, sometimes break the taboo against sexual intercourse during the period of Thunder's visit and so bring trouble on themselves and their tribe. Pastori reported: "I was weak when I returned from Thunder's house. Many mosquitos drank my blood on the road. This was because Tapirapé men were with their wives. I dreamed that night and saw many Tapirapé having intercourse and knew that Tapirapé would be bitten by many mosquitos when they called Thunder".

## CONCLUSIONS

It is apparent that in studying Tapirapé shamanism we are con- 171
cerned with patterns which are part of a deep-seated New World 756
shamanistic complex found widespread in both North and South America — from the Eskimo to the Ona and Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego. Among the Tupi-guarani peoples, however, shamanism has been an unusual factor in their cultural history. Dr. Alfred Métraux has shown that the numerous and distant migrations of Tupi-Guarani tribes in post-Columbian times were frequently instigated by powerful shamans (32).

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(31) During this serpent dance, one may avoid of cane which are hanging from rafters in the houses through which they pass. Youngsters did steal some [781]
cane and women ran after them trying to get it back. There was now much gaiety and laughter.

(32) "Rendus le vénération et l'autorité dont ces magiciens bénéficiaient, pouvaient expliquer la facilité avec laquelle des tribus entières qui consentaient à abandonner leurs villages et leur territoire à la recherche d'un pays paraissant fabuleux" (in Alfred Métraux, 1931, "Les hommes-dieux chez les Chiriguanos et dans l'Amérique du Sud", *in Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán*, T. II, p. 66).

See also the same author's: 1927, "Les migrations historiques des Tupy-Guarany" *in Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, Nouvelle Série, T. XIX.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



171 In another study, Dr. Métraux emphasizes the extraordinary powers of
756 the Tupinambá shamans and states that among the coastal Tupi of Brazil shamans at times held great secular powers (33). Seabor Curt Nimuendaju writes that the basic organization of the Apapocúva-Guarani, before European contact, was the voluntary subordination to their shaman-chiefs and points out that the failure to recognize their power was the cause of repeated failures to unite the Guarani in "aldeamentos" (34). My own recent work among the Tupi-speaking Guajajara of the Rio Pindaré of Northeastern Brazil leads me to the opinion that, especially before European administrators gave them secular chiefs, Guajajara shamans exercised such strong religious and social controls over their people. The emphasis upon the role of the shaman in Tapirapé culture shows, therefore, a marked affinity with other Tupi-Guarani peoples.

## APPENDIX

756 A few added examples of individual overt reactions of persons during the Thunder ceremony may clarify and illustrate several points of the ceremony I have summarized below several from my field notebooks.

*Case of Kamairabo*

Kamairabo is a man of great prestige and has been a *pané* for many years, although never a strong one. He says, "I have never seen many dangerous animals: I dream and travel only on (the level of) the earth", explaining that he does not travel through the sky in this
756 dreams as do Piniawi and Urubumo. Kamairabo did not take part in
781 the Thunder ceremony for the first two days, explaining that he was
796 afraid; he said he was too old and too weak to meet the dangerous *tupã*. On the third day, however, he took part in the day phase, against the protestations of his wife who cried in fear for him. Each time he made the village circuit wearing the headdress of red parrot feathers, he fell hard and without completing his circuit. Once after a seizure and a hard

(33) Alfred Métraux, 1928, "La Religion des Tupinambás, et ses rapports avec celle des autres tribus Tupi-Guarani", p. 82, Paris.

(34) Curt Nimuendaju, 1914, "Die Sagen von der Entstehung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocúva-Guarani", in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, T. 46, pp. 337-338, Berlin.

(35) Charles Wagley, 1943, "Notes sobre antropologia social em Guajajara" (portuguese translation from the unpublished original, Brief notes on acculturation among the Guajajara) in *Boletim do Museu Nacional* (Rio de Janeiro), Nova Série, Antropologia N. 2.

that all participants in the tãtũpũã [90] are called this. Nothing could point up the importance of the institution more effectively than this observation. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The word tãtã is used both by the Tapirapé and by the Karajá [Caraja] to designate cultivated bananas in general. It also means "fire" in their language, as in all Tupí-Guaraní tongues, and it differs from these only in its natalization, an element which is peculiar to the Tapirapé language as a whole.

The word upũã means "everything eaten."

The word tãtũpũã may mean that the fire went out, or that everything that was near the fire was eaten.

Every individual belongs to the same eating group through life. Sons belong to their father's group, daughters to their mother's.

The eating groups are not important to marriage; some of the men belong to the same group as their wives, while others belong to a different group.

[91] The principal chief, Kamairabó, was a Txankanépéra, while the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ', was a Panaĩvũãna. As I lived in Kamairabó's household and belonged, in a way, to his family, I also became a Txankanépéra, and they explained to me that as a consequence my own relatives, although absent, had also become Txankanépéra.

Within their group, all members regard one another as brothers and sisters.

Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life, namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group companions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond occasionally bringing together the inhabitants of different houses from birth to death.

At certain times the entire population of the village gathers together for the tãtũpũã, which at such times is not really a feast carried out to meet the obligations imposed by the consumption-group organization, but a veritable banquet.

On July 3, the time of the kauibó, or "bad kauí" (literally, "big kauí" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kauí, which formerly was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was warm and so good that I ate my fill.

476 thundering noise, dragging along in its fall its weaker companions.

Every once in a while, a voice was heard behind the trees. One [222] could not see who it was, but the call sounded very close. Immediately, the boys rushed to the spot where the voice came from. Soon they returned with their arms full of bananas. They ran jubilantly toward us and distributed them.

These bananas reached a length of 30 centimeters and a middle [192] circumference of 15 to 20 centimeters. The men brought them in [482] hampers close to the working area, but never came out of the woods into the garden with their load.

The skin of the bananas was black, and their flesh was already 252 brownish and too soft. This is the condition in which the Tapirapé 262 like them best. The fruits are gathered when green and buried at the [222] spot where they grew. The Karajá do the same thing. In the sun- [171] heated ground, the bananas reach the desired state of rottenness more quickly than if they were kept at home. Then, too, they are warm when taken out of the ground, and this endears them further to the Indians.

They are not peeled in order to be eaten. The tough skin is 264 opened a little at one of the tips, the tip is placed between the lips, and the skin slowly emptied by squeezing it with the fingers so that the pulp gradually enters the mouth. Kamairahó ate one banana after another. As for myself, I found them nauseating.

[108] The sun was already quite low when we left. We forged 264 ahead at a rapid pace, one behind the other on the narrow trail. We 476 were not far from the village when the path opened onto a small, 482 cleared, triangular space. The women sat in the corners of this space 574 and watched us in silence. The women and girls had split into three groups which tallied with the work groups of their husbands and fathers. They had placed pots of food in the area in the same arrangement. [262] There were banana kauí, peanut kani, cottonseed kauí, toasted karú, and many other good things. Each group ate only from the pots placed for it at a specific spot. There were smaller quantities for the Tãnãvé, because they were fewer. I was invited from all sides, and since I [123] was very hungry I did not spare the other two groups. Only when I was beginning to be satiated did I put down, with a great show of surprise, the pot of banana soup of the Anamxí from which I had just partaken, and declared that I was a Tãnãvé. This fact, however, did not seem to be of great importance to my hosts.

Ta 526 883 Kamairahó's house, they renewed their mutual holds and smiled graciously at each other (1).

Ta Ti [171] Ti 526

1. In a letter of February 20, 1936, Curt Nimuendajú wrote to me about the Timbira, a Gê tribe: "The Timbira also have a paired race across the village plaza (which is 300 meters in diameter). It is usually held following a more important ceremony. It is called ka-kaipda (ka, 'village plaza,' and kaipda, 'across')."

Ta 526 Later, some of the men also took part in the test, even the "old hunter" Kantxovanf. When darkness fell, they all went home. Only a dozen pairs had run altogether, for they had started out when the sun had already sunk behind the forest.

Ta 476 [535] [526] [111] On the following afternoon there was another apatxirú at a different spot. The participants were so few that there was no dancing or racing. Two days later, a bigger apatxirú was held with all the features, this time to the northwest of the village. Thus, apatxirú are held on different days and at different places. Not all the men take part. Some work for themselves in their gardens, and others stay home. [Ed., Plates 1-26 are omitted since they concern tribes other than the Tapirapé.]

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1. Comb.

2. Whole-gourd vessel.

3 4

Half-gourd vessels.

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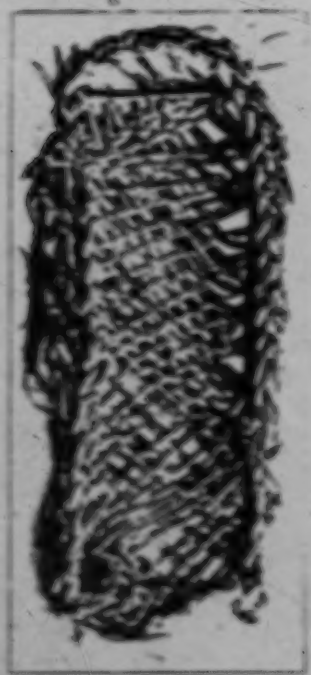
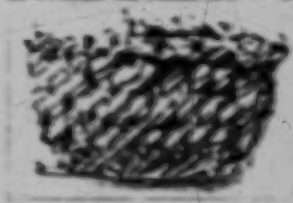


5. Back-basket.

7



8

6-8. Rectangular transport bags.

9. Elastic transport bag.

/405 cont./

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Ill. 262 a, b.
Tattooing of the Tapirapé women.

Ill. 263.
Painting of a Tapirapé girl.

415 The whole-gourd vessel (kuiá; Pl.
561 69, Ill. 2) bears carved designs similar to
171 those of the Karajá; everything is very crudely executed, however. Of the two half-gourd vessels (kiládi; Pl. 69, Ills. 3, 4), one is provided with a tassel made of red cotton threads; their designs are reminiscent of the Karajá carved designs, whereas the designs on the others are completely foreign and carved rather crudely and clumsily.

532 The doll (dicho, Ill. 266) of white earth, of rhomboid shape, represents a
[533] Tapirapé /406/ maiden. A roll of wax,
→ which is led from one corner down along
[511] the two adjacent edges, serves as hair.
→ A parting and arm cuffs (red painting between two rolls) have been put on it. Moreover, the doll wears two ear-rods. In the center and at the four corners there are small holes that are connected with the center by means of one line to the sides and two lines to the top and bottom. The whole figure is five centimeters high and wide and three centimeters thick. It was made by a Tapirapé boy. Of

Ill. 264.
Spindle.

Ill. 265.
Club.
Tapirapé.

/409 cont./

432 The back baskets are similar in construction to those of the
185 Karajá, but considerably smaller. One back-basket is plaited
[191] out of two palm fronds, like those of the Karajá; /410/ the ribs form the two longitudinal poles, the interwoven inner part of the fronds the bottom, the outer part the open-work edge. Their dimensions are 87 centimeters in length, 26 centimeters in width, 14 centimeters in height. Carrying bands are absent. The other back basket (Pl. 69, Ill. 5), by contrast, is made of only one frond in that the rib is broken twice and in this way forms the two longitudinal poles and the bottom cross-pole. To strengthen the longitudinal poles, two separate poles are tied on. The bottom plaiting and the lateral rods are /Ills. 269 and 270 appear here/ made considerably more neatly than in the previous one. It is only 68 centimeters long, 25 centimeters wide, and 15 centimeters high.

The bags are all made out of one palm frond in such a way that the rib forms the lower cross-edge, above which the bag, plaited out of pinnae, is built up (Pl. 69, Ills. 6-8). It is rectangular in shape throughout and is made with a simple one-up-one-down plaiting. Where carrying bands are present, they are fastened to the long side or the transverse side. /411/ Only one bag (Pl. 69, Ill. 9) is different in shape: its upper edge is drawn together tightly, so that only a small round opening remains, below which the bag bulges out in all directions. The measurements of the bag are: 10-16 centimeters high, 15-37 centimeters long.

301 Concerning other finds, there are still to be mentioned: a
411 tassel of red cotton yarn that corresponds exactly to a cut-off, youth's neck-tassel from the Karajá. And then two arrows. One of these (Ill. 270a) has a flat wooden point 43 centimeters long with barbs cut out on two sides and double-edged sharpness. The taquara shaft is 110 centimeters long and bears in back the two-part feathering, the twist of which makes a quarter turn and which is fastened only at the upper and lower end by winding. The upper winding consists of black cotton; into it little red feathers are tied toward the inside. The space between the feathers is

/411 cont./

411 painted with red lacquer from the top to the center. The end winding consists of a fine white thread; it carries a crossed [284] thread and extends to the notch. The attachment winding between shaft and point is made of embira and consists of two [171] parts which are connected by spiral winding. Thus, this arrow shows nothing that would be foreign to the Karajá. The other arrow is entirely different (Ill. 270b). The long-tapered cane point, 30 centimeters long, is set onto a round wooden stem 49 centimeters long and is simply wound with embira at the point of attachment. The wooden stem, in turn, is set into the cane shaft, which is 75 centimeters long. Its attachment winding of black embira extends almost to the upper feather-winding. The feathering is done in the same way as in the case of the other arrow. The upper winding consists of black cotton thread, [284] to which is joined a black embira winding that extends up to half the intermediate space of the very long feathering. In it are wrapped little red feathers. The notch winding consists of white thread and carries three parallel, widely crossed threads.

105 When we sum up everything, we find that the Tapirápé
171 are a people who, like the Karajá and Savajá, live beside lakes on the campo during the rainy season, come to the river during the dry season in order to fish there, but, in contrast to the former, seek out different places one after the other, in other words, migrate within a definite area. They plant manioc and maize, work cotton into hammocks and ornaments, are familiar with pottery, the working of stones into axes and lip plugs, carry bows, arrows, and clubs, and like to decorate their objects with carvings. In many things their culture seems to be very close to that of the Karajá, along with them they probably belong to the same ethnographic province, which is distinctly separate from that of the Xingu region; they differ essentially from them, however, in their small stature, their foreign language, and an ignorance of navigation. /Page 412 is blank. The "Appendix," pp. 413-482, has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

821 emekuanxíampanî, a word that refers to the thin, long tembetá
192 [Tr., lip plug] of the boys. To other stages of [91] visibility they gave the names itaxavāhaupûri, eviyik, and akaemerût, three terms whose meaning I was unable to determine and which must therefore be disregarded until further elucidated.

805 It became apparent that the Tapirapé are not in the habit of
192 reckoning time in terms of lunar months when I attempted to find out the duration they attribute to the span of time corresponding roughly to our year. They distinguished the following three periods: amîna, "rain," the rainy season; amîna akîpaík, the end of the rainy season; and amîna apâm, "rain sleeps," the dry season. They attributed, still with some certainty, about five txāhi akantxím, "moon finished," to the first period, while their computations for the second period varied from one to five, and those for the "sleep of the rain" from three to eight. [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

Although they are not unfamiliar with the continuous alternation
[171] of day and night, the Brazilian Indians, to my knowledge, do not have words covering those two phases as a unit. The Tapirapé word îna merely designates the day from sunrise to sundown in contrast to the darkness of the night, and corresponds to îta in the above-cited Tupí dictionaries. For "night" the Tapirapé have the term kanõk (or kanõk), ĩpĩtím (or ĩpĩtúnã), and txāhi eni (or txāhi āni), the first one designating nightfall or early evening, the second a dark, moon less [92] night, and the third a moonlit night or moonlight. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the first sentence of the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

It is not surprising that the concept of "midnight" is lacking among clockless people like the Tapirapé [Ed., the remainder of
114 the sentence is omitted]. The Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica
192 [Vocabulary of the Aboriginal Brazilian Language] lists the word
805 piçcaré with the translation, "the whole night, or throughout the night." I did not hear any similar term in Tapirapé, not even a word similar to pîhã, another term for "night" listed by Montoya.

The Tapirapé word kadm, "daybreak," corresponds to ic in Montoya, codma in the "Dicionário Brasiliano [Aboriginal Brazilian Dictionary]," coamum in the Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica, and codma in Stradelli.

For "midday" the Tapirapé said atxavuapû. Montoya lists acayé, and the Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica, acajé. In Stradelli, the word "middle" is pytera.

192 According to my Tapirapé informants, "today" is in, "tomorrow"
905 is ãntxeivé, "yesterday" is designated by the number antxepé, "one," and "day before yesterday" by mokõimi, "two." [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the exact and numerical reference to a past event seldom goes farther back than mokõimi, "day before yester-
[902] day," since as a rule they do not count to mapit, "three," preferring to say vuaitépe, "much "(in quantity), or mo (or mõ), "far away" (a word that designates great distance, in space as well as [93] time, and that is perhaps related to mõmbiri, "far away," in Montoya). Concerning the future, on the other hand, they frequently say ãntxeivé, "tomorrow," although they may be referring to a time later than the following day.

905 Since not only the computations of time but its direct denomina-tions as well are invariably abstract, however, it is more convenient to the Tapirapé mentality to use mostly indirect designations by grounding the references to past and future times in concrete phenomena.
[821] Thus, they indicate the time of day by extending their hand in the direction of the place where the sun was or will be at the time in ques-
[171] tion. By what I saw, and also by what Krause (p. 339) mentions, the Karajá [Caraja] proceed in the same fashion.

If certain events took place several weeks or months earlier, the
[824] Tapirapé pinpoint them chronologically by showing with the hand the degree of development of certain plants at the times in question, for example, the height of maize or sugar cane. If several years
[852] have gone by, the Tapirapé narrator extends his hand to the height that a certain person had reached at that time. This person is usually the narrator himself, if his age enables him to do so. If he is about 50 years old and then stopped growing dozens of years ago, but wishes to indicate an event that occurred five years earlier, he will use a child five years old or older.

905 It should be mentioned, finally, that the words kafin, "daybreak,"
825 and kanõk, "nightfall," are also used for purposes of orientation in
[192] geographical space, the former meaning "east" and the latter "west." Judging by the explanations given to me by the Tapirapé, the concepts of "north" and "south" are lacking among them.

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

# THE FEAR IN TAPIRAPÉ CULTURE

*Herbert Baldus*

121 Fear, although its biological aspects connect mankind with the animals, assumes among ourselves characteristics which by tradition vary from people to people, that is, cultural traits. Socially determined differences exist in the externalization of fear as well as in its causes.

In certain cultures one should not show fear; in others there is nothing to prevent one from exhibiting it. There are peoples and cultural epochs which like to see their women habitually frightened and so to establish a contrast with the calmness of the men. In many South American tribes the women easily weep, tremble, cry or groan because of any danger, real or supposed, and are or pretend to be especially frightened by certain masked dances and other ceremonies performed by the men.[1] Goethe, in "Faust," when Margaret faints, exclaiming "Nachbarin! Eure Flasche!" ("Neighbour, your smelling-bottle!"), alludes to a common custom of his time in Europe. The modern European woman who no longer uses smelling-salts shows that such manifestations of terror are not conditioned by nature, but by culture. As regards the real female constitution it may be mentioned that "in an important study made during World War II, *Psychological Effects of War on Citizen and Soldier* (1942), Dr. R. D. Gillespie reported that in the heavily bombed areas of London and Kent almost 70 per cent more men broke down and became psychiatric casualties than women."[2]

In certain cultures death is feared, in others, not. Circumstances which produce feelings of inadequacy and consequently fear in certain societies don't exist in others. The so-called "imaginary fear"[3] which causes phobias is found among most primitive peoples and is generally limited, among the peoples with European languages, to the less educated classes.

The Tapirapé differ from other South American tribes by contributing the fear in both sexes, by the frequency and ease of such externalization, and by the multiplicity of causes for fear. The naturalness with which on several occasions Kamaiurá, the most important Tapirapé leader, said to me: "Abyóid, I am afraid," is only comparable with the almost automatic manner of the Tapirapé's using the interjection "Aéj" when feeling any pain, even the sting of a mosquito bite. This caused me to think frequently of the constant prevention in all that by Indians I knew in the Paraguayan Chaco, for instance of the apparent impossibility of the Chamacoco. It is true that the Tapirapé calm down with the same ease with which they are alarmed. A few words of mine were enough to make Kamaiurá laugh again, speaking cordially with his wife about other things. I had the impression that among the Chaco Indians the emotions penetrated deeper, while among the Tapirapé they were like single circles on the surface of a pond into which a little stone had been thrown, circles which soon disappear into the distance.

152 396 But among these Tupian Indians of the Araguaya basin, the externalization of fear is not restricted to interjections. We find it expressed in attitudes and institutions. We feel it, although masked, in the mechanical smile with which, from earliest infancy, they greet the person who speaks to them. We suspect it still in other aspects of their characteristics.

[p. 396]

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



but lives and re-lives his life cycle as the cycle of the seasons. In the early 776
rains of October to January, Petura is a small boy. During the heavy rains 132
of January to March, he is an adolescent youth. He is a young warrior as
the rains diminish in April to June, and as the year draws to its close for
the Tapirapé during the remaining dry months, Petura becomes old. Then
as the year begins again with the first refreshing rains of October, he
begins a new life cycle. This is the agricultural year for the Tapirapé. They [221]
plant when he is young (October) and harvest as he matures (in May and
June).

Petura was not the only hero who benefited the Tapirapé. To the "house 773
of the gods" travelled Tomaucíri and Mukwara II, other ancestor heroes,
in search of their father Mukwara. There Mukwara gave his son, Toma-
uciri, the bow and arrow which he brought back to the Tapirapé. There, [776]
too—and this is typical of Tapirapé readjustment to newly-learned knowl-
edge—the younger brother Mukwara II was given fire arms which he
transmitted to his descendants, the Europeans or Tori.[9]

Shamans are equated with these ancestor heroes. If shamans die a non- 756
violent death, they go immediately to Mazawa where they live plenti- 775
fully supplied with food, tobacco, and all aids to the good life. If they die 772
violently, however (i.e., are suspected of sorcery and killed by the Tapi-
rapé) they go to another home of shamans in the west. This is the "house [821]
of the winds" where the heavy winds blowing from the southwest come
during the late dry season. They are given an artificial face, and they stay
here until they heal before going east to join their companions in Maza-
wa. Only shamans and culture heroes continue after life in the form that [776]
they had on earth.

It is chiefly through shamans that the Tapirapé know of the sun, moon 756
and other heavenly bodies. A shaman had seen the sun "close by." The 821
sun, he said, is an old man with no hair on his head. He travels through
the heavens wearing a large head-dress of red parrot feathers, and since
red parrot feathers are "hot," the head-dress gives off heat. Each night,
after limping through his daily cabin (for the "sky is rough" and the sun
continually has thorns in his feet) he returns underground to the east to
his home at Mazawa.[10] There he eats very little and in a short time was
out again. The morning after Wamaxoma, a shaman had died, warned
Tapirapé saw that the sun was red; it was very "hot" and angry because a
shaman had died. 821

As the sun is male, so the moon is female. Both are thought of as people. 776

[9] Was unable to get the original of this story before the slavery change was made to make it fit with new conditions. It is similar, however, to a Tupinambá myth recorded by Thevet and quoted by Métraux (*ibid.*, p. 120), which tells of Jaguarete and Tamendonare, twin sons of Sumé. [711]

[10] See Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 14, for Sipaia version.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1948 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



776 and in myth the sun is called Ancerika and the moon Tamparawa, both
821 names of people. According to the Tapirape, the moon is sister to the sun
773 and is married to Anchepetari, a culture hero who was instrumental in
776 dividing all birds into two groups,[11] and who taught Tapirape how to
821 wrestle and sing many songs. Because of sexual misbehavior, Sun is said to have slapped Moon full in the face with his hand which was wet with black *genipa* dye, thus the marks on the face of the moon are explained.

Two large planets were formerly Tapirape culture bearers. Apuwemanu[12] (Venus) came down from the sky one night after having watched Anantero, a Tapirape woman, for a long time, and lived with the Tapirape. At night he was a young man, husband of Anantero, but by day he appeared to people as a decrepit old man. He taught Anantero how to plant cotton and how to spin. He taught the Tapirape[13] how to plant their modern garden products, maize, manioc, corn, yams. Finally Apuwemanu returned to the sky, taking with him his earthly son by Anantero who is called Imanowanga (Jupiter). Today, the Tapirape point to these two planets, recounting their story and saying, "Apuwemanu is young at night when he is in the sky, but by day he is old again as he was when he left us."

Many other constellations are known, but of importance in story are
821 possibly only that called by the Tapirape "the jaguar,"[14] and the Pleiades.[15]
787 One shaman told me that he had travelled (in dreams) to visit this jaguar. He was "friendly" with it, he said, and if he should be killed, the jaguar of the sky would send many real jaguars to prey upon the Tapirape. "Men would be afraid to step into the forest at night." The jaguar had become one of his retinue of familiar powers which would aid him in struggles with other shamans.

821 The Pleiades are important calendrically. They are watched anxiously
805 and impatiently as the rains diminish, and their disappearance over the
776 western horizon in May signals the end of the rains. This is the time for

[816] [11] At the present time men's societies are divided into three age grades. Each age grade of
[821] each society carries the name of a bird: one being species of small passerines, and the other
[825] species of white water birds. According to myth, these groups derived from similar divisions of the bird world in which Anchepetari lived.

[12] This is probably identical with Monan (or Maire-monan, according to Métraux), civilizing god of Tupinambas, who created earth, people, birds and animals, and finally taught the Tupinambas to distinguish useful plants. He was put to death by *caraiba*, at which time he was transformed into a star "with rays of his companions." Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 11.

[171] [13] One was called Kanipanawa (pre-Tapirape) at this time (see p. 274).

[14] Anchieta Guarani said that there was a very large tiger or dog which on certain occasions
[170] ate the sun and moon, causing an eclipse. Aspurueta-Guarani speak of a celestial jaguar and the Chaco Iroquois explain the eclipse in this same manner. Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 90.

[15] "Les Pléiades paraissaient avoir été chez les Tupinamba l'objet de croyances particulières. Un ancien manuscrit le représente qu'elles favorisaient la croissance des moissons." Métraux, Religion des Tupinambas, p. 91.
[171]

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



the largest ceremonial of the year which marks the beginning of the dry season and the harvest. Similarly, the position of the Pleiades is used to date the many ceremonies of the heavy rainy period (November to April). One shaman had visited the Pleiades, and they, too, can be counted upon as a familiar power. The Milky Way is often referred to as the "path of the shaman," it is a well-beaten road over which the shaman travels through the sky in his dreams.

In common with many Tupi peoples, nothing in the realm of natural phenomena is as important to the Tapirape as thunder. Among most Tupi, Tupan is a god or an ancestor identified with thunder. He causes the rumbling of thunder and flashes of lightning. Among the Tapirape, however, Thunder[16] is a separate entity, a supernatural who has many "creatures" or *tupá*. *Tupá* are described as small beings about a hand's length in size, with white hairy down over their bodies, and wearing a small headdress of red parrot feathers, European beads, and a lip plug. Small wooden dolls are made in imitation of them. They travel through the sky in small "canoes," especially when there are strong wind and electric storms, and they carry red wild flowers with which they shoot Tapirape in the stomach. These arrows are hot "like fire." Sometimes *tupá* are called "pets" of Thunder, and again they are referred to as his "children." In addition to *tupá*, Thunder has other supernaturaries, the souls of dead shamans, who live in the house of Thunder, commonly thought to be near Morazowa on the summit of a large mountain.

Each year when approaching rains bring heavy thunder storms, lightning and strong winds, Thunder sends forth his beings. The noise of the storm is caused by rumbling of *tupá's* canoes, and flashes of lightning are their speeding arrows. To protect the Tapirape, and also their gardens, from the storm, shamans[17] "call Thunder," or "fight with *tupá*." In a four-day ceremony characterized by genuine fear, shamans gulp tobacco smoke until they are ill and intoxicated, they sing "calling Thunder to come," and shoot until they "see" one or more *tupá*, or souls of dead shamans.[18] fight with them, and are struck down by their arrows. A shaman who fights a *tupá* tries to grab its small feather head-dress, take away its bow, or yank out its lip plug, its most vulnerable feature.

Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies of fighting Thunder. When a shaman is shot by *tupá*, he falls screaming upon the ground, writhing and shaking, and then becomes unconscious. If men are not near

[16] Thunder referred to as Kanawaua (direct translation) is said to be called Paranaka, his personal name.

[17] Laymen and neophytes who have sufficient courage may also participate.

[18] In conversation and in song, there is confusion between these beings. Although the above distinctions are definitely made, they are often referred to interchangeably. For example, a Tapirape may say, "*tupá* cause lightning," or "Thunder is angry and makes lightning."

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



to hold him, he may run wild through the village destroying property and endangering people. To bring him back, smoke must be blown over him by a shaman. While he is unconscious, he dreams and travels, sometimes visiting the house of Thunder.

"I smoked much and then I smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun and it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They came and they left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came (to the house) in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a *tapé*). It wore a small headdress of parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug but it left." [The shaman did not conquer the *tapé* and he was shot down by an arrow while he was unconscious] . . . "All was dark. I saw many suns. I travelled singing as I walked. I spent three days walking. I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Kanawana. He was big and his body was covered with much hair. He had many red parrot feathers. There were many *tapé* and many souls of shamans. I did not talk but came back." [If he had touched Thunder's cattle he would have stayed (died), but he was properly treated with tobacco smoke and returned to consciousness.]

Through shamans and legends of culture heroes, the Tapirapé know, too, of the multitude of "spirits" (*anekenga*) which populate the unseen world. These are of two general types: true spirits, disembodied souls of deceased Tapirapé,[18] and demons or malevolent beings of many classes. Shamans are accustomed to seeing true spirits in their dreams. These generally inhabit abandoned village sites, where they re-live their earthly lives. When they die—the second death—they become frogs, deer, pacu and doves. Thus the toad is the spirit of a chief; the dove and pacu are spirits of men.[19] These ghosts cannot harm shamans who are accustomed to seeing them, but sometimes the spirits attack and strike down defenseless laymen.[20] They also cluster around a man's bier to carry off the soul as soon as the body is buried.

There are infinite numbers of "spirits" of the individualized demonic class. Of these, some are "pets" which are not very dangerous, and which are represented by men in the mask dance cult.[21] Other species are very dangerous, but these are no longer seen by the layman. Formerly, these were numerous, and killed many Tapirapé, but Ware, a culture hero and powerful shaman, fought them and killed many. A man now points to the

[18] Speaking of Tupinambás, Métraux makes these same two categories of "supernatural beings" (*anyanas*, spirits, *maporaga* and *anekenga*), *ibid.*, p. 91.

[19] Animals which have, or are, spirits can be grouped together. These are tabu to some sex and are grouped, in a complicated dietary system.

[20] Dogs can see spirits. When a dog barks, Tapirapé say, "He sees *anekenga* but we can't."

[21] At one time women may have been frightened by these "dangerous" spirits, but certainly at present everything in the men's cult is known to women, and they do not even pretend to be frightened.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
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by Santo Inácio Parente in 1816 made war upon the Tenetehara. Epidemics, which raged in the early 17th century among the Indian populations of northeast Brazil, certainly reached the Tenetehara. From time to time smallpox, measles, and other diseases have taken a heavy toll among these Indians. The impact of the dominant culture upon the Tenetehara was more intense than it has been upon the Tapirapé. In addition to differences in the nature of the contact continuum, factors inherent in the society and the culture of the two tribes were responsible for the reaction of these societies to Luso-Brazilian contact and for the population trends which followed. Since the Tenetehara and the Tapirapé have historically related cultures sharing many patterns and institutions common to most Tupí speaking tribes, a comparison of the two societies and cultures should allow us to determine the variables responsible for their contrasting reactions.

The subsistence methods of the tribes were in aboriginal times basically similar. Both were tropical forest horticulturists depending upon hunting, fishing, and forest fruits to supplement their diet. For fishing, the Tenetehara had an advantage since their villages were normally situated near rivers and streams while the Tapirapé villages were located inland many kilometers from the river. In hunting, the Tapirapé had the advantage of nearby open plains country where hunting was more productive than in the tropical forest. Neither tribe had a land problem; the nearest village of the Karajá, who were Tapirapé neighbors, was at least two hundred kilometers away and the Timbira neighbors of the Tenetehara were numerous people offering no competition for forest land. Both tribes during aboriginal times had sufficient territory to move their villages every five or six years when suitable garden sites near their villages had been used up by the slash-and-burn system of horticulture. The two tribes inhabited similar physical environments and they had approximately the same technological equipment to cope with it. Their technology and their subsistence methods must have limited the maximum population of any one village and there are indications that approximately two hundred people was the average village size for both groups. On the other hand, a lack of territory evidently did not enforce a limitation on the number of villages for the tribe. Yet while the Tapirapé tell of only five villages in aboriginal times many times that number are reported by early observers for the Tenetehara. Although specific data is not available, it seems that in aboriginal times Tapirapé population was relatively small and stable while the Tenetehara population was at least twice as large and probably expanding.

This difference in population level between the two tribes in aboriginal times was related to the population policies held by the two groups as well as to differences in social structure of the groups concerned. These cultural values relating to population level are explicit in attitudes toward family size and in positive factors to limit families. Among the Tenetehara infanticide is indicated only in the case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
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Te 182 [illegible] [22]

of members. Ceremonials in 1940 had not been abandoned but they were performed in an attenuated and disinterested manner. There was little motivation to accumulate the meat, the forest fruits, and the garden products which important ceremonials require among the Tapirapé.

Te 4 [illegible] 506 182 Te [177]

Ceremonials and cooperative economic activities in Tenetehara society are organized by extended family and kin groups. Lack of members, of course, creates difficulties in carrying out ceremonials and in organizing economic activities but it does not have the effect of disorganizing the society. Cooperation of large extended families in gardening and in collecting babassu nuts and copaiba oil is still the general pattern among the Tenetehara. Tenetehara social structure was malleable to change. Adjustment to new circumstances after Luso-Brazilian contact must have been easier for the Tenetehara than for the Tapirapé.

Te Te 161 182 183 105 571

The brief comparison of the cultural values and of those aspects of social structure of the Tenetehara and of the Tapirapé in terms of their effect upon population size and on population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact suggest several general hypotheses. First, the available information concerning the population size of these two tribes in aboriginal times indicates that the Tenetehara were much more numerous than the Tapirapé. Yet both tribes were tropical forest peoples with roughly similar technological equipment. It seems to the writer that this difference in population size between the two tribes was functionally related to ideological values and to social structure and not to differences in technology and environment. In other words, such differences in population can hardly be interpreted strictly in distribution terms. While population potentials are certainly limited by food supply, the level of technology, the application of medical knowledge, and other material factors, social institutions and culturally derived values are influential in determining trends in population size within the limits set by such "natural" factors.

Second, the social structure and the cultural values of any society are functionally related to a given population level. With change in population size, both the cultural values regarding population size and social structure must be adjusted. The Tapirapé concept of family size remained unchanged in face of modified conditions i.e. higher death-rate caused by foreign diseases with the result that the adult population was no longer replaced by births. A rapidly declining population disrupted Tapirapé socio-ceremonial organization and affected the internal system of production and distribution. The Tenetehara with a more malleable social structure than that of the Tapirapé were able to survive the initial impact of Luso-Brazilian contact until the protection of the Jesuits allowed them to make necessary adjustments to the new circumstances.

Te [799]

Te 4 [illegible] 506 182 571

Finally, this comparison between the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara calls to mind other primitive societies whose social structure must have been functionally related to population level and to demographic trends in face of European civilization. In Brazil, the Bororo-Coroados (Eastern Tribes) with their complex moiety system and the Apinayé with their late marriage

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
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cipam, to mention only two examples, had social systems comparable to that of the Tapirapé. Such social structures depended upon a balanced representation of population in each of the numerous social units. A sudden decline of population might easily throw such highly segmented societies out of balance, so to speak. Without sufficient representation in one or more of these social units reciprocal socio-ceremonial affairs become impossible or may be carried out in a highly attenuated manner. Again, the social structure of the Karajá of the Araguaya River is based essentially upon extended family and kinship ties and lacks the highly segmented social units which cross cut villages and even family groups. Like that of the Tenetehara, Karajá social structure would seem to be less vulnerable to change in population size and more conducive to population growth. In addition to technological equipment and subsistence methods, social structure and cultural values also influence strongly the final adjustment of each society to its environment. Differences in social structure and of value systems between societies must be taken into account in studies of population size and of population trends in any natural area, such as the Tropical forest of South America.

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## RESUMO

O autor compara a sociedade dos Tenetehara e Tapirapé no contexto com as forças no que diz respeito ao decrescimento da população e à organização social. Enquanto a primeira descreve tribos horticultoras dos valores tropicais do Brasil, depois de mais de trezentos anos de tal contacto, conta um número de componentes predominantemente puros indígenas em vias de extinção, conservando sua função sua organização social, os Tapirapé se encontram em vias de extinção física e desintegração social. O autor sabe que, por um lado, a tecnologia dessas tribos e seus métodos de subsistência devem ter limitado o número de habitantes de cada aldeia, não tendo limitado, por outro lado, falta de espaço territorial para limitar o número das aldeias. Perante tal, entretanto, a população tapirapé era relativamente pequena e estável, ao passo que a dos Tenetehara era, pelo menos, a dobra disquanto a, provavelmente, expansiva. Essas últimas, em geral, não precisam restringir o tamanho da família e mesmo dos Tapirapé quase as mulher não devia ter mais de três filhos. Embora os Tapirapé justificassem seus instintos com falta de alimentos, mais destinos e respeitos pessoais ser outras fatores culturais. O autor procura mostrar a influência das instituições e valores culturais sôbre o tamanho das populações dentro dos limites postos pelos fatores climatéricos, pelo conhecimento médico, pelo equipamento civilizador e por outros fatores materiais. Frisa que a estrutura social e os valores culturais de cada sociedade são fundamentais relacionados com determinado tamanho de população, precisando ser considerados, por isso, em caso de mudanças da situação demográfica.

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12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



those for group singing during the harvest ceremonies and the ceremony 533
of kawi (p. 176); those for the masked dancers during the dry season; and a very large number of songs specifically for the "Big Sing" (manihahi) during the latter part of the rainy season. During this period (approximately March through April), singing takes place throughout each night from sundown to sunrise. On these occasions, [66]
the singing leader and the men of one of the moieties introduce the verse of each song and the refrain is then taken up by the men of the other moiety and the women of the tribe. Women sing in a higher key than the men and, generally, a phrase behind the men. The songs of the masked dancers, each representing a supernatural being, differ stylistically from [178]
those used on other occasions in being sung in a falsetto tone, in a manner [177]
similar to that of the neighboring *Carajá*. Many such songs have been admittedly learned from the *Carajá*.

**Dancing.**—Both men and women dance as they sing. In general, the 535
*Tapirapé* dance bending slightly forward, stamping out the time of the music with one foot. Dancing differs greatly, however, according to the occasion. During the harvest ceremonies, men dance in a line, side by [241]
side, each man's wife dancing directly behind him. During the group singing of the "Big Sing," the men dance in moiety groups facing each other, and women dance behind the moiety group of their husbands. On one occasion during this time, men dance with women, side by side, with a curious skipping step.

**Games.**—Men's moieties run foot races against each other after the 526
communal work festival (p. 168); they race in a straight line across the village plaza. Wrestling takes place at one wet-season ceremony, and, now and again, throughout the year as sport. The *Tapirapé* explain, [171]
however, that the *Carajá* are better wrestlers and that it is more properly a *Carajá* sport. In wrestling, opponents stand face to face, grasping each other about the neck, and attempt to force or to trip the other to the ground. During one festival, men, one from each moiety at a time, compete by throwing blunt-headed spears at each other. Gambling games [525]
are unknown.

**Stimulants.**—Native tobacco, though used for leisure-time smoking, is 276
principally a stimulant and medicine. A *Tapirapé* will not travel without 755
a supply of tobacco to blow smoke over his tired body at the end of the day, in order to take out soreness and tiredness. Tobacco is necessary to shamans in all their activities. They blow tobacco smoke over the patient in curing (p. 177), and, to induce dreams and a trance, they swallow large gulps of smoke until they become intoxicated and nauseated. [751]
When people have seen ghosts, shamans fumigate them with tobacco smoke, in order to drive away the ghost's influence. Shamans fumigate 276
new maize, the first honey of the season and, sometimes, fresh meat to 756
drive out possible supernatural danger. This native tobacco is smoked [789]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



755 [276] rubbing toward the extremities of his body. If he fails to extract the malignant object in this fashion, he sucks it out, swallows it, then vomits it up.

At one time, during an epidemic of fever, a shaman used a different method. He prepared a mixture of honey and water, and, after much smoking, spewed it out over the patients and on the houses where there were sick people.

756 [75] [789] Besides healing, the shamans must protect the people against dangerous spirits (anãnga); they call forth "children's spirits" without which there can be no conception; they prevent wild animals from harming the *Tapirapé* during great hunting or fishing expeditions; and they increase the [787] number of peccaries in the woods. It is also believed that they divine the future in their dreams.

The prestige of shamans is such among the *Tapirapé* that almost all leaders of communities as well as of ceremonial moiety groups and household heads are shamans. As shamans receive payment for successful cures, they accumulate many possessions which they redistribute at a yearly ceremonial. Liberality is essential to prestige in this society where avarice is particularly despised.

## MYTHOLOGY

773 *Tapirapé* myths fall into two categories: legends telling of the deeds of ancestral heroes, and tales of animals. In the latter, the tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) is noted for his shrewdness in his dealings with the [171] other animals of the jungle. These stories follow the general *Tupí* pattern.

Among the various *Tapirapé* heroes are Apũwenonu and Petura. The former descended from heaven and lived with the *Tapirapé*. He taught them to plant and harvest cotton, manioc, and maize. When he was old, Apũwenonu returned to heaven and changed himself into a star.

Petura stole fire from the buzzards and brought light to the *Tapirapé*, who until then had not seen day. It is also told of Petura that he stole hatchets and knives from the emu and gave them to the *Tapirapé*.

Txawanamũ is famous for a series of songs which tell of his adventures among the mythical ampúawa, enemies of the *Tapirapé*, who made him die a lingering death. Wanĩina, a great shaman, had his whole house, including his family and belongings, transported to heaven by Kanawana, the Thunder. Waré was another shaman who killed many dangerous forest spirits.

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113 Baldus, 1935, 1937; Bigorre, 1916, 1917; Métraux, 1927; Wagley, 1940 a, 1940 b, 1943 b.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



115 He was always pleased when
123 we came to listen, particularly if we made the motions of joining in.
[526] He was an excellent wrestler in Tapirapé style, in which each opponent takes a firm grip on the pigtail of the other and attempts to throw him to the ground by tripping. Our wrestling match was brief although I was much taller than he; and his match with Valentim Gomes, who outweighed him by more than forty pounds, was
[186] a draw. Unlike so many who get a glimpse at a seemingly "superior" cultural world, Champukwi never became dissatisfied with his own way of life.

122 In June of 1940, my period of residence among the Tapirapé
123 Indians ended. The waters on the savanna which had to be crossed
[101] afoot to get to the Tapirapé River where our canoe was moored had not completely receded. Many Tapirapé friends, among them Champukwi, offered to carry our baggage, made lighter after a final distribution of gifts, down to the river. The night before our departure
122 a festival with the usual songfest was held to celebrate the final phase
123 of a ceremony during which a youth, this time the nephew of
881 Kamiraho, became a man. Some Brazilian tribes make this occasion
[191] an ordeal by such means as applying a frame of stinging wasps to
[301] the body of the novice, but it is characteristic of the Tapirapé that
[302] the "ordeal" consists only of decorating the youth with a headdress of magnificent red macaw feathers, painting his body elaborately, and making him the center of dancing and singing—although the youth must himself dance continuously for a day and a night. Cham-
122 pukwi led the singing most of the night, but at dawn he came to
123 our house to supervise the packing of our belongings into the basket-like cases made of palm which are used for carrying loads of any kind. He divided the baggage among the younger men. Even some of the older household leaders decided to accompany us but they, of course, did not carry anything. Our trip was slow because everyone was tired after the all-night festival and because of the water through
[501] which we had to wade. At one point, rafts had to be made to trans-
[481] port our baggage across a still-swollen stream. Since the Tapirapé do not swim—or, like Champukwi, they swim but poorly—it was the job of the *tori* to swim and push the rafts. I had the honor of swimming across the stream, pushing the respected chieftain, Kamiraho. (How he got back, I shall never know.) After a day and a half, we reached the landing on the Tapirapé River, and the next

101 identified with the Tapirapé, than that there should have existed
174 in the Tocantins basin two different tribes with such similar
[114] names. [Ed., the last half of p. 110 and the first half of p. 111 are omitted.]

[98:111] Assuming, now, that the "Caatingar" and "Pirapér" were the seventeenth century ancestors of the Tapirapé, which is not impossible in the case of the former and probable in the case of the latter, it must be admitted that the Tapirapé reached their present habitat from the north.

The hypothesis in favor of such an origin is strengthened
173 further by the statements made to me by the Tapirapé themselves. They say that they lived formerly to the north of Conceição and closer to the Araguaia than today, but that they gradually moved farther south out of fear of the Kayapó [Cayapo] and farther west out of fear of the Karajá. They add, however, that they never lived south of the Tapirapé River, which is the southern boundary of their present territory.
619 It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the inhabitants
648 of Tampiitsúa maintained continuous relations with another Tapirapé village located "ten days' march to the north," and therefore, in any case, at a considerable distance, while they had no contact whatever with their supposed neighbors to the southwest, the so-called Ampanéá, who apparently are also Tupí and who are much less distant from Tampiitsúa than that northern Tapirapé village. It is possible that the Ampanéá
[174] and Tapirapé reached their present habitats from different directions, or that the former got there long before the Tapirapé became their neighbors.

[98:112] Kissenberth (2, 40-41, 75-78) believes it possi-
114 ble that the potsherds he found on the Morro dos Cayapós [Hill
• 172 of the Cayapo], located in the hinterland west of Conceição
174 do Araguaia and almost at the same latitude as this locality, are products of the Tapirapé ceramic industry (see ibid., 37, map). Stating that he is not familiar with Tapirapé pottery, the same author goes on to say (ibid., 77): "Even a cursory comparison of these fragments with the ceramics and potsherds of South American peoples forcibly suggests the Tupí-Guaraní."
[323] Regarding this, I must say that I did not encounter among present-day Tapirapé pottery the ornamentation found on these potsherds.

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114 174 Kissenberth (ibid., 41) states in further support of the assumption that the Tapirapé came to their present habitat from the north: "The first right-hand tributaries of some importance on the Itacaiunas River bear the legitimate Tupí names of Kateté and Tapirapé. As the Mekubenokré-Kayapó relate, there lives at the present time, right in that virgin forest area at the headwaters of the Itacaiunas, an anthropophagous people, the Kubenkrre (meaning 'flat Indians'), who according to their description must belong to the Tupí group." These arguments, though interesting, are rather weak at the present stage. [Ed., the remainder of p. 112, pp. 113-122, and the first half of p. 123 are omitted.]

[98:123] According to repeated statements made to me by [175] the Tapirapé, their tribe, although in the past it lived closer to the Araguaia than today, never crossed this river and never lived to the east of it. This, however, does not make me doubt the veracity of Cunha Matos when he writes of Bananal Island (2, 392-393): "The island is inhabited by Javahés and Carajás Indians, and occasionally by Carajahys, Xambioás [Shamboia], Tapirapés, Gradaús, and other barbarians..." Since this author's Chorographia [Chorography] bears the date of 1824, it is quite possible that after several generations had elapsed the Tapirapé lost recall of those "occasional settlements."

In addition, Dr. William Lipkind, the North American ethnologist who worked on Bananal Island in 1938 and 1939, told me that he obtained the following information from the Karajá of Santa Isabel, Fontoura, and other locations: in the past there were Tapirapé living with the Javahé, that is, in the interior of Bananal Island. In setting fire once to a stretch [648] of grassland, they [the Tapirapé] burned the village of those Indians. Then the Javahé chased them away. The Tapirapé crossed the Araguaia a little to the north of Mato Verde, and thus not too far from the mouth of the Tapirapé River. This happened some 70 or 100 years ago.

After having visited the Tapirapé in Wagley's company, 114 Dr. Lipkind wrote to me (letter of September 10, 1939): 175 "The Tapirape themselves say that they learnt the masked 174 dances [98:124] -- the most marked cultural similarity with

114 the Caraja -- from the 'Irewiho,' who, I take it, are the
173 Javahe, 'Ijewahe' in Caraja. Near the Javahe village of
174 Imõnci I was shown a Tapirape cemetery. The Javahe tradition there is that they lived in the same village with the Tapirape, and I was shown the site" [cited in English].

Considering that the inhabitants of Tampiitsúa bury the
174 dead inside the house in which they lived before death, it is
764 proper to inquire whether the Tapirapé also used this burial method when they were living with the Javahé, in which case the "cemetery" seen by Lipkind must have been the remnants of a village, or whether these representatives of the Tupí tribe proceeded in completely different fashion, performing, like the Karajá, the so-called "secondary burial," that is to say, burying the corpse in a cemetery, then exhuming the bones after the flesh had putrefied and laying them in large urns which were again buried at a common place.

Lipkind adds in the same letter: "You may be interested
114 to know that in the innermost Javahe villages there are some
144 distinctly Tapirape types, short stature, lighter coloring, face-
174 cast. My camarada Antonio Pereira, who was not aware of my preoccupation with Tapirape relations, noticed it and pointed out the resemblance" [cited in English]. [Ed., the last half of p. 124 and most of p. 125 are omitted.]

[98:125] To conclude, it may be said with Cunha Marros
174 that the Tapirapé were on Bananal Island "occasionally," that is to say, that certain groups of their tribe were there transitorily and probably over 100 years ago. The presence of "Tapirapé types" among the Javahé may also be explained by the numerous Tapirapé women "imported" by the Karajá.

In any case, the inhabitants of Tampiitsúa knew nothing
173 of ancestral migrations toward the east, such as those, for
823 example, of the Guaraní who kept searching for the [98:126] "land without evil" (cf. Nimuendajú 1 and Métraux 1 and 3). As far as I was able to ascertain, the Tapirapé were ignorant of the existence of the sea. They did not even recall being told about it by the Whites or by the Karajá. Apparently, there was no reference to the ocean in the tribal traditions either.

The Tapirapé knew of a great river to the west, however, which they called pananá-chingehó or chinghó. It is possible

823 that they may have heard this word from Whites talking about
[173] the Xingu. As I was told in Tampitãsu, no Tapirapé had seen
that chinghó river except for one single youth "who was there
174 once, about 20 years ago." I could not obtain any further information about the life or death of this traveler. It may be that he accompanied Valadar, the Karajá famed for his exploring journeys, who visited the Tapirapé in 1911 with Alfredo de Oliveira of Ceará. The Tapirapé Kamairahó indeed told me that Valadar had taken a few of them along when he made a trip to the Xingu at that time. It may be that only one of those Tapirapé actually got to see the great river, perhaps only that single youth of which they spoke to me in the village. Be that as it may, by what I know of the cultures of the upper Xingu tribes and that of the Tapirapé, it is unquestionable that the latter did not come to their present habitat from the west.

Everything indicates, in fact, that they have lived since the eighteenth century in the hinterland of the left bank of the Tapirapé, or in other words, in the northern part of this river basin. [Ed., the last paragraph, which concludes the section in Vol. 98, is omitted.]

## Chapter 3

### [99:63] Contact with the Whites

175 Both Tapirapé and Karajá call the Whites torf. [Ed., the
[648] remainder of p. 63, p. 64, and most of p. 65 are omitted.]

[99:65] The contact of the Tapirapé with the Whites during the seventeenth century is neither more nor less uncertain than the identification of these Tupí Indians with the "Caatingas" and "Pirapés." We must assume, however, that White men visited the Tapirapé in their present habitat in the course of the following century. This is implied not only by the path of [99:66] the pioneers indicated by a dotted line on the eighteenth century map, but also by a reference cited by Ehrenreich (2, 88), according to which these Indians had contact with

553 still young and lacked the political weight of the illustrious dead man.

One day, as I talked to Kamaiabó about the "name-giving festivity" mentioned above, I complained about not having received a Tapirapé name as Reverend Kegel had and this only because my companion had the opportunity to be present at that gathering while I did not. The Indian immediately gave me his own name. Yves d'Evreux writes of the Tupinambá in Maranhão:
171 "They also have another manner of giving names, and this is when
553 they are fond of you, and show the high regard in which they hold you, by giving you their own name"[translated from French]. The exchange of names for motives of respect and friendship is a custom found among tribes in various parts of South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

It should be added that I, naturally, also gave my name to
553 Kamaiabó. Such exchanges of names, at least among the Tapirapé, are to some extent merely done in jest. Thus, I was called Kamaiabó only a few times and smilingly, while I never heard Reverend Kegel called by his Tapirapé name or the Indian leader by my own.

It certainly cannot be said that the Tapirapé hide their
171 name, or one of their names, as did the Tupinambá according to
551 the above-quoted observation by Vicente de Salvador. The inhabitants of Tampilitaua told me their names with apparent pleasure, and many of them repeated the name several times until I pronounced it properly, and asked me about it [124:143] again on subsequent occasions to see whether I had learned it correctly. They differed in this respect from the Kayapó, who do not reveal their own name according to Krause (2, 401). The latter was able to find out their names only through a third person, and they were given in a very low voice. The Karajá never made it a problem to tell me their own names. Like the Tapirapé, they are very desirous to find out about ours, and soon after the visitor's arrival they ask for his name, that of his wife, his children, and other relatives.

On the other hand, many of the inhabitants of Tampilitaua
551 were ignorant of the names of their deceased parents, and nearly
171 all were unfamiliar with those of their grandparents and other rela-
● 173 tives who were no longer alive, so we cannot assert that the Tapirapé are as interested in their own genealogy as are, for example, the Kaingang tribe of the so-called Botocudo of Santa

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Catarina, Xokleng [Shokleng] or Aveikoma [Aweikoma], tutled by Henry (50). [Ed., end of Vol. 124.]

[127:231] CHILDHOOD

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Father Fernão Cardim (310) wrote of the Tupinambá: "There is nothing parents love more than their own children, and he who does something for the children can obtain anything from the parents." Roughly, this sentence could be applied to nearly all Brazilian tribes and to the Tapirapé among them. This love is
855 manifested in the understanding with which the adults treat the children. An Indian father would never answer his child's question with: "This is grownup stuff you can't understand," thus destroying, in the fashion of certain White fathers, the trust with which the child seeks out his most learned friend. The Indian father does not speak to the child with an air of superiority, and consequently there is no chasm between them, such as frequently separates children from adults among us.

In fact, a Tapirapé will show patience toward a child even before he reaches the age of asking for explanations. I shall never forget the attitude of Vuanomanchí when a small child seated in his lap urinated on his bare legs. No fuss! This worthy family man did not even get up. He took a piece of straw from the ground and pushed down the liquid with it. He neither scrubbed nor washed himself. He uttered no word and made no motion that might disturb the child.

[127:232] Nor shall I forget the behavior of Maeyma during the illness of his little girl. Several women were weeping around the girl's hammock, and Maeyma was the only man who was crying. Seated in his hammock, he covered his face with his hands and sobbed. He seemed to have lost weight during the short period of his child's illness. As befits a mindful father, he ate nothing during
[262] this time except for a little maize cauí and manioc flour. On the
[755] following day, when the girl seemed to have improved, Maeyma, lying in the hammock held her like something breakable, and when he moved his hands he did so gingerly.

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In the Tapirapé tribe, as in many others, the intimate and continuous connection between child and parents is acknowledged and

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

# WORLD VIEW OF THE TAPIRAPÉ INDIANS

By Charles Wagley

The Tapirapé live in Central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a western affluent of the Araguaya River. They are a Tupi-speaking people isolated from other peoples speaking the same language. Culturally they are related more closely to the Tupi-speaking people of the coast than to those of the head waters of the Xingu River. The only peoples with whom they have had contacts within historic times are their northern neighbors, the Gê-speaking Northern Kayapó and the Carajá (including the Javahé branch) of the Araguaya. Because of hostility with both these neighboring peoples, the Tapirapé have withdrawn farther from the Araguaya and have contacts at present with the Carajá only through occasional European visitors. Introduced disease, acquired from these visitors and earlier from the Carajá, have reduced the Tapirapé from five large villages (originally more than two hundred per village) to one with less than 150 people. Contacts with Europeans, however, have been short and few, leaving the Tapirapé aboriginal culture little changed.

According to Tapirapé tradition, they came to their present home from the north and east.[1] One group of them lived on the Araguaya and for a time shared a common village with the Javahé branch of the Carajá. The Tapirapé are traditionally interested in country to the east, not to the west. It is to the east that Maratawa, the "home of the gods," lies, and in this direction, too, is the home of two legendary peoples: the Wanchira, a cannibalistic tribe which are a famous mythical ancestor of the Tapirapé, and the "other Tapirapé," speaking the same language and sharing the same culture. East of the Araguaya River there is said to be another large river and great mountains where various supernaturals live.

Formerly, Tapirapé who were captives of the Carajá returned to tell of that country and people, and in modern times Tapirapé have visited both Carajá and Kayapó, as well as various Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya. No foreign or hostile tribes prevent them from wandering westward into the open country toward the Xingu River, but it is a region of little interest to them, and they never travel far in this direction. Of the Xingu River and people, they know only what Brazilian visitors have told

[1] According to Métraux, the Tapirapé were known to have been on the Araguaya as early as the 18th century. He believes the Tapirapé to be fugitives from the coast of Brazil, probably from the vicinity of Rio, possibly from the Tamoyo. Certainly they came from the east, but my material points to a migration from the northeast rather than from the southeast, as would be the case if migration had been from the forests of Rio. Métraux, Alfred, Migrations Historiques des Tupi-Guarani, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N.S.* 19, 24 (1927).

101 [16] The Tapirapé Indians live in central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a left tributary of the Araguaia located in the extreme south of the state of Pará. They speak a dialect of Tupi-Guarani, the most widespread aboriginal tongue in Brazil. In spite of a great decline in their population, they still possess a rich cultural tradition which is peculiar to them and which distinguishes them [173] from other tribes. Their customs and traditions are transmitted orally with great care from generation to generation. One of the most 861 interesting among them is the ceremony in which the youth assumes the status of a grown man. This change in status is marked by nearly all peoples. Among us, when a young man reaches the age of 21, he can vote, marry, sign documents, etc.; among many primitive groups, the youth proves that he has become an adult by undergoing torture or achieving success in the hunt.

Among the Tapirapé, this tradition is observed with a festival [302] of song and dance called "hair-tying," for henceforth the young man will wear his hair tied at the back of the neck in adult fashion. For 858 several years before the ceremony, the boy keeps his body painted [302] black with genipap, wears his hair cropped close to the head--"like a monkey," in the words of the Tapirapé-- is subjected to food restrictions, [304] and has his arms and legs scarified until they bleed so he [856] will "grow strong." When he reaches 14 or 15 years of age, his family decides that the time has come for him to become an adult.

881 At the close of the rainy season, the time of harvesting and [221] thus of plenty for the tribe, the "hair-tying" ceremony is carried out. For months beforehand, the youth allows his hair to grow until it comes [302] down to his shoulders. Meanwhile, mother and aunts weave threads [962] (cords) to adorn him, while father and uncles collect feathers with [283] which they make elaborate ornaments. All Tapirapé youths become [237] adults through this rite; the sons of important men, however, and [554] those who were "favorite sons" (the Tapirapé elect certain children to preferential treatment) are much more richly attired than the others. The ceremony is costly to the family, and much time is needed beforehand to gather the necessary materials--macaw tail feathers, short [237] feathers of the blue macaw and parrot, breast fluff of wild ducks, cotton threads for the ornaments, and beads. All these items are [556] [435] valuable to the Tapirapé, who gauge their own wealth in these terms.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

# THE TAPIRAPÉ

By Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvão

## INTRODUCTION

Isolated from other *Tupí-Guaraní*-speaking people, the *Tapirapé* live in Central Brazil, west of the Araguaya River and south of the Tapirapé River, a western tributary flowing into the Araguaya near the northern tip of the Island of Bananal (lat. 2° S., long. 52° W.). According to tradition, the *Tapirapé* lived for a time on the banks of the Araguaya and Javahé Rivers with the *Carajá*. They quarreled, and the *Tapirapé* moved west to their present territory (map 1, *No. 1;* see Volume 1, map 7). At the beginning of last century, five *Tapirapé* villages formed a line stretching northward into *Ceyapé* country beginning at a point a few miles back from the Tapirapé River about 150 miles from its mouth. The *Tapirapé* have always been at war with the *Ceyapé*, except for a brief period. Each of these villages contained at least 200 individuals with a total *Tapirapé* population of about 1,000. Since 1900, however, there has been a terrific reduction of *Tapirapé* population.

In 1939, there was only one remaining *Tapirapé* village situated about 20 miles north of the Tapirapé River with a total population of 147 people. This decline in population is basically due to disease (smallpox, respiratorial diseases, etc.) acquired either directly from Neo-Brazilians or from the *Carajá*, who are continually in contact with Neo-Brazilians. *Tapirapé* groups have been also massacred on several occasions by both the *Carajá* and *Ceyapé*.

The *Tapirapé* have had but few contacts, however, with Neo-Brazilians. Except for the demoralizing effect of depopulation, their culture has been little modified. Although stories are told of Neo-Brazilian hunters visiting the *Tapirapé* in 1909, the first registered contact with them was in 1912. During that year, Señor Mandacaré, leading an expedition of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service, visited the village nearest the Tapirapé River. In 1914, the Dominican priests visited the *Tapirapé*. From that date on, the Dominicans returned each year or so to a camp on the Tapirapé River for 3 or 4 days at a time and were met by the *Tapirapé*, to whom they distributed trade goods. About 1934, a Protestant missionary, Frederick Kiegel, made several trips, staying 2 or 3 months in a *Tapirapé* village. In 1935, the first trained ethnologist, Dr. Herbert Baldus, resided several months with the *Tapirapé*, and in 1939–40, Wagley spent 12 months with them making the study on which this article is based.

175 villages, asking them to come and visit the Whites who were with
698 them. The 30 men, wary and afraid that some treachery might be afoot, resolved not to stay long in those parts. They sang the praises of the Whites, asked the Indians to come with them to São Paulo where they would be near their churches and all that was necessary for their salvation, but they did all this deceitfully, in a professional backwoods way. They stirred 3,000 souls. And since the
[241] Indians not long before had changed the site [of their gardens] and the provisions of manioc flour from the plots they had abandoned were almost exhausted, they embarked four days later in 300 canoes
[501] out of the many they owned. On embarking, the 30 men managed to take from them all their bows and arrows. They proceeded up-river, touching ground every day to rest and sleep. Among the 3,000 souls was an Indian woman (who must have been the daughter of one of the seven Frenchmen, whose progeny was numerous), the wife of the son of a certain chief who had followed our men. This woman (who had been neatly endowed by nature, according to the informant, with all the parts requisite to a perfect body) was given by the captain to one of his henchmen. The latter, either to rid himself of the worry caused by the presence of the woman's husband, or perhaps to add to it still further, returned the woman to the captain. The wretched Indian was so deeply affected by the usurpation of his rightful matrimony, and the others by the fact that within a few days they would all be separated, that at a certain time and place they got together and rose against the 30 men, killing 16 and a few of the Indians they had taken with them. Satisfied with the death of these men, they turned back toward their villages in the same canoes. The 14 men who got away, but whom the Indians could have killed, proceeded up-river with only two of the aforementioned Caatingas, who either would not or could not follow the other Indians. They reached the São Paulo settlement, which they had left 19 months earlier..."

174 The identification of their language with Lingua-geral [Tr., 161
[191] the Tupi lingua franca] characterizes the "Caatingas" as Tupí. To my knowledge, there is no evidence of the existence of other Tupí Indians, besides the Tapirapé, along the part of the Araguaia that stretches between its confluence with the Tocantins and the northern part of Bananal Island. We must take into account, however, that

101 relatively close to this confluence, that is to say, to the north of
174 it, there lived such Tupí tribes as the Anambé of the lower Tocantins mentioned by Couto de Magalhães (2, 267) and Ehrenreich (1 and 3, IV), the Maraiá of the Araguaíia River studied by Nimuendajú (9), and the Urubú cited by Rice and Raimundo Lopes (2).

[98:108] The fact that the "Caatingas" owned many canoes
101 does not rule in any way against their identification with the
50/ Tapirapé. The latter, although at present they are not navigators
174 like their neighbors the Karajá [Caraja] or the old-time Tupinambá, still retain the Tupí word for canoe, yana in Tapirapé pronunciation. Furthermore, in 1935, I saw on the Tampinãua village stream a tree trunk hollowed out in the shape of a dugout. It is true that apparently it had been made just for fun, since it lay with the opening facing downward and was not used as a boat even in play. This, however, does not make it unlikely that the Tapirapé should have owned many traveling canoes in former times.

101 Caatinga, a Tupí word consisting of caá, "bush," and tinga,
174 "white, whitened," may refer to the region inhabited at the time
[197] by the Indians of that name, for it is known that the forests of gnarled, stunted trees that shed nearly all of their leaves during the dry season, forests called catingas or matos sêcos [dry bush], extend to the north of the state of Goiás (cf. Bernardino José de Souza 120-121). In any case, this designation does not rule against the identification of the "Caatingas" Indians with the Tapirapé or any other tribe with a different name. [Ed., the remainder of this page and part of the first paragraph on p. 110 are omitted.]

[98:110] The Tapirapé appear in the eighteenth century as
101 "Tapuyrapé" and "Tapirasse," in the nineteenth century as "Tappiraques" and "Tapirapeques" and in the twentieth century as "Itapirapés," there being even a street by this name in the city of São Paulo (see Airosa 2, 152). This leads us to assume that the name of the tribe changed over these four centuries in accordance with variations in pronunciation. In any case, I agree with the
101 opinion of Nimuendajú (ibid. [letter of October 12, 1935]) accord-
114 ing to whom it is more probable that the "Pirapêz" of Bento Maciel
174 Parente [cited apud Mendes de Almeida II, 35-37] should be

101 identified with the Tapirapé, than that there should have existed
74 in the Tocantins basin two different tribes with such similar
[114] names. [Ed., the last half of p. 110 and the first half of p. 111 are omitted.]

[98:111] Assuming, now, that the "Coatingar" and "Pirapés" were the seventeenth century ancestors of the Tapirapé, which is not impossible in the case of the former and probable in the case of the latter, it must be admitted that the Tapirapé reached their present habitat from the north.

The hypothesis in favor of such an origin is strengthened
173 further by the statements made to me by the Tapirapé themselves. They say that they lived formerly to the north of Conceição and closer to the Araguaia than today, but that they gradually moved farther south out of fear of the Kayapó [Cayapo] and farther west out of fear of the Karajá. They add, however, that they never lived south of the Tapirapé River, which is the southern boundary of their present territory.
619 It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the inhabitants
648 of Tampiitsua maintained continuous relations with another Tapirapé village located "ten days' march to the north," and therefore, in any case, at a considerable distance, while they had no contact whatever with their supposed neighbors to the southwest, the so-called Ampanesi, who apparently are also Tupí and who are much less distant from Tampiitsua than that northern Tapirapé village. It is possible that the Ampanesi
[174] and Tapirapé reached their present habitats from different directions, or that the former got there long before the Tapirapé became their neighbors.

[98:112] Kissenberth (2, 40-41, 75-78) believes it possi-
114 ble that the potsherds he found on the Morro dos Cayapós [Hill
172 of the Cayapo], located in the hinterland west of Conceição
174 do Araguaia and almost at the same latitude as this locality, are products of the Tapirapé ceramic industry (see ibid., 37, map). Stating that he is not familiar with Tapirapé pottery, the same author goes on to say (ibid., 77): "Even a cursory comparison of these fragments with the ceramics and potsherds of South American peoples forcibly suggests the Tupí-Guaraní."
[923] Regarding this, I must say that I did not encounter among present-day Tapirapé pottery the ornamentation found on these potsherds.

114 Kissenberth (ibid., 41) states in further support of the as-
174 sumption that the Tapirapé came to their present habitat from the north: "The first right-hand tributaries of some importance on the Itacaiunas River bear the legitimate Tupí names of Kateté and Tapirapé. As the Mẽkubenokré-Kayapó relate, there lives at the present time, right in that virgin forest area at the headwaters of the Itacaiunas, an anthropophagous people, the Kubẽnépre (meaning 'Bat Indians'), who according to their description must belong to the Tupí group." These arguments, though interesting, are rather weak at the present stage. [Ed., the remainder of p. 112, pp. 113-122, and the first half of p. 123 are omitted.]

[98:123] According to repeated statements made to me by
[173] the Tapirapé, their tribe, although in the past it lived closer to the Araguaia than today, never crossed this river and never lived to the east of it. This, however, does not make me doubt the veracity of Cunha Mattos when he writes of Bananal Island (2, 392-393): "The island is inhabited by Javahés and Carajás Indians, and occasionally by Carajahys, Xambioás [Shamboia], Tapirapés, Gradaús, and other barbarians..." Since this author's Chorographia [Chorography] bears the date of 1824, it is quite possible that after several generations had elapsed the Tapirapé lost recall of those "occasional settlements."

In addition, Dr. William Lipkind, the North American ethnologist who worked on Bananal Island in 1938 and 1939, told me that he obtained the following information from the Karajá of Santa Isabel, Fontoura, and other locations: in the past there were Tapirapé living with the Javahé, that is, in the interior of Bananal Island. In setting fire once to a stretch
[648] of grassland, they [the Tapirapé] burned the village of those Indians. Then the Javahé chased them away. The Tapirapé crossed the Araguaia a little to the north of Mato Verde, and thus not too far from the mouth of the Tapirapé River. This happened some 70 or 100 years ago.

After having visited the Tapirapé in Wagley's company,
114 Dr. Lipkind wrote to me (letter of September 10, 1939):
173 "The Tapirape themselves say that they learnt the masked
174 dances [98:124] -- the most marked cultural similarity with

114 the Caraja -- from the 'irewẽhẽ,' who, I take it, are the
173 Javahe, 'ijewehe' in Caraja. Near the Javahe village of
174 Imõnci I was shown a Tapirape cemetery. The Javahe tradition there is that they lived in the same village with the Tapirape, and I was shown the site" [cited in English].

Considering that the inhabitants of Tampiitáua bury the
174 dead inside the house in which they lived before death, it is
764 proper to inquire whether the Tapirapé also used this burial method when they were living with the Javahé, in which case the "cemetery" seen by Lipkind must have been the remnants of a village, or whether these representatives of the Tupí tribe proceeded in completely different fashion, performing, like the Karajá, the so-called "secondary burial," that is to say, burying the corpse in a cemetery, then exhuming the bones after the flesh had putrefied and laying them in large urns which were again buried at a common place.

Lipkind adds in the same letter: "You may be interested
114 to know that in the innermost Javahe villages there are some
144 distinctly Tapirape types, short stature, lighter coloring, face-
174 cast. My camarada Antonio Pereira, who was not aware of my preoccupation with Tapirape relations, noticed it and pointed out the resemblance" [cited in English]. [Ed., the last half of p. 124 and most of p. 125 are omitted.]

[98:125] To conclude, it may be said with Cunha Mattos
174 that the Tapirapé were on Bananal Island "occasionally," that is to say, that certain groups of their tribe were there transitorily and probably over 100 years ago. The presence of "Tapirapé types" among the Javahé may also be explained by the numerous Tapirapé women "imported" by the Karajá.

In any case, the inhabitants of Tampiitáua knew nothing
173 of ancestral migrations toward the east, such as those, for
823 example, of the Guaraní who kept searching for the [98:126] "land without evil" (cf. Nimuendajú 1 and Métraux 1 and 3). As far as I was able to ascertain, the Tapirapé were ignorant of the existence of the sea. They did not even recall being told about it by the Whites or by the Karajá. Apparently, there was no reference to the ocean in the tribal traditions either.

The Tapirapé knew of a great river to the west, however, which they called pananí-chingebó or chingbó. It is possible

823 that they may have heard this word from Whites talking about
[173] the Xingu. As I was told in Tampiitáua, no Tapirapé had seen
that chinghó river in one single youth "who was there
once, about 20 years ago." I could not obtain any further infor-
•174 mation about the life or death of this traveler. It may be that
he accompanied Valadar, the Karajá famed for his exploring
journeys, who visited the Tapirapé in 1911 with Alfredo de
Oliveira of Ceará. The Tapirapé Kamairahó indeed told me
that Valadar had taken a few of them along when he made a
trip to the Xingu at that time. It may be that only one of
those Tapirapé actually got to see the great river, perhaps
only that single youth of which they spoke to me in the vil-
lage. Be that as it may, by what I know of the cultures of
the upper Xingu tribes and that of the Tapirapé, it is unques-
tionable that the latter did not come to their present habitat
from the west.

Everything indicates, in fact, that they have lived since the eighteenth century in the hinterland of the left bank of the Tapirapé, or in other words, in the northern part of this river basin. [Ed., the last paragraph, which concludes the section in Vol. 98, is omitted.]

## Chapter 3

### [99:63] Contact with the Whites

Both Tapirapé and Karajá call the Whites torf. [Ed., the
175 remainder of p. 63, p. 64, and most of p. 65 are omitted.]
[648] [99:65] The contact of the Tapirapé with the Whites dur-
ing the seventeenth century is neither more nor less uncertain
than the identification of these Tupí Indians with the "Caatingas"
and "Pirapés." We must assume, however, that White men
visited the Tapirapé in their present habitat in the course of the
following century. This is implied not only by the path of
[99:66] the pioneers indicated by a dotted line on the eight-
eenth century map, but also by a reference cited by Ehrenreich
(2, 88), according to which these Indians had contact with

175 colonists on the Tapirapé River in the eighteenth century. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Numerous nineteenth century authors refer to the Tapirapé.
113 I have already mentioned what Silva e Sousa said in 1812,
175 Pizarro e Araujo in 1822, Cunha Mattos in 1824, Eschwege in 1830, Ayres de Cazal in 1833, Milliet de Saint-Adolphe in 1845, Monteiro Baena in 1847, Saint-Hilaire in 1848, and Alencastre in 1864. There is also the following reference, the Roteiro da viagem que fez o capitão Francisco de Paula Ribeiro às fronteiras da capitania do Maranhão e da de Goyaz no anno de 1815 [Itinerary of the journey made by Captain Francisco de Paula Ribeiro to the boundaries of the province of Maranhão and of Goiás in the year 1815], in which the Tapirapé are mentioned (37) as one of the "barbarous and intractable nations" who inhabit the "basin of the Tocantins."

Concerning two maps of the period, Kissenberth writes (2,
175 41): "The map of Brazil by C.F. Klöden, which appeared in 1817, mentions the Indians Tapirapeques north of a tributary of the Araguaia, which corresponds to the present-day Tapirapé River. A. Brué's 1826 map also mentions Tapirapeques north of the tributary of the Araguaia which is now called the Farto River. This map shows a Tapirapé River north of Bananal Island, approximately below the ninth degree. Tapirapé Indian dwellings are to be found south of this left tributary of the Araguaia."

On Table 28 of Balbi's Atlas ethnographique [Ethnographic
114 Atlas] (Paris, 1826), in which Ferdinand Denis deals with "Langues
174 de la région Guarani-Brésileime [Languages of the Guarani region of Brazil]" and which reveals the state of progress of Brazilian ethnography in the first half of the last century, Tapirapé is not listed in the "Guarani Family" which includes the "East-Guarani [99:67] or Brazilian, also called Tupi and Lingoa-Geral." We read only that there is a "Tappiraques [spoken] by the Tappiraques or Tappirapes. In the province of Mato Grosso they occupy a large part of the Tappiraquia district, to which they have lent their name and where they are found in greater numbers than any other savage group" [translated from French]. The Tapirapé language is missing from the vocabularies of Table 41 ("Tableau polyglotte des langues américaines [Polyglot Table of American Languages]") in the same atlas. Actually, the fact that Tapirapé was not included

114 in the Guaraní-Tupí family makes it probable that it was unknown
174 at the time, not only to scholars, but possibly even to the Brazilian frontiersmen. It is to be supposed that the latter would have recognized it as akin to the Lingua-Geral, which was much more widely known by "civilized" or "Christian" people over 100 years ago than it is now. The lack of contact which may be inferred from the above-mentioned unfamiliarity is made understandable by the observation of the contemporaneous Cazal [I, 259] that the "Tappiraquia" region is unexplored "except for its eastern boundary along the Araguaia."

The first volume of Pohl's work (I, 341), which appeared in
175 1832, contains the information, also included in the Memoria
[648] [Memoir] written by Silva e Sousa in 1812, that the capitão-mor [Tr., military officer in charge of local militia] João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira had imprisoned 100 "Tapirapéz" who all died in Vila-Boa.

Castelnau (II, 114) says that in 1844, when he went down the Araguaia, he was told about the existence of a village "of Tapirapé, which is located in the province of Mato Grosso, at the approximate latitude of the northern tip of Bananal Island, on a large stream which flows into the Furo River from the left" [translated from French].

In his classical outline of Brazilian tribes published in 1867, Martius (2, I, 205) includes the Tapirapé with the "Central Tupí," although he does not provide a Tapirapé vocabulary in his "Glossarios de diversas lingoas e dialectos, que fallão os Indios no imperio do Brazil [Glossary of the various languages and dialects spoken by the Indians of the Empire of Brazil]" (2, II). Furthermore, giving as his source the Diccionario [Dictionary] of Milliet de Saint-Adolphe, he lists (2, I, 205) the Tapirapé, "who are said, according to one tradition, to have come from Rio de Janeiro," as inhabitants of the "Tapirapés River (a western tribu-
[114] tary of the Araguaia)." Since Martius gives no reason for classifying the Tapirapé as Tupí, it is to be assumed that he was familiar with the data of Souza Villa Real concerning the names of eight "prominent" Tapirapé, while apparently these data were not taken into account by the linguistic study of Ferdinand Denis since they were published 22 years later, in 1848.

Moraes Jardim (24), who explored the Araguaia in 1879,
175 writes as follows about the Tapirapé River: "The steamship Araguaya, under the [99:68] command of the late Lieutenant Balduino, ascended this river about ten leagues from its mouth to a harbor of the Tapirapé Indians without encountering any difficulties. When he reached this point, the captain sent a few scouts to the village, which stood some distance from the river. The Indians, however, sensed their approach and ran away, and the captain achieved nothing more than a reconnaissance of this section of the river."

João Severiano de Fonseca (I, 90) refers to this ascent of the Tapirapé River as follows: "The worthy Commander Balduino de Aguiar, so well known for his heroic deeds in the battles of the Coimbra Fortress and in others on the Paraguay River and at São Lourenço, ascended this river in 1868 for about 50 kilometers in a small steamer, the Araguaya, which Mr. Couto de Magalhães had brought in from Cuiabá to explore the river, whose name it adopted."

[181] At that time, therefore, the Tapirapé lived closer to the Araguaia than today.

Moraes Jardim also writes (34): "The Tapirapés have built their villages on the banks of the river of the same name. It is said that they are gentle Indians, more industrious than the others, but we have not had any contact with them so far."

[174] There must have been indirect contact between the Tapirapé and the Whites at that time, however, probably through the Karajá, for aside from the above-mentioned notice concerning their gentleness and industriousness, we read the following concerning quartz lip ornaments in an article about the Karajá written by Aristides de Souza Spinola and included in the pamphlet by Moraes Jardim (40): "In the course of my journey I saw only one common Indian [ornament] of this sort. I possess two in my small Indian chest received from the Tapirapés, who inhabit the banks of the river of the same name, a tributary of the Araguaia."

Ehrenreich, who went down the Araguaia in 1888, says in 1891 (2, 88): "The Araguaia River region is inhabited by the Tapirapé, who in truth have not yet been visited by any traveler, but who already had contact with the colonists in the past century." Like Martius, he includes these Indians with the "Central Tupí"

291 (cf. Photos. 5, 25, 69). This may corroborate the conjecture of
[114] the evolutionist Von den Steinen (2, 192) that the waist cord for-
[174] merly had the function of the penis sheath. Among present-day
Tapirapé this cord may be regarded, along with the tembetá, as
[482] a prerogative of the males. It is rarely used to carry [105:88]
[412] things. Occasionally they will hang a comb from it, or in recent
times a pair of scissors as well.

Dr. Charles Wagley told me that in 1939 he found straps for
114 carrying children that were worn by the Tapirapé women over the
854 shoulder and across the chest. In 1937, Dominican missionaries
177 had gone up the Tapirapé River with large quantities of fabrics.
The straps were made of those fabrics. It is interesting to note
that in 1935 there were no such objects in existence. It is inter-
esting because it would have been possible to carry the children
in small hammocks. Furthermore, I had given away many pieces
of cloth which could have been used as straps for carrying children.
[171] Such straps not only are used by the neighboring Kayapó (Krause,
2, 394) but are also a typical cultural trait of the Tupí Indians.
[Ed., two sentences are omitted.] It is worth noting, however,
that straps for carrying children are not used by the eastern neigh-
bors of the Tapirapé, that is to say, the Karajá (Krause 2, 276
and Plates 12, 37, and 42).

In the case of the Tapirapé, it was apparently the numerous
pieces of fabric brought by the Dominicans in 1937 that played a
decisive role in the introduction of straps for carrying children. In
291 1935, all the fabrics and cloth articles coming from our factories
177 had a merely decorative function among those Indians. The men
[562] alone used them, since most adornments are prerogatives of their
[301] sex and such impressive ornaments as those made of feathers and
claws are worn only by them. Kamairahó, the most important
chief, liked best of all to wear a red dress which his wife had re-
ceived as a gift. Thus, the aim the giver had in mind, probably
inspired by catechizing hopes, was missed entirely for the lady
remained altogether naked while her husband was covered down to
177 the knees and below. It is worth noting, however, that in the even-
29 ing, when Kamairahó retired, he would undress and carefully fold
513 the garment. Thus, at an hour when every protection against the
mosquitoes and the cold would have seemed to me exceedingly

171 the new layer of charcoal, and repeat this until the tree is felled."
241 [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[113:194] I do not know whether the Tapirapé used the method described by Stradelli. I heard that they felled large trees by setting up a fire beneath the roots. If this is confirmed by the vestiges of carbonization on the roots of fallen trunks and in the holes lying around them, which were still visible in the old plots in 1935, not much time would have elapsed since fire was used for this purpose. Considering that the Tapirapé have owned
[177] iron axes for dozens of years, it should then be assumed that fire was used in connection with these products of our civilization.

In any case, I did not find stone axes among the Tapirapé,
174 nor did I find anyone in Tampiitaua who had used them, or anyone
412 who had found similar implements at sites formerly occupied by the tribe. Of course, there is no doubt that the Tapirapé did possess them in the past, and they may have been as small as those of the Ampaneá, according to the Tapirapé. It is certain, however, that
174 several generations ago the Tapirapé obtained iron objects
412 (itanchoa, "iron," "glass," from ita, "stone," and choa, "yellow")
439 through the Karajá, and not only axes, but bush knives as well (kyché-eté, from kyché, "knife," and eté, "real," an augmentative, the term kiché being already mentioned in the Vocabulário da Língua Brasílica [Vocabulary of the Indigenous Brazilian Language] as quigce, by Montoya as quicé [author: i= y in our spelling], and
[177] by Stradelli as kicé). It is worth noting that the Tapirapé, who have used metal cutting tools for so long, cannot bring themselves to sharpen them, although this procedure has already been taught to them several times by the Whites, who also offered them sharpening stones. This is an illustration of the fact that the acceptance of foreign cultural traits does not necessarily imply the acceptance of all the procedures connected with them.

On July 30, I witnessed the felling of some trees, carried out
241 as a collective endeavor called apachirú by the Tapirapé (the
476 puchirum of the frontiersmen in the states of Pará and Amazonas). The leader, Tanuapanchoa, marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those places without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax. He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others. The other men selected their own trees around his as they pleased. They incised the small ones and finally

171 and cauí [a soup]. The fresh, grated manioc, after being dried
252 in the sun, put through the sifter, and roasted in a clay pot, yields the flour that goes into the making of certain dishes and that accompanies others by being tossed straight into the mouth with the hand. The Tupinambá had these three ways of consuming manioc, that is to say, the cake, the more or less fermented liquid varying in consistency between a porridge and a soup, and the flour which is added to other foods either in the pot or in the mouth (cf. Soares de Sousa 189 and 196; Simão de Vasconcellos, pp. LXXXV, CXXIX, and CXXX; and others).

Like the Tapirapé and many other tribes, those ancient inhabitants of the coast grated or pounded the manioc roots, dried them in the sun, ran the particles through a sifter, and roasted them in pots over the fire. The only notable difference in the procedures used in making the tubers edible was in the manner of wringing the grated mass of "wild manioc" to extract its poisonous juice. While Hans Staden (q 2) found the tipiti among the Tupinambá of the capitania [Tr., province] of São Vicente, and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (189) found it among the Tupinambá of Bahia, this press of braided palm leaves shaped like a tube or bag (cf. Baldus and Willems 219-220) was not mentioned by the French authors who visited Indians of the same name in other parts of Brazil in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (cf. Métraux 2, 104). Claude d'Abbeville (304) says specifically of the Tupinambá of Maranhão that "they take all the gratings from these roots and squeeze them with their hands..." [translated from French]. The
[174] use of the same procedure and the absence of tipiti among the Tapirapé are, therefore, corroborative of the assumption that these Indians came from Maranhão. [Ed., the remainder of p. 186, p. 187, and the first paragraph of p. 188 are omitted.]

[114:188] One variety of "sweet manioc" cultivated by the
262 Tapirapé, called vuaykyra, reaches more than 30 centimeters in
824 circumference and more than half a meter in length. I ate it frequently and with pleasure, boiled or roasted in the embers.

Other tubers that I tried among the Tapirapé, roasted in the
[252] same manner, were from the following plants: (1) a variety of sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas Lam., chetyka in Tapirapé), orange-colored inside and almost like pumpkin in taste; (2) purple cará (Dioscorea spec., urukú-ampaá in Tapirapé), purple inside, shaped

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2. (cont.)
Araguay and Tocantins, were in the habit of swimming across the Furo during the dry season and plundering the plantings of the Karajá. They needed only to blow the trumpets, and already the Karajá fled. As a result, the latter did not dare visit their plantings and hence suffered from lack of food. Fonseca, when the Chavánte had again broken into the plantings, undertook an expedition against them and surprised them; they fled, leaving behind their weapons and their plunder. The Karajá had held back in cowardly fashion, but now boasted about being the victors. This was the first time that the Chavánte had fled before them; until then, the opposite had always occurred. -- And it seems to be so still today.

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About the Cherénte (ĭnŏlōtŭ) I was able to obtain only the not very credible information that they eat the excrement of human beings, even their own, putting it into their mouths with a brush-like stick that has been beaten flat. Perhaps this is merely a story that has arisen from the hostility and conceit of the Karajá.

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/342/ The Canoeiros (tĭăbĕzĕ) (1) live on the east shore,

1. According to Cunha Mattos, the Canoeiros are the descendants of the Carijos, who were brought along from São Paulo as auxiliary troops and workmen by the discoverer of Goyaz, Bartholomão Bueno; they deserted in 1725, displaced the Chavánte, and settled in the high mountains between Maranhão, Santa Thereza, and Amaro Leite on the left bank of the Tocantins above Porto Real. They were supposed to be only 300 warriors strong, but were feared because of their brutality (Rev.

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# WORLD VIEW OF THE TAPIRAPE INDIANS

By Charles Wagley

The Tapirape live in Central Brazil north of the Tapirape River, a western affluent of the Araguaya River. They are a Tupi-speaking people isolated from other peoples speaking the same language. Culturally they are related more closely to the Tupi-speaking people of the coast than to those of the head waters of the Xingu River. The only peoples with whom they have had contacts within historic times are their northern neighbors, the Gês-speaking Northern Kayapo and the Carajá (including the Javahe branch) of the Araguaya. Because of hostility with both these neighboring peoples, the Tapirape have withdrawn farther from the Araguaya and have contacts at present with the Carajá only through occasional European visitors. Introduced disease, acquired from these visitors and earlier from the Carajá, have reduced the Tapirape from five large villages (originally more than two hundred per village) to one with less than 150 people. Contacts with Europeans, however, have been short and few, leaving the Tapirape aboriginal culture little changed.

According to Tapirape tradition, they came to their present home from the north and east.[1] One group of them lived on the Araguaya and for a time shared a common village with the Javahe branch of the Carajá. The Tapirape are traditionally interested in country to the east, not to the west. It is to the east that Maratawa, the "home of the gods," lies, and in this direction, too, is the home of two legendary peoples: the Wanchira, a cannibalistic tribe which ate a famous mythical ancestor of the Tapirape, and the "other Tapirape," speaking the same language and sharing the same culture. East of the Araguaya River there is said to be another large river and great mountains where various supernaturals live.

Formerly, Tapirape who were captives of the Carajá returned to tell of that country and people, and in modern times Tapirape have visited both Carajá and Kayapo, as well as various Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya. No foreign or hostile tribes prevent them from wandering westward into the open country toward the Xingu River, but it is a region of little interest to them, and they never travel far in this direction. Of the Xingu River and people, they know only what Brazilian visitors have told

[1] According to Métraux, the Tapirape were known to have been on the Araguaya as early as the 18th century. He believes the Tapirape to be fugitives from the coast of Brazil, probably from the vicinity of Rio, possibly from the Tamoyo. Certainly they came from the east, but my material points to a migration from the northeast rather than from the southeast, as would be the case if migration had been from the forests of Rio. Métraux, Alfred, Migrations Historiques des Tupi-Guarani, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N.S.* 19, 24 (1927).

114 The Tupí tribe found by a bandeira [Tr., pioneering expedition] that left São Paulo in 1613 lived not far from the mouth of the
175 Itacaiunas, namely, on the right bank of the Araguaia, two leagues above its confluence with the Tocantins. The account of this meeting, published only recently by Serafim Leite (1, 103-110), is as far as I know the first reference to a Tupí tribe on the Araguaia. According to Taunay (181-192), several bandeiras left São Paulo between the beginning of the seventeenth century and the departure of the above-mentioned expedition. The data relating to these expeditions are so defective, however, that it is possible to identify the place names on the itinerary only in a few cases. Among the few expeditions which may thus be identified, there is not one to the Araguaia. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The above-mentioned document dealing with the 1613 expedition, recently published by Father Leite, was written by the Jesuit Antonio de Araujo and covers the information provided by Pero Domingues, one of the 30 inhabitants of the São Paulo settlement who made up the expedition. Referring to "seven very large villages" found by the
175 travelers "about two leagues from the bar of the Iabeberi," that is, the Tocantins (cf. Leite 1, 101), the report goes on to say (ibid., 105-106): "The Indians in these villages were called Caatingas. Their language was the tongue common to these shores. Our men found
[439] among them many iron tools, scythes, wedges, axes, many glass beads, and large quantities of Rouen shirts, along with numerous hats, all of which they said they had obtained in trade from the French for feathers and arrows, of which they had many canoefuls in their houses, and also for cotton. They asserted that the French were at a distance of only 11 days' journey down-river and lived in a fortress they had built many years previously, and added that they had a sugar mill and made sugar from the cane plantations they owned. They
[648] confessed that they had put to death seven Frenchmen who must have fled the fortress of their countrymen, at whose request the Indians killed them. And, without being asked, they said that so many days' journey away, on another arm of the same Pará River, lived those whom we call Almazonas and whom they call [98:108] Camaïma, that is to say, 'breastless women.' They also stated that there were large numbers of villages down-river on both sides of the stream, and
175 that they were not scarce up-river but toward the interior. The in-
648 habitants of the seven villages sent messengers forthwith to the other

175 villages, asking them to come and visit the Whites who were with
648 them. The 30 men, wary and afraid that some treachery might be afoot, resolved not to stay long in those parts. They sang the praises of the Whites, asked the Indians to come with them to São Paulo where they would be near their churches and all that was necessary for their salvation, but they did all this deceitfully, in a professional backwoods way. They stirred 3,000 souls. And since the
[241] Indians not long before had changed the site [of their gardens] and the provisions of manioc flour from the plots they had abandoned
[501] were almost exhausted, they embarked four days later in 300 canoes out of the many they owned. On embarking, the 30 men managed to take from them all their bows and arrows. They proceeded up-river, touching ground every day to rest and sleep. Among the 3,000 souls was an Indian woman (who must have been the daughter of one of the seven Frenchmen, whose progeny was numerous), the wife of the son of a certain chief who had followed our men. This woman (who had been neatly endowed by nature, according to the informant, with all the parts requisite to a perfect body) was given by the captain to one of his henchmen. The latter, either to rid himself of the worry caused by the presence of the woman's husband, or perhaps to add to it still further, returned the woman to the captain. The wretched Indian was so deeply affected by the usurpation of his rightful matrimony, and the others by the fact that within a few days they would all be separated, that at a certain time and place they got together and rose against the 30 men, killing 16 and a few of the Indians they had taken with them. Satisfied with the death of these men, they turned back toward their villages in the same canoes. The 14 men who got away, but whom the Indians could have killed, proceeded up-river with only two of the aforementioned Caatingas, who either would not or could not follow the other Indians. They reached the São Paulo settlement, which they had left 19 months earlier..."

174 The identification of their language with Lingua-geral [Fr.,
101 the Tupi lingua franca] characterizes the "Caatingas" as Tupí. To
[197] my knowledge, there is no evidence of the existence of other Tupí Indians, besides the Tapirapé, along the part of the Araguaia that stretches between its confluence with the Tocantins and the northern part of Bananal Island. We must take into account, however, that

823 that they may have heard this word from Whites talking about
[173] the Xingu. As I was told in Tampiitáua, no Tapirapé had seen
that chinghó river except for one single youth "who was there
174 once, about 20 years ago." I could not obtain any further information about the life or death of this traveler. It may be that he accompanied Valadar, the Karajá famed for his exploring journeys, who visited the Tapirapé in 1911 with Alfredo de Oliveira of Ceará. The Tapirapé Kamairahó indeed told me that Valadar had taken a few of them along when he made a trip to the Xingu at that time. It may be that only one of those Tapirapé actually got to see the great river, perhaps only that single youth of which they spoke to me in the village. Be that as it may, by what I know of the cultures of the upper Xingu tribes and that of the Tapirapé, it is unquestionable that the latter did not come to their present habitat from the west.

Everything indicates, in fact, that they have lived since the eighteenth century in the hinterland of the left bank of the Tapirapé, or in other words, in the northern part of this river basin. [Ed., the last paragraph, which concludes the section in Vol. 98, is omitted.]

## Chapter 3

### [99:63] Contact with the Whites

175 Both Tapirapé and Karajá call the Whites torí. [Ed., the
[648] remainder of p. 63, p. 64, and most of p. 65 are omitted.]

[99:65] The contact of the Tapirapé with the Whites during the seventeenth century is neither more nor less uncertain than the identification of these Tupí Indians with the "Caatingas" and "Pirapés." We must assume, however, that White men visited the Tapirapé in their present habitat in the course of the following century. This is implied not only by the path of [99:66] the pioneers indicated by a dotted line on the eighteenth century map, but also by a reference cited by Ehrenreich (2, 88), according to which these Indians had contact with

175 colonists on the Tapirapé River in the eighteenth century. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Numerous nineteenth century authors refer to the Tapirapé.
113 I have already mentioned what Silva e Souza said in 1812,
175 Pizarro e Araujo in 1822, Cunha Mattos in 1824, Eschwege in 1830, Ayres de Cazal in 1833, Milliet de Saint-Adolphe in 1845, Monteiro Baena in 1847, Saint-Hilaire in 1848, and Alencastre in 1864. There is also the following reference, the Roteiro da viagem que fez o capitão Francisco de Paula Ribeiro às fronteiras da capitania do Maranhão e da de Goyaz no anno de 1815 [Itinerary of the journey made by Captain Francisco de Paula Ribeiro to the boundaries of the province of Maranhão and of Goiás in the year 1815], in which the Tapirapé are mentioned (37) as one of the "barbarous and intractable nations" who inhabit the "basin of the Tocantins."

Concerning two maps of the period, Kissenberth writes (2,
175 41): "The map of Brazil by C.F. Klöden, which appeared in 1817, mentions the Indians Tapirapeques north of a tributary of the Araguaia, which corresponds to the present-day Tapirapé River. A. Bruê's 1826 map also mentions Tapirapeques north of the tributary of the Araguaia which is now called the Farto River. This map shows a Tapirapé River north of Bananal Island, approximately below the ninth degree. Tapirapé Indian dwellings are to be found south of this left tributary of the Araguaia."

On Table 28 of Balbi's Atlas ethnographique [Ethnographic
114 Atlas] (Paris, 1826), in which Ferdinand Denis deals with "Langues
174 de la région Guarani-Brésileinne [Languages of the Guarani region of Brazil]" and which reveals the state of progress of Brazilian ethnography in the first half of the last century, Tapirapé is not listed in the "Guarani Family" which includes the "East-Guarani [99:67] or Brazilian, also called Tupi and Lingoa-Geral." We read only that there is a "Tappiraques [spoken] by the Tappiraques or Tappirapes. In the province of Mato Grosso they occupy a large part of the Tappiraquia district, to which they have lent their name and where they are found in greater numbers than any other savage group" [translated from French]. The Tapirapé language is missing from the vocabularies of Table 41 ("Tableau polyglotte des langues américaines [Polyglot Table of American Languages]") in the same atlas. Actually, the fact that Tapirapé was not included

114 in the Guaraní-Tupí family makes it probable that it was unknown
174 at the time, not only to scholars, but possibly even to the Brazilian frontiersmen. It is to be supposed that the latter would have recognized it as akin to the Lingua-Geral, which was much more widely known by "civilized" or "Christian" people over 100 years ago than it is now. The lack of contact which may be inferred from the above-mentioned unfamiliarity is made understandable by the observation of the contemporaneous Cazal [I, 259] that the "Tappiraquia" region is unexplored "except for its eastern boundary along the Araguaia."

175 The first volume of Pohl's work (I, 341), which appeared in
[648] 1832, contains the information, also included in the Memoria [Memoir] written by Silva e Souza in 1812, that the capitão-mor [Tr., military officer in charge of local militia] João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira had imprisoned 100 "Tapirapéz" who all died in Vila-Boa.

Castelnau (II, 114) says that in 1844, when he went down the Araguaia, he was told about the existence of a village "of Tapirapé, which is located in the province of Mato Grosso, at the approximate latitude of the northern tip of Bananal Island, on a large stream which flows into the Furo River from the left" [translated from French].

In his classical outline of Brazilian tribes published in 1867, Martius (2, I, 205) includes the Tapirapé with the "Central Tupí," although he does not provide a Tapirapé vocabulary in his "Glossarios de diversas lingoas e dialectos, que fallão os Indios no imperio do Brazil [Glossary of the various languages and dialects spoken by the Indians of the Empire of Brazil]" (2, II). Furthermore, giving as his source the Diccionario [Dictionary] of Milliet de Saint-Adolphe, he lists (2, I, 205) the Tapirapé, "who are said, according to one tradition, to have come from Rio de Janeiro," as inhabitants of the "Tapirapés River (a western tributary of the Araguaia)." Since Martius gives no reason for classi-
[114] fying the Tapirapé as Tupí, it is to be assumed that he was familiar with the data of Souza Villa Real concerning the names of eight "prominent" Tapirapé, while apparently these data were not taken into account by the linguistic study of Ferdinand Denis since they were published 22 years later, in 1848.

Moraes Jardim (24), who explored the Araguaia in 1879, [175] writes as follows about the Tapirapé River: "The steamship Araguaya, under the [99:68] command of the late Lieutenant Balduino, ascended this river about ten leagues from its mouth to a harbor of the Tapirapé Indians without encountering any difficulties. When he reached this point, the captain sent a few scouts to the village, which stood some distance from the river. The Indians, however, sensed their approach and ran away, and the captain achieved nothing more than a reconnaissance of this section of the river."

João Severiano de Fonseca (I, 90) refers to this ascent of the Tapirapé River as follows: "The worthy Commander Balduino de Aguiar, so well known for his heroic deeds in the battles of the Coimbra Fortress and in others on the Paraguay River and at São Lourenço, ascended this river in 1868 for about 50 kilometers in a small steamer, the Araguaya, which Mr. Couto de Magalhães had brought in from Cuiabá to explore the river, whose name it adopted."

At that time, therefore, the Tapirapé lived closer to the [191] Araguaia than today.

Moraes Jardim also writes (34): "The Tapirapés have built their villages on the banks of the river of the same name. It is said that they are gentle Indians, more industrious than the others, but we have not had any contact with them so far."

There must have been indirect contact between the Tapirapé [174] and the Whites at that time, however, probably through the Karajá, for aside from the above-mentioned notice concerning their gentleness and industriousness, we read the following concerning quartz lip ornaments in an article about the Karajá written by Aristides de Souza Spinola and included in the pamphlet by Moraes Jardim (40): "In the course of my journey I saw only one common Indian [ornament] of this sort. I possess two in my small Indian chest received from the Tapirapés, who inhabit the banks of the river of the same name, a tributary of the Araguaia."

Ehrenreich, who went down the Araguaia in 1888, says in 1891 (2, 88): "The Araguaia River region is inhabited by the Tapirapé, who in truth have not yet been visited by any traveler, but who already had contact with the colonists in the past century." Like Martius, he includes these Indians with the "Central Tupí"

175 (ibid.). [Ed., the last few lines of p. 68 and most of p. 69 are omitted.]

175 648 [99:69] Concerning the contact of the Tapirapé with the Whites during the past century, one should also mention the Colégio Isabel [Isabel School], which Couto de Magalhães (2, 132) referred to as follows a few years after its founding in 1871: "... all the tribes of the Araguaia are now represented among its 52 pupils." According to the preface to the second edition of the Viagem ao Araguaya [Journey to the Araguaia] by the same author (1, p. XXV), "About 20 children of both sexes immediately entered from the tribes of the Chavantes, Gorotirés, Cayapós, Tapirapés, and three from the extinct tribe of the Guajajaras."

In this connection, one should note that while the Guajajara are not yet extinct, the same cannot be said of the Colégio Isabel. Its existence was brief. In the account [99:70] of his 1888 journey published in 1892, Ehrenreich (3, 4) writes as follows: "On August 14, a number of Kayapó arrived in Leopoldina. They came from the so-called Colégio Isabel, which is now located two leagues down-river on the left bank, near Dumbázhinho. They were in the company of their headmaster. They provided us with linguistic and somatic data. At the same time, we learned something of the situation in that colony, which is quite typical of the way in which the civilizing task is often carried out in this country. The institute was founded by Couto de Magalhães in the year 1871, with the aim of Christianizing Indian children, turning them into sedentary colonists, and attracting, at the same time, their savage tribal fellows. The government furnished clothes and other imported articles, especially agricultural tools. It also provided a considerable quantity of cattle, of which, at the time of his marriage, every Indian received a certain number. In addition, the government also provided an annual subvention of 5 contos. At the time of Couto de Magalhães, and especially during Sebastião's administration, the school prospered and enjoyed universal respect, even among the most distant savage tribes. Kayapó and Tapirapé children entered the school. I was told that a Tapirapé who had been educated there and who had later returned to his tribe, appeared a few years later on the river bank and awaited the arrival of the steamer for two months in a Karajá encampment so he could send his son to the same institution.

000 Only the Karajá, who will not part from their children under any circumstances, did not want to have anything to do with the school. Unfortunately, the mistake was made once of taking children from these Indians by force. As a result, they now keep all the children away whenever a ship comes by. At the time of our visit, the institute was badly neglected. The headmaster treated the Indians as slaves and ordered them to work in his personal service. The forlorn boys were exposed to his brutality and to that of his friends. The girls had to attend to the pleasure of all their oppressors. Most of them had already borne children or were about to do so. No new Indians had appeared for a long time, for the outrages of the White civilizers had increasingly kept them away. Most of the school Indians had already reached the age of 30, but not one of them thought of leaving. Trained all along to slavery and tutelage, they carried on their services with dumb indolence. Of course, there was no longer any question of teaching. The cattle had been stolen or had run away. The funds provided by the government ended up in the headmaster's pocket. Later, [99:71] Dr. Baggi, who as a good republican attempted to uncover and prosecute all the abuses of the current regime, achieved the suppression of the institute."

Although a few Tapirapé individuals encountered Whites during the nineteenth century, there is no evidence that the latter had any direct contact at that time with the bulk of the tribe. Ehrenreich (5), who in his classification cited above, published in 1891, includes the Tapirapé among the "Central Tupí," confesses as late as 1905 that they are known only by hearsay and this makes it impossible to state whether they are related to the Eastern or the Central Tupí. He adds that possibly they are a separate group that originated in Pará or Maranhão.

The few Tapirapé who were seen by Whites during the first ten years of this century were chiefly women and children abducted by the Karajá. Krause (2, 320 and 404) says that the [139] Karajá carried out these abductions at the times when the men of the Tupí tribe left their families to go and trade with them on a sand bar of the Tapirapé River. The captive women served them as laborers and sexual partners, and the resulting children became part of the tribe. Some of those women and children were made prisoners in the course of an attack when the Karajá killed several

175 726 men. Concerning this, there is the following reference by Glass (139) who was in the village of the attackers in 1909: "... the women and children were carried away captive to the Bananal Island, and they either became part of the Carajá tribe we had seen or else were sold to any bidder sometimes to white men in exchange for an ox or other thing, their equivalent for money" [cited in English].

175 648 Krause, who explored the Araguaia in 1908, writes (2, 405): "In the villages of the Karajá I saw, in all, two women, three young girls, and two boys of the Tapirapé tribe." Kissenberth, who was in the same area in that year and the following one, observed (2, 47): "I saw, in all, only seven individuals belonging to the Tapirapé: the near-sexagenarian Ngroatí (Figs. 4 and 5), whom I found in a village of Mẽkubengokré-Kayapó called Ororogdjakamkikré, located on the large stream Salobro, a tributary of the Pau-d'arco; two boys, one of whom was in the power of a rubber trader coming down the Araguaia, while the other was a slave of Tamanako, chief of the Karajá village Woudó; in addition, there were three women and one girl, slaves of Chief Crisóstomo of Weheriadó village, Chief Tamanako, and Chief Iwaní of Dozahíkã village."

Dona Delfina de Arruda Correia told me when I passed through the city [sic] of Goiás on September 5, 1935, [99:72] that when she was a teacher at the Leopoldina school she had among her pupils three or four Tapirapé boys brought by the Karajá. "The latter had abducted them and sold them," said the lady, without specifying, however, when those events took place.

A reference by Krause (2, 29) deserves special mention.
114 175 648 According to him, an Italian with his camaradas had abducted a Tapirapé girl whom he later sold to the Karajá, shortly before Krause reached the Araguaia. If this really happened, the Italian would be, to the best of our knowledge, the first White to make contact with the Tapirapé on tribal territory in this century. When I wrote this to Professor Krause, he answered me (letter of July 9, 1937): "I do not believe that the Italian really visited the Tapirapé. He may have abducted, or attempted to abduct, a Tapirapé girl who lived with the Karajá. This at least may be inferred from the hostility that the Karajá are said to have shown

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[448] towards him. But even such an assumption is more than doubtful. I lend no importance whatever to that rumor."

This explanation once accepted, Fritz Krause himself becomes, to our knowledge, the first White who made a systematic attempt to contact the Tupí tribe in the twentieth century. In August and September, 1908, he ascended the Tapirapé River with great difficulty to its last navigable stretch, and then traveled over the area lying to the north of its upper course. He found footprints on the sand, dams in the water, barbecues in the forest, and the remnants of summer dwellings on the savanna.

In April of the following year, Wilhelm Kissenberth, another German ethnographer, was even less successful. He gave up on the second day of his journey up the Tapirapé River, having reached the conclusion that "the only practical access to the Tapirapé villages is by land, since the inherent difficulties of an ascent of the Tapirapé River must be the same in the dry season as they are at flood time" (Kissenberth 1, 4).

Finally, in the course of an expedition in search of rubber trees that was carried out in 1911, a few men from Ceará led by their countryman Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira, after having gone up the Tapirapé River and crossed the savanna, met the Tapirapé Indians and lived with them for a while in their villages. The first information about this was given to me by Colonel João Crisóstimo de Oliveira, a brother of Mr. Alfredo. Later, when I was in Tampiitsua, the Indian Kamairahó [99:73] frequently recalled with praise Mr. Alfredo and his companions. Actually, this journey of the Ceará men was described by Angione Costa (221-224), who published an article about it in July 29, 1912, in the
[113] Folha do Norte [a newspaper] of Belém, Pará. In addition, the following passage appears in the report on the Dominican expedition of 1914 called "Entre os Tapirapés [Among the Tapirapé]" and published in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosario (316-317): "In 1911, a group of rubber gatherers thought that the banks of the waterway (H.B. [author]: the Tapirapé River) would be rich in rubber. The leader of the expedition was one Mr. Alfredo. The starting point was Conceição. The explorations lasted for several months, from May to November. Instead of rubber, they discovered Indian villages, the three villages of the Tapirapé. It

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175 was the first time that these savages had seen civilized people, or, to use the popular term, Christians. It was God's will that savages and Christians should fraternize. Alfredo became a friend of the Tapirapé and brought to Conceição a group consisting of an elderly woman, her granddaughter of 11 or 12, and a few men. During the trip the men ran away. The girl was provided with clothes when she reached the mission."

[113] On October 9, 1912, the Rio newspaper O Paiz transcribed from the fortnightly Goiás paper O Estado de Goyaz of September 15 of the same year an article entitled "Proteção aos Indios [Indian Protection Service]," according to which Dr. Francisco Mandacarú had visited a Tapirapé village located six and three-quarters leagues from the river of the same name and had returned "a Tapirapé woman and her son of 12" whom he had "rescued" in Conceição, where they were "enslaved" (Kissenberth 2, 36, 43). They were probably the grandmother and granddaughter brought by Mr. Alfredo and mentioned in the report of the Dominicans quoted above.

Speaking of the tribes of the Araguaia, Glass (139) says that in 1913, "the Government Inspector of the Indians of this region [161] ascended the Tapirapé River and discovered about 1000 or 1500 [648] of this tribe still existing, but living forty miles away from the river for fear of the Carajás. He estimates that the Carajás, Tapirapés, Javahés, Cherentes [Sherente], Chavantes, and one or two other tribes around that district, number over 20,000 Indians" [cited in English].

In June, 1914, the French Dominicans, Domingos Carrerot, Sebastião Thomas, and Francisco Bigorre, visited the Tapirapé village located 50 kilometers from the river. They were led by the Indian Valadar, the son of a Karajá father and a Tapirapé mother. This guide had participated in Mr. Alfredo's expedition.

Ten years later, according to the Mensageiro do Santo [113] Rosario of April, 1934, page 207, the "regular catechization" of 797 the [99:74] Tapirapé by the Dominicans had a "definitive start." 175 That means that the Fathers of Conceição do Araguaia have ascended the Tapirapé River to the port of São Domingos every two years or so since 1924, awaiting there the arrival of the Indians, alerted to their presence by the smoke rising from burned grassland. Sometimes they proceed on foot to the summer dwellings

175 of the tribe at Lake Tucunaré or some other location not too far
797 from the river. They remain with the Tapirapé for one or several days, distributing axes, bush knives, knives, scissors, tobacco, and other gifts, and fulfilling their religious duties.

Aside from them, missionaries of other creeds have attempted
114 and are still attempting to save the souls of the Tampiitáua in-
175 habitants. In 1923, the Baptist minister Benedito Propheta had
797 some slight contact with these Indians, but did not reach their village. What little he has to say about them in his book, with great verbosity, is too confused and erroneous to be of scientific value.

In August, 1930, the British missionary, Josiah Wilding, of the Evangelical Union of South America, accompanied by the North American traveler Miss Elizabeth Steen, paid a brief visit to Tampiitáua. In the following year, North American Adventists spent one night in the village. In 1932, the British expedition in search of the vanished Colonel Fawcett, which is described so enjoyably in Peter Fleming's book, met the Tapirapé at the port of São Domingos. This was a slight contact of the kind these Indians also had with a group of prospectors, hunters, and an official of the Indian Service. The movie-making group from São Paulo referred to in Pompílio's notes (301-304) spent one night with them in August, 1934, at Lake Tucunaré and did not push on to Tampiitáua. At the end of August, 1935, Madame Rayliane de la Falaise and her husband spent two days in that village. The statements made about the Tapirapé by this charming and elegant writer are, for the most part, sheer fantasy.

The first White since the expedition of Mr. Alfredo, that
797 is, since 1911, to live with the Tapirapé, not just for one or sev-
175 eral days but for weeks and months on end, was the British missionary F.C. Kegel of the Evangelical Union of South America, which is established at Macauba on Bananal Island. He stayed with them in August, September, and October of 1932, from July to November of 1933, from August to November of 1934, and from June to August of 1935. We spent this last period there together, he and I.

114 [99:75] The North American ethnographer, Dr. Charles
175 Wagley, stayed with these Indians from April to October 1939,

114 and from December of the same year until May, 1940.

175 A few Tapirapé accompanied the Dominicans and Mr. Kegel to the Araguaia and stayed briefly in the settlements of the Fathers and of the Evangelical missionary.

Considering all the various contacts that the Tapirapé have 177 had with the Whites, it is clearly impossible to determine the in- 797 fluence of each one of them. True, I was able to identify certain melodies as having been imported by Reverend Kegel and to determine the origin of some beads, clothes, and iron tools. The source of the vague allusions to Jesus Christ, however, had already become undecipherable owing to the number and variety of catechists and other visitors who might have mentioned the subject. Iron tools had already been introduced by the Karajá long before the arrival of the rubber gatherers from Ceará. And non-autochthonous plants, such as certain varieties of the banana, have been cultivated by the Tapirapé from time immemorial. [164] Also, the diseases of European origin had already reached the Tupí tribe, probably through indirect contact with the Whites, that is to say, through other Indians.

If we look at the total influence of the Whites, both direct 177 and indirect, we may say that it has impoverished Tapirapé culture. The iron tools make it easier to farm and to manufacture various implements, but the need to replace them constantly makes the Indians who become used to them dependent on our civilization. No such consequence derived from the introduction of sugar cane and other plants, but these remain unessential in view of the successful cultivation of numerous autochthonous plants. It is worth noting, incidentally, that while iron tools have replaced previous implements made of other materials, they have not changed the traditional division of labor between the sexes. Nor do traits of European origin appear as fertilizing elements in other areas of the culture, such as ornamentation, house building, diet, industry, or the concept of the supernatural. Metal spoons are found along with shells and gourds, beads along with strung seeds; a piece of our clothing is worn with body painting; a pipe with an upright bowl, in the fashion of the Whites, is used alongside the simple smoking tube; Jesus Christ is identified with a figure who appears in their mythology as the owner of large pigs and iron implements, as "captain [chief]," husband, and father.

114 The Kayapó who have intimidated the Tapirapé over the
past few years, however, do not belong to the bands visited by
175 Krause in 1908 and by Kissenberth in the same year and the
726 following one, that is to say, the Indians called Kayapó-Mẽkubengokré by this author. Kissenberth (2, 40) heard Mẽkubengokré elders relate that the last hostile encounters between their people and the Tapirapé had occurred approximately in the middle of the last century. This traveler does not [102:126] explain, however, how the near-sexagenarian Tapirapé he saw in a Mẽkubengokré village (ibid., 47 and Figs. 4 and 5; 1, Figs. 18 and 19) got there and was annexed to the tribe.

171 I shall show later that the Tapirapé have a few cultural traits that are similar to traits of these Kayapó, but not as many as the ones that reveal their kinship with the Karajá. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 102, pp. 126-130, is omitted.]

[103:183] Chapter 5

## The Number of Villages and of Tribal Members

621 Sixteenth-century authors, such as Pero de Magalhães de
171 Gandavo (45) and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (362), already pointed out the propensity of the Tupí Indians to divide into bands as a result of certain dissensions. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

621 In the case of the Tapirapé, the disruptive forces were not only countered by the authority of Kamairahó in Tampiitáua, but were also kept at bay by more powerful destructive forces, that is
[731] to say, terrible epidemics. Kamairahó's authority became ap-
[554] parent when I attempted to ascertain in which of the various villages, now extinct, the individuals who make up the present population of Tampiitáua had originated. Those who had revealed their birthplace to me [103:184] did not dare repeat the information in the presence of this most influential leader. The unifying
[578] activity of Kamairahó was justified by the fact that old antagonisms between the villages were not yet entirely forgotten, although they were seldom recalled.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



161 had continued during the last thirteen years. Yet I found
178 that even with so small a population Tapirapé society still functioned as an organised unit and Tapirapé culture persisted, although highly modified by the events of the last thirteen years. Several points of theoretical importance can be learned from recent Tapirapé history and from some observations on social and cultural changes since 1940.

175 The sketchy outline of Tapirapé history between
[127] 1940 and 1953, which I have been able to piece together with the help of the Indians themselves, of Sr. Valentim Gomes (the officer of the post of the Brazilian Indian Service which services the Tapirapé, and my companion during both visits to the tribe in 1939-40), and of a published report by Herbert Baldus,[3] indicates the tremendous shocks this society has suffered in the last decade. Briefly, this history is as follows: In 1941, just a year after my 1940 visit, a serious epidemic broke out in the
[731 Tapirapé village in which I had lived. As usual, following
578] an epidemic during which there is a series of deaths, dissension broke out within the village. A well-known shaman was killed and a group of Tapirapé ("perhaps thirty in number") fled the village to the Brazilian town of Furo de Pedra, some two hundred kilometers from their village. It is reported that at least two people died during this trip and that the group returned to their village infected with common colds. By August of 1940, Sr. Gomes was able to ascertain that twenty-six people had died since June of the same year. In September of
175 1941 an Indian Post for the protection of the Tapirapé
648 was opened, but it was established at the mouth of the Tapirapé River, near the Carajá whom the Tapirapé feared and near Brazilians from whom they contracted new infections. That year, a few Indians visited the Post but after the death of a young Tapirapé man at the Post and an unfortunate experience with a group of drunken Brazilian men, only rarely did a Tapirapé

3. "Tribus da Baria do Araguaia e o Serviço de Proteção aos Índios", in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, N. S., Vol. II, São Paulo, 1948, pp. 137-168.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



Indian venture to visit the Post. For almost three years, their only contact with Brazilian culture was via the Dominican priests and an occasional hunter who visited them upriver in their own village or at one of the ports along the Tapirapé River which they were accustomed to approach. For a few years, the Tapirapé lived in relative peace.

175
648
[797]

In 1947, the year when Herbert Baldus again visited the Tapirapé, two events took place which were crucial in the further disorganization of their society. First, he encountered eight families of Brazilians at Porto Velho, half-way up the Tapirapé River, in an area which had always been traditional hunting and fishing territory of the Tapirapé. This was but the beginning of the steady occupation of the lands along the Tapirapé River by Brazilians; by 1953 it was estimated that 120 families were living along the river, and there were three cattle ranches at spots along the banks where the Indians often came to fish and hunt during the dry season. The vast and open *campos* along the Tapirapé River, which before 1940 simply teemed with game, now provided grazing lands for cattle. No longer was the contact of the Tapirapé with Brazilians sporadic and brief, but it had become continuous and frequent.

Secondly, it was in 1947 that the Tapirapé were attacked by the northern Kayapo as related by Baldus.[4] Four women were killed during the attack and two young women captured by the Kayapo, and the Tapirapé village was burned along with most of their belongings such as hammocks, utensils and tools. The entire Tapirapé group were driven by fear and hunger to the margins of the Tapirapé River where they depended upon a Brazilian rancher and the simple Brazilian frontiersmen for food. From 1947 until 1950, Tapirapé society as an organized unit might be said not to have existed; a group of families lived near a ranch on the Tapirapé River attempting to plant gardens in the narrow strip of forest along the river but they were mainly existing on what

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 142

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



175 648 they might beg from the Brazilian. Another group of families came to live at the Indian post near the mouth of the Tapirapé River, where the Indian officer helped them build temporary shelters and provided them with food. And earlier, before the Kayapo attack, a small group of families had broken from the main village to migrate to a distant village site called Čičutawa, far to the north.[4] During these years, ceremonial and religious life, normal family life, aboriginal economic activities, and in fact most of the regular activities of their society were either completely suspended or affected by a marginal existence to the Brazilian frontiersmen.

131 But in 1950 Tapirapé society was, in a sense, re-
166 -organized. As a result of the efforts of the Indian officer,
178 all of the remaining Tapirapé (except those who had
[648] migrated to the north) came together to form a village which they called *Tawiáho* (New Village), some six kilometers from the Post Helofsa Alberto Torres. By 1953 this village had been fully completed, and the Tapirapé had relatively large and productive gardens in the forest
361 some three or four kilometers from it. The village had
178 been constructed, as in aboriginal times, in a circle surrounding a large men's ceremonial house. The houses were in general of the aboriginal type, each housing several biological families. Ceremonials had begun again and, as before, the nights were filled with singing. Although considerably modified, normal Tapirapé social life was again possible. Although for a short period Tapirapé *society* might be said not to have existed, Tapirapé *culture* continued to live in the minds of these few remaining individuals and it allowed them, given the opportunity, to recreate, although in a much attenuated form, their social life. This is a striking example of the difference between a society and its culture.

177 But both Tapirapé society and Tapirapé culture had been considerably modified by the events of the last decade. There were striking differences in social

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138. This group has never been heard of since they left. It is the opinion of the remaining Tapirapé that they were killed by the Kayapo since Čičutawa is near Kayapo territory.

T /403 cont./
175 are Karajá who are so named because they live on the lower course
114 of the Tapirapé. On page 174 he mentions a village of the /404/ Tapirapé on the Fecho de Tapirapé and a village of the Karajá five days upward in the Tapirapé River; the one village consists of one house with ten occupants, the other, one house with 20 (p. 186). Here, therefore, the Tapirapé are regarded as a horde of the Karajá who live at the mouth of the river itself, and in the river, five days above the mouth, there is another village of Karajá! Coudreau was here the end of April; he encountered only a few places of the Karajá. His other reports are likewise very confused and uncertain, so that one may trace these, too, back to misunderstood information given by the Karajá.

C 115 2. Information obtained /Erkundetes/. The information that I obtained from the Karajá was the following:

T 13 [101] The Tapirapé (in Karajá: ũõhũ) live six to nine days' journey in a boat above the emptying of the river into the Araguaya. From the landing place one is obliged to walk another half day, according to others two days, over the campo in order to reach their vil-
T 105 lages. They occupy three villages, and, to be sure, one large one and two smaller ones (according to one isolated statement, four villages). The men wear penis cuffs plaited out of palm leaves. Both sexes wear the hair hanging down to the small of the back. The men wear long lip-plugs of (reddish?) stone. Ear plugs are also customary. Their ornaments are similar to those of the Karajá. Tattooing occurs among the married women: they cut vertical lines into their chins and one line on either side of the corners of their mouths, obliquely downward; these lines are colored black. They obtain their food primarily by cultivating manioc; since they
C are very industrious, they cultivate large quantities. They are
[879] therefore considered rich by the Karajá. Of animals they keep dogs and, above all, araras, which the Karajá buy from them. Their weapons are bows and arrows, clubs, spears, and spear throwers.
C T They know how to work with cotton. They wind the spun threads
[439] into big balls, like those of the Karajá. The Karajá like to buy their large, firmly plaited, cotton net coverings with a wide, black center stripe.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

# THE TAPIRAPÉ

By Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvão

## INTRODUCTION

Isolated from other *Tupi-Guarani*-speaking people, the *Tapirapé* live in Central Brazil, west of the Araguaya River and north of the Tapirapé River, a western tributary flowing into the Araguaya near the northern tip of the Island of Bananal (lat. 2° S., long. 52° W.). According to tradition, the *Tapirapé* lived for a time on the banks of the Araguaya and Javahé Rivers with the *Carajá*. They quarreled, and the *Tapirapé* moved west to their present territory (map 1, *No. 1;* see Volume 1, map 7). At the beginning of last century, five *Tapirapé* villages formed a line stretching northward into *Cayapó* country beginning at a point a few miles back from the Tapirapé River about 150 miles from its mouth. The *Tapirapé* have always been at war with the *Cayapó* except for a brief period. Each of these villages contained at least 200 individuals with a total *Tapirapé* population of about 1,000. Since 1900, however, there has been a terrific reduction of *Tapirapé* population.

In 1939, there was only one remaining *Tapirapé* village situated about 20 miles north of the Tapirapé River with a total population of 147 people. This decline in population is basically due to disease (smallpox, respiratorial diseases, etc.) acquired either directly from Neo-Brazilians or from the *Carajá*, who are continually in contact with Neo-Brazilians. *Tapirapé* groups have been also massacred on several occasions by both the *Carajá* and *Cayapó*.

The *Tapirapé* have had but few contacts, however, with Neo-Brazilians. Except for the demoralizing effect of depopulation, their culture has been little modified. Although stories are told of Neo-Brazilian hunters visiting the *Tapirapé* in 1909, the first registered contact with them was in 1912. During that year, Señor Mandacurú, leading an expedition of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service, visited the village nearest the Tapirapé River. In 1914, the Dominican priests visited the *Tapirapé*. From that date on, the Dominicans returned each year or so to a camp on the Tapirapé River for 3 or 4 days at a time and were met by the *Tapirapé*, to whom they distributed trade goods. About 1934, a Protestant missionary, Frederick Kiegel, made several trips, staying 2 or 3 months in a *Tapirapé* village. In 1935, the first trained ethnologist, Dr. Herbert Baldus, resided several months with the *Tapirapé*, and in 1939–40, Wagley spent 12 months with them making the study on which this article is based.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



but lives and re-lives his life cycle as the cycle of the seasons. In the early 776
rains of October to January, Petura is a small boy. During the heavy rains 132
of January to March, he is an adolescent youth. He is a young warrior as the rains diminish in April to June, and as the year draws to its close for the Tapirape during the remaining dry months, Petura becomes old. Then as the year begins again with the first refreshing rains of October, he begins a new life cycle. This is the agricultural year for the Tapirape. They [221]
plant when he is young (October) and harvest as he matures (in May and June).

Petura was not the only hero who benefited the Tapirape. To the "home 773
of the gods" travelled Tomatociri and Mukwura II, other ancestor heroes, in search of their father Mukwura. There Mukwura gave his son, Tomatociri, the bow and arrow which he brought back to the Tapirape. There, [176]
too—and this is typical of Tapirape readjustment to newly-learned knowledge—the younger brother Mukwura II was given fire arms which he transmitted to his descendants, the Europeans or Torí.[9]

Shamans are equated with these ancestor heroes. If shamans die a non- 756
violent death, they go immediately to Maratawa where they live plenti- 775
fully supplied with food, tobacco, and all aids to the good life. If they die 772
violently, however (i.e., are suspected of sorcery and killed by the Tapirape) they go to another home of shamans in the west. This is the "house [821]
of the winds" where the heavy winds blowing from the southwest come during the late dry season. They are given an artificial face, and they stay here until they heal before going east to join their companions in Maratawa. Only shamans and culture heroes continue after life in the form that [776]
they had on earth.

It is chiefly through shamans that the Tapirape know of the sun, moon 756
and other heavenly bodies. A shaman had seen the sun "close by." The 821
sun, he said, is an old man with no hair on his head. He travels through the heavens wearing a large head-dress of red parrot feathers, and since red parrot feathers are "hot," the head-dress gives off heat. Each night, after limping through his daily orbit (for the "sky is rough" and the sun continually has thorns in his feet) he returns underground to the east to his house at Maratawa.[10] There he eats very little and in a short time sets out again. The morning after Wantanamu, a shaman, had died, several Tapirape saw that the sun was red; it was very "hot" and angry because a shaman had died. 821

As the sun is male, so the moon is female. Both are thought of as people, 776

[9] I was unable to get the original of this story before the obvious change was made to make it fit with new conditions. It is similar, however, to a Tupinamba story recorded by [171]
Thevet and quoted by Métraux (*ibid.*, p. 12), which tells of Arcowie and Tanembonare, twin sons of Sommay.

[10] See Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 14, for Siguia version.

114 and from December of the same year until May, 1940.
175 A few Tapirapé accompanied the Dominicans and Mr. Kegel to the Araguaia and stayed briefly in the settlements of the Fathers and of the Evangelical missionary.

Considering all the various contacts that the Tapirapé have
177 had with the Whites, it is clearly impossible to determine the in-
797 fluence of each one of them. True, I was able to identify certain melodies as having been imported by Reverend Kegel and to determine the origin of some beads, clothes, and iron tools. The source of the vague allusions to Jesus Christ, however, had already become undecipherable owing to the number and variety of catechists and other visitors who might have mentioned the subject. Iron tools had already been introduced by the Karajá long before the arrival of the rubber gatherers from Ceará. And non-autochthonous plants, such as certain varieties of the banana, have been cultivated by the Tapirapé from time immemorial.
[164] Also, the diseases of European origin had already reached the Tupí tribe, probably through indirect contact with the Whites, that is to say, through other Indians.

If we look at the total influence of the Whites, both direct
177 and indirect, we may say that it has impoverished Tapirapé culture. The iron tools make it easier to farm and to manufacture various implements, but the need to replace them constantly makes the Indians who become used to them dependent on our civilization. No such consequence derived from the introduction of sugar cane and other plants, but these remain unessential in view of the successful cultivation of numerous autochthonous plants. It is worth noting, incidentally, that while iron tools have replaced previous implements made of other materials, they have not changed the traditional division of labor between the sexes. Nor do traits of European origin appear as fertilizing elements in other areas of the culture, such as ornamentation, house building, diet, industry, or the concept of the supernatural. Metal spoons are found along with shells and gourds, beads along with strung seeds; a piece of our clothing is worn with body painting; a pipe with an upright bowl, in the fashion of the Whites, is used alongside the simple smoking tube; Jesus Christ is identified with a figure who appears in their mythology as the owner of large pigs and iron implements, as "captain [chief]," husband, and father.

•177 All those imports from us, living alongside the traditional traits, are no more than curiosities [99:76] in the minds of the Tapirapé, curiosities hardly more important to the functioning of their culture than one of their arrows or legends would be to the average European.

From what I was able to observe, Reverend Kegel usually 177 restricted himself to the teaching of songs and the administration 797 of medicines. Owing to their sporadic quality and short duration, and especially to the difficulty of communicating through words, the encounters with the Dominicans and other visitors have enriched Tapirapé culture even less. Unfruitful, too, were the attempts to wield an influence through individuals who had been taken to the Araguaia by the missionaries and who knew more about the White way of life than those who had never left tribal territory. It is well known how easily many of the Brazilian Indians educated in our civilized centers have re-adjusted to and been re-absorbed by their native environment (cf. Baldus 7, 165, and Araujo Lima 134-135). Actually, I did not see any Tapirapé who had lived with the Whites long enough to experience the conflicts of the "marginal man" of Park, Stonequist, and other American sociologists.

The impoverishment of Tapirapé culture was induced large- 164 ly by the diseases of the Whites, but these were introduced only partly as a result of direct contact. It is probable that the neighboring Karajá, continually exposed to contagion as inhabitants of the Araguaia, frequently acted as transmitters. This at least may be assumed as regards the strange diseases which were introduced prior to direct contact with the Whites. As Wagley (2) masterfully [114] pointed out, the catastrophic depopulation caused by the epidemics [165] that raged around 1895 and 1900, and later ones as well, affected [731] the social organization to such an extent that important traits of [178] Tapirapé culture were modified or lost.

The Tapirapé often told me that in the old days their people 177 knew everything about such celestial phenomena as eclipses and [821] about many other mythological subjects, and now know almost nothing. This may not be solely the result of the mortality caused [731] by epidemics and by the bellicose attacks of neighboring Karajá [726] and Kayapó. Some old people did survive. I can imagine the pressure exercised by the presence of our culture upon the minds

•177 of the Tampiitáua inhabitants. This presence is made perceptible through the complex made up of diseases, of the fantastic stories of tribal members who went to the Araguaia, of the domineering behavior of White visitors, and of the latter's display of "riches." The effects of this type of [99:77] inter-ethnic pressure vary from culture to culture. Among peoples of vitality, they may arouse responsive forces which are manifested, for example, in the creation of new magical devices among aborigines, or in improvements in airplanes, tanks, or propaganda techniques among those who regard themselves as more "civilized." Among other peoples, however, they may cause resignation instead of resistance, and bring about what might be called a "cultural shrinkage," that is to say, a disregard for their own things without a concomitant desire to replace them with new ones, whether new creations of their own or imports. Thus, it seems possible to me that this pressure may have caused the Tapirapé to lose interest in certain traditions that did not seem to them to possess any immediate value in the struggle for existence. [Ed., end of Vol. 99.]

## Chapter 4

### [100:191] Contact with Other Indians

While it is possible to discern, up to a point, the effects of the direct and indirect contacts with the Whites, it is more difficult to perceive the influences derived from other Indian tribes. [726] I have already alluded to the murderous acts the Kayapó and Karajá and to their role as transmitters of epidemics and importers of iron tools. It must be added that the Karajá, aside from acting as intermediaries, also furnished products of their own culture, such as songs. I dare not, however, formulate hypotheses about the 171 535 origin of the masked-dance complex as a whole, to which these songs belong and which is one of the most characteristic aspects of both Tapirapé and the Karajá culture. The Tapirapé attach special importance to the masked dances of the chankuí, that is, jacuí [Tr., little jacu or guan] and of the iranchá, a fish. They perform them daily for weeks on end. Karl von den Steinen (2, [114] 313), when dealing with the masked dances of the Indians of the

536 with the pairs one behind the other, walked peacefully from house
726 to house. They hummed a song. The first two pairs carried a blanket on their back, and the last pair carried a straw mat. A masked man followed, bent forward, dancing and shooting arrows at the mat. After a while the pairs lined up one beside the other and stayed put, humming their song, while the masked figure emitted the Kayapó tribal cry and danced in menacing fashion, stepping always on the same spot. A little later, the walk was resumed. This scene was repeated several times. Suddenly, however, when the pairs were standing still once more in front of a hut, two masked "Kayapó" rushed headlong from behind it, and four others emerged from behind the neighboring house. All
[177] these "Kayapó" had bows or clubs in their hands and were completely disguised with hammocks, blankets, and other belongings of the White guests. Their faces were covered with sifters, and my straw hat had also found a use. While the three Tapirapé pairs kept walking as peacefully as before, the masked figures alternately ran furiously hither and yon, giving their typical cry, and performed a circular dance. In this dance, some of them faced the back of the man in front while others were turned
[535] toward the man behind. They all jumped on one leg and then the other, tossing their arms and legs about and gesticulating with their weapons (Photo. 73). After repeating all this several times for half an hour, the "Kayapó" attacked one another and quarreled among themselves. Then the Tapirapé pairs quietly broke up and vanished.

This performance, therefore, contrasts the mildness which
181 is indeed the tribal behavior pattern of the Tapirapé with the nervous aggressiveness of the Kayapó. This seems to be a symbol of universal significance, when we look at the pacifists and militarists in other parts of the world.

The opinion of the Tupí tribe about the nature of these
609 neighbors seems to be expressed even in their mythology. While
773 the Karajá are regarded as descendants of a water serpent, the ancestor of the Kayapó is tantevoga, the tick. One of the proofs of kinship with those bugs, my informants say, is the falsetto tribal cry that they attribute to their northern foe. This proof, although it might not satisfy a biologist, is sufficient for the ethnologist. Actually, everyone knows that the tick is a pesky nuisance.

[i.e., the Kayapó.—Analyst]

291 (cf. Photos. 5, 25, 69). This may corroborate the conjecture of
[114] the evolutionist Von den Steinen (2, 192) that the waist cord for-
[174] merly had the function of the penis sheath. Among present-day
Tapirapé this cord may be regarded, along with the tembetá, as
[482] a prerogative of the males. It is rarely used to carry [105:88]
[412] things. Occasionally they will hang a comb from it, or in recent
times a pair of scissors as well.

Dr. Charles Wagley told me that in 1939 he found straps for
114 carrying children that were worn by the Tapirapé women over the
854 shoulder and across the chest. In 1937, Dominican missionaries
•177 had gone up the Tapirapé River with large quantities of fabrics.
The straps were made of those fabrics. It is interesting to note
that in 1935 there were no such objects in existence. It is inter-
esting because it would have been possible to carry the children
in small hammocks. Furthermore, I had given away many pieces
of cloth which could have been used as straps for carrying children.
[171] Such straps not only are used by the neighboring Kayapó (Krause,
2, 394) but are also a typical cultural trait of the Tupí Indians.
[Ed., two sentences are omitted.] It is worth noting, however,
that straps for carrying children are not used by the eastern neigh-
bors of the Tapirapé, that is to say, the Karajá (Krause 2, 276
and Plates 12, 37, and 42).

In the case of the Tapirapé, it was apparently the numerous
pieces of fabric brought by the Dominicans in 1937 that played a
decisive role in the introduction of straps for carrying children. In
291 1935, all the fabrics and cloth articles coming from our factories
177 had a merely decorative function among those Indians. The men
[562] alone used them, since most adornments are prerogatives of their
[301] sex and such impressive ornaments as those made of feathers and
claws are worn only by them. Kamairahó, the most important
chief, liked best of all to wear a red dress which his wife had re-
ceived as a gift. Thus, the aim the giver had in mind, probably
inspired by catechizing hopes, was missed entirely for the lady
remained altogether naked while her husband was covered down to
177 the knees and below. It is worth noting, however, that in the even-
29 ing, when Kamairahó retired, he would undress and carefully fold
513 the garment. Thus, at an hour when every protection against the
mosquitoes and the cold would have seemed to me exceedingly

177 291 [513] welcome, this important man lay in his small hammock without the slightest intention of hiding his skin, which was occasionally illuminated by the wavering flames.

[105:89] The same was true with regard to all other clothing of similar provenience. Kamairahó also possessed a large piece of fabric which he used as a sort of cloak, but only during the day and not as frequently as the dress. Vuatanamy, another influential leader, wrapped himself during the hottest hours of the day in a heavy poncho, which was of such good quality that I tried to find out the name of the person who had given out such presents (cf. Photo. 58). Then the evil tongues told me that this Gaucho gar- [797] ment had belonged to a missionary, who lost it unwittingly with the full cooperation of Vuatanamy. The former owner may derive some consolation from the fact that his unintended beneficiary continued to sleep naked through mosquito bites and cold spells.

The shirts, vests, and trousers that I gave to some of the young men were also restricted to daytime use. The enthusiasm for this kind of ornament lasted only a few days. Then the law of the least effort prevailed, and the pieces were put away in a corner of the house. Incidentally, of all my gifts, the vests were the least valued. Their new owners noted signs of wear with obvious displeasure, and perhaps also felt that since the vests had no sleeves they were mere fragments of jackets and thus scorned by the Whites.

The aim of these Indians, however, was to be esteemed by the 648 Whites by conforming to their behavior. I do not mean to say that 177 this was the aim of every Tapirapé. There were some, however, who made it quite clear. There was, for example, Kamairá, the tallest and sturdiest man in Tampiitáua and a leader on certain occasions. Kamairá sometimes liked to use a rather dirty rag as a loincloth. This was the only loincloth I saw in the tribe, and its [799] use was probably inspired by a desire to reach the ideal proclaimed by some missionary with highly modest sentiments.

Such propensities for adaptation, however, did not preclude 177 the use of ornaments furnished by us, even when such objects had 291 never appeared on our own bodies. Thus, Vuatanamy wore a 301 multicolored cap (cf. Photo. 68); Kamanané, the song leader, liked to wear a piece of brightly colored cloth on his head; the 177 red and black cardboard wrapper of my soap contributed to the 301 mosaic of bird feathers that adorned a dance mask; and beads were

177 301 the favorite ornament of both sexes, of adults as well as children (cf. Photos. 3, 4, 5, 8, and many others).

The Tapirapé showed the same love for those beads as did the 301 Karajá, wanting always the smallest and whitest ones (cf. Photo. [171] 2) and showing intense dislike for those of other colors and those made of clear [105:90] glass. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the beads I saw were used merely as necklaces. It is true that these Indians are also very fond of deck- [855] ing out their children in these ornaments, and the larger the number of beads at the neck of a girl, the more beautiful she seems in everyone's eyes. People often borrow beads from each other to enhance this sort of beauty, and not only do married couples use their beads in turn, but this is also done between parents and children and between friends belonging to different families.

Beads were the object of the only theft between two Tapirapé [674] committed during my stay at Tampiitáua. When Maeyma was deserted by his wife and hung his hammock next to that of Taipá, a matronly widow, she appeared on the following morning with beads around her neck. [Ed., the last sentence, which concludes the section in Vol. 105, is omitted; there is no section in Vol. 106.]

[107:107] Tapirapé of both sexes usually wear their hair cut 302 straight across the forehead just above the eyes, so that it cannot fall across the face (Photos. 3 and 28). They do allow it to grow on the sides and in the back, however. Some of the men, women, and children sometimes part their hair anywhere on the forehead, thus partly baring it (Photos. 59, 61, and 63). The hair reaches shoulder length in the back, and this occurs more frequently among the women than among the men (Photos. 4, 67, and 69). The latter sometimes hold it with a strip of inner bark tied around the head (Photos. 4 and 5) or gather it into a pigtail (Photos. 1, 4, and 7), while the women and children always wear it loose. The hair 171 of some boys seems to have been cut at several lengths (Photos. 2 302 and 8), as described by Krause (2, 209 and Fig. 37) for Karajá boys. It may be said that, as a rule, there are many similarities between Tapirapé and Karajá hair styles. In both tribes also, the hair of boys [852] is cut all over to half a centimeter when they are about ten years old, except for a narrow strip of hair three centimeters long that surrounds the head like a crown (cf. Krause, ibid. and Plate 43, Fig. 2).

171 302 765 Another occasion to cut the hair short is the death of a close relative, when not only the males (cf. Photos. 51 and 52) but the opposite sex as well (Photo. 64) are compelled to undergo this procedure. This custom is quite widespread in South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

302 [177] [412] Among the Tapirapé at the present time, the hair is cut with scissors received from the Whites. [Ed., the remainder of p. 107 is omitted, which includes the beginning of the sentence finished at the top of p. 108.]

[107:108] . . . in 1614, Father Claude d'Abbeville (267) 302 wrote of the hair of the Tupinambá of Maranhão: "[Ed., two 171 sentences are omitted.] They [the women] are quite meticulous 515 about combing their hair and do not fail to wash it and rub it with oil and Roucou every morning" [translated from French]. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

Some Tapirapé comb their hair with great care, although they do not wash it as frequently as the Tupinambá women observed by Father Claude, or massage it as often with oil and urucú. They [314] would no doubt anoint it more frequently if it were not for the scarcity of the raw material, a palm nut that grows only at certain times of year. This scarcity impelled an honest matron to steal from us our only bottle of oil, which we had brought to remedy the lack of fat in the diet. Instead of lining our stomachs, the entire liter of nutritious liquid ended up on the good woman's head. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 108 is omitted.]

302 [107:209] The Tapirapé also put urucú in their hair, but only on special occasions. They apply it to boys on the festive day of [881] initiation, to girls on the day when their first menstruation ends, [764] and to the dead. It may have religious significance, but I cannot tell.

515 593 Aside from hair combing, delousing is a gesture of love. The bugs caught end their existence between the teeth of the catcher, who thus swallows the blood of his or her beloved. This tender duty is performed on a mutual basis by parents and children and by loving spouses. Girls show the greatest enthusiasm for this type of quest. It does happen, however, that an old man still delouses an already married son (cf. Photo. 55).

826 261 Not only do they avoid losing the blood stolen by lice and mosquitoes by eating the culprits caught in the act, but they also

372 Juruna [Yuruna] territory, called this habit of waving a burning
171 piece of wood to one side and another "the Indian way" in his diary. Among the Tapirapé, the burning sticks shaken in this
372 fashion serve as nocturnal protection against certain anchinga,
776 that is to say, evil spirits. Hans Staden (p 4) also wrote of the
171 Tupinambá: "At night, when they must attend to their needs, they do not like to leave their houses without taking a light, for such is their fear of the devil called Ingange and frequently seen by them." According to Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 168), the fear of evil spirits (mauarí) impels the Taulipáng to carry a burning stick when they leave the house at night.

In spite of the constant danger presented by the anchinga and
514 naturally also by the fearsome Kayapó neighbors, the Tapirapé never defecate near the house even at night, but go into the labyrinth of felled trunks lying between the village and the forest, far enough so the clean open spaces near the dwelling will not be soiled and the odor of the feces will not reach the house. The
[195] custom of retiring to a good distance for this purpose is embodied in the expression kaa-pe-pyá ("belly-to-the-woods"), or to translate it more freely, "I shall now take my belly toward the woods," a phrase with which every well-bred lady in Tampiitaua must announce to her housemates her intention to go and defecate.

When it comes to urinating, however, these women are not quite as formal. When we rose from a night session carried out in front of the house and presided over by Kamairabó, the moon was out and I could see dark spots on the ground where members of the female sex had been sitting. Without moving or showing the slightest sign of unrest, the ladies, young and old, who had been sitting around us, had urinated copiously while the great man and I aired the most profound mythological questions. Apparently, the wet spots on which they sat had not been overly unpleasant to them.

Naturally, a woman who is standing does not sit directly upon the ground, but squats, when she wishes to urinate. The men also adopt this position. There were some interesting endeavors at
● 177 cultural change in this respect, however. Once, some time after
514 my arrival in the village, while I urinated in the neighboring woods, I was surprised to see several young men imitate me by standing also. No sooner had they started out in this way, however,

177 514 than overcome by habit they bent down until they were squatting again. These inroads on the traditional manner [111:117] of urinating were repeated on the days that followed. "I urinate" [192] is ankurũg in Tapirapé. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

A letter from Father Antônio Blasquez, written in Bahia in 000 1557 and included in the Cartas jesuíticas [Letters from the Jesuits] (II, 173) says of the local Tupinambá: "Their houses are dark, ill-smelling, and smoky, and in the center stand some jars shaped like half-troughs that recall the caldrons of hell. At the same moment, some of the Indians are laughing and others are crying, so slowly does the night go by in this house, where no one goes out. Their beds are hammocks rotten with urine, for they are so lazy that they will not get up to answer the calls of nature." [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

As far as the Tapirapé are concerned, I may say that I never 514 saw them urinate inside the house and never smelled urine on their hammocks, which, in any case, were washed in the nearby stream. To judge the cleanliness of the village as a whole, there is 356 no better authority than that of the mistress of a household in one 364 of the most civilized nations of Europe, namely, the charming Madame de la Falaise, who writes as follows about Tampiitaua (200): "The general impression is one of stability and cleanliness, which is not encountered in any of the Caraja villages I visited. Here, there is neatness. No litter, no thrift-shop jumble, no tattered witches, no garbage, or broken pottery. Caraja villages express disorder, laziness, a heedless attitude. They are flea markets stinking of old fish. The Tapirapé village expresses order. The basic character of each race is clearly expressed. The Caraja, 000 who camp for five or six months [111:118] at most, delight in the 361 temporary. The Tapirapé, who are much more sedentary, set up their house for a long time" [translated from French.] [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Of course, the cleanliness of the Tapirapé has limits which 231 the kindness of Madame de la Falaise does not disclose, but which 364 become apparent when we take a good look at the ground in some of the photographs reproduced in this work. There is no doubt that the voracity of the dogs and chickens contributes a great deal to the cleanliness of the houses and their immediate vicinity, for if it were not for them, much of the kind of garbage in which they are

224 pig killed on July 14 was brought to bay by Tapirapé dogs. Krause
23 (2, 407) found numerous tracks of Tapirapé dogs on a sandbar of the river that goes by the same name. The same author (2, 245 and 386) mentions dogs belonging to the Karajá (kjolozá in their
171 language) and the Kayapó. According to the Tapirapé, the
231 Ampaneá stole young dogs from them. The complete absence of
[648] dogs in the upper Xingu region, which was noted by Von den Steinen (1, 326) in 1884, was confirmed in 1924 by Hintermann (255).

224 I was unable to obtain a satisfactory explanation for the following custom, which was related to me by my companion Kegel: the Tapirapé, after killing game, place a number of small sticks, corresponding to the number of animals killed, at the spot where they re-enter one of the paths used by the tribe; they tear each stick slightly and insert a feather or a few hairs of the slain animal in the resulting slit. I encountered the same custom in 1946 among the Kaingang [Caingang] of the upper Ivaí. There, the Indian Salvador Veiniá, after hunting baitaca [Tr., parrots of the Pionias genus], plucked a few feathers from one of these birds in my presence and tossed them beside the path. This same Kaingang, while in [112:59] the company of my assistant Harald Schultz, once found a stick lying on a footpath with two clusters of tateto hair in its split upper tip, and he said that two of those wild pigs had been killed at that spot and that the stick with the hair had been left there by the hunter to impart the news to passersby.

I did not observe any magic with the explicit purpose of catch-
224 ing or multiplying game. It is uncertain whether the animal dances
533 and songs which I shall describe in the chapter dealing with re-
535 ligion [Tr., apparently not published] have such a purpose, or whether their aim is merely to express joy. The Indians themselves
[226] say that there is a lot of fish when they sing, but that there is also a lot of fish when they do not sing. To judge from this statement, the animal songs and dances are not hunting magic. The Tapirapé
533 sing and dance because they like to sing and dance. For this reason,
535 also, they borrowed songs and dances from the Karajá. It would
• 177 be necessary to find out (1) whether the animal dances and songs were originally magical, (2) whether anyone still regards them as such, and (3) if so, who does. I was unable to settle these questions.

171 the new layer of charcoal, and repeat this until the tree is felled."
241 [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[113:194] I do not know whether the Tapirapé used the method described by Stradelli. I heard that they felled large trees by setting up a fire beneath the roots. If this is confirmed by the vestiges of carbonization on the roots of fallen trunks and in the holes lying around them, which were still visible in the old plots in 1935, not much time would have elapsed since fire was used for this purpose. Considering that the Tapirapé have owned
¶[177] iron axes for dozens of years, it should then be assumed that fire was used in connection with these products of our civilization.

In any case, I did not find stone axes among the Tapirapé,
174 nor did I find anyone in Tampiitaua who had used them, or anyone
412 who had found similar implements at sites formerly occupied by the tribe. Of course, there is no doubt that the Tapirapé did possess them in the past, and they may have been as small as those of the Ampaneá, according to the Tapirapé. It is certain, however, that
174 several generations ago the Tapirapé obtained iron objects
412 (itanchoa, "iron," "glass," from ita, "stone," and choa, "yellow")
439 through the Karajá, and not only axes, but bush knives as well (kyché-eté, from kyché, "knife," and eté, "real," an augmentative, the term kiché being already mentioned in the Vocabulário da Língua Brasílica [Vocabulary of the Indigenous Brazilian Language] as quigce, by Montoya as quicé [author: i= y in our spelling], and by Stradelli as kicé). It is worth noting that the Tapirapé, who have
[177] used metal cutting tools for so long, cannot bring themselves to sharpen them, although this procedure has already been taught to them several times by the Whites, who also offered them sharpening stones. This is an illustration of the fact that the acceptance of foreign cultural traits does not necessarily imply the acceptance of all the procedures connected with them.

On July 30, I witnessed the felling of some trees, carried out
241 as a collective endeavor called apachirú by the Tapirapé (the
476 puchirum of the frontiersmen in the states of Pará and Amazonas). The leader, Tanuapanchoa, marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those places without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax. He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others. The other men selected their own trees around his as they pleased. They incised the small ones and finally

262 like a turnip, the size of a child's fist, and slightly more pungent
824 in taste than the white cará with which we are familiar; (3) this
[177] same white cará, which was imported from the Whites as is shown by its Tapirapé name of mayrangkanakuera (mayra, "White man"; kaná, "cará"; kuera, "that was"), often 70 centimeters in circumference, half a meter in length, and tasteless; (4) a third Dioscoreacea, found wild in the forest and called kanachinga or "white cará" in Tapirapé because the tubers are white inside, which is shaped like a carrot, 20 centimeters around, 30 centimeters long, and as tasteless as mairangkanakuera; (5) a yam that reaches 60 centimeters in circumference and 35 in length (Alocasia spec., iampokumaé in Tapirapé), tastier than the various cará; (7) a smaller yam called úvanchaira in Tapirapé. It is a known fact that the sweet potato and the cará plants are autochthonous to America, while the yams are imported (cf. Hoehne 2, 187). The Tapirapé assert that they cultivated iampokumaé in remote times and remember having received uvanchaira from the Whites.

171 Hans Staden (v. 3) liked the sweet potato of the Tupinambá
824 and wrote its name as jettiki. The Tupi term was entered in the
192 vernacular as jetica (Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa [Small Brazilian Dictionary of the Portuguese Language], 5th edition, 1944). Stradelli (500), in his Nheêngatu vocabulary, [114:189] listed iutyca as the word for "potato." Incidentally, the Tapirapé plant chetyka only in small quantities. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Aside from the tubers mentioned above, bananas are the vege-
262 table food of greatest importance to the Tapirapé. Like manioc, they are gathered by these Indians almost throughout the entire year. At the time of my visit in July, 1947, however, there were considerably fewer bananas and other foodstuffs in the village than in the months of June to August, 1935. In Chapter 2, it has al-
[192] ready been mentioned that the generic term chatá or tatá, with
[171] which the inhabitants of Tampiitáua designate the bananas they cultivate, resembles the Karajá word for this fruit. In Tampiitáua I ate the following varieties of this Musacea.

262 (1) A banana 30 centimeters long and from 15 to 20 centi-
824 meters in circumference, the largest one cultivated by the Tapirapé and for this reason called tatahó, that is, the generic term plus the augmentative. The neo-Brazilians of the Araguaia call it

252 case, the addition is made before the juice begins to boil. The
262 fruit that supplies this juice reaches 35 centimeters in length, 30
824 in circumference, and has a thick, hard shell. Its Tapirapé name is koruanchoa, choa (or chova) referring to the color yellow. The neo-Brazilians in the area know this fruit by the name croá which, according to the Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa, 5th edition, is synonymous with cruá, crauá, and melão-caboclo (Sicana odorifera Naud.) [Tr., the cassabanana]. In Stradelli's Nheêngatú vocabulary (435), curúua is "a kind of squash covered with protuberances." [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

249 Kamairahó's small sugar-cane plantation lay close to
263 Tampiitáua in 1935. No other member of the tribe owned a plan-
114 tation of Saccharum officinarum L., and in 1947 I did not see any.
•[177] The sugar cane was used exclusively for sucking and was a recent
[171] import. Krause (2, 242) refutes Ehrenreich's statement that the Karajá planted sugar cane on sandbars, and says that what he saw was manioc and maize. He writes in reference to those Indians: "... I saw no sugar cane. If they had possessed it, they probably would not have been so eager for my sugar... " This conclusion is wrong. The fact that they sucked on sugar cane never kept the Tapirapé from asking for my rapadura [Tr., raw brown sugar in lumps].

These Indians make beiju (meijú or mãjú in their language),
252 sometimes with the tapioca extracted from manioc mash, as al-
262 ready mentioned, [114:199] and at other times with peanut or maize flour. According to Ayrosa (1, 54), the word "mbeiú or mbeyú of the Tupi-Guarani" is "equivalent to 'coil,' 'roll,' 'fold,' etc." The same author (ibid., 51-54) lists several varieties of this cake, which has been described by various authors. The Tapirapé beijú is similar in shape to the so-called beiju-açú, which is a large, thin disk roasted in a shallow earthen pan. It is not everyday food. During my stays in Tampiitáua, I saw it only once. This was on June 29, 1935, at the time of a festival of "masks." They placed a large pan full of these disks of manioc-mash tapioca, made by Anampí, the wife of Tanupanchoa, in the middle of the takana. This important man offered it to several of the people
171 present and apportioned it himself. I, too, got my share and liked
252 it. Hans Staden (q 2) mentions similar Tupinambá cakes made in the
262 same fashion with the same material and writes their name as byyw.
192

262 The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts,
178 for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such a change in the food situation affects the tribal
[574] behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality. It is true that this may also have resulted in
177 part from contact with the White neighbors who have settled on
291 the Tapirapé river over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer, or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their bodies are undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. Thus, instead of satisfying the appetite of their Indian visitors, they are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural rather than physical, one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitaua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them wear complete dresses. It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actual-
262 ly experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their
177 new neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the
648 number of inhabitants of their village has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following were not lacking, however: "Now the Tapirapé eat only small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., a large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs. These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the dry spell, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna, as well as the human beings in the region, have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the frontiersmen, by settling permanently on all the habitable spots along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitaua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers" (Baldus 12).

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



Tapirape River. They have had only sporadic contact with Europeans. About 1909, the first Brazilians visited them in their village, and, each July or August since 1914, the Dominican priests meet them at a port on the Tapirape River and bring them presents—axes, hoes, salt, etc. Between 1930 and 1935, a Scotch Protestant missionary made three trips to the village, staying there two to three months at a stretch. During the dry season, the Tapirape regularly go down to the river for fishing and collecting turtle eggs and to wait in hope that the Dominican priests will come with a new supply of presents. There they sometimes meet trappers and hunters, and occasionally a Brazilian hunter will make the long trip to their village as an adventure, or—rarely— a Tapirape will go back with a missionary or hunter to the Araguaya—some 200 miles away—and return to the village loaded with presents and tall stories. These few contacts, the only ones which these people have had with Europeans, have nevertheless affected the Tapirape culture profoundly and in many ways. For lack of time, however, I shall describe only the effects resulting from the introduction of foreign diseases, which even antedated European contact, and the consequent wiping out of the great part of the Tapirape population.

In the memory of one Tapirape informant, there were five villages (about 1890), each of which must have contained well over two hundred people. The introduction of smallpox about 1895[3] caused one village to disband, since most of the inhabitants had died. About 1900, another European disease, probably influenza, caused a second village to break up through loss of people. Yellow fever must have taken its toll among the Tapirape at various times, as it did among the neighboring Caraja Indians, and, in 1920, the world-wide influenza epidemic came belatedly to the Araguaya and on to the Tapirape. In 1932, the survivors of a third village, depopulated by disease, joined the most southern village, Tampitawa, and, during my residence there in 1939, the survivors of a fourth village joined us. As a result of this wholesale depopulation from disease, there remained only one village

[3] Probably through the Caraja.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



175 they might beg from the Brazilian. Another group of
648 families came to live at the Indian post near the mouth of the Tapirapé River, where the Indian officer helped them build temporary shelters and provided them with food. And earlier, before the Kayapo attack, a small group of families had broken from the main village to migrate to a distant village site called Čičutawa, far to the north.[4] During these years, ceremonial and religious life, normal family life, aboriginal economic activities, and in fact most of the regular activities of their society were either completely suspended or affected by a marginal existence to the Brazilian frontiersmen.

131 But in 1950 Tapirapé society was, in a sense, re-
166 -organized. As a result of the efforts of the Indian officer,
178 all of the remaining Tapirapé (except those who had
[648] migrated to the north) came together to form a village which they called *Tawiáho* (New Village), some six kilometers from the Post Heloísa Alberto Torres. By 1953 this village had been fully completed, and the Tapirapé had relatively large and productive gardens in the forest
361 some three or four kilometers from it. The village had
178 been constructed, as in aboriginal times, in a circle surrounding a large men's ceremonial house. The houses were in general of the aboriginal type, each housing several biological families. Ceremonials had begun again and, as before, the nights were filled with singing. Although considerably modified, normal Tapirapé social life was again possible. Although for a short period Tapirapé *society* might be said not to have existed, Tapirapé *culture* continued to live in the minds of these few remaining individuals and it allowed them, given the opportunity, to recreate, although in a much attenuated form, their social life. This is a striking example of the difference between a society and its culture.

177 But both Tapirapé society and Tapirapé culture had been considerably modified by the events of the last decade. There were striking differences in social

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138. This group has never been heard of since they left. It is the opinion of the remaining Tapirapé that they were killed by the Kayapo since Čičutawa is near Kayapo territory.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



organization, in technology, in ceremonial and religious 177
life, in economics and, in fact, in almost all realms of life. In the space of a short paper it will be possible to indicate only a few of these modifications. One of the 177
most striking changes has to do with the relations of 574
the Tapirapé with their traditional enemies, the Carajá. 648
In 1940 the Tapirapé told of their fear of the Carajá who had attacked them several times in the past, and Tapirapé men traveling along the Araguaya River with the writer hid in the bottom of the boat in fear of their traditional foe. No Tapirapé would have dared enter a Carajá village without the protection of a Brazilian. But in 1953 the new Tapirapé village was situated within six or seven kilometers of a Carajá village. Two Tapirapé [582]
youths, for lack of Tapirapé women of marriageable age, had married Carajá girls, and following the rule of matrilocal residence which both Carajá and Tapirapé cultures share they lived in the Carajá village and worked with their in-laws. Each day during my 1953 visit there were Carajá visitors in the Tapirapé village. They came [434]
to exchange fish, game or other items for Tapirapé manioc — for the Tapirapé are by tradition better gardeners than the Carajá. A friendly Carajá even joined the Tapirapé men to dance and sing during one of their ceremonials, and one evening a group of Tapirapé accepted the invitation of the Carajá to attend their wrestling matches on the beach in front of the Carajá village. One must conclude that old and traditional enmities and antagonisms between peoples can fade out easily and quickly unless there are deep-seated economic or territorial bases for such antagonisms.

Another striking change between the Tapirapé in 177
1940 and those of 1953 was their recent adaptation to 481
canoe travel. In 1940, the Tapirapé might have been classified as "foot Indians". They neither made nor owned canoes. Many Tapirapé were unable to swim. They were all most inept when forced to travel by canoe. In 1953, six Tapirapé men owned canoes they had acquir- 177
ed from the Carajá, some had to make canoes, and 501

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



177 several had become excellent canoe-men. Small Tapirapé [501] boys spent a large part of the day, as do Carajá boys, swimming in the nearby river. Thus, within about a decade, the Tapirapé had shifted from "foot Indians" (one of the criteria for Marginal Cultures, according to the *Handbook of South American Indians*[4]) to "canoe Indians" (a criterion for Tropical Forest Cultures according to the same source). Such criteria as the mode of transportation obviously have little historical depth and are thus of little value for classificatory purposes.

177 In 1940, the most important individuals in Tapirapé 756 society were the shamans or *pančes*; the tribe depended upon them for protection against dangerous supernaturals, cures for illness, and even bringing the spirits of children so that women would conceive. But in 1953 not one individual in the Tapirapé village would admit that he was a *panče*. Opronunxui and Antonio Pereira, two Tapirapé men between 30 and 40 years of age, were said to be able to "cure" a little, but they had none of the formidable powers of the old *pančes*. "The *pančes* have ended," said the Tapirapé. As a result, they are today more vulnerable to the dangerous supernaturals, but they are also free from the deadly effects of sorcery which they believed the old shamans practiced and had caused their rapid population decline. In fact, the suspicion of shamans and the relatively frequent execution of those suspected of sorcery made shamanism such a dangerous occupation that no one wishes to take up that once honored profession. [771] But without shamans Tapirapé religion has lost its central figures, and much of the old religious knowledge will be [797] lost to Tapirapé culture. Without the full knowledge of their own religion, the Tapirapé are today more vulnerable to the teachings of missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, who are now active among them.

177 With so few members, Tapirapé culture is "passing through a narrow funnel" so to speak; in other words,

[4] Bulletin 143, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. I, 1946; also see Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 678, 1949.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



with so few people holding the status positions of aboriginal Tapirapé society much specialized knowledge will be lost. This is true of shamanism, as explained above, and it is true of the weaving of baskets for which Tapirapé men were justly famous before 1940. In 1953, only two men of the tribe knew the art of basket making. In aboriginal times, it was a technique which men learned after adolescence (Tapirapé boys were not expected to learn the manly arts), and with the death of so many older men and the disintegration of Tapirapé society, few young men were able to study. Both of the young men who did learn produced baskets which in 1940 would have been considered distinctly inferior and few of the young men in 1953 showed an inclination to learn the art. Like many other aspects of the culture, Tapirapé basketry will probably be a "lost art" within a generation. 177 177 285 [868] [883]

Before 1940, one of the striking aspects of Tapirapé culture recorded by both Baldus and myself was the complex set of rules governing food taboos. According to aboriginal Tapirapé culture, women and children are forbidden to eat venison as well as many other specific meats. Nowadays the Tapirapé frequently have beef, which they receive by trade from the Brazilian around the Indian post. As might be suspected, beef is equated with venison and it is taboo to Tapirapé women. Likewise, Tapirapé men who are the fathers of small children may eat neither venison nor beef. One Tapirapé male explained that "Even when we were hungry our women would not eat beef." But in view of their experience with other cultures (i. e., Carajá and Brazilian), such taboos are growing weaker. Hidden from their husbands, several Tapirapé women tested beef for the first time when offered it by the wife of the Indian officer, and several females have taken to eating it (and even venison) at the Indian Post pleading that their secret be kept from their husbands. And one Tapirapé male, the father of an infant, argued while eating venison that the taboo was not a logical one. Food taboos are still kept but 177 262 [439] [784]

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953).1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



177 the possibility of comparison, of observing other forms
262 of behavior which were formerly closed to them, now stimulates change in Tapirapé culture.

177 Numerous other modifications in the Tapirapé way of life might be reported. In 1953, a few Tapirapé col-
[454] lected money which they kept as they formerly kept
[436] red parrot feathers in a bamboo container, but they have only vague ideas of its value. Two men own rifles but
[411] they have little idea of how to keep them in order. Men
[291] wear trousers when they visit the Indian Post, but they might at any time calmly remove them in the presence of the missionaries, and women have learned quickly to put on a wrap-around skirt when Brazilian men approach. These and a series of other changes might be quickly noted as having occurred between 1940 and 1953.

177 Still, Tapirapé culture has remained remarkably stable
178 in face of the violent disruption of Tapirapé society during this last decade. Tapirapé culture has been modified by borrowing and by loss of trait and pattern due to the reduction of population and the disorganization of the society. Tapirapé society, with fewer people and new influences, has now changed more than Tapirapé culture. Certainly society and culture are intimately related phenomena but the history of the Tapirapé during the last thirteen years indicates the value of distinguishing between social change on the one hand and culture change on the other. For a period the Tapirapé lived as members of a distinct society, but their culture persisted, and with this knowledge they have been able to recreate, at least temporarily, their organized social unit.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

177●
142
276
291
756
301
786
796

Fig. 4

Outro jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Também está doente por engulir fumaça de tabaco, e próximo a um estado de transe. Como o da fig. 3, caiu antes de alcançar a segunda casa do circuito.

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Another young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill too from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. Like the other of fig. 3 he fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



177
291
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786
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Fig. 7

O poderoso pagé Urukumú era seguido por numerosos jovens quando fez o circuito pela aldéia, usando o ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Como decoração, usou um pedaço de fazenda vermelha, que lhe fôra presenteado pelo etnólogo.

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The powerful shaman, Urukumu, was followed by numerous young men when he made the village circuit wearing the ceremonial headdress. He wore a piece of red cotton cloth given him by the ethnologist as decoration.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



776 Some of these demons of the forest are now "pets" of the Tapirapé, and are no longer dangerous to them. The comparatively harmless *ančúnga*, in a sense domesticated by Tapirapé men, come at intervals throughout the year to live in the large central men's house. While an [535] *ančúnga* is inhabiting this ceremonial house, Tapirapé men sing and [530] dance with masks representing the visiting spirit (7).

756 Knowledge of the supernatural world is gained chiefly through the 787 dream experiences of shamans or *pančé*, for among the Tapirapé shamanistic power derives from dreams and from powers revealed in them. [774] Dreams are believed to be journeys. The *iungá*, the soul, may free itself [528] from the *eté*, the body, in sleep, and move freely in time and space. Obviously anyone may dream but frequent dreaming is evidence of shamanistic power. Laymen who dream very much are afraid, for they do not belong in this supernatural world, or they believe that they should become shamans.

Campukwi, who was not a shaman, indicated this fear in telling me his dream experience. When he saw dangerous *ančúnga* in his dream, he had no recourse but to run : "I am not a shaman. I was afraid. I ran. They would have killed me". Only shamans have the supernatural power to move freely in this dream-world of ghosts and demons. A shaman is never afraid in his dream travels, for ghosts are his friends and the power of a shaman grows in proportion as he fraternizes with the demonic spirits of the forest. After a dream-visit from a shaman, breeds of demonic spirits may become his familiars, obedient to his calls for aid. Turning himself into a bird or launching himself through the air in his "canoe" a half gourd, he travels to the villages of ghosts, to the houses of demonic spirits, or to such temporal places as the Brazilian settlements or Carajá villages on the Araguaya River. Then, too, time is no obstacle; in a sleep of a few minutes he may experience three or four days of dream adventure.

756 The dream experience of Ikanancowi, a powerful shaman who died 776 a few years before my visit, will illustrate these points. In his dream he 787 walked far to the shores of a large lake deep in the jungle. There he heard dogs barking and ran in the direction from which the noise came until he met several forest spirits of the breed called *manpi anká*. They

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[777] (7) The men's masked dance cult, kept as a secret from the women, is not [562] generally found among Tupi tribes. In this case it has obviously been borrowed from [799] the Tapirapé's neighbors, the Carajá.

264 [92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of
574 various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets.
476 These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kãuuanõĩ, owing to
their small numbers, had joined the Ãwãinkĩ" to form a single group.
All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group.
[262] There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce
and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of karã [Tr.,
a kind of yam], peanut kãuĩ, etc. Before that, there was a great
431 distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom
574 he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such
[622] as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of
this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better
[177] use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay
264 the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted to-
476 gether, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they
574 pleased. Kamairahõ, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk
[554] of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother.
123 We called each other "Txankanépéra," and Ampitãnya, his little
adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Anẽ Txankanẽ-
[597] péra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other
groups also called me "Txankanépéra," and I called them by the name
of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

264 [93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that
574 there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots
and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The
535 plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the
[776] good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kãuihõ and
vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness,
132 the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season
with its "good shadows," summer.

574 They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they
796 also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tãtãupãũã of an
224 eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Ãwãinkĩ had killed
264 with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting
476 the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group.
574 In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts
[462]

461 bananas. If he has no bananas left at home, the man goes to the garden to get a new supply. He returns staggering under an enormous load, for he brings as much as he can carry. And although by this [147] time he is already tired enough to lie down in the hammock again, he may fulfill his duties as a dancer and singer throughout the night, duties that demand of a single man the rested legs and lungs of five strong males. [Ed., the remainder of p. 101, pp. 102-194, and the first paragraph on p. 105 are omitted.]

[105] On the other hand, it is true that there are great differences among the various tribes as far as industriousness is concerned. The Tapirapé may be pointed out as being especially "diligent." At the [262] time of my stay among them, they had an abundance of food, and in spite of this they worked very hard in their gardens and gave themselves up with no less zeal and perseverance to their dances and songs. • 177 182 In this tribe, which is still distant from our civilization, the introduction of iron tools that began dozens of years ago through their eastern neighbors, the Karajá, and the lack of war-like activities or bent had an effect directly opposite to that generated [by the same factors] in the Indians civilized by us, that is to say, deprived of their cultural independence. These two factors did not hinder the vital force or impair the creative urge of the Indians, but in fact guaranteed their subsistence and increased their well-being. If, in spite of this, symptoms of degeneration are apparent among the Tapirapé, [106] the causes must be sought elsewhere. This, however, is not the proper context to discuss them. [Ed., all but the last sentence of the subsequent paragraph is omitted.]

476 461 When watching a collective task among the Indians, such as the apatxirá of the Tapirapé, one has the impression that the joy with which it is done increases their strength.

As I watched the men, most of them endowed with the physique [147] of our adolescents, conquering piece after piece of the huge forest around them, I observed none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness and tediousness which characterize so much of the collective work among us. Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side.

Those who needed rest sat on the felled trunks. They sat very close together as they have the habit of doing. They talked, and some of [226] them smoked a pipe. Suddenly there would be a lot of shouting, they 426 would all scatter with a show of joy as the moan of live timber was heard, [107] and a green giant would lean slowly and crash with a

/173 cont./

1775 Rio das Mortes they returned by land to Cuyaba. By the Carajás, mentioned here for the first time, it appears that the Šambioť /Shambioa/ were meant (4). Fonseca, in his report dated 1775,

[113]

> 4. Roteiro, que deu o capitão-Mor Antonio Pires de Campos ao capitão-Mor Luiz Rodriguez Villares, procurador do povo da Villa Real do Senhor Bom Jesus de Cuyabá, para o descobrimento de grandes haveres para as aldêas dos gentios Araés. /Logbook that Capitão-Mor Antonio Pires de Campos gave to Capitão-Mor Luiz Rodriguez Villares, procurator of the people of the royal town of Senhor Bom Jesus de Cuyabá, for the discovery of large amounts of goods in the villages of the pagan Araés./ Rev. trim. 38, pp. 140-144.

mentions a journey of Antonio Pires de Campos, which is perhaps identical with the one spoken of here. It took place some 20 years before 1775. Pires reached the Carajás; the relations seemed amicable to begin with, until Pires carried out an attack on the main village. In the blood bath many Indians, even children, were murdered, and many were led away as slaves to serve as workers on the fazendas (5).

> 5. Rev. trim. 8 (1846, 2nd edition, 1867), pp. 377-378.

Even before 1748, João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira undertook a slave hunt into the territories of the southern Kayapó /Cayapo/, but he had no success. He brought back only a hundred Tapizapé (first mention of this tribe?), who, however, all died (6).

> 6. Rev. trim. 12, p. 448; 37, p. 262, note 8.

162 What strikes us in the above table is, on the one hand, the small number of children in relation to adults (18 individuals through 15 years of age and 41 over 15 years of age), and, on the other hand, [165] the brevity of the life span (only ten individuals were over 30). Only one man and one woman were slightly over 40.

According to the reports that I received in October, 1947, from [115] Mr. Valentim Gomes, the man in charge of the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres, and from Father M. H. Lelong at Conceição do Araguaia, the numerical ratios listed above underwent modifications [726] caused by the Kaiapó [Cayapo] attack on Tampiitsua at the end of August, in the course of which three women were killed and two women and one boy were abducted. Of the 59 individuals examined, therefore, there remained 31 males and 22 females.

[687] Aside from illness, the custom of killing newborn children under certain circumstances contributes to the decimation of the tribe.

Of the changes in Tapirapé culture which occurred since my first 178 visit 12 years ago, I wish to mention primarily the scarcity of 262 vegetable foods. The literature on these peaceful and industrious 241 Tupi Indians contains numerous references to their large plots. I may add that in the quantity and variety of their garden produce they outstripped not only the neighboring tribes but also the frontier people. In 1935, in the months of June to August, I found the village provided abundantly with the most delicious bananas, five varieties of manioc and numerous other tubers, beans, peanuts, and maize. In 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little carú [Tr., a variety of yam], or manioc cake. The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts, for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such [574] a change in the food situation affects the tribal behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality.

It is true that this may also have resulted in part from contact • 177 with the neighboring Whites who have settled on the Tapirapé River [648] over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their 177 body is undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. 291 Thus, instead of satisfying the appetites of their Indian visitors, they

177 are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural
291 rather than physical one of covering themselves. In 1935, all
Tampiitáua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of
the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some
of them are completely clothed.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actually
177 experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their new
262 neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the number
[161] of Tampiitáua inhabitants has been more rapid than the increase in
the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following [139]
were not lacking, however. "Now the Tapirapé only eat small fish,
they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., large fish], turtles, or turtle
eggs."

These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiers-
men, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein
and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the
[261] dry season, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna as well as the
human beings in the region have to cluster around that watercourse
in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the
[136] frontiersmen, by settling permanently in all the habitable places along
the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to
deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at
[361] certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitáua has
been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to
prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White
settlers.

When I ascended the length of the Tapirapé River in a canoe in
311 1935, its banks were uninhabited. There was a single inhabitant
at the river mouth, and he manned, so to speak, the most advanced
648 post of our civilization. In July, 1947, there were eight houses in
Pôrto Velho, which stands more or less at the middle point of the
navigable stretch, that is, 15 or 18 leagues from the mouth, and nearly
all of their occupants came from the state of Pará and had lived
previously at various spots on the Araguaia.

Their settlement, and with it the occupation of the Indian lands,
began about five years ago and presents aspects characteristic of the
processes that were repeated, with certain variations, throughout the
colonization of Brazil. Their leader is a farmer by the name of Lucio

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

# WORLD VIEW OF THE TAPIRAPE INDIANS

By Charles Wagley

The Tapirape live in Central Brazil north of the Tapirape River, a western affluent of the Araguaya River. They are a Tupi-speaking people isolated from other peoples speaking the same language. Culturally they are related more closely to the Tupi-speaking people of the coast than to those of the head waters of the Xingu River. The only peoples with whom they have had contacts within historic times are their northern neighbors, the Gês-speaking Northern Kayapo and the Carajá (including the Javahe branch) of the Araguaya. Because of hostility with both these neighboring peoples, the Tapirape have withdrawn farther from the Araguaya and have contacts at present with the Carajá only through occasional European visitors. Introduced disease, acquired from these visitors and earlier from the Carajá, have reduced the Tapirape from five large villages (originally more than two hundred per village) to one with less than 150 people. Contacts with Europeans, however, have been short and few, leaving the Tapirape aboriginal culture little changed.

According to Tapirape tradition, they came to their present home from the north and east.[1] One group of them lived on the Araguaya and for a time shared a common village with the Javahe branch of the Carajá. The Tapirape are traditionally interested in country to the east, not to the west. It is to the east that Maratawa, the "home of the gods," lies, and in this direction, too, is the home of two legendary peoples: the Wanchira, a cannibalistic tribe which are a famous mythical ancestor of the Tapirape, and the "other Tapirape," speaking the same language and sharing the same culture. East of the Araguaya River there is said to be another large river and great mountains where various supernaturals live.

Formerly, Tapirape who were captives of the Carajá returned to tell of that country and people, and in modern times Tapirape have visited both Carajá and Kayapo, as well as various Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya. No foreign or hostile tribes prevent them from wandering westward into the open country toward the Xingu River, but it is a region of little interest to them, and they never travel far in this direction. Of the Xingu River and people, they know only what Brazilian visitors have told

[1] According to Métraux, the Tapirape were known to have been on the Araguaya as early as the 18th century. He believes the Tapirape to be fugitives from the coast of Brazil, probably from the vicinity of Rio, possibly from the Tamoyo. Certainly they came from the east, but my material points to a migration from the northeast rather than from the southeast, as would be the case if migration had been from the forests of Rio. Métraux, Alfred, Migrations Historiques des Tupi-Guarani, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, N.S. 19, 21 (1927).

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



the largest ceremonial of the year which marks the beginning of the dry season and the harvest. Similarly, the position of the Pleiades is noted to date the many ceremonies of the heavy rainy period (November to April). One shaman had visited the Pleiades, and they, too, can be counted upon as a familiar power. The Milky Way is often referred to as the "path of the shaman," it is a well-beaten road over which the shaman travels through the sky in his dreams.

In common with many Tupi peoples, nothing in the realm of natural phenomena is as important to the Tapirapé as thunder. Among most Tupi, Tupan is a god or an ancestor identified with thunder. He causes the rumbling of thunder and flashes of lightning. Among the Tapirapé, however, Thunder[16] is a separate entity, a supernatural who has many "creatures" or *tupã*. *Tupã* are described as small beings about a hand's length in size, with white hairy down over their bodies, and wearing a small head-dress of red parrot feathers, European beads, and a lip plug. Small wax dolls are made in imitation of them. They travel through the sky in small "canoes," especially when there are strong wind and electric storms, and they carry red wild flowers with which they shoot Tapirapé in the stomach. These arrows are hot "like fire." Sometimes *tupã* are called "pets" of Thunder, and again they are referred to as his "children." In addition to *tupã*, Thunder has other supernumeraries, the souls of dead shamans, who live in the house of Thunder, commonly thought to be near Maratawa on the summit of a large mountain.

Each year when approaching rains bring heavy thunder storms, lightning and strong winds, Thunder sends forth his beings. The noise of the storm is caused by rumbling of *tupã's* canoes, and flashes of lightning are their speeding arrows. To protect the Tapirapé, and also their gardens, from the storm, shamans[17] "call Thunder," or "fight with *tupã*." In a four-day ceremony characterized by genuine fear, shamans gulp tobacco smoke until they are ill and intoxicated, they sing "calling Thunder to come," and chant until they "see" one or more *tupã*, or souls of dead shamans,[18] fight with them, and are struck down by their arrows. A shaman who fights a *tupã* tries to grab its small feather head-dress, take away its bow, or yank out its lip plug, its most vulnerable feature.

Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies of fighting Thunder. When a shaman is shot by *tupã*, he falls screaming upon the ground, writhing and shaking, and then becomes unconscious. If men are not near

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[16] Thunder referred to as Kanawana (direct translation) is said to be called Paranoka, his personal name.

[17] Laymen and neophytes who have sufficient courage may also participate.

[18] In conversation and in song, there is confusion between these beings. Although the above distinctions are definitely made, they are often referred to interchangeably. For example, a Tapirapé may say, "*tupã* cause lightning," or "Thunder is angry and makes lightning."

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara S06



of the Jesuits in 1759, the increased importation of African slaves into Maranhão eased the pressure for Indian slaves. Close relations with the missionaries, and later with the civil authorities and the rural Luso-Brazilian population, presented the Tenetehara with new culture patterns, new attitudes which either replaced aboriginal elements or were incorporated in their culture as alternative patterns. The missionaries urged larger families in order to have numerous innocents to baptize. Warfare was prohibited in the area. (4) The Tenetehara learned that children might be useful in collecting babassu nuts for sale to Luso-Brazilians. Steel instruments and new plants (such as rice, bananas, lemons, etc.) made agriculture more productive. The sale of babassu nuts, copaiba oil, and other forest products brought the Tenetehara imported products. Although Tenetehara culture and society were modified, the aboriginal and the borrowed elements slowly combined to form a new culture and a new social system which at least met the minimum requirements for survival.

Te 177 648 797 Te [439]

The Tapirapé, on the other hand, have had only intermittent contact with Luso-Brazilians. Since about 1911, the Tapirapé have had occasional contact with Luso-Brazilians. A few Tapirapé have visited Luso-Brazilian settlements and missionary stations on the Araguaya River and a few Luso-Brazilians have visited Tapirapé villages. Tapirapé contact with Luso-Brazilians has been limited to relatively short periods and to small groups of people. They have acquired a few axes, hoes, some salt, cloth, beads and other material objects from their occasional visitors but, on the whole, their culture was little modified by borrowed patterns and elements from Luso-Brazilians. Yet the presence of Luso-Brazilians brought about a crucial modification in their environment. With the arrival of Luso-Brazilians in the area, the Tapirapé were subjected to a series of foreign diseases. If the memory of older Tapirapé informants may be trusted, foreign disease (common colds, measles, and smallpox) came at first via the neighboring Karajá sometime before their first meeting with Luso-Brazilians. Since about 1911 to 1914, however foreign disease acquired directly from Luso-Brazilians, has steadily decimated the Tapirapé. Unlike the Tenetehara, before the Tapirapé were presented with a broad segment of Luso-Brazilians culture, which might have provided them with alternative patterns and values with which they might have made adjustments to their new circumstances, they have been practically wiped out.

Ta 177 648 Ta [439] Ta 161 164 648

Still, the difference in population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact of these two tribes cannot be explained entirely in terms of the differences in the contact continuum. The first fifty years of contact between the Tenetehara and Europeans was more violent than anything the Tapirapé have experienced. In the early 17th century organized slave raiding parties penetrated into Tenetehara territory and armed forces such as the one led

Te 177 648

(4) There are no indications that the Tenetehara shared the warfare-cannibalism complex of the Tupinambá, but the lower reaches of the Mearim-Grajaú-Pindaré River system and the Island of Maranhão at its mouth were inhabited by Tupinambá groups. Métraux (1948) p. 95 ff. See also Fernandes (1948).

Te [171] [101]

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



by Bento Maciel Parente in 1616 made war upon the Tenetehara. Epidemics, which raged in the early 17th century among the Indian populations of northeast Brazil, certainly reached the Tenetehara. From time to time smallpox, measles, and other diseases have taken a heavy toll among these Indians. The impact of the dominant culture upon the Tenetehara was more intense than it has been upon the Tapirapé. In addition to differences in the nature of the contact continuum, factors inherent in the society and the culture of the two tribes were responsible for the reaction of these societies to Luso-Brazilian contact and for the population trends which followed. Since the Tenetehara and the Tapirapé have historically related cultures sharing many patterns and institutions common to most Tupí speaking tribes, a comparison of the two societies and cultures should allow us to determine the variables responsible for their contrasting reactions.

The subsistence methods of the tribes were in aboriginal times basically similar. Both were tropical forest horticulturalists depending upon hunting, fishing, and forest fruits to supplement their diet. For fishing, the Tenetehara had an advantage since their villages were normally situated near rivers and streams while the Tapirapé villages were located inland many kilometers from the river. In hunting, the Tapirapé had the advantage of nearby open plains country where hunting was more productive than in the tropical forest. Neither tribe had a land problem: the nearest village of the Karajá, who were Tapirapé neighbors, was at least two hundred kilometers away and the Timbira neighbors of the Tenetehara were savanna people offering no competition for forest land. Both tribes during aboriginal times had sufficient territory to move their villages every five or six years when suitable garden sites near their villages had been used up by the slash-and-burn system of horticulture. The two tribes inhabited similar physical environments and they had approximately the same technological equipment to cope with it. Their technology and their subsistence methods must have limited the maximum population of any one village and there are indications that approximately two hundred people was the average village size for both groups. On the other hand, a lack of territory evidently did not enforce a limitation on the number of villages for the tribe. Yet while the Tapirapé tell of only five villages in aboriginal times many times that number are reported by early observers for the Tenetehara. Although specific data is not available, it seems that in aboriginal times Tapirapé population was relatively small and stable while the Tenetehara population was at least twice as large and probably expanding.

This difference in population level between the two tribes in aboriginal times was related to the population policies held by the two groups as well as to differences in social structure of the groups concerned. These cultural values relating to population level are explicit in attitudes toward family size and in positive actions to limit families. Among the Tenetehara infanticide is indicated only in the case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

# THE TAPIRAPÉ

By Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvão

## INTRODUCTION

Isolated from other *Tupí-Guaraní*-speaking people, the *Tapirapé* live in Central Brazil, west of the Araguaya River and north of the Tapirapé River, a western tributary flowing into the Araguaya near the northern tip of the Island of Bananal (lat. 2° S., long. 52° W.). According to tradition, the *Tapirapé* lived for a time on the banks of the Araguaya and Javahé Rivers with the *Carajá*. They quarreled, and the *Tapirapé* moved west to their present territory (map 1, *No. 1;* see Volume 1, map 7). At the beginning of last century, five *Tapirapé* villages formed a line stretching northward into *Cayapó* country beginning at a point a few miles back from the Tapirapé River about 150 miles from its mouth. The *Tapirapé* have always been at war with the *Cayapó*, except for a brief period. Each of these villages contained at least 200 individuals with a total *Tapirapé* population of about 1,000. Since 1900, however, there has been a terrific reduction of *Tapirapé* population.

In 1939, there was only one remaining *Tapirapé* village situated about 20 miles north of the Tapirapé River with a total population of 147 people. This decline in population is basically due to disease (smallpox, respiratorial diseases, etc.) acquired either directly from Neo-Brazilians or from the *Carajá*, who are continually in contact with Neo-Brazilians. *Tapirapé* groups have been also massacred on several occasions by both the *Carajá* and *Cayapó*.

The *Tapirapé* have had but few contacts, however, with Neo-Brazilians. Except for the demoralizing effect of depopulation, their culture has been little modified. Although stories are told of Neo-Brazilian hunters visiting the *Tapirapé* in 1909, the first registered contact with them was in 1912. During that year, Señor Mandacurú, leading an expedition of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service, visited the village nearest the Tapirapé River. In 1914, the Dominican priests visited the *Tapirapé*. From that date on, the Dominicans returned each year or so to a camp on the Tapirapé River for 3 or 4 days at a time and were met by the *Tapirapé*, to whom they distributed trade goods. About 1934, a Protestant missionary, Frederick Kiegel, made several trips, staying 2 or 3 months in a *Tapirapé* village. In 1935, the first trained ethnologist, Dr. Herbert Baldus, resided several months with the *Tapirapé*, and in 1939–40, Wagley spent 12 months with them making the study on which this article is based.

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those for group singing during the harvest ceremonies and the ceremony 533
of kawi (p. 176); those for the masked dancers during the dry season; and a very large number of songs specifically for the "Big Sing" (monikahô) during the latter part of the rainy season. During this period (approximately March through April), singing takes place throughout each night from sundown to sunrise. On these occasions, [66]
the singing leader and the men of one of the moieties introduce the verse of each song and the refrain is then taken up by the men of the other moiety and the women of the tribe. Women sing in a higher key than the men and, generally, a phrase behind the men. The songs of the masked dancers, each representing a supernatural being, differ stylistically from those used on other occasions in being sung in a falsetto tone, in a manner [171]
similar to that of the neighboring *Carajá*. Many such songs have been [177]
admittedly learned from the *Carajá*.

**Dancing.**—Both men and women dance as they sing. In general, the 535
*Tapirapé* dance bending slightly forward, stamping out the time of the music with one foot. Dancing differs greatly, however, according to the occasion. During the harvest ceremonies, men dance in a line, side by [241]
side, each man's wife dancing directly behind him. During the group singing of the "Big Sing," the men dance in moiety groups facing each other, and women dance behind the moiety group of their husbands. On one occasion during this time, men dance with women, side by side, with a curious skipping step.

**Games.**—Men's moieties run foot races against each other after the 526
communal work festival (p. 168); they race in a straight line across the village plaza. Wrestling takes place at one wet-season ceremony, and, now and again, throughout the year as sport. The *Tapirapé* explain, [171]
however, that the *Carajá* are better wrestlers and that it is more properly a *Carajá* sport. In wrestling, opponents stand face to face, grasping each other about the neck, and attempt to force or to trip the other to the ground. During one festival, men, one from each moiety at a time, compete by throwing blunt-headed spears at each other. Gambling games [525]
are unknown.

**Stimulants.**—Native tobacco, though used for leisure-time smoking, is 276
principally a stimulant and medicine. A *Tapirapé* will not travel without 755
a supply of tobacco to blow smoke over his tired body at the end of the day, in order to take out soreness and tiredness. Tobacco is necessary to shamans in all their activities. They blow tobacco smoke over the patient in curing (p. 177), and, to induce dreams and a trance, they swallow large gulps of smoke until they become intoxicated and nauseated. [751]
When people have seen ghosts, shamans fumigate them with tobacco 276
smoke, in order to drive away the ghost's influence. Shamans fumigate 756
new maize, the first honey of the season and, sometimes, fresh meat to [789]
drive out possible supernatural danger. This native tobacco is smoked

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115 Champuki was not the first person who came to mind when a contribution to this volume was considered. I thought of Gregorio Martin, a dignified and wise old Mayan Indian of Santiago Chimaltenango in Guatemala, who in 1937 had taught me the way of life of his people. I thought of Camirang, the dynamic young chieftain whom I had known in 1941 in a village of Tenetehara Indians along the Pindaré River in northeastern Brazil. I thought also of Nhunduca, a gifted and witty storyteller from a small Amazon community, who in 1948 introduced me to the rich folklore of the Amazon *caboclo* or peasant. But then, among all the people I had known in the various primitive and peasant cultures in which I [554] have done ethnological research, I chose Champukwi, a man of no outstanding talent, yet talented all the same—a man of not the [123] highest prestige in his society, yet admired by all. For the brief span of about a year he was my most intimate friend.

115 I knew Champukwi some 20 years ago when I lived in his small 123 village of about 175 Tapirapé Indians in central Brazil. I must have [162] seen him at once, for presents were distributed to the whole popu- [621] lation on the day of my arrival in late April of 1939. But I did not [131] distinguish Champukwi as an individual, nor did he, at first, stand out in any way from the other men of his village. His name does not appear in the notes taken during my first month among the Tapirapé.

114 For me, and even more for Valentim Gomes, the Brazilian fron- [103] tiersman who was my companion and employee, the first weeks in the Village of the Tapirs, as the small settlement was known, were a period of grappling with a strange and often confusing world. ●177 The Tapirapé Indians lived between the Araguaia and Xingú Rivers, [131] an area at that time almost entirely isolated from modern Brazil. They had been visited by only a few people from the "outside"—by one or two missionaries; by Herbert Baldus, a German-Brazilian anthropologist; and by a few frontiersmen from the Araguaia River. The nearest Brazilian settlement to the Village of the Tapirs was Furo de Pedra, a town of 400–500 persons that lay some 300 miles

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away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the personal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Mariapawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let alone pronounce.

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the widespread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poisonous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm-thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversations that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

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the subject of conversation when listening to a strange language.) Then, of course, our presence was materially valuable—for the salt, knives, needles, beads, mirrors, and other presents we brought were greatly appreciated. However, within a very short time some of these people began to emerge as individuals. Awanchowa, a small boy of about 6, followed me about and literally haunted our little house, staring at our large bag of salt which he ate with the same relish children in other cultures eat sweets. Then there was Tanui, a woman of middle age (whose hair was cropped short indicating that a near relative had recently died) who often brought us presents of food. Gradually most of the villagers emerged as distinctive personalities and among them was Champukwi. I cannot remember when I first came to know him as an individual, but his name begins to appear regularly in my field notebooks about one month after our arrival. Soon, he became my best informant, and after a time, an inseparable companion.

In 1939 Champukwi must have been about 25 years of age. He was tall for a Tapirapé male, measuring perhaps about 5 feet 6 inches, strongly built but lean, and weighing, I should judge, about 150 lbs. Like all Tapirapé men he wore his hair in bangs across his forehead with a braided pigtail tied at the back of his neck. He was somewhat of a dandy, for his feet and the calves of his legs were painted bright red every evening with *rucu*. From time to time he painted an intricate design on his body, and he wore crocheted disc-like wrist ornaments of cotton string dyed red. He was obviously a man of some prestige among men of his age, for youths and younger men treated him with deference, always finding a seat for him on the bench that was built against one wall of our house. I soon learned that he, too, had spent a short period at a mission station several years earlier and that he knew a few words of Portuguese. He was married and had a daughter about 2 years of age. His wife, hardly attractive according to my American tastes, appeared to be somewhat older than he, and was pregnant when we first met.

Champukwi seemed more patient than other Tapirapé with my attempts to use his language and to seek information. He would repeat a word, a phrase, or a sentence several times so that I might write it down phonetically. He resorted to his meager Portuguese and even to mimicry to explain what was meant. His patience was of course

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requited by gifts of beads, hardware, and salt which I provided judiciously from time to time. After a few days, I began noting questions to be asked of Champukwi in the late afternoon when he now habitually visited our house. But this was the time that others also liked to visit. At this hour of the day our house was often crowded with men, women, children, and even pets—monkeys, parrots, and wild pigs—for which the Tapirapé along with other Brazilian tribes have an especial fondness. Such social gatherings were hardly conducive to the ethnological interview or even to the systematic recording of vocabulary. So I asked Champukwi if I might go with him to his garden. There, alternating between helping him cut brush from his garden site and sitting in the shade, I was able to conduct a kind of haphazard interview. Often, while he worked, I formulated questions in my halting Tapirapé and I was able by repetition to understand his answers. Although the Tapirapé villagers began to joke of Champukwi's new garden site as belonging to the two of us, these days were very valuable for my research.

Walking through the forest to and from Champukwi's garden, we often hunted for *jacu*, a large forest fowl rather like a chicken. I attempted to teach Champukwi how to use my .22 rifle, but he had difficulty understanding the gunsights and missed continually. He attempted to show me how to "see" the *jacu* hidden in the thick branches of the trees, but I seldom caught sight of the birds until they had flown. Thus, our complementary incapacities combined to make our hunting in the tropical forest quite unproductive, and in disgust Champukwi often resorted to his bow and arrow. Only later in the year, after he had practiced a great deal by shooting at tin cans did Champukwi master the use of the rifle, and this new-found skill greatly added to his prestige among the Tapirapé.

My abiding friendship with Champukwi perhaps really began when I came down with malaria about six weeks after our arrival. During the first few days of my illness, I was oblivious to my surroundings. I am told that while one *panché*, or medicine man, predicted my death, another tried to cure me by massage, by blowing tobacco smoke over my body, and by attempting to suck out the "object" that was causing the fever. Evidently his efforts—plus the atabrine tablets administered by Valentim Gomes—were successful, for my fever abated. I realized, however, that convalescence would be slow. Unable to leave the house for almost three weeks, I spent my days

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the next two months we had daily sessions, some very brief and others lasting two or more hours.

In October of 1939, some six months after my arrival, I found it necessary to leave the Village of the Tapirs to go to Furo de Pedra for supplies and to collect mail that was held there for me. Valentim Gomes and I had come up the Tapirapé River, a tributary of the Araguaia, pulled by an outboard motor belonging to an anthropological colleague who had since returned to the United States. Now we had to paddle ourselves downstream. We could expect little help from the sluggish current and since the river was so low, it might be necessary to haul our canoe through shallows. Malaria had left me weak and I doubted that I was equal to this strenuous task. Several Tapirapé men, including Champukwi, were anxious to accompany us, but having Indians with us in Furo de Pedra was not advisable. First, they were susceptible to the common cold, which among relatively uncontaminated peoples such as these American aborigines often turns into a serious, and even fatal, disease. Second, unaccustomed to clothes, money, many foods, and other Brazilian customs and forms of etiquette, they would be totally dependent upon us during our stay in this frontier community. Nevertheless, the temptation to have my best informant with me during the trip and during our stay in Furo de Pedra was great and so we agreed to take Champukwi.

The trip was made slowly. Two good frontiersmen in a light canoe could have made it in three days, but we took eight. Champukwi was of little help in the canoe; unlike the riverine tribes the Tapirapé are a forest people who know little about the water, and few of them had ever traveled by canoe. Champukwi was unusual in that he could swim. Although he had more endurance than I, his efforts at paddling endangered the equilibrium of our canoe. However, he could shoot fish with his bow and arrow. The dry season had driven game from the open savanna which borders the Tapirapé River so that we were able to kill deer, *mutum* (another species of large forest fowl), and a wild goose to supplement the less palatable fare we had brought with us. Each night we camped on a beach from which we were able to collect the eggs of a small turtle, the *tracaja*, that had been buried in the sand. Only the mosquitoes which swarmed during sundown and early evening marred our trip. The experience remains one of the most memorable

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Champukwi on the Trip to Furo de Pedra.

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of my life, a feeling that was shared, I believe, by Valentim Gomes and by Champukwi.

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Champukwi adjusted to Furo de Pedra with amazing rapidity. His short visit as a youth to the mission station undoubtedly contributed to his quick adaptation although, to be sure, there were minor problems and incidents. The Brazilians of Furo de Pedra were accustomed to Indians, for nearby there was a village of semi-civilized Caraja Indians who frequently visited and traded in the settlement. Yet, Champukwi was a bit of a curiosity—the townspeople had seen only one other Tapirapé. The local Brazilians invited him into their homes and offered him coffee and sweets. Both Valentim Gomes and I watched over his movements with all the anxiety of overprotective parents for fear that he might be exposed to a respiratory infection (he did not contract any) or that the hospitality of the local Brazilians might persuade him to drink *cachaça* (sugar cane *aguardiente*). Alcoholic beverages were unknown to the Tapirapé who are unlike most South American groups in this respect.

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in this respect. According to Champukwi's own report, he tried *cachaça* only once in Furo de Pedra and (quite normally) found it distasteful and unpleasant. Yet there were moments that were awkward at the time however humorous they seem in retrospect. One day when I bought several dozen oranges in the street, Champukwi calmly removed the trousers that had been provided for him and made a sack to carry home the oranges by tying up the legs. In Furo de Pedra, he often went nude in the house we had rented for our stay. Even the Brazilian woman who came to prepare our meals became more or less accustomed to his nakedness, but sometimes he forgot to dress before sallying forth into the street. The rural Brazilian diét, derived in large measure from native Indian foods, seemed to please Champukwi, but he could not be comfortable eating at the table. He preferred during meals to sit across the room on a low stool.

Champukwi's reaction to this rural form of Brazilian civilization was not childlike in any way. He in turn became an ethnologist. He wanted to see the gardens that provided the food for so many people (Furo de Pedra had hardly more than 400 people at that time). He was fascinated by the sewing machines with which he saw the women working. He attended the Catholic ceremonies held in the little chapel. He saw pairs of men and women dance face to face in semblance of an intimate embrace. About these and other strange customs he had many questions. But like the inquisitive anthropologist who had come to live in his village, his own curiosity sometimes became obtrusive. He peered into the homes of people and sometimes entered uninvited. And he followed the Brazilian women to their rather isolated bathing spot in the Araguaia River to discover if there were any anatomical differences between these women and those in his village. He even made sexual advances to Brazilian women, actions which, if he had known, were very dangerous in view of the jealous zeal with which Brazilian males protect the honor of their wives and daughters. On the whole, however, Champukwi became quite a favorite of the local Brazilians during his two week visit to Furo de Pedra. His Portuguese improved while he visited in their homes, and he collected simple presents, such as fish hooks, bottles, tin cans, and the like, to take home with him. Even during this short period away from the village, my work with him continued. He told me of antagonisms, gossip, and schisms in the

177 All those imports from us, living alongside the traditional traits, are no more than curiosities [99:76] in the minds of the Tapirapé, curiosities hardly more important to the functioning of their culture than one of their arrows or legends would be to the average European.

From what I was able to observe, Reverend Kegel usually 177 restricted himself to the teaching of songs and the administration 797 of medicines. Owing to their sporadic quality and short duration, and especially to the difficulty of communicating through words, the encounters with the Dominicans and other visitors have enriched Tapirapé culture even less. Unfruitful, too, were the attempts to wield an influence through individuals who had been taken to the Araguaia by the missionaries and who knew more about the White way of life than those who had never left tribal territory. It is well known how easily many of the Brazilian Indians educated in our civilized centers have re-adjusted to and been re-absorbed by their native environment (cf. Baldus 7, 165, and Araujo Lima 134-135). Actually, I did not see any Tapirapé who had lived with the Whites long enough to experience the conflicts of the "marginal man" of Park, Stonequist, and other American sociologists.

The impoverishment of Tapirapé culture was induced large- 164 ly by the diseases of the Whites, but these were introduced only partly as a result of direct contact. It is probable that the neighboring Karajá, continually exposed to contagion as inhabitants of the Araguaia, frequently acted as transmitters. This at least may be assumed as regards the strange diseases which were introduced prior to direct contact with the Whites. As Wagley (2) masterfully [114] pointed out, the catastrophic depopulation caused by the epidemics [165] that raged around 1895 and 1900, and later ones as well, affected [731] the social organization to such an extent that important traits of [178] Tapirapé culture were modified or lost.

The Tapirapé often told me that in the old days their people 177 knew everything about such celestial phenomena as eclipses and [821] about many other mythological subjects, and now know almost nothing. This may not be solely the result of the mortality caused [731] by epidemics and by the bellicose attacks of neighboring Karajá [726] and Kayapó. Some old people did survive. I can imagine the pressure exercised by the presence of our culture upon the minds

[122:168] Fortunately, the Tapirapé is also saved by a more
2,2 varied diet. Manioc flour is usually eaten along with other foods. To give an idea of the variety available at a specific time of the year, I shall list the dishes that were offered to me on the afternoon of June 21, 1935, when I reached Tampiitaua for the first time: two varieties of bananas, warmed and cold; warm and cold peanuts; raw and roasted peanut flour; peanut, maize, and manioc cauí; roasted calabash seeds; boiled and ember-roasted squash, yams, and cará; large boiled green beans; warm manioc flour; small boiled fish; warm manioc soup with small unripe peppers and chicken meat; manioc soup with barbecued fish; the raw and roasted seeds of tucum [Tr., Bactris setosa]; and sugar cane for sucking. Since I did not want to offend anyone, I ate large quanti-
123 ties of each of these delicious dishes in all the village houses that afternoon. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

During my stay in Tampiitaua, I shared largely in the Tapirapé diet and got along well on this almost exclusively vegetarian basis. My digestive apparatus had never functioned as well as it did at the time, and my companion Kegel noticed that after a few weeks of Indian food my face had filled out. In this respect I stood in contrast to our camarada Daniel. This poor frontiersman, who showed his "civilized" status by eating his daily share of rice, occasionally tempered by a piece of game, with punctilious regularity, visibly wasted away. This probably was caused also by the cultural shocks he suffered incessantly, which, as far as food was concerned, were of the same order as those suffered by the Tapirapé when Reverend Kegel opened a can of wieners. A child saw those snake-like forms coming out of the can, ran home, and soon the whole village was there. Each person smelled the can and then spat emphatically to leave no doubt as to the disgust he felt or thought it proper to feel. True, this did not prevent gluttonous Kamaiwahó from trying a small piece, although with a certain reluctance, from liking it, and asking for more.

Unfortunately, the abundance and variety of foods which I found
262 in Tampiitaua in the months of June to August, 1935, disappeared
178 later. As I wrote in a report to the director of the Indian [122:169] Service, "in 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little cará, or manioc cake.

262 The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts,
178 for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such a change in the food situation affects the tribal
[574] behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality. It is true that this may also have resulted in
177 part from contact with the White neighbors who have settled on
291 the Tapirapé river over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer, or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their bodies are undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. Thus, instead of satisfying the appetite of their Indian visitors, they are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural rather than physical, one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitaua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them wear complete dresses. It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actual-
262 ly experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their
177 new neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the
648 number of inhabitants of their village has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following were not lacking, however: "Now the Tapirapé eat only small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., a large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs. These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the dry spell, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna, as well as the human beings in the region, have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the frontiersmen, by settling permanently on all the habitable spots along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitaua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers" (Baldus 12).

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
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and only 147 inhabitants. This is an extraordinary example of the ravages of European diseases among a native American people.

Tampitawa (Village of the Tapir) is composed, therefore, of a residue from all of the five original villages. All of the customs and ceremony attached to inter-village relations have of course disappeared. People remember their former village affiliation, or that of their parents. They still speak of a person as being "the son of Fish Village," but village loyalty, once strong, has disappeared. Formerly, villages were basically endogamous, but some marriage outside of the village did take place. Today, only three people can say that they are descendants of people from Tapir Village. Ancient inter-village antagonism existed, especially between Tapir and the village which joined with it in 1900. Today, this conflict is only remembered under the stress of some quarrel and is referred to only as a taunt.

Depopulation has had little effect on the economic life of the Tapirapé. They are basically a forest agricultural people with large plantations. Manioc is their staple. Plantations are large enough, and the economic organization fluid enough, to allow for the support of large numbers of refugees for a year or so until they can make gardens for themselves. Refugees have joined one of the large households, at present eight, each with some twenty-five to thirty people. Formerly these households were matrilineal groups headed by a man of high prestige. His wife's relatives formed the matrilineal group and he demanded labor from his numerous sons-in-law (husbands of daughters of wife, including extended "daughters"). The coming of refugees disrupted these matrilocal households. If a refugee woman lacked a close female kin, her husband often arranged for habitation with a friend or a relative of his. Men of high status offered the hospitality of their houses to incoming men of rank. Today, therefore, many reassortments of relatives live under one roof, and two and even three separate groups of female relatives live under as many older men, whereas formerly they would have formed one household under the leadership of one household head. In no one case, does a man control a complete household as he would have done under the old system.

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The men's moieties form the basis for Tapirapé ceremonial and for cooperative gardening and hunting. Each moiety is divided into three age grades. Thus, in the village, there are two groups of "boys" and "youths" (up to sixteen years of age), two of mature men or "warriors" (up to approximately 45), and two groups of "older men." Really old and inactive men give up moiety activity and have no affiliation. A boy belongs automatically to the moiety of his father and formerly he progressed through the three age grades of that moiety. All ceremonies involve the moiety age grades, which dance against each other, rite against each other, and give reciprocal feast exchanges. Cooperative hunts and clearing of the forest likewise involve reciprocal activities. However, with the great loss of population, and especially a loss of men of the oldest age group, this organization was thrown out of balance. In order to continue ceremonial life, several youths, who were spoken of as "lazy" and who were not capable hunters or workers, passed into the "older men's" age groups, in which there is little active cooperative hunting and gardening, in order to give those groups sufficient numbers for ceremonial activity. This rapid passing from boys' age grade to that of older men has influenced native thought in two ways:—First, young men are losing the idea of automatic progression through the three age grades, and there is a tendency now to think that the better young men become "warriors," while less capable ones pass rapidly to the older men's group. Second, the older men's age grades, formerly the groups of highest prestige, tend to be looked on with little favor, and only those individuals are thought of with respect who have status for other reasons.

Depopulation has also affected the second Tapirapé social grouping—the feast groups. These are made up of all men and women. They are matrilocal for women and patrilocal for men. These feast groups meet periodically during the dry season for ceremonial meals. At present, three of the original ten feast groups have disappeared because of lack of members.

Chieftainship has changed under the influence of both depopulation and the sporadic contacts with Brazilians. All men of

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status are, today, called "capitaoes" (The Tapirape use the Portuguese word. There is no equivalent in their language.) These "capitaoes" are village elders (who were village "favorite children" in their youth, and therefore people of prestige), leaders of the warriors, age grades, and able shamans. Formerly, there were only two village elders, two warrior leaders, and, ideally, two favorite children in a village. Today, with congregation of people from all villages in one, several "noble" families are present and there is an oversupply of "capitaoes."

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Marriage arrangements, too, have been affected by depopulation. At present, there are some ten men of marriageable age, for whom there are no possible wives, and immediate families are so broken up that there are no possible groups of women to care for these unattached men. A man must have a wife to cook for him and perform women's tasks. To do any woman's work would play complete havoc with a man's personal prestige, which is a matter of greatest importance. Most of these Tapirape men have solved their problem by contracting convenient "social" marriages with extremely young girls. They attach themselves to a household, in which they perform a man's customary economic duties, and, in turn, their mothers-in-law do women's work for them.

[462]
[554]

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Lack of time prevents mention of many other aspects of native life pertaining to marriage, kinship, and leadership, which have been profoundly affected by depopulation. Possibly, in other cultures, the effects of introduced disease have not been quite so disastrous, nor the loss of people so important to the social life, as in the case of the Tapirape. Without a doubt, however, wherever there have been sporadic contacts with Europeans, these or other alien factors have been introduced and have caused important changes in the structure of native life.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
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# TAPIRAPÉ SOCIAL AND CULTURE CHANGE 1940-1953

by

CHARLES WAGLEY

The Tapirapé are a Tupi-speaking tribe whose aboriginal habitat lay between the Araguaya and Xingu rivers in central Brazil. Tapirapé society and culture, as it existed before 1940, has been described by Herbert Baldus and the present author in a series of articles and monographs.[1] In 1940, when I left the Tapirapé village after approximately eighteen months of residence and research, I was convinced that Tapirapé society was rapidly disintegrating and that it would soon cease to exist as a distinct organized unit. At that time, although Tapirapé culture was essentially unchanged from its aboriginal condition, severe depopulation had so disrupted the social structure that the society seemed no longer to satisfy the minimal conditions for group survival.[2] A mere 147 individuals grouped in but one village were all that remained in 1940 of this tribe that once had numbered at least one thousand people living in five large villages. In 1953, when I returned for a short visit of three weeks with the Tapirapé Indians in their new village at the mouth of the Tapirapé River on the Araguaya, I found but 51 individuals. The rapid process of depopulation

1. Cf. Herbert Baldus, *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, São Paulo, 1937, and "Os Tapirapé, tribo Tupi no Brasil Central," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, Vols. XCVI-CV, CVII-CXXVII, São Paulo, 1944-49; and Charles Wagley, "Tapirapé Shamanism," *Boletim do Museu Nacional, Antropologia*, N.º 8, Rio, 1943.

2. Charles Wagley, "The Effects of Depopulation upon Social Organization as Illustrated by the Tapirapé Indians," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Series II, Vol. 2, N.º 1, pp. 12-16, New York, 1940.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1983) 1955
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161 had continued during the last thirteen years. Yet I found
179 that even with so small a population Tapirapé society still functioned as an organized unit and Tapirapé culture persisted, although highly modified by the events of the last thirteen years. Several points of theoretical importance can be learned from recent Tapirapé history and from some observations on social and cultural changes since 1940.

175 The sketchy outline of Tapirapé history between
[127] 1940 and 1953, which I have been able to piece together with the help of the Indians themselves, of Sr. Valentim Gomes (the officer of the post of the Brazilian Indian Service which services the Tapirapé, and my companion during both visits to the tribe in 1939-40), and of a published report by Herbert Baldus,[3] indicates the tremendous shocks this society has suffered in the last decade. Briefly, this history is as follows: In 1941, just a year after my 1940 visit, a serious epidemic broke out in the
[131 Tapirapé village in which I had lived. As usual, following
578] an epidemic during which there is a series of deaths, dissension broke out within the village. A well-known shaman was killed and a group of Tapirapé ("perhaps thirty in number") fled the village to the Brazilian town of Furo de Pedra, some two hundred kilometers from their village. It is reported that at least two people died during this trip and that the group returned to their village infected with common colds. By August of 1940, Sr. Gomes was able to ascertain that twenty-six people had died since June of the same year. In September of
175 1941 an Indian Post for the protection of the Tapirapé
648 was opened, but it was established at the mouth of the Tapirapé River, near the Carajá whom the Tapirapé feared and near Brazilians from whom they contracted new infections. That year, a few Indians visited the Post but after the death of a young Tapirapé man at the Post and an unfortunate experience with a group of drunken Brazilian men, only rarely did a Tapirapé

3. "Tribos da Bacia do Araguaia e o Serviço de Proteção aos Índios", in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, N. S., Vol. II, São Paulo, 1948, pp. 127-138.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
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175 they might beg from the Brazilian. Another group of
648 families came to live at the Indian post near the mouth of the Tapirapé River, where the Indian officer helped them build temporary shelters and provided them with food. And earlier, before the Kayapo attack, a small group of families had broken from the main village to migrate to a distant village site called Čičutawa, far to the north.[1] During these years, ceremonial and religious life, normal family life, aboriginal economic activities, and in fact most of the regular activities of their society were either completely suspended or affected by a marginal existence to the Brazilian frontiersmen.

131 But in 1950 Tapirapé society was, in a sense, re-
166 -organised. As a result of the efforts of the Indian officer,
●179 all of the remaining Tapirapé (except those who had
[648] migrated to the north) came together to form a village which they called *Tuwišlo* (New Village), some six kilometers from the Post Heloísa Alberto Torres. By 1953 this village had been fully completed, and the Tapirapé had relatively large and productive gardens in the forest
361 some three or four kilometers from it. The village had
179 been constructed, as in aboriginal times, in a circle surrounding a large men's ceremonial house. The houses were in general of the aboriginal type, each housing several biological families. Ceremonials had begun again and, as before, the nights were filled with singing. Although considerably modified, normal Tapirapé social life was again possible. Although for a short period Tapirapé society might be said not to have existed, Tapirapé culture continued to live in the minds of these few remaining individuals and it allowed them, given the opportunity, to recreate, although in a much attenuated form, their social life. This is a striking example of the difference between a society and its culture.

177 But both Tapirapé society and Tapirapé culture had been considerably modified by the events of the last decade. There were striking differences in social

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128. This group has never been heard of since they left. It is the opinion of the remaining Tapirapé that they were killed by the Kayapo since Čičutawa is near Kayapo territory.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953).1955
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the possibility of comparison, of observing other forms of behavior which were formerly closed to them, now stimulates change in Tapirapé culture.

Numerous other modifications in the Tapirapé way of life might be reported. In 1953, a few Tapirapé collected money which they kept as they formerly kept red parrot feathers in a bamboo container, but they have only vague ideas of its value. Two men own rifles but they have little idea of how to keep them in order. Men wear trousers when they visit the Indian Post, but they might at any time calmly remove them in the presence of the missionaries, and women have learned quickly to put on a wrap-around skirt when Brazilian men approach. These and a series of other changes might be quickly noted as having occurred between 1940 and 1953.

Still, Tapirapé culture has remained remarkably stable in face of the violent disruption of Tapirapé society during this last decade. Tapirapé culture has been modified by borrowing and by loss of trait and pattern due to the reduction of population and the disorganization of the society. Tapirapé society, with fewer people and new influences, has now changed more than Tapirapé culture. Certainly society and culture are intimately related phenomena but the history of the Tapirapé during the last thirteen years indicates the value of distinguishing between social change on the one hand and culture change on the other. For a period the Tapirapé lived as members of a distinct society, but their culture persisted, and with this knowledge they have been able to recreate, at least temporarily, their organized social unit.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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## INTRODUCTION

101
The Tapirapé Indians are a Tupi-speaking tribe living in Central 131
Brazil west of the Araguaya River. Their villages formerly extended [197]
some two hundred miles to the north of the Tapirapé River, an affluent [178]
of the Araguaya; but today their one remaining village lies west of the Araguaya, about forty miles north of the Tapirapé and 160 miles from the point of union of the two rivers. This settlement contains a total 161
population that does not exceed 150 people, the residue of five villages that probably existed so late as the turn of the century and that are said to have had a population of about two hundred people each. A progressive population decline has followed the acquiring of diseases from contact with the neighboring Carajá Indians of the Araguaya River and from European visitors. Such contacts, however, have left their aboriginal culture little changed.

The Tapirapé are properly a forest people, maintaining an agricultural 241
life on clearings hewed from the great tropical forest. Their cultivated 462
fields are large producing manioc (both *Manihot manihot* and the sweet species *Manihot palmata aggi*), maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, yams, kará (*Dioscorea sp.*), cotton, and bananas.

The dry months of June through September of each year are devoted [132]
to clearing the garden sites. This work is done by men, frequently working individually, sometimes in communal labor formed by the men's society groups (1). When the clearing is done collectively, the large [423]
field is divided into individual plots which become individual property;

(1) There is an excellent description of this ceremonial activity, called *apatowa* by the Tapirapé in Herbert Baldus, 1937, "Os grupos de esmer e os grupos de trabalho dos Tapirapé", *in Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, pp. 98-111. São Paulo.

[p.61]
[p.60 blank]

162 What strikes us in the above table is, on the one hand, the small number of children in relation to adults (18 individuals through 15 years of age and 41 over 15 years of age), and, on the other hand, [165] the brevity of the life span (only ten individuals were over 30). Only one man and one woman were slightly over 40.

According to the reports that I received in October, 1947, from [115] Mr. Valentim Gomes, the man in charge of the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres, and from Father M. H. Lelong at Conceição do Araguaia, the numerical ratios listed above underwent modifications [726] caused by the Kaiapó [Cayapo] attack on Tampiitáua at the end of August, in the course of which three women were killed and two women and one boy were abducted. Of the 59 individuals examined, therefore, there remained 31 males and 22 females.

[847] Aside from illness, the custom of killing newborn children under certain circumstances contributes to the decimation of the tribe.

Of the changes in Tapirapé culture which occurred since my first ●178 visit 12 years ago, I wish to mention primarily the scarcity of 262 vegetable foods. The literature on these peaceful and industrious 241 Tupi Indians contains numerous references to their large plots. I may add that in the quantity and variety of their garden produce they outstripped not only the neighboring tribes but also the frontier people. In 1935, in the months of June to August, I found the village provided abundantly with the most delicious bananas, five varieties of manioc and numerous other tubers, beans, peanuts, and maize. In 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little cará [Tr., a variety of yam], or manioc cake. The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts, for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such [574] a change in the food situation affects the tribal behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality.

It is true that this may also have resulted in part from contact 177 with the neighboring Whites who have settled on the Tapirapé River [648] over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their 177 body is undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. 291 Thus, instead of satisfying the appetites of their Indian visitors, they

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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601 **Kinship.**—Kinship is more important in furthering solidarity among the *Tapirapé* than either the moieties or the feast groups. *Tapirapé* kin-
[182] ship is bilateral, its chief principle being that all cousins, whether cross-
[611] or parallel-cousins, no matter how distant, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of people calling each other siblings are also called siblings. Mother's sisters are called mother, and father's brothers, father. Mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, a man's brothers' children are considered his sons and daughters, and a woman's sisters' children are her children. Children of a man's sisters or a woman's brothers are given special terms.

[621] The wide inclusiveness of kinship affiliation makes it possible for an individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers—and in former days
[178] many people in other villages—by terms of close relationship.

554 An older man of some prestige gathers around him by adoption as many
581 "daughters" or as many of his wife's "daughters" as possible. By the
597 marriage of these "daughters," he attracts a group of younger men within his household who contribute constantly to his larder through the hunt and
592 garden activities. At present, only three of the nine houses in the village were formed in this way, but reduced numbers, we were told, forced various combinations of relatives to share a household.

## LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth.**—Although aware that pregnancy is brought about by sexual intercourse, the *Tapirapé* believe that conception takes place when a shaman, serving as intermediary, brings a "child spirit" to the woman. Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, and various fish and insects are supposed to contain child spirits.

843 When the woman is certain that she is pregnant, she tells her husband. They both paint their bodies with genipa and cover their hair with urucú. During the first few days of pregnancy, no restraints are imposed upon the child's parents, but as birth approaches, all sexual contact must cease.
[851] All men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers of the future child, together with the real father.

844 At childbirth the woman is assisted by her mother and sister and by two male relatives. The husband retires to his hammock and is forbidden to partake of any liquid refreshment.

847 Infanticide is practiced because it is considered bad to have more than three children, or two children of the same sex. The fourth child, or third of the same sex, of one mother is buried in a hole dug inside the residence for the afterbirth.

852 On the day after birth, a male child has his lower lip perforated. Until
304 the child is weaned, the parents must refrain from sexual relations and
851 must not eat salt, sugar, honey, or the meat of various animals and forest
262 fowls. Both boys and girls also are restricted in their meat diet. A son

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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A son

and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite 554
child, being given special attention and education and being highly decor- 858
ated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life.

**Puberty.**—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over 882
the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body [302]
is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip [301]
plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong.

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied [302]
at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation 881
for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the [292]
main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, *top, left*). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance.

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced [302]
with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are [582]
usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of women.

**Marriage.**—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and 621
people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antag- [578]
onism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable [582]
intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage mar- [574]
riage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people.

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at 582
least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule.

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage [161]
rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there [182]
are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are [178]
also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where [591]
his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him.

536 with the pairs one behind the other, walked peacefully from house
726 to house. They hummed a song. The first two pairs carried a blanket on their back, and the last pair carried a straw mat. A masked man followed, bent forward, dancing and shooting arrows at the mat. After a while the pairs lined up one beside the other and stayed put, humming their song, while the masked figure emitted the Kayapó tribal cry and danced in menacing fashion, stepping always on the same spot. A little later, the walk was resumed. This scene was repeated several times. Suddenly, however, when the pairs were standing still once more in front of a hut, two masked "Kayapó" rushed headlong from behind it, and four others emerged from behind the neighboring house. All
[177] these "Kayapó" had bows or clubs in their hands and were completely disguised with hammocks, blankets, and other belongings of the White guests. Their faces were covered with sifters, and my straw hat had also found a use. While the three Tapirapé pairs kept walking as peacefully as before, the masked figures alternately ran furiously hither and yon, giving their typical cry, and performed a circular dance. In this dance, some of them faced the back of the man in front while others were turned
[535] toward the man behind. They all jumped on one leg and then the other, tossing their arms and legs about and gesticulating with their weapons (Photo. 73). After repeating all this several times for half an hour, the "Kayapó" attacked one another and quarreled among themselves. Then the Tapirapé pairs quietly broke up and vanished.

This performance, therefore, contrasts the mildness which
141 is indeed the tribal behavior pattern of the Tapirapé with the nervous aggressiveness of the Kayapó. This seems to be a symbol of universal significance, when we look at the pacifists and militarists in other parts of the world.

The opinion of the Tupí tribe about the nature of these
609 neighbors[1] seems to be expressed even in their mythology. While
773 the Karajá are regarded as descendants of a water serpent, the ancestor of the Kayapó is tantevoga, the tick. One of the proofs of kinship with those bugs, my informants say, is the falsetto tribal cry that they attribute to their northern foe. This proof, although it might not satisfy a biologist, is sufficient for the ethnologist. Actually, everyone knows that the tick is a pesky nuisance.

1 [i.e., the Kayapó.—Analyst]

[Ed., pp. 87-88 are not translated.]

000 [89] In Mühlmann (p. 344) we read: "In Polynesia, the new year was reckoned from the beginning of the fishing season, and since this period of time coincided with the appearance of the Pleiades above the horizon, a fruitful half-year, mata-li'i-i-nia, that is, 'Pleiades above,' was distinguished from an unfruitful or less fruitful half-year, mata-li'i-i-raro, that is, 'Pleiades below.' A Pleiadic year was also known in India."

2 It is also worth mentioning Métraux's observation (p. 51) that the Pleiades seem to have been the object of special beliefs among the Tupinambá, who were convinced, according to an unpublished manuscript by Thevet, that they fostered the growth of manioc, the staple of their diet. One of the most beautiful legends of the Taulipáng, a Karaíb [Carib] tribe of the Roroima, relates how the Pleiades came to the sky and also mentions their function as heralds of the rainy season that brings an abundance of food with the appearance of shoals of fish moving upstream to spawn (Koch-Grünberg, p. 13).

Among the Tapirapé, I did not find anything corresponding to 805 this Indian and Polynesian culture trait [Tr., the Tapirapé do lend importance to the Pleiades]. It is true that of all the events in the yearly cycle, the rainy season is of greatest interest to these Indians. They did not tell me anything about the Pleiades, however. The rainy season is to them the opposite of what it is to the Taulipáng, namely, not the time of well-being, but, in the words of the Tapirapé, the time of evil shadows, of baleful spirits. It is character- [181] istic of the timid nature of these Tupí Indians that they lend greatest [221] importance to the time of greatest distress, instead of centering their [132] thoughts on the dry season, which is to them the pleasant time of abundant vegetable and animal foods and thus the time of health and pleasure in being alive. [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 89 and the first paragraph, as well as the first three sentences of the second paragraph, on p. 90 are omitted.]

[90] The Tapirapé could not tell me the number of days in the 821 lunar month, although they were familiar with the moon cycle and 192 called the new moon txãhi apát, "moon sleeps," or txãhi akantxím, "moon finished," and the full moon ãuvahó, ho being the augmentative suffix, and ãuva corresponding probably to the ãu, "lunar," listed by Montoya, and the yacy icáua, "full, fat moon," given by Stradelli. The first quarter, when the visible part is not yet very thick, is called

171 This scarcity may be one of the consequences of the great epi-
301 demics, since the dead are buried with all their feather ornaments.
[182] In addition, the Tapirapé, as cultivators and forest Indians, have
[764] fewer opportunities to obtain the raw materials for these ornaments than the more game-oriented tribes who live close to rivers and to other areas rich in bird life.

415 Like the ancient Tupinambá (Léry 159), the Tapirapé keep the large macaw feathers in internodes of thick cane (vuanamú). [Ed., the last sentence on p. 137, which concludes the section in Vol. 108, is omitted.]

237 [109:75] I found a single specimen of a crown of jaguar claws
292 in Tampiitsúa (Photo. 16). It belonged to Maninohó, who used it only for certain daytime dances (Photo. 4). Its name was simply chauvuanohó pyampé, "jaguar claw." It consisted of a wooden ring that reached one centimeter in width and 20 centimeters in diameter, wrapped in cotton thread blackened with genipap and charcoal. Not only does this thread keep the ring closed, but it also holds 14 jaguar claws, all of which are set pointing in the same direction. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

301 The use of flowers as a head ornament is unusual among South American Indians. I observed it only once in Tampiitsúa. Iravuy, a married man 26 years old, returned once from the forest with a bunch of flowers in his hand. On entering the village, he met Ampitánia on the path and gave her the flowers. This girl, who was four or five years old, immediately tied them to her hair. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

304 Male Tapirapé have pierced ears. I was told that among them it is the mother who [109:76] makes these perforations in the early hours of the day following the birth of her child. She does this with the bone needle used in the manufacture of the cotton ornaments called tamankurá. Small pieces of tucum wood [Tr., Bactris setosa) or thin cane are placed in the holes, and for initiates
301 these pieces may reach two centimeters in length. [Ed., the re-
881 mainder of the paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

171 To summarize, it may be said that as far as ear ornaments and their attendant cultural traits are concerned, the Tapirapé differ
301 considerably not only from all their neighbors about whom anything is known in this connection, but from the ancient Tupinambá as well.

114 its opening facing downward. As a result, it served us nicely to
501 wash our clothes on. It had apparently been made just to pass the time and did not seem to have any further purpose. The
171 Tapirapé do not usually travel in boats, differing in this respect
501 from the Tupinambá and from most of the present-day Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 207-211), from the Xingu Indians (Von den Steinen 2, 234), and from the Karajá (Krause 2, 276), but not from the Kayapó (ibid., 393). The Chavante, who do not have canoes either, cross the Rio das Mortes on the crude rafts described by Szaffka. It is worth noting, however, that the Tapirapé retain
[192] the old Tupi word for "canoe," that is, yana, written yara by Stradelli and considered by him (715) "a contraction of y, 'water,' and iara, 'mistress,' 'mistress of the water.'" In any case, it is not impossible that the Tapirapé formerly possessed canoes for navigation.

As far as fishing is concerned, let us also mention Manggambí's
787 "dream." The people of Tampiitaua often say that they dreamed
976 of something which they actually suspect or know about. Manggambí
226 was the fattest Tapirapé at the time of my visit. He dreamed of an abundance of fish at a specific spot in a certain stream, [112:62] which held so many fish that the anchinga would be able to eat them in large quantities. The name anchinga is applied not only to cer-
[535] tain spirits, but also to the masked dancers who represent them. All the anchinga who inhabit the hills and waters feed on fish. This
[192] Tapirapé belief, incidentally, is a token of the importance of fishing. Manggambí said that "all" the men should go and fetch the fish he had dreamed of. What Tampiitaua regards as "all" the men did go. They were Manggambí himself and eight companions. When they returned, Manggambí held a large basket full of tiny fish, which were cooked and eaten shortly before dawn in the ceremonial house by the men and adolescents who had impersonated [in the dance] anchinga, chankuí [a bird], and irangchá [a fish]. [Ed., end of Vol. 112.]

105 [113:191] Although fishing is one of their chief means of subsistence, the Tapirapé cannot be regarded essentially as a fishing tribe, as their neighbors the Karajá might fittingly be described. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua do not lead the amphibian life of those big-river navigators. They are forest Indians and cultivators par excellence. In this respect, they remain typical Tupi Indians.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



601 The kinship system is perhaps a more important factor in assuring
602 solidarity to the Tapirapé than either the moieties or the household groups. Tapirapé kinship is bilateral: the chief principle of the system being that all persons of one generation who are related through either mother or father, no matter how distantly, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of persons calling each other siblings are also siblings. The mother's "sisters" are called mother and the father's "brothers", father. The mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, the children of a man's brothers are considered sons and daughters of the man himself, and the children of a woman's sisters are considered her children. Children of a man's sister or a woman's brother are given special terms.

The wide inclusiveness of these kinship affiliation makes it possible for an individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers — and in former days those of other villages — by terms of close relationship. Siblings are under obligation to lend aid to one another when it is needed and, in the case of sorcery, to avenge wrong done to any of them. The
[182] kinship system accordingly provides an important bond of solidarity within this society which lacks strong centralized control to hold it together.

## SOURCE OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

995 A multitude of spirits populate the unseen world of the Tapirapé.
996 These spirits, known by the generic term of *anciúnga* (5), are of two general types: ghosts, *anciúnga ñiuwera*, the disembodied souls of the dead; and second, malevolent beings of many classes and descriptions. Ghosts inhabit abandoned village sites where they relive their earthly lives, yet frequently they travel about at night and, especially during the rainy season, they come near the village of the living, for "they are cold" and come near human habitations to get warm. People are accordingly afraid to venture beyond the village plaza at night. Now and again, ghosts appear to living people, frightening them, sometimes throwing a dust-like substance over them and causing them to fall insensible.

995 Several people fell from fright upon seeing a ghost during my
[181] visit. One woman saw a ghost "bathing in the stream" when she

(5) This is the *anhangá* or *agnaw* of the Portuguese and French chroniclers who wrote about the Tupi.

461 bananas. If he has no bananas left at home, the man goes to the garden to get a new supply. He returns staggering under an enormous load, for he brings as much as he can carry. And although by this [147] time he is already tired enough to lie down in the hammock again, he may fulfill his duties as a dancer and singer throughout the night, duties that demand of a single man the rested legs and lungs of five strong males. [Ed., the remainder of p. 101, pp. 102-194, and the first paragraph on p. 105 are omitted.]

[105] On the other hand, it is true that there are great differences among the various tribes as far as industriousness is concerned. The Tapirapé may be pointed out as being especially "diligent." At the [262] time of my stay among them, they had an abundance of food, and in spite of this they worked very hard in their gardens and gave themselves up with no less zeal and perseverance to their dances and songs. In this tribe, which is still distant from our civilization, the introduction of iron tools that began dozens of years ago through their eastern 177 182 neighbors, the Karajá, and the lack of war-like activities or bent had an effect directly opposite to that generated [by the same factors] in the Indians civilized by us, that is to say, deprived of their cultural independence. These two factors did not hinder the vital force or impair the creative urge of the Indians, but in fact guaranteed their subsistence and increased their well-being. If, in spite of this, symptoms of degeneration are apparent among the Tapirapé, [106] the causes must be sought elsewhere. This, however, is not the proper context to discuss them. [Ed., all but the last sentence of the subsequent paragraph is omitted.]

When watching a collective task among the Indians, such as the 476 461 apatxirá of the Tapirapé, one has the impression that the joy with which it is done increases their strength.

As I watched the men, most of them endowed with the physique [147] of our adolescents, conquering piece after piece of the huge forest around them, I observed none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness and tediousness which characterize so much of the collective work among us. Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side.

Those who needed rest sat on the felled trunks. They sat very close together as they have the habit of doing. They talked, and some of [226] them smoked a pipe. Suddenly there would be a lot of shouting, they 476 would all scatter with a show of joy as the moan of live timber was heard, [107] and a green giant would lean slowly and crash with a

648 offer them a refuge in case of northern Kaiapó advances or attacks. It might also preclude the entry of adventurers into the lands to the south and west, which are assumed to be inhabited by the Akuã-Chavante and by the Tupi tribe of the Ampanaã (in this respect, cf. my works, "Uma ponte etnográfica entre o Xingu e o Araguaia, [An ethnographic bridge between the Xingu and the Araguaia]," [118] Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 43, São Paulo, 1938, and "Os Tapirapé, tribo tupi no Brasil Central [The Tapirapé, a Tupi tribe of Central Brazil]," ibid., Vol. 100, São Paulo, 1945).

[911] [144] Since the Tapirapé are traditionally forest Indians, we must consider the possibility of establishing the new post in the vicinity of the recently burned village, that is, at the edge of the great forest. I regard this possibility as extremely slight owing to the difficulties of communication during the yearly floods that cover the savanna and the forest ground.

Another possible way of protecting the Tapirapé would be to gather them into a post to be established on Bananal Island. The advantage here would be their localization in a Federal territory intended exclusively as a reservation for the local Indians and more easily accessible than the upper Tapirapé River. On the other hand, this very accessibility might make it difficult to preserve the tribe as an ethnic entity. In addition, the following factors must be considered: [131] although some Tapirapé groups, according to certain sources, [132] lived for a while on Bananal Island more than 100 years ago, everything indicates that the bulk of the tribe has lived in its present habitat since the eighteenth century (cf. my study of this question in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 98, São Paulo, 1944), and the Tapirapé, therefore, are physically and culturally adapted to this environment and capable of preserving their culture within it. It should 619 be added that in this case, also, the contact between the inhabitants of 66 Tampiitsúa and Txitxuúa would be retained, and with it the possibility of marrying outside the village or moving from one village to the other as a result of disappointments, political factors, etc. (1).

648 166

1. In a report on his visit to the Tapirapé that took place in September, 1948, Mr. Harald Schultz tells me that "none of the Tapirapé like the idea of being transferred to a spot near

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirape SP22



Fear was present in the formalization of quarrels full of hatred, a formalization which obliged the opponents to avoid direct contact. They had to remain hidden from one another and not interrupt the speech of their antagonist, but only reply when he had finished. One such quarrel began in the afternoon of June 27, 1935. Kamaiurahé lay in his hammock with open eyes and didn't answer when several people called him. Maniorahé, the eldest man of the neighbouring house, begins to pronounce insults. He stays inside his house. The entrances of the houses are so arranged that it is impossible to look from the interior of one house into the interior of another.[6] Kamaiurahé's wife stays outside between the two houses without looking towards either of them. She faces the men's house in the centre of the village and replies to Maniorahé with extraordinary gravity, in a level voice and with calm gestures. They are discussing a question of shamanism. Maniorahé seems to be doing the provoking. The other persons present continue with their habitual activities, neither laughing nor speaking. After a while Maniorahé's aggressive tone seems to be true. Kamaiurahé's wife joins her husband and the eldest man of her house places himself close to the entrance but inside, holding a club and railing violently in a loud and monotonous voice. When he finishes, profound silence rules for some moments. Then the other replies in the same tone. Never does one interrupt the other. This rule is also observed when two Tapirapé women have a quarrel as well as among other South American tribes.[7] The quarrel between the two men, one always hidden from the other, lasted until noon. Late that night the old man of Kamaiurahé's house, where I was also living, asked me for my electric torch and went with his wife for water by a very roundabout way in order to avoid the proximity of Maniorahé's house. These precautionary measures—the lamp, the company of his wife, and the detour—reveal clearly the fear he had of the adversary. Supposing then that fear has contributed to create the institution of formalized quarrels we may consider it a factor of socialization. But is it only a tribal behaviour pattern or also fear that causes the victim of theft to abstain from any countersland reaction? Frequently I observed that the theft of some thing obtained from the white men, for instance a necklace of glass beads, was known immediately in the whole village; the victim, however, suffers in silence without any demonstration and doesn't attempt any revenge.

As an institution which is essentially a product of fear appears that of the shamans. Nonexistent in certain South American tribes and little developed in others, it is so important to the Tapirapé that they inferred use of certain local groups having exhausted their independence and joined the inhabitants of another village because there were no more shamans among them.[8] This becomes credible when one considers Charles Wagley's[9] quotation of one of his informants' words: "Without our pawés, all we Tapirapé die." According to the same author,[9] "the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman." This means that the first place in Tapirapé society belongs to the person who defends the community against the ever terrible dangers of the supernatural world. It is collective fear which gives him this status. But the easy and continuous contact with the forces of destruction makes the shaman for his part also a man to be feared, and consequently exposes him to other dangers, to dangers which we would not call supernatural. When cases of death occur in the village, and especially several in a short time, it is usual to attribute the cause to a shaman and therefore many shamans are murdered. Then it is also collective fear which, in such cases, moves a Tapirapé to defend the community

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



against the supposed menace and to kill the shaman who is suspected of having become an evil sorcerer.

Though, also as regards the institution of shamanism, fear works out as a factor of socialization by surviving the dangers to the tribal life, we cannot say the same about the fear which produces in many Tapirapé a disposition to adapt themselves complacently to the white man. During my stay in 1935, in the village called Tampitawa, I could distinguish clearly between the great group of timorous people led by Kamairabé who received with open arms all that came from our civilization, and a smaller group composed of decided and valorous people who didn't want anything to do with us. So there were two opposite trends in their "foreign policy" and consequently germs of tribal disintegration.

Of the direct causes of fear I want to mention the following: The Tapirapé were alarmed by my fury when I saw a man whipping his wife. To relate this scene serves to confirm a most ethnocentric and therefore in no way ethnological behaviour. But I think that in order to be an ethnologist it is necessary to be able not to be an ethnologist in certain situations. At noon on July 15 I see that behind the house in which I was living with Kamairabé and thirty other Indians, the athletic Inamoeto, nearly twenty-two years old, is beating a woman. With a cane and the blade of his hunting-knife he is whipping his wife. She is so small and tender that she seems to be a child in spite of being perhaps twenty years old. I run towards the couple to interfere. The little woman is weeping despairingly, but doesn't go away. The man tries to tug her towards the house which is their house and mine also. She struggles. There he enters the house. Finally she follows. I enter also. The man holds the knife. I have nothing in my hands, but I am bound by my upbringing; I am the weapon of my culture and my culture is my weapon. I say to Inamoeto that people do not beat a woman like a dog. (I refer to this animal because frequently, among the Tapirapé, it can only thus be prevented from eating the people's food.) Inamoeto pronounces insults and his wife sobs. Now I explain to all the people present that beating a woman is a bad thing. Later, when I am sitting together with Kamairabé and his wife, I tell them that if a white man should whip his wife, another white man would kill him with a revolver. Jokingly I add: "If you, Kamairabé, beat your wife, I have to kill you with my revolver." With these words I go away.

After a while Kamairabé passed me with a depressed face. I ask him: "Where are you going?" Without smiling he answers: "I am afraid of you." I embrace him, I kiss him importunately in the Tapirapé manner, that is, rubbing my nose against his nose; but all this is in vain. He waits patiently until I let him go, continues walking, and tells the men and women whom he is passing that he is afraid of me, the white man who kills those who beat women. May I observe here that I always went around without a weapon among the Tapirapé, keeping the revolver, as Kamairabé knew, in my hammock hanging close to his hammock, and even there the revolver was at hand only to be at the disposal of the same Kamairabé in order to protect him against the event of sustained attack by the Karajá Indians, the most terrible neighbours. Kamairabé enters his house and immediately from there sounds an agitated and long talk. With the speed of lightning the news spreads through the village that Kamairabé is afraid of me and is lying in his hammock and that I would kill with a revolver the husbands who whip their wives. A middle-aged woman joins me, saying: "I am afraid of you." I assure her again that I am not bad, that, on the con-

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
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Ta Te 192

contact and to revive, or which led to quasi — or total extinction of a people may also be found in the culture and the society of peoples concerned. Each culture has a population policy — — — an implicit or explicit set of cultural values relating to population size. The social structure of each society is closely inter-related with a specific population level. A modification of the external environment, such as that brought about by contact with Europeans, generally calls for change both in cultural values as well as in social structure. In addition to environment, technology, and other material factors, cultural values and social structure act also to determine population size and demographic trends in face of modified external circumstances. A rapid decrease in population due to new disease or an increase in population resulting from an increased food supply calls for adjustments in population policy (implicit or explicit) and in social structure. It is the purpose of the present paper to examine the relationship between these social and cultural factors and the population trends following European contact of two Tupi speaking tribes of Brazil.

Ta Te [131] 161 648

The two Tupi speaking tribes in question are the Tenetehara of northeastern Brazil and the Tapirapé of central Brazil. (2) After more than 300 years of contact with Luso-Brazilians the Tenetehara in 1943 still numbered some 2000 people —— not much less, if at all, than the aboriginal population. On the other hand, by 1947 the Tapirapé with less than forty years of sporadic and peaceful contact with Luso-Brazilians had been reduced to less than one hundred people, the remnant of an aboriginal population which must have numbered more than one thousand. While the Tenetehara still maintained a functioning social system and continued as a distinct ethnic group, Tapirapé society was in 1947 almost totally disorganized and the Tapirapé as a distinct people were clearly on the road to extinction. (3)

Ta Te [192]

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A partial answer to this very different reaction to Luso-Brazilian contact may be found in the nature of the acculturation process which each has experienced. Although the few decades of Tenetehara relations with Europeans were marked by slave raids, massacres, and epidemics, the protection of the Jesuits during more than one century (1653-1759) seems to have given the Tenetehara time to make adjustments in their culture and society to changing external circumstances. The missionaries were able to prevent the movement of colonists into Tenetehara territory, and after the expulsion

(2) Basic descriptions of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara have been published elsewhere: Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1948 A, 1948 B, and 1949, Baldus, 1947, 1948-1949, 1948 B, 1948 AB, etc. Only directly pertinent descriptive data is present in this paper.

(3) Cf. Wagley (1949) and Baldus (1948 vol. CXII, 1948 B, 1948 B), for discussion of Tapirapé depopulation and disorganization. Baldus (1948 B) pp. 197-198, who found the village called Tapirapé inhabited by 150 individuals in 1946, and found the village called Tapirapé Grande inhabited by 40 individuals in 1946, and only 48 in 1947, mentions that during this time of time several individuals had migrated to another Tapirapé village very far from Tapirapé, but that their number seems to be fewer than the number of those who came from there to Tapirapé. According to information received by this author, the other village is another than Tapirapé, so that in 1947 the whole tribe probably numbered less than a hundred members. In the same year, shortly after Baldus visit, the Tapirapé were attacked by Kayapó Indians and lost several individuals.

Ta Te 161 [166]

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 50 6



Ta 262 Te 262 169 "hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is (and was in the past) just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size. Ta 168 183 262 Population control among the Tapirapé seems so to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

Ta 161 168 182 [165] This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on a stable level. Even than, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new diseases for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population Te 161 168 182 [165] during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Te Ta 596 591 612 Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapé, on the other Ta 616 561 hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial moieties limited to men. Each moiety was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the Ta 476 269 579 614 [596] [595] Tapirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's moieties and age grades and the "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic production and distribution. The masked dances with impersonation of

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara SO6



forest spirits performed by the men during the dry season were a function of the men's moieties. The "Feast Groups" met at intervals during the dry season at their traditional stations in the central plaza for ceremonial meals. At such times, as Herbert Baldus has shown, these "Feast Groups" functioned as a mechanism for food distribution in a season when more food was available than a family would normally consume. (7) The "Feast Groups" sometimes formed to collect honey and to hunt. The age grades of the men's moieties also frequently acted together economically; they organized work parties for clearing of large garden sites and they went out on large cooperative hunts after herds of wild pigs.

In aboriginal Tapirapé society ceremonial life and many important cooperative subsistence activities were based upon this balanced set of associations. A Tapirapé village in order to secure adequate representation in the various age grades of the men's moieties as well as in the "Feast Groups" by necessity had to consist of about 200 people or more. A small village of fifty to a hundred people, for example, would not have provided sufficient number of males of the proper ages to allow the age graded moieties to carry out their ceremonials nor to organize their cooperative subsistence activities. Tapirapé village organization was therefore not conducive to a process of "splitting off" of groups from one village to form another. The size of Tapirapé villages was limited by their technological equipment within their tropical forest environment yet the social structure made the formation of numerous small villages difficult. In contrast, the less formalized social structure of the Tenetehara allowed for villages of varying size within the limits of their ecological adjustment. Extended family groups easily might break off from a larger village to form a new settlement fully able to carry out the cooperative economic activities and even ceremonials of the society. This process is constantly occurring in contemporary Tenetehara society. When tensions arise between extended families, one group simply splits off from the parent village to join another or to form a separate village without serious effects on the ceremonial or economic system. Tenetehara social structure offered a favorable condition for an expanding population after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected population.

Tapirapé social structure seems also to have been more vulnerable to disorganization in face of a rapid change in population size. Rapid depopulation after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected the normal functioning of their highly segmented and balanced social structure. By 1940, the lack of men had thrown the system of reciprocal and competitive activities of the men's age-graded moieties out of balance. There were not enough men of the "older" age-grade of either moiety nor of the young men "warrior" age-grade of one moiety to form functioning units to reciprocate in cooperative garden clearing and to participate in group hunts. Several of the "Feast Groups" had been disbanded for lack of numbers

(7) Baldus (1937) p. 38 ff.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



of numbers. Ceremonials in 1940 had not been abandoned but they were performed in an attenuated and disinterested manner. There was little motivation to accumulate the meat, the forest fruits, and the garden products which important ceremonials require among the Tapirapé.

Ceremonials and cooperative economic activities in Tenetehara society are organized by extended family and kin groups. Lack of numbers, of course, creates difficulties in carrying out ceremonials and in organizing economic activities but it does not have the effect of disorganizing the society. Cooperation of large extended families in gardening and in collecting balsam nuts and copaiba oil is still the general pattern among the Tenetehara. Tenetehara social structure was malleable to change. Adjustment to new circumstances after Luso-Brazilian contact must have been easier for the Tenetehara than for the Tapirapé.

The brief comparison of the cultural values and of those aspects of social structure of the Tenetehara and of the Tapirapé in terms of their effect upon population size and on population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact suggest several general hypotheses. First, the available information concerning the population size of these two tribes in aboriginal times indicates that the Tenetehara were much more numerous than the Tapirapé. Yet both tribes were tropical forest peoples with roughly similar technological equipment. It seems to the writer that this difference in population size between the two tribes was functionally related to ideological values and to social structure and not to differences in technology and environment. In other words, such differences in population can hardly be interpreted strictly in Malthusian terms. While population potentials are certainly limited by food supply, the level of technology, the application of medical knowledge, and other material factors, social institutions and culturally derived values are influential in determining trends in population size within the limits set by such "natural" factors.

Second, the social structure and the cultural values of any society are functionally related to a given population level. With change in population size, both the cultural values regarding population size and social structure must be adjusted. The Tapirapé concept of family size remained unchanged in face of modified conditions i.e. higher death-rate caused by foreign diseases with the result that the adult population was no longer replaced by births. A rapidly declining population disrupted Tapirapé socio-ceremonial organization and affected the internal system of production and distribution. The Tenetehara with a more malleable social structure than that of the Tapirapé were able to survive the initial impact of Luso-Brazilian contact until the protection of the Jesuits allowed them to make necessary adjustments to the new circumstances.

Finally, this comparison between the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara calls to mind other primitive societies whose social structure must have been functionally related to population level and to demographic trends in face of European civilization. In Brazil, the Ramkokamekra (Eastern Timbira) with their complex moiety system and the Apinayé with their kin marriage

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
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classes, to mention only two examples, had social systems comparable to that of the Tapirapé. Such social structures depended upon a balanced representation of population in each of the numerous social units. A sudden decline of population might easily throw such highly segmented societies out of balance, so to speak. Without sufficient representation in one or more of these social units reciprocal socio-ceremonial affairs become impossible or may be carried out in a highly attenuated manner. Again, the social structure of the Karajá of the Araguaya River is based essentially upon extended family and kinship ties and lacks the highly segmented social units which cross cut villages and even family groups. Like that of the Tenetehara, Karajá social structure would seem to be less vulnerable to change in population size and more conducive to population growth. In addition to technological equipment and subsistence methods, social structure and cultural values also influence strongly the final adjustment of each society to its environment. Differences in social structure and of value systems between societies must be taken into account in studies of population size and of population trends in any natural area, such as the Tropical forest of South America.

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## RESUMO

O autor compara a reação dos Tenetehara e Tapirapé no contacto com os brancos no que diz respeito ao decrescimento da população e à organização social. Enquanto a primeira dessas tribos ocupadores das selvas tropicais do Brasil, depois de mais de trezentos anos de tal contacto, conta um número de componentes provavelmente pouco inferior ao de antes, conservando em função sua organização social, os Tapirapé se encontram em via de extinção física e desorganização social. O autor acha que, por um lado, a tecnologia dessas tribos e seus métodos de aquisição de sustento devem ter limitado o número de habitantes de cada aldeia, não tendo havido, por outro lado, falta de espaço territorial para limitar o número das aldeias. Parece-lhe que, antigamente, a população tapirapé era relativamente pequena e estável, ao passo que a dos Tenetehara era, pelo menos, a deles dequate e, provavelmente, expansiva. Essas últimas, em geral, não procuram restringir o tamanho da família a modo dos Tapirapé entre os quais a mulher não deve ter mais de três filhos. Embora os Tapirapé justifiquem essa limitação com falta de alimento, mais decisivos a respeito parecem ser certos fatores culturais. O autor procura mostrar a influência das instituições e valores culturais sôbre o tamanho das populações dentro dos limites postos pelos fatores alimentares, pelo conhecimento médico, pelo equipamento civilizador e por outros fatores materiais. Frisa que a estrutura social e os valores culturais de cada sociedade são funcionalmente relacionados com determinado tamanho de população, precisando ser considerados, por isso, em caso de mudança de situação demográfica.

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12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



601 **Kinship.**—Kinship is more important in furthering solidarity among
[162] the *Tapirapé* than either the moieties or the feast groups. *Tapirapé* kin-
[611] ship is bilateral, its chief principle being that all cousins, whether cross- or parallel-cousins, no matter how distant, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of people calling each other siblings are also called siblings. Mother's sisters are called mother, and father's brothers, father. Mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, a man's brothers' children are considered his sons and daughters, and a woman's sisters' children are her children. Children of a man's sisters or a woman's brothers are given special terms.

[621] The wide inclusiveness of kinship affiliation makes it possible for an
[178] individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers—and in former days many people in other villages—by terms of close relationship.

554 An older man of some prestige gathers around him by adoption as many
581 "daughters" or as many of his wife's "daughters" as possible. By the
597 marriage of these "daughters," he attracts a group of younger men within
592 his household who contribute constantly to his larder through the hunt and garden activities. *At present, only three of the nine houses in the village* were formed in this way, but reduced numbers, we were told, forced various combinations of relatives to share a household.

## LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth.**—Although aware that pregnancy is brought about by sexual intercourse, the *Tapirapé* believe that conception takes place when a shaman, serving as intermediary, brings a "child spirit" to the woman. Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, and various fish and insects are supposed to contain child spirits.

843 When the woman is certain that she is pregnant, she tells her husband. They both paint their bodies with genipa and cover their hair with urucú. During the first few days of pregnancy, no restraints are imposed upon the child's parents, but as birth approaches, all sexual contact must cease.
[851] All men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers of the future child, together with the real father.

844 At childbirth the woman is assisted by her mother and sister and by two male relatives. The husband retires to his hammock and is forbidden to partake of any liquid refreshment.

847 Infanticide is practiced because it is considered bad to have more than three children, or two children of the same sex. The fourth child, or third of the same sex, of one mother is buried in a hole dug inside the residence for the afterbirth.

852 On the day after birth, a male child has his lower lip perforated. Until
[859] the child is weaned, the parents must refrain from sexual relations and
851 must not eat salt, sugar, honey, or the meat of various animals and forest
262 fowls. Both boys and girls also are restricted in their meat diet. A son

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite child, being given special attention and education and being highly decorated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life. 554 858

**Puberty.**—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong. 582 [302] [301]

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, *top, left*). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance. [302] 581 [292]

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of women. [302] [582]

**Marriage.**—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antagonism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage marriage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people. 621 [578] [582] [574]

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule. 582

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him. [161] [182] [178] [591]

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *hiterahé*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara SO 6



Ta 262 Te 262 168 "hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is (and was in the past) just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size. Ta 168 183 262 Population control among the Tapirapé seems no to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

Ta 161 168 182 [165] This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new disease for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid Te 161 168 182 [165] population policy of the Tenetehara was conductive to a large population during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Te Ta 596 591 612 Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapé, on the other Ta 616 561 hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial moieties limited to men. Each moiety was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the Ta 496 264 579 611 [496] [538] Tapirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's moieties and age grades and the "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic production and distribution. The masked dances with impersonation of

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



of numbers. Ceremonials in 1940 had not been abandoned but they were performed in an attenuated and disheartened manner. There was little motivation to accumulate the meat, the forest fruits, and the garden products which important ceremonials require among the Tapirapé.

Ceremonials and cooperative economic activities in Tenetehara society are organized by extended family and kin groups. Lack of numbers, of course, creates difficulties in carrying out ceremonials and in organizing economic activities but it does not have the effect of disorganizing the society. Cooperation of large extended families in gardening and in collecting babassu nuts and copaiba oil is still the general pattern among the Tenetehara. Tenetehara social structure was malleable to change. Adjustment to new circumstances after Luso-Brazilian contact must have been easier for the Tenetehara than for the Tapirapé.

This brief comparison of the cultural values and of those aspects of social structure of the Tenetehara and of the Tapirapé in terms of their effect upon population size and on population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact suggest several general hypotheses. First, the available information concerning the population size of these two tribes in aboriginal times indicates that the Tenetehara were much more numerous than the Tapirapé. Yet both tribes were tropical forest peoples with roughly similar technological equipment. It seems to the writer that this difference in population size between the two tribes was functionally related to ideological values and to social structure and not to differences in technology and environment. In other words, such differences in population can hardly be interpreted strictly in Malthusian terms. While population potentials are certainly limited by food supply, the level of technology, the application of medical knowledge, and other material factors, social institutions and culturally derived values are influential in determining trends in population size within the limits set by such "natural" factors.

Second, the social structure and the cultural values of any society are functionally related to a given population level. With change in population size, both the cultural values regarding population size and social structure must be adjusted. The Tapirapé concept of family size remained unchanged in face of modified conditions (i.e. higher death-rate caused by foreign diseases) with the result that the adult population was no longer replaced by births. A rapidly declining population disrupted Tapirapé socio-ceremonial organization and affected the internal system of production and distribution. The Tenetehara with a more malleable social structure than that of the Tapirapé were able to survive the initial impact of Luso-Brazilian contact until the protection of the Jesuits allowed them to make necessary adjustments to the new circumstances.

Finally, this comparison between the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara calls to mind other primitive societies whose social structure must have been functionally related to population level and to demographic trends in face of European civilization. In Brazil, the Ramkokamekra (Eastern Timbira) with their complex moiety system and the Apinayé with their kin marriage

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



132 152 756 against the supposed menace and to kill the shaman who is suspected of having become an evil sorcerer.

152 184 648 Though, also as regards the institution of shamanism, fear works out as a factor of socialization by exorcising the dangers to the tribal life, we cannot say the same about the fear which produces in many Tapirapé a disposition to adapt themselves complacently to the white man. During my stay in 1935, in the village called Tampiitawa, I could distinguish clearly between the great group of timorous people led by Kamairahó who received with open arms all that came from our civilization, and a smaller group composed of decided and valorous people who didn't want anything to do with it. So there were two opposite trends in their "foreign policy" and consequently germs of tribal disintegration.

123 152 593 Of the direct causes of fear I want to mention the following: The Tapirapé were alarmed by my fury when I saw a man whipping his wife. To relate this case means to confess a most ethnocentric and therefore in no way ethnological behaviour. But I think that in order to be an ethnologist it is necessary to be able not to be an ethnologist in certain situations. At noon on July 15 I see that [572] [562] behind the house in which I was living with Kamairahó and thirty other Indians, the athletic Inamoréo, nearly twenty-two years old, is beating a woman. With a cane and the blade of his bush-knife he is whipping his wife. She is so small and tender that she seems to be a child in spite of being perhaps twenty years old. I run towards the couple to interfere. The little woman is weeping despairingly, but doesn't go away. The man tries to tug her towards the house which is their house and mine also. She struggles. There he enters the house. Finally she follows. I enter also. The man holds the knife. I have nothing in my hands, but I am bound by my upbringing; I am the weapon of my culture and my culture is my weapon. I say to Inamoréo that people do not beat a woman like a dog. (I refer to this animal because frequently, among the Tapirapé, it can only thus be prevented from eating the people's food.) Inamoréo pronounces insults and his wife sobs. Now I explain to all the people present that beating a woman is a bad thing. Later, when I am sitting together with Kamairahó and his wife, I tell them that if a white man should whip his wife, another white man would kill him with a revolver. Jokingly I add: "If you, Kamairahó, beat your wife, I have to kill you with my revolver." With these words I go away.

[576] 123 152 After a while Kamairahó passed me with a depressed face. I ask him: "Where are you going?" Without smiling he answers: "I am afraid of you." I embrace him, I kiss him impetuously in the Tapirapé manner, that is, rubbing my nose against his nose; but all this is in vain. He waits patiently until I let him go, continues walking, and tells the men and women whom he is passing that he is afraid of me, the white man who kills those who beat women. May I observe here that I always went around without a weapon among the Tapirapé, keeping the revolver, as Kamairahó knew, in my hammock hanging close to his hammock, and even there the revolver was at hand only to be at the disposal of the same Kamairahó in order to protect him against the event of nocturnal attack by the Kayapó Indians, the most terrible neighbours. Kamairahó enters his house and immediately from there sounds an agitated and long talk. With the speed of lightning the news spreads through the village that Kamairahó is afraid of me and is lying in his hammock and that I would kill with a revolver the husbands who whip their wives. A middle-aged woman joins me, saying: "I am afraid of you." I assure her again that I am not bad, that, on the con-

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

**Champukwi of the Village of the Tapirs**

Champukwi sketched for me the stories of Petura, the Tapirapé ancestral hero who stole fire from the King Vulture, daylight from the night owl, *genipa* (used for dye) from the monkeys, and other items for the Tapirapé. However, he persuaded Marumi, an elder famous for his knowledge of mythology, to relate the details although he himself helped considerably to clarify for me the meaning of native phrases and to make the stories told by Marumi more fully understandable. Champukwi also forewarned me of events that I might want to witness, events that without his warning I might have missed. Such were the wrestling matches which took place upon the return of a hunting party between those men who went on the hunt and those who remained at home. He told me of a particularly handsome basket a man had made, which I might want to add to my collection for the Brazilian National Museum. He came to tell me that a young woman in a neighboring house was in labor, thus enabling me to get a photograph of the newborn infant being washed in the stream, and he urged the men to celebrate for my benefit a ceremony which might easily have been omitted. Champukwi was no longer merely an informant. He became a participant in ethnographic research although, of course, he never thought of it in these terms. He seemed somehow to understand the anthropologist's task in studying his culture, and in the process he gained considerable objectivity about his own way of life.

Yet it must be said that Champukwi did not seem to discredit the norms, institutions, and beliefs of his own people. Although he saw Valentim and me walk safely down the path through the forest late at night, he steadfastly refused to do the same; for the path was a favorite haunt of the lonely ghosts of deceased Tapirapé who might harm the living. He reasoned that the *tovi* were probably immune to this danger. When he was ill, he took the pills we urged upon him but he also called in the shaman. His curiosity about airplanes, automobiles, and "gigantic canoes" (passenger boats) which he saw pictured in the magazines we had brought with us, was great; but he boasted that the Tapirapé could walk farther and faster than any *tovi* or even the Caraja (who are a canoe people). In fact, his interest in, and enthusiasm for, certain Tapirapé activities seemed to be heightened by our presence. Almost all Tapirapé ceremonials involve choral singing and Champukwi was a singing leader of one of the sections of the men's societies. He was always pleased when

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



115 He was always pleased when
123 we came to listen, particularly if we made the motions of joining in.
[526] He was an excellent wrestler in Tapirapé style, in which each opponent takes a firm grip on the pigtail of the other and attempts to throw him to the ground by tripping. Our wrestling match was brief although I was much taller than he; and his match with Valentim Gomes, who outweighed him by more than forty pounds, was
[186] a draw. Unlike so many who get a glimpse at a seemingly "superior" cultural world, Champukwi never became dissatisfied with his own way of life.

122 In June of 1940, my period of residence among the Tapirapé
123 Indians ended. The waters on the savanna which had to be crossed
[101] afoot to get to the Tapirapé River where our canoe was moored had not completely receded. Many Tapirapé friends, among them Champukwi, offered to carry our baggage, made lighter after a final distribution of gifts, down to the river. The night before our departure
122 a festival with the usual songfest was held to celebrate the final phase
123 of a ceremony during which a youth, this time the nephew of
881 Kamiraho, became a man. Some Brazilian tribes make this occasion
[191] an ordeal by such means as applying a frame of stinging wasps to
[301] the body of the novice, but it is characteristic of the Tapirapé that
[302] the "ordeal" consists only of decorating the youth with a headdress of magnificent red macaw feathers, painting his body elaborately, and making him the center of dancing and singing—although the youth must himself dance continuously for a day and a night. Cham-
122 pukwi led the singing most of the night, but at dawn he came to
123 our house to supervise the packing of our belongings into the basket-like cases made of palm which are used for carrying loads of any kind. He divided the baggage among the younger men. Even some of the older household leaders decided to accompany us but they, of course, did not carry anything. Our trip was slow because everyone was tired after the all-night festival and because of the water through
[501] which we had to wade. At one point, rafts had to be made to trans-
[881] port our baggage across a still-swollen stream. Since the Tapirapé do not swim—or, like Champukwi, they swim but poorly—it was the job of the *tovi* to swim and push the rafts. I had the honor of swimming across the stream, pushing the respected chieftain, Kamiraho. (How he got back, I shall never know.) After a day and a half, we reached the landing on the Tapirapé River, and the next

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the personal names—such as Oprunsui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Mariapawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let alone pronounce.

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the widespread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native *American crops* were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poisonous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm-thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on their bodies with *urucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversations that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

123 the subject of conversation when listening to a strange language.)
[199] Then, of course, our presence was materially valuable—for the salt, knives, needles, beads, mirrors, and other presents we brought were greatly appreciated. However, within a very short time some of these people began to emerge as individuals. Awanchowa, a small boy of about 6, followed me about and literally haunted our little house, staring at our large bag of salt which he ate with the same relish children in other cultures eat sweets. Then there was Tanui, a woman of middle age (whose hair was cropped short indicating that a near relative had recently died) who often brought us presents of food.
123 Gradually most of the villagers emerged as distinctive personalities
115 and among them was Champukwi. I cannot remember when I first came to know him as an individual, but his name begins to appear regularly in my field notebooks about one month after our arrival. Soon, he became my best informant, and after a time, an inseparable companion.

116 In 1939 Champukwi must have been about 25 years of age. He
[41] was tall for a Tapirapé male, measuring perhaps about 5 feet 6 inches, strongly built but lean, and weighing, I should judge, about
[302] 150 lbs. Like all Tapirapé men he wore his hair in bangs across his forehead with a braided pigtail tied at the back of his neck. He was somewhat of a dandy, for his feet and the calves of his legs
[301] were painted bright red every evening with *rucu*. From time to time he painted an intricate design on his body, and he wore crocheted
[554] disc-like wrist ornaments of cotton string dyed red. He was obviously a man of some prestige among men of his age, for youths and younger men treated him with deference, always finding a seat for him on the bench that was built against one wall of our house.
[199] I soon learned that he, too, had spent a short period at a mission
[191] station several years earlier and that he knew a few words of Portuguese. He was married and had a daughter about 2 years of age. His wife, hardly attractive according to my American tastes, appeared to be somewhat older than he, and was pregnant when we first met.

115 Champukwi seemed more patient than other Tapirapé with my at-
122 tempts to use his language and to seek information. He would repeat
[122] a word, a phrase, or a sentence several times so that I might write it down phonetically. He resorted to his meager Portuguese and even to mimicry to explain what was meant. His patience was of course

[711] if they had cut the rope higher up, the woman would have come
§26 out beautiful, and then all Indians would be white and beautiful" (Lehmann-Nitsche 6, 195, 196). As we can see, "white" and "beautiful" are clearly equated in this myth.

§26 Just as most Tapirapé do not fit their own ideal of beauty with regard to skin color, they do not fit it either with regard to stature, for while most of them are small, they like large men.

They also like a body where none of the parts provided by nature are missing, except for the hair, which is cut on specific [301] occasions, and the body hair, which is carefully plucked. For this reason, namely, for esthetic motives, Chief Kamairabó would not allow one of his incisors to be removed, although it was quite loose and the source of frequent complaints on his part.

291 Like most Brazilian Indians who do not yet live in close [711] and continuous contact with the Whites, the Tapirapé, both men and women, go altogether naked. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] And like most Indians in this country, the Tapirapé always go barefoot. The men merely wear the penis sheath and sometimes the waist cord.

When I asked the Tapirapé for the name of their penis 711 sheath, someone first told me the word nohó. This is the name •192 given to the penis in Karajá, but those Indians do not use a sheath. They tie the prepuce just over the glans with a cotton cord that they call noodakín (Krause 2, 204). Later I heard among the Tapirapé the word cherakuichivohfua to designate "my penis sheath," from cherakui, "my penis," and hfua, which is related to the word for "leaf." [Ed., the first paragraph of p. 84 is omitted.]

291 [105:84] The penis sheath of the Tapirapé is made of a [287] strip of inner bark, from one and a half to two centimeters wide, taken from the stalk of the central leaf of a palm called pinavé by these Indians and simply "palm tree" by the non-Indian population of the Araguaia. As a rule, each man possesses a number of these strips, hung in bundles and rolls on the walls of his hut.

To make the sheath, the strip is folded so that its tips nearly join. Then the tips are slipped together into the resulting knot. [531] This produces a funnel with oblique walls, sometimes adorned with a few burns made with lightly applied live coals (Photo. 20). A special device prevents the funnel from opening too easily: before

261 [116] swallow the hair plucked from their own body. Indeed, like most
South American Indians, the Tapirapé have the custom of care-
[102] fully plucking all the hair from their faces and bodies. They refer
to this procedure as shopaé. They remove body hair by covering
it first with hot ashes and then plucking it out with their fingers.
They likewise pluck out their whiskers exclusively with the fingers.
[49] To remove eyebrows and eyelashes, however, they use a special
instrument consisting simply of the caryopsis of a certain grass
plant [Tr., identified in a later, omitted passage as the fruit of
Streptogyne crinita Beauv., according to F.C. Hoehne (3)] which
is equipped with teeth forming hooks at acute angles. The In-
dian holds this pod between the right thumb and index finger,
while holding the eyebrow or eyelashes of the person he is about
to beautify with the corresponding fingers of the left hand. Then
he places the little hooks against the stretched hair, pushing down.
A few hairs are invariably caught in this natural implement and
removed along with it. [Ed., the last half of p. 109, which in-
cludes a detailed description of the use of Streptogyne crinita
Beauv. as an instrument for depilation, pp. 110-113, and the first
two lines of p. 114 are omitted.]

304 [107:114] The Tapirapé apply scarification to men only.
[88] They first do this at the time when the boy who is to be initiated
is given a haircut, that is to say, one year before the initiation
ceremony. The procedure is repeated several times until mar-
riage, and not infrequently it is carried out even after that. The
Indians make vertical scratches on the skin of the arm between
the shoulder and the elbow, and on the front part of the leg both
on the thigh and between the knee and foot. The procedure is
carried out by a mature man. Immediately afterward, the patient
steps into the water to wash. It is extremely rare for inflammation
[827] to result. The aim of the procedure is to "give strength." Accord-
ing to Wagley (4, 17), the killer of a sorcerer--medicine man, in
751 order to protect himself and the rest of his tribe against any possible
114 danger, must, among other precautionary measures, "scratch his
304 chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dogfish, just as he
did in the course of the ceremony he had performed as a young
boy to make himself a strong adult" [Tr., given in English in 4,
72]. I obtained no such information while I was in Tampitíua.

304 The scarifying tool has the same name as the scratches it
413 makes, namely, chainíúa. It is a triangular gourd fragment
[192]

It should be pointed out further
304 that tamooing as a badge of the marriageable girl is found in
171 South America not only in such widely separated regions as Guiana
882 and Paraguay, but also among tribes belonging to such distinct linguistic families as the Karaib [Carib] and the Tupí. [Ed., end of Vol. 107.]

[108:121] Body painting is widely used among the Tapirapé.
302 In this respect, however, there are differences dictated by sex, age,
306 and the particular individual involved. The colors used are: black, obtained from the juice of the genipap (chenipáua in Tapirapé), the fruit of a tree of the Rubiaceae family (Genipa americana, Lin.); and red extracted from the pulp of urucú, the fruit of a shrub of the Bixaceae family (Bixa orellana, Lin.).
[192] The Tapirapé, too, call it urukú, lending the vowel a sound that lies between u and a closed o. The manufacture of the paste derived from this fruit is not as simple as the obtention of genipap juice and will be described in Chapter 10 [Tr., apparently not published].

The genipap is simply chewed, as Staden (v. 3) related of the
[171] Tupinambá, and the juice is left in a gourd. Among the Tapirapé,
[462] both men and women do this work, allowing the juice to run directly from their mouths into the container. The liquid is clear, like water, and turns black upon drying. The juice can only be used as a dye when the fruit is almost ripe, at the time when it stops growing, for the staining quality vanishes when the rind turns brownish and the pulp grows soft. This dye, according to Staden
302 (ibid.) and [108:122] Soares de Sousa (215), lasts for nine days on the skin and cannot be washed off before then. I must say, however, that on my skin it did not endure more than two or three days.

Among the women, body painting with genipap was so widespread that the absence of this painting gave me almost the same feeling as I get when I see a "civilized" lady in a negligee at the wrong hour. The design uniformly used by all members of the female sex, with the exception of children and old women, is completely different from the [Fig. 2 appears here] various types of body painting displayed by the men. It is called loképaí, while
[192] kuanriana is the generic term for all designs, including those on plaited objects, gourds, etc. Straight lines stretch down obliquely from between the breasts to the belly and thighs. The latter are

302 [108:124] [Fig. 4 appears here.] I have sometimes seen Tapirapé men whose painting merely consisted of a series of handprints scattered all over the body. They called this vaipapé, a word [192] which may be derived from vaitepe, "many," and pa, "hand."

The Tapirapé often blacken their hands with genipap or outline their mouths with it. In the vuangkané painting (Fig. 2), the man also has a black border around the mouth. This decora- [171] tion is also used by the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Fig. 48a). [108: 125] The genipap design on the inside of a man's thigh (Fig. 6) [584] was drawn by his lover at the outset of their relationship. They call it anampaí and maintain that it is a "fish." They also draw

Fig. 3. Ipihauúua male body painting.

it on the arms.

While the above-mentioned male paintings are worn by the 302 men from their initiation up to the time when they no longer 881 participate in daytime dances, boys have their entire bodies blackened with genipap for a whole year preceding the day of their

304 Like the ear perforation, that of the lower lip is restricted to members of the male sex among the inhabitants of Tampilitiu. According to them, it is also made by the mother with a bone [412] needle on the morning following the birth of her child. The 301 Tapirapé do not have a generic name for the objects inserted into the artificial lip opening, which vary with the age of the wearer. 237 When they want to refer to a lip ornament without specifying which one, they merely say emekuana (emeguana, temekuana), or [192] emekuanî if a small boy is concerned. Emé means "lower lip" (cheremé, "my lower lip"), kuana means "hole," and i is a diminutive (kuanî, "little hole"). The opening in a child's lip is indeed much smaller than in that of an adult such as Kamairî (Photo. 57). They insert a bone there until the time when the boy who is about to be initiated has his hair cut, and this bone grows along with its wearer (Photos. 3, 6, 25, 28, 61). Thus, a boy who was about five years old wore a wild-pig bone nine and a half centimeters long and from two to four millimeters wide, with a crosspiece about eight millimeters wide (Photo. 18). A boy of eight or ten had a deer bone 25 centimeters long and three to five [109:77] in diameter, with a crosspiece one centimeter wide (Photo. 17). Rhea bones were also used as boys' lip ornaments. The bone is introduced from the inside, so that the crosspiece remains inside the mouth to secure the ornament.

[302] When a boy's hair is cut, a year before his initiation cere- [881] mony, the deer bone is replaced with the wooden plug worn by the men (Photo. 19a). Some of those plugs contain the embedded tooth of a tapiti (Sylvilagus minensis, tampichî in Tapirapé) (Photo. 55). The plug with a tooth shown in Photograph 19a is about eight to ten millimeters in diameter and six millimeters along its full length, or in other words, four millimeters in the wooden section and two millimeters in the projecting part of the tooth. The piece that secures the plug is two centimeters wide. [824] The plugs are made with the pointed excrescences found on the trunks of a tree called tanchimoyva in Tapirapé. The one reproduced here (Photo. 19b) is 25 millimeters long and from 15 to 25 millimeters wide.

301 At the initiation ceremony, however, and only on that great 324 day, the boy wears an ornament that would qualify for the Tupi [981] name tembetá, from tembé, "lower lip," and itá, "stone." This

[30] 324 word is usually given to all the hard, stiff objects worn by Brazilian Indians in the artificial lower-lip hole, except for the bosoque which differs from the tembetá in shape and size (cf. Baldus and Willems 33-34 and 218). [Fig. 7 appears here.] It is true that the Tapirapé are unfamiliar with this word and speak only of itachinga, "white stone," when they point at this quartz ornament. I was told by them that the raw material is found "in large quantities" in a stream they call Tochypiá, which flows several days' journey northwest of Tampiitíua, near Moytéua, the Tapirapé village abandoned in 1932. The specimen I saw (Fig. 7) measured nine and a half centimeters along its full length and four and a half centimeters around the slender part, while the thick part was ten and a half centimeters all around and three and a half centimeters in diameter. It was the only specimen extant in Tampiitíua, and Kamairahó, in whose possession it was, did not want to let me have it at any price. This shows the importance of this ornament in the life of the tribe. Since the tembetá was no longer complete, I asked the Indian Kaniõ to show me how it was worn. It became

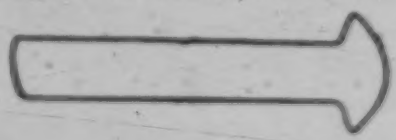

Fig. 7. Ceremonial quartz tembetá.

evident that the thicker part remains outside the mouth, for Kaniõ coated the other end with wax and introduced it into the lip hole (Photo. 2).

In Chapter 4 I mentioned the notices of João Manuel de Menezes, [71] Aristides de Souza Spinola, Fritz Krause, and Wilhelm Kissenberth 30 concerning the existence of Tapirapé tembetá among the [109:71] Karajá. The specimen acquired by Kissenberth (2, 72 and Fig. 18) from these Indians, which he reproduces in its actual size, has almost the same length as the fragment I saw in Tampiitíua, that is to say, 8.6 centimeters, and it too is incomplete. The difference, however, lies in the fact that the broadened, convex, plug-shaped end is missing, rather than the securing piece. The latter has the shape of a T, that is to say, it is a crosspiece like those on the

114 trait is as characteristic of northern and central South America
171 as the wooden stool. Its southern boundary, like that of the
952 hammock, is the southernmost region inhabited by the Tupi-Guarani tribes. We find it mentioned, indeed, among the Tupinambá, Caingua, Chiriguano, Guarayú, Yuruna, Chipaya, Curuaya, Auetö, Kamayurá, and Oyampi. Ortiguera lists among
[531] the wooden owned by the Omagua their painted and varnished
[532] stools. Those of the Chiriguano, Caingua, Yuruna, and Kamayurá are made in the shape of animals" [translated from French].

It should be remembered, however, that as Father Wilhelm
114 Schmidt showed on a comparative table, there is a wide variety
171 of types, not only among the benches as a whole but also among
952 those representing animals. One of the latter is peculiar to the
532 Indians of the upper Xingu (Von den Steinen 2, 286-288), to the Karajá (Krause 2, 199), and to the Tapirapé. It consists of a single piece of wood for the seat, and two supporting boards set up as they would be in a sled. Among the Kamayurá, Mehinakú [Mehinacu], and Trumai, however, the representation of birds retains a certain naturalism (cf. Von den Steinen 2, Figs. 82-84), while it is altogether stylized among the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 19), where the ellipsoidal seat of the bench ends on either side in a sort of triangular head with mother-of-pearl eyes supplied with wax pupils, and tameh [111:114] of yellow-red parrot feathers at the ear openings. The bench I saw in Tampitzana was similar in shape to the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause (ibid.) and was also painted black with genipap juice (cf. Krause 2, 199), but it possessed neither eyes nor ear openings and ornaments. Although its appearance indicated a closer relationship with the stool of the Anguaia Indians, its name related it to the Xingu bench. While the Karajá call the stool holiná (Krause, ibid.),
114 the Tapirapé give it the name amyhaua, which in the Tupi of
171 the Auetö and Kamayurá comes out as apyhép (apihép in Von den
952 Steinen's spelling, 2, 286). It is worth noting that a Karaib tribe
●192 in the same region, the Bakairi, use the same Tupi term changed to apyka (apika in Von den Steinen's monograph). The same word, but with the tonic accent on the last syllable, that is to say, apyká, means "bench" in the Tupi-Guarani dialect heard by Montoya (2, I, 100) in the upper Paraná basin, while the Amazon

114 Nheêngatu [Tr., the native name for Tupi, meaning "good lan-
171 guage"] language recorded by Stradelli (684) has upikasaua or
352 upikatyua for "bench," and upikaud for the person sitting on it.
192 Claude d'Abbeville (308) mentions among the Tupinambá of Maranhão "very nice little stools which they call Apoycaue" [translated from French].

As far as the function of these benches is concerned, we
171 must take into account the observation relayed by Krause (loc.
352 cit.) that among the Karajá "they are only for the chiefs," and
554 the note by Von den Steinen (2, 287) that there are not many specimens in existence among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin, but that they are always found in the chiefs' houses where they are offered to guests. (This latter observation is confirmed by Meyer 1, 63.)

Kamaiabó was the owner of the stool in Tampitawa. This man was the most important leader among the Tapirapé, and wherever he went there went the wooden seat as though it were a badge of distinction. Kamaiabó took it and sat on the Tampitawa plaza or outside the village before the little house built and inhabited by my companion Kegel and our camarada Daniel. Only when he was in his own house would he place the stool against the wall close to his net and sit or lie in the latter.
[571] As among the Xingu tribes, this "ceremonial seat" was also offered to guests among the Tapirapé. I never sat on it alone, however. Since two people could sit on it at once if they pressed very close together, Kamaiabó never granted me more than half his throne. In order to do this, he could not merely move over to the side. He had to stand up and establish with me a complete harmony of movement. For although the horizontal board of the seat was large enough for both of us, the central support, like that of the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause, was so small, dwindling further toward the ground, that we had to take over our respective halves with the most rigorous synchronization to avoid tipping the seat over and either hitting the floor or being hit in the buttocks by the bench.

Kamaiabó and I frequently spent the early hours of the night
556 in such equipoise, while beside [111:115] and before us the other
562 men and boys sat on a tree trunk and the women and girls sat

177 514 than overcome by habit they bent down until they were squatting again. These inroads on the traditional manner [111:117] of urinating were repeated on the days that followed. "I urinate" ●[192] is ankurig in Tapirapé. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

A letter from Father Antônio Blasquez, written in Bahia in 000 1557 and included in the Cartas jesuiticas [Letters from the Jesuits] (II, 173) says of the local Tupinambá: "Their houses are dark, ill-smelling, and smoky, and in the center stand some jars shaped like half-troughs that recall the caldrons of hell. At the same moment, some of the Indians are laughing and others are crying, so slowly does the night go by in this house, where no one goes out. Their beds are hammocks rotten with urine, for they are so lazy that they will not get up to answer the calls of nature." [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

514 As far as the Tapirapé are concerned, I may say that I never saw them urinate inside the house and never smelled urine on their hammocks, which, in any case, were washed in the nearby stream. To judge the cleanliness of the village as a whole, there is 956 no better authority than that of the mistress of a household in one 964 of the most civilized nations of Europe, namely, the charming Madame de la Falaise, who writes as follows about Tampiitsua (200): "The general impression is one of stability and cleanliness, which is not encountered in any of the Caraja villages I visited. Here, there is neatness. No litter, no thrift-shop jumble, no tattered witches, no garbage, or broken pottery. Caraja villages express disorder, laziness, a heedless attitude. They are flea markets stinking of old fish. The Tapirapé village expresses order. The basic character of each race is clearly expressed. The Caraja, 000 who camp for five or six months [111:118] at most, delight in the 964 temporary. The Tapirapé, who are much more sedentary, set up their house for a long time" [translated from French.] [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

231 964 Of course, the cleanliness of the Tapirapé has limits which the kindness of Madame de la Falaise does not disclose, but which become apparent when we take a good look at the ground in some of the photographs reproduced in this work. There is no doubt that the voracity of the dogs and chickens contributes a great deal to the cleanliness of the houses and their immediate vicinity, for if it were not for them, much of the kind of garbage in which they are

interested would remain where it is. Also, I have already mentioned the enthusiastic battling of the chickens against roaches, which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (159-160), incidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Arauers by the savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked and poorly wrapped at night, these Arauers gnawed them to the bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning" [translated from French].

The word written arauers in the French spelling of the sixteenth century author tallies perfectly with the aravé, anaué, and arauá with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient coastal Tupi in not fortifying their village with fences and in possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most typically Tupi are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial, and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Kaapé in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupi name they give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings, in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:118] of houses around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

227 consists of cane internodes, slit lengthwise in such a way that a ring of the same material placed across the middle of each internode constitutes, so to speak, the common base of two cones formed by the splayed and distended strips, which remain joined only at the tips of the internode, that is to say, at the two nodes (Photo. 31). The Tapirapé name for this "rod-trap" is chekif-
•[192] nayngaua, and the name of the material used is anghamanchywa, the same kind of cane that is used in making arrows. I must
171 confess that I never saw the chekif-nayngaua in use and have not
227 heard of its existence in other tribes. Among the eastern Bororo, however, there are hair ornaments consisting of cane internodes which are also distended with a ring of the same material and adorned with feathers. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

The strainer (yrupema) of cane strips is used by children and
227 adults of both sexes to catch small fish, as I frequently observed at the village stream. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[112:61] There are couples who go to the fishing waters at
226 night with burning sticks. The fish are drawn by the light, and they are killed easily with a club or bush knife or caught with the hand. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not see any fishing with nets among the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not witness any harpoon fishing among the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, I did not see any fishing with the im-
171 plement of small pointed sticks arranged in the shape of a truncated
227 cone, which is called kuru by the Bakairi (Von den Steinen 2, 73, 74, and 236). It is also used by the Tembé (Nordenskiöld 6, 102 and Map 11), but is not found among the Karajá and Kayapó.

To judge by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use fishhooks and
227 do not care much for them as gifts. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

On a lake whose waters had been poisoned by the Tapirapé,
114 the same author [Krause] (2, 409) saw a few light tree trunks
501 bound together, which he assumed had been used for navigation. As I already mentioned in Chapter 2, I found on the Tampitawa stream a trunk hollowed out in the shape of a canoe, but lying with

114 its opening facing downward. As a result, it served us nicely to
501 wash our clothes on. It had apparently been made just to pass the time and did not seem to have any further purpose. The
171 Tapirapé do not usually travel in boats, differing in this respect
501 from the Tupinambá and from most of the present-day Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 207-211), from the Xingu Indians (Von den Steinen 2, 234), and from the Karajá (Krause 2, 276), but not from the Kayapó (ibid., 393). The Chavante, who do not have canoes either, cross the Rio das Mortes on the crude rafts described by Steffka. It is worth noting, however, that the Tapirapé retain
[192] the old Tupi word for "canoe," that is, yana, written yana by Stradelli and considered by him (715) "a contraction of y, 'water,' and iara, 'mistress,' 'mistress of the water.'" In any case, it is not impossible that the Tapirapé formerly possessed canoes for navigation.

As far as fishing is concerned, let us also mention Manggambé's
787 "dream." The people of Tampiitaua often say that they dreamed
776 of something which they actually suspect or know about. Manggambé
226 was the fattest Tapirapé at the time of my visit. He dreamed of an abundance of fish at a specific spot in a certain stream, [112:62] which held so many fish that the anchinga would be able to eat them
[535] in large quantities. The name anchinga is applied not only to certain spirits, but also to the masked dancers who represent them. All the anchinga who inhabit the hills and waters feed on fish. This
[162] Tapirapé belief, incidentally, is a token of the importance of fishing. Manggambé said that "all" the men should go and fetch the fish he had dreamed of. What Tampiitaua regards as "all" the men did go. They were Manggambé himself and eight companions. When they returned, Manggambé held a large basket full of tiny fish, which were cooked and eaten shortly before dawn in the ceremonial house by the men and adolescents who had impersonated [in the dance] anchinga, chaaiuí [a bird], and inaychó [a fish]. [Id., end of Vol. 112.]

105 [112:191] Although fishing is one of their chief means of subsistence, the Tapirapé cannot be regarded essentially as a fishing tribe, as their neighbors the Karajá might fittingly be described. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua do not lead the amphibian life of these big-river navigators. They are forest Indians and cultivators par excellence. In this respect, they remain typical Tupi Indians.

There were no vestiges of a pair of
231 pigs brought in shortly before that time by a White friend who
[148] hoped to induce the Indians to raise these animals.

I referred to the dogs above when I spoke about hunting. The puppies of those canines of the harrier type were suckled by women, and unfortunately not by old ones, but by the most beautiful girls. In one house, hung alongside the sleeping hammocks, there was even an incredibly small net which was the bed of one of these four-footed children. After a childhood replete with such pampering, however, the dog's life becomes a dog's life. He goes through it hungry, his ribs showing, stealing remnants of human food and sometimes even bananas, and granted as his only truly inexhaustible and non-forbidden means of subsistence the gathering of cockroaches. Just as he must now chew on these bugs instead of sucking on a kind Tapirapé breast, he must, instead of being petted, submit to curses, blows, and kicks, even though they are usually administered with a certain restraint and even gentleness. When, at a male gathering, a man's flatulence gives rise to unpleasant odors, the nearest dog is blamed for it, and the men grunt disapprovingly and kick in the animal's direction, an uncertain kick aimed at the air rather than at the dog.

The chickens are not usually fed by human hands either and
235 therefore resort to hunting the cockroaches which abound on the walls and floor of the house. At night, by the light of the fires, I often saw hens with their chicks walking around the house in search of those bugs. This does not mean that they are anything else during the day.

Just as dogs are never confined in any way, so do the chickens enjoy complete freedom and at the time of my visit used to roost on top of the houses. Their role in Tapirapé culture is to supply feathers on rare occasions, and even more rarely to supply a dish of meat.

The Tapirapé word for "chicken" is vuyanchampokhinia,
[192] which corresponds to the galinha capucaya listed in the Vocabulário da Língua Brasílica, which, according to Ayrosa, was probably compiled by Anchieta. [Ed., all but the last paragraph of p. 198 is omitted.]

262 like a turnip, the size of a child's fist, and slightly more pungent
824 in taste than the white carú with which we are familiar; (3) this
[171] same white carú, which was imported from the Whites as is shown by its Tapirapé name of mayrangkanakuera (mayra, "white man"; kanã, "carú"; kuera, "that was"), often 70 centimeters in circumference, half a meter in length, and tasteless; (4) a third Dioscoreacea, found wild in the forest and called kanachinga or "white carú" in Tapirapé because the tubers are white inside, which is shaped like a carrot, 20 centimeters around, 30 centimeters long, and as tasteless as mairangkanakuera; (5) a yam that reaches 60 centimeters in circumference and 35 in length (Alocasia spec., iampokumaé in Tapirapé), tastier than the various carú; (7) a smaller yam called uvanchaira in Tapirapé. It is a known fact that the sweet potato and the carú plants are autochthonous to America, while the yams are imported (cf. Hoehné 2, 187). The Tapirapé assert that they cultivated iampokumaé in remote times and remember having received uvanchaira from the Whites.

Hans Staden (v. 3) liked the sweet potato of the Tupinambá
171 and wrote its name as jetiki. The Tupi term was entered in the
824 vernacular as jetica (Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua
•192 Portuguesa [Small Brazilian Dictionary of the Portuguese Language], 5th edition, 1944). Studelli (500), in his Nheengatu vocabulary, [114:189] listed iatyca as the word for "potato." Incidentally, the Tapirapé plant chetyka only in small quantities. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Aside from the tubers mentioned above, bananas are the vege-
262 table food of greatest importance to the Tapirapé. Like manioc, they are gathered by these Indians almost throughout the entire year. At the time of my visit in July, 1947, however, there were considerably fewer bananas and other foodstuffs in the village than in the months of June to August, 1935. In Chapter 2, it has al-
[192] ready been mentioned that the generic term chatí or tatí, with
[171] which the inhabitants of Tampitinúa designate the bananas they cultivate, resembles the Karajá word for this fruit. In Tampitinúa I ate the following varieties of this Musaceae.

262 (1) A banana 30 centimeters long and from 15 to 20 centi-
824 meters in circumference, the largest one cultivated by the Tapirapé and for this reason called tatahó, that is, the generic term plus the augmentative. The neo-Brazilians of the Araguaia call it

252 case, the addition is made before the juice begins to boil. The
262 fruit that supplies this juice reaches 35 centimeters in length, 30
124 in circumference, and has a thick, hard shell. Its Tapirapé name is horuanchoa, choa (or chova) referring to the color yellow. The neo-Brazilians in the area know this fruit by the name cruá which, according to the Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa, 5th edition, is synonymous with cruá, craná, and melão-caboclo (Sicana odorifera Naud.) [Tr., the canabanana]. In Stradelli's Nheengatú vocabulary (420), curúna is "a kind of squash covered with protuberances." [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

Kamaiabé's small sugar-cane plantation lay close to
249 Tampitíua in 1935. No other member of the tribe owned a plan-
263 tation of Saccharum officinarum L., and in 1947 I did not see any.
114 The sugar cane was used exclusively for sucking and was a recent
[171] import. Krause (1, 242) refutes Ehrenreich's statement that the
[171] Karajá planted sugar cane on sandbars, and says that what he saw was manioc and maize. He writes in reference to those Indians: "... I saw no sugar cane. If they had possessed it, they probably would not have been so eager for my sugar... " This conclusion is wrong. The fact that they sucked on sugar cane never kept the Tapirapé from asking for my rapadura [Tr., raw brown sugar in lumps].

These Indians make beiju (meijú or mikjú in their language),
252 sometimes with the tapioca extracted from manioc mash, as al-
262 ready mentioned, [114:198] and at other times with peanut or maize flour. According to Ayrosa (1, 54), the word "mbeiú or mbeyú of the Tupi-Guarani" is "equivalent to 'cake,' 'roll,' 'bolo,' etc." The same author (ibid., 51-54) lists several varieties of this cake, which has been described by various authors. The Tapirapé beijú is similar in shape to the so-called beiju-açú, which is a large, thin disk roasted in a shallow earthen pan. It is not everyday food. During my stays in Tampitíua, I saw it only once. This was on June 28, 1935, at the time of a festival of "masks." They placed a large pan full of these disks of manioc-mash tapioca, made by Anampú, the wife of Tampanchoa, in the middle of the ubaba. This important man offered it to several of the people
[71] present and apportioned it himself. I, too, got my share and liked
252 it. Hans Staden (1, 2) mentions similar Tupinambá cakes made in the
262 same fashion with the same material and which their name as byyu.
192.

[71] According to Karl von den Steinen (2, 339), the Kamayurá voice
● 192 a nasalized meiñ, that is to say, almost mmiñ (meyo and mmyo
252 in his spelling). The same author (ibid., Fig. 54) reproduces a
262 spade decorated with geometric designs that was used by these Indians to turn the cakes over. In Tampitifua I did not see any special implement for this purpose, and in Wagley's collection at the [Brazilian] National Museum there is nothing like it either. [Ed., the last two sentences concluding the section in Vol. 114 are omitted.]

[115:255] To the Tapirapé, the most important vegetable
262 dish is unquestionably cauí.' [Ed., five sentences are omitted.]
171 In sixteenth century references, the intoxicating drink of the
192 Tupinambá appears as Kaa.wy and Kawi in the spelling of the German Hans Staden (2, f 3), Cahouin in Thevet (1, 121), and Caou-in in De Léry (128). The nasalized i indicated by the two
194 Frenchmen, and later pointed out in various Tupi languages by authors coming from different countries, does not exist either in Tapirapé or in Kamayurá, but in both these languages the u in kauí is nasalized, and the i in the tonic syllable (cf. Von den Steinen 2, 213). Furthermore, neither the [115:256] Tapirapé
[279] nor the Kamayurá make intoxicating beverages. The Tapirapé
272 designate with the word kauí their peanut, maize, manioc, cotton-
192 seed, squash, and banana soups, and even straight drinking water
171 (y-kauí), while the Kamayurá use this term for the simple refreshing drink made of water and crumbled beijú (ibid.). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The kauí of the Tapirapé is not always made exclusively from
272 one of the plants mentioned above. There are mixtures, such as crushed maize with chewed peanuts or with chewed cottonseed. No other plant aside from those listed are used, however, and no such soups are made, for example, with cauí or yuca. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 256 and the first paragraph on p. 257 are omitted.]

[115:257] None of the [early] authors mentions expressly the
[114] three kinds of cauí that are made by the Tapirapé with cotton seeds,
[252] peanuts, and squash. As I have already mentioned, the cotton seeds are chewed with crushed maize. The resulting drink has a yellowish-green appearance and little flavor. It is true that the
171 Tupinambá of Bahia also found these seeds nutritious, but they pre-
252 pared them in a different fashion. Gabriel Soares de Sousa (128)

171 writes: "The natives eat these cotton seeds crushed and then
252 boiled into a mush which they call mingau."

At the time of my stays among the Tapirapé, the monovf-
272 kauf was the kind most frequently used and the one I myself took most often. I confess that I liked this drink so much and developed such nostalgia for it that in 1947, when I again met the people whose hammocks had hung beside mine 12 years earlier, the first wish I expressed was this, "Monovf-kauf." It is worth noting
114 that Gabriel Soares de Sousa (203), in describing the use of the
191 peanut among the Tupinambá, does not mention it in connection
272 with the preparation of a liquid. The same applies to squash, incidentally, of which, according to the sixteenth century Portuguese author (ibid., 201), "there are ten or 12 varieties" called gerumds by the Tupinambá of Bahia. The Tapirapé drink made
272 with crumbled squash is called kuruf-kauf. Kuruf may not be
[117] one of the "varieties" of "gerumds" known in Bahia, but like them, in any case, it belongs to the edible Cucurbitaceae.

The vegetable substances used in preparing the various kinds
[252] of Tapirapé kauf are crumbled or mashed by the women in three different ways, namely, between the hands, in the mortar, and between the teeth. Squash and bananas go between the hands; maize and manioc, the latter previously soaked in water and then sun-dried, go into the mortar; while maize, manioc, peanuts, and cotton seeds are chewed. In the Tapirapé language, amaryki
[192] means "I chew," and andjahkh, "I pound." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 257, p. 258, and the first paragraph on p. 259 are omitted.]

[115:258] The custom of turning a food into mush by chewing
252 it is used by the Tapirapé not only to make cauf, but for the two
[257] following purposes: they chew peanuts to make a paste with which they anoint their bodies when they have been made ill by spoiled
[199] manioc, and they chew certain foods and give the mush to nursing children. These children are also given true cauf. It is to be supposed that observing the already considerable saccharification that takes place in chewing led the Indians to apply this procedure to the preparation of their favorite food. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 259 and p. 260, which concludes the section in Vol. 115, are omitted.]

272 [116:10] Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have three stages in the preparation of their masticated-fermented drink: (1) they

272 Cold cauí, however, is also enjoyed by these Indians. I often saw one of them wake up in the middle of the night and, while everyone slept, take a gourdful of cauí that still stood in a pot removed from the fire several hours earlier. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

To the Tapirapé, the chewed and fermented drink represents not only the high point of festive banquets, but also the pièce de résistance of everyday meals, and its importance is well illustrated
779] by the fact that the flood myth ends with the following words: "When the flood ended, (the survivors) came out from under the earth, and there was cauí and many Tapirapé." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 59, p. 60, and the first two paragraphs on p. 61 are omitted.]

[116:61] To summarize, we may say that the elements of the
171 cauí complex we have studied reveal a close cultural relationship
272 between the Tapirapé and the Tupinambá (1) in the name of the drink, (2) in the important role played by manioc and maize in its preparation, (3) in the above-mentioned three stages in the preparation of the drink, which is fermented by the saliva produced in chewing, (4) in the important role played in the diet by the various kinds of cauí prepared in this fashion. When set off against these similarities, the fact mentioned by certain sixteenth century authors that the Tupinambá, in contrast to the Tapirapé, get drunk on certain occasions is of little importance.

Unquestionably less close than this cultural relationship is that relating the Tapirapé, as far as the cauí complex is concerned, to the Tupi of the upper Xingu basin. The inhabitants of Tampitíbos hold in common with the Kamayurá the name of a non-intoxicating drink, but the manufacture and function of these drinks are entirely different.

Although it would be sufficient to eliminate two consonants
[192] from the Karajá word kahuí to transform it into the word kauí, I dare not build any hypotheses around possible connections between these two words. In any case, kahuí is to the Karajá not only what cafezinho [Tr., the frequent demitasse] is to the people of São Paulo, but also what kauí is to the Tapirapé, that is to say, an important aliment. There is also a similarity in the preparation of these drinks among the Karajá and the Tapirapé. It is true, however, that the former often omit the mastication. The fact that the various kahuí I tasted were less thick than the maize, manioc, peanut, and cottonseed kauí I tried, and different in their composition, does not

171 necessarily mean that Karajá women are unfamiliar with the
272 recipes for these Tapirapé drinks. They might have come to know them through the girls from the Tupi tribe who were abducted by the Karajá at various times and under various circumstances. [Ed., end of Vol. 116.]

[117:91] The Tapirapé do not eat meat raw or rare, but
252 roasted in the embers or boiled, while smaller fish are boiled in a pot. Fish are often tossed whole into the embers, that is, without being gutted. They are left there until they are charred on the outside. This manner of preparing them lends them a delicious flavor. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

"I boil" is avén in Tapirapé, "I roast," aihyn, and "I broil,"
[192] amakaé. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

When studying the widespread distribution of the barbecue in
171 South America, Nordenskiöld (6, 136-137 and Map 12) distin-
252 guished two types, namely: (1) a quadrangular platform of sticks supported by four or, rarely, three stakes, and (2) three sticks set up, like stacked rifles, with a grille laid out between them horizontally. He lists (ibid., 136) the Tapirapé among those having the first type on the basis of the information provided by Krause (2). This author (ibid., 122, 487, 489, Plate 23, and Fig. 269 a-c) found several subspecies of that type with three or four supports, one of the supports being a tree. The stakes were not forked like those of the Tupinambá barbecue of the same type (Staden h 4, [117:92] L 3, m 3, m 2, t 11; Léry 136; Claude d'Abbeville 294), which is apparently identical to those of the Karajá and Javahé seen by Krause (2, 251 and Plate 41). As far as the barbecue is concerned, however, the Tapirapé seem to differ even more from these tribes, since they also possess, as is shown in Photograph 20, the second type distinguished by Nordenskiöld and not mentioned by him as existing among the Tupinambá, Karajá, or Javahé. On the other hand, the same pyramid-shaped barbecue was found among the northern Kayapó (Krause 2, 387 and Plate 23) and the tribes of the upper Xingu basin visited by Von den Steinen (3, 236 and Fig. 38). To summarize, we may say that the inhabitants of Tampitinka use both types of barbecue described by Nordenskiöld, while their neighbors, the Xingu Indians and the Tupinambá, are listed by the same author among the representatives having one type only.

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[122:170] In their manner of eating the Tapirapé retain many similarities with the ancient Tupinambá. As was the case among the latter, the Tampitana family usually eats together from the same container, which stands in the middle, with the father lying in the hammock and the wife and children squatting on the ground (cf. Gabriel Soares de Sousa 366 and 375; Vicente de Salvador 32). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

These present-day Tupi, like the ancient coastal ones, do not drink while they eat (cf. Vicente de Salvador 33; Soares de Sousa 375; Anchieta 2, 330; Cardim 165; Léry 127). Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé eat "all the time, night and day, at any hour or moment" (Cardim 164), and what Simão de Vasconcellos (p. LXXXV) wrote about these Indians may be applied to these: "Eating time comes whenever nature demands it, as with wild animals; and nature demands it so often, that they eat during the day, and during the night if they must." It so happened that at midnight, when everyone was asleep, my hammock neighbor Kamaiurabé suddenly awoke because he was hungry. He got up, awakening his wife and children. The women prepared fish, and finally they all began to eat and to take cauí.

The habit of tossing manioc flour into the mouth is a cultural trait that the Tapirapé share not only with the ancient coastal Tupi (cf. Léry 118-119; Thevet I, 303; Cardim 166; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. LXXXV), but also with the peasants who live near the city of São Paulo. The only difference is that around this modern metropolis the flour is propelled into the mouth with a spoon, while among the Indians this is done directly with the fingers.

Boiled food is eaten or drunk by the Tapirapé as hot as they
262 can stand it. In this respect they can stand more than I, for ex-
252 ample. If the food is still too hot even for them, they cool it off by blowing upon it or, if it is liquid, by stirring it with a gourd.

[192] [122:171] In Tapirapé, aõ means "I eat," and apõ "I drink water," the o sounding almost like a u.

To obtain clear, fresh water, the Tapirapé dig a hole so close
302 to still water or to the river that the liquid penetrates through the dividing wall of earth. The use of this filtering process shows that what Anchieta (II, 330) wrote about the Indians he knew cannot be applied to these: "... they hardly distinguish bad water from good, and are satisfied with any kind." In this respect, the inhabitants of

171 Yves d'Evreux (110) for the Tupinambá, and by Koch-Grünberg
2% (I, 1, 120) for the Kãua of the upper Alto. They could not inhale the smoke as I did. Every time they tried, they began to cough violently. My smoke-swallowing demonstrations, when I released the smoke only after having talked and drunk some water, aroused respectful admiration, but no one dared to emulate me. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, two purposes for smoking tobacco can be clearly distinguished: one that is simply recreative and one
[198] that is medicinal. As a medicine, the smoke is blown over painful areas of the body or over the entire body of the patient. A Bakairi told Karl von den Steinen (II, 347) that on the upper Xingu there are two varieties of tobacco, the one smoked for pleasure being much milder than the medicinal one.

To summarize, we may say that the Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá in the term they use to designate tobacco, in their manner of swallowing smoke, and in the fact that among them only the men smoke. They differ from these Indians, from the Xingu Indians, and from other Tupi tribes in not smoking cigars. The inhabitants of Tampiteua resemble the northern Karajá and Kayapó in their use of the jequitibá-fruit pipe; they differ from these tribes in their words for tobacco and pipe, and from the Karajá in the fact that only the men smoke in Tampiteua. [Ed., end of Vol. 122.]

[122.53] Chapter 11

## The Life Cycle of the Individual

### Birth

• 172 In Tapirapé, ará means "I fall" and "I am born" [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the remainder of the paragraph are omitted.]

[125] I did not have the opportunity to witness a birth among the
[125] Tapirapé, and I can only relay the information given to me by
6% Reverend Kagel and by the Indians. Childbirth takes place inside the house. While the future father remains in his hammock, the women assist the woman in labor, who is either lying in another hammock with her legs drawn up or supported by horizontal wooden

of about four, a girl of about 11, and another girl of less than a year. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

We see, therefore, that the Tapirapé resemble the Karajá and Kayapó, as well as Indians of the upper Xingu basin, the Tupinambá, and other Tupi tribes, in practicing the couvade. [Ed., end of Vol. 123.]

[124:138] In Tapirapé, herang means "name" and corresponds to the word hêra cited by Montoya (2, II, 154) and cêra by Studelli (412). The inhabitants of Tampilitsua told me that, among them, it is the mother who gives the newborn baby a name and who perforates the lower lip and ear lobes of a boy with a bone pin at dawn of the day following birth. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

No two or more Tapirapé ever bear the same name at the same time. I was able to discover the meaning of only a few. Animal names prevail among the women. In 1935 there was a woman over 40 years old whose name was Purangkaf, that is, "little electric eel." Another, about 35 years old, was called Tamamaf, or "great anteater" with [124:140] the addition of the diminutive i, and an old woman of about 45 had the name Anampaf, anampé being a fresh-water eel. A girl of 11 was called Chauevoyta, that is, "fresh-water ray," and another girl of six Tanchahé, the name of the white-lipped peccary. In 1947 there was a year-old girl whose name, Kaf, is that of the capuchin monkey. Among the men I only found one in 1935 whose name I could identify with that of an animal, and it was a generic name, Vuytaf, "little bird," a somewhat humorous appellation in view of the man's thick, robust body. Other translatable names, aside from those of animals, are Karuana, belonging to an eight-year-old girl, meaning "thunder" and "good rattle," and the names of two boys I knew in 1947, who were two and four years old, respectively, Tvytaf, "wind," and Ekmoumfhinga, "white boy."

According to Gabriel Soares de Sousa (370), the Tupinambá have the names of "animals, fish, birds, trees, foods, weapons and various other things," according to Staden (p 1) of "forest animals," and according to Vicente de Salvador (41) of "animals, plants, or whatever chances to come before their eyes."

This last author also notes about these Indians that "... they do not regard killing as proven unless they break heads, even

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We may say of the children of that village on the isle of Bananal, of Tampiitaua, and of many other Brazilian Indian communities, what Fernão Cardim (175) wrote with reference to the Tupinambá: "...the boys are cheerful and given to frolic and play with much gentleness and friendship, for among them no evil words are heard, no [127:236] indecencies, nor do they call their fathers and mothers names, and rarely do they disagree as they play, or quarrel about anything, hit each other, or do battle..." Modern authors also speak of the pleasant children they found among South American Indians (cf., for example, Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 147). Small children of both sexes, up to about five years of age, are called ansaí in Tapirapé. In Steadelli's Nheengatú vocabulary (850), we find the following entry: "Tafiu, 'child.' Name applied to both sexes during the first years of life, until they begin to walk and talk, are given a name, and begin to specialize in their respective tasks, at which point the boy becomes cunumi and girl cunhantaí." Aside from these terms, the Tapirapé use aimyki for the small boy and piryngí for the little girl. Yves d'Evreux (90), dealing with the age "levels" among the Tupinambá of Maranhão, writes as follows: "The first level, assumed to be common to males and females as they come out of their mother's womb, is called Peïan..." [translated from French]. In Montoya we read (2, 384): "A girl, or a boy up to age three, Mitang" [translated from Spanish].

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From about six to around 12, that is, until the girl's first menstruation and the beginning of the boy's puberty, the Tapirapé call the former kunantaí and the latter ekunumi. Montoya (2, I, 383 and 377) gives Cuña tai for a "girl up to 10 years" and Cunumí for a "youth."

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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757 the head or to tie it up and carry it off. The one whose soul is thus
787 either incapacitated or imprisoned soon dies. A shaman may call upon
756 his familiar demonic spirits of the forest to deal with a chosen victim or may in his dreams shoot a victim's spirit with small arrows causing at times death and at times only boils. Still another method of attack is for the shaman to throw a fishbone (*ipiré kunga*) or gnawing worms (*ambu or dwei*) into his victim's body causing illness and death. [755] The treatment of illness consists of removing from the victim's body these malignant arrows, fishbones, and worms that are the cause of illness.

757 In illness and other misfortune, sorcery is always suspected by
756 the Tapirapé and some shaman is accordingly always believed responsible. Sorcery, however, is believed to be the action of shamans in dreams, and although such a negative statement can obviously not be substantiated, it seems never to be consciously practiced. But there [787] is, so far as the writer knows, no use of incantations or mechanical devices for the deliberate inducing of sympathetic magic.

693 All Tapirapé are thought, however, to die by sorcery and at each
761 death suspicion turns toward a shaman (12). At the death of a child
756 or woman of low status, suspicion may arise and then soon die down [757] but when the deceased is a man of status, his brothers, sons, or sisters' sons become violent in their grief and may murder the shaman toward whom suspicion points. Sometimes, after a long series of deaths, suspicion is fixed upon one famous and strong shaman and the Tapirapé decide informally that he must be killed. In such cases the revenge-murder occurs within the first few days after a death when the relatives are "sad" (13). If the first depression of mourning wears off without violence to the shaman, the anger toward him passes and he is out of danger. Thus, after a man of rather high status had died both Urubuna and Wantanama, *pajés* of sufficient power to be suspected of causing his death, both left the village, ostensibly on fishing trips, staying away until the brothers of the deceased had calmed down again.

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[763] (12) Informants readily admitted that people may be infected by others, as in the case of the common cold, which they recognize as a disease from whites but it is believed that a person who has a cold slowly gets well if no sorcery is working against him. Death is caused only by sorcery.

[693] [758] (13) A Tapirapé uses the word "*tembiuba*" to describe the condition of anger and sadness.

128 [Ed., p. 86 and all but the last two lines of p. 87 are not translated.]

[87] In the pages that follow I wish to discuss a social institution
121 of the Tapirapé, the like of which I have not yet found [88] either among the other tribes I have visited or in the literature. I call it "eating groups." [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

The social significance of this organization into "eating groups"
264 derives from their purpose, which is as follows. Sometimes it happens
224 that the produce of the hunt or of the harvest, which among these Indians may be eaten by either sex and also by the children (for exam-
[262] ple, wild pig, curassow, guan, turtle, honey, etc.), is too sizable for the hunter's family and not sizable enough to be shared justly and advantageously with the entire population of the village. In such a case, to avoid a less equitable act, the distribution is made among the mem-
574 bers of the eating group to which the hunter belongs.
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At the time of my stay among the Tapirapé, they were divided
264 into seven eating groups [89]. They say that in the old days the groups
551 were more numerous. The names of the existing groups are Txankanépéra [Tr., the Portuguese x equals English sh], Pananivuána, Maniitivuéra, Kauuanoí, Tauaupéra, Ampirampé, Avainki'. Whenever I asked for an explanation of their meaning, I was merely given the word tatáupáua. Undoubtedly, however, some of the group names are related to the names of animals and plants, Txankanépéra with txankané (alligator), Maniitivuéra with mandiivóna (a variety of manioc), Avainki' with vuaiki'ta (a variety of manioc). This may be
[771] a vestige of totemic ideas, although they are not manifested in the behavior of the group members. For example, the attitude of the Txankanépéra group members toward the alligator is no different from that of the members of other groups. It is true that at the common
551 feasts each person is called by the name of the group and also is what
476 the name represents. Thus, for example, a member of the
264 Txankanépéra group will say, "Txe Txankanépéra," which means both "I am called Txankanépéra" and "I am Txankanépéra," and says to his group-fellow, male or female, "Ané Txankanépéra ('You are called Txankanépéra,' or 'You are Txankanépéra')."

192 Tatáupáua designates both the common feast of a group and the
574 institution of eating groups in general. When I asked the Tapirapé what
476 they called themselves as a community, I got the answer "Ampiáua"
264 (a word that means "man" in the Tupí of the Amazon) and the statement
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that all participants in the tãtãupãũã [90] are called this. Nothing
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[101] could point up the importance of the institution more effectively than this observation. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

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124 The word tãtã is used both by the Tapirapé and by the Karajá [Caraja] to designate cultivated bananas in general. It also means "fire" in their language, as in all Tupí-Guaraní tongues, and it differs
[194] from these only in its nasalization, an element which is peculiar to the Tapirapé language as a whole.

[192] The word ũpãũã means "everything eaten."

The word tãtãupãũã may mean that the fire went out, or that everything that was near the fire was eaten.

264 Every individual belongs to the same eating group through life.
476 Sons belong to their father's group, daughters to their mother's.
574 The eating groups are not important to marriage; some of the
[611] men belong to the same group as their wives, while others belong to a different group.

[91] The principal chief, Kamairahó, was a Txankanépéra, while
173 the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ', was a Pananĩvũãna. As I lived in
[622] Kamairahó's household and belonged, in a way, to his family, I also became a Txankanépéra, and they explained to me that as a consequence my own relatives, although absent, had also become Txankanépéra.

264 Within their group, all members regard one another as brothers
476 and sisters.
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[608] Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life, namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group companions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond oc-
[621] casionally bringing together the inhabitants of different houses from birth to death.

264 At certain times the entire population of the village gathers to-
574 gether for the tãtãupãũã, which at such times is not really a feast
621 carried out to meet the obligations imposed by the consumption-group organization, but a veritable banquet.

On July 3, the time of the kãũihó, or "bad kãũí" (literally, "big kãũí" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the
[252] chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kãũí, which formerly was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was warm and so good that I ate my fill.

264 476 only by their respective owners. I do not know, however, whether [622] the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the preparation of the principal chief's garden.) [651]

The ãntaiva of the Anantxú were the chief Tanupantxóa and [624] Vuĩraí, and those of the Vuirantxiniõ were the chief Kamairú and the sorcerer--medicine man Manimbó.

In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three 476 857 groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were called Vuanankóra, Vuirantxína, and Vuĩrantxinoí. The last one is now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tãnãvé or Anantxú belong [641] to the first one, and the sons of the Vuirantxiniõ to the second one. The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were Vuirantxiniõ. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work- [881] group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution, [462] for "the women and girls stay home when the men do collective work."

[98] They say that each apatxirú group has its specific ornament 301 476 for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I 535 was not with the Tapirapé. The Tãnãvé wear three large red macaw 237 feathers hanging from the head onto the back. The Anantxú also wear three large macaw feathers in the same fashion, but two are from the blue and yellow macaw and only the middle one is red; in addition, they wear on their arms the white breast fluff of the king vulture. The Vuirantxiniõ are not differentiated from the Tãnãvé. The Vuanankóra wear smaller red feathers from the tail of the macaw, hanging from the head onto the back. The Vuirantxína are similarly adorned and also wear macaw fluff on their arms.

Concerning the word apatxirú, Curt Nimuendajú wrote me as fol- 192 lows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word apatxirú is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is omitted.]

476 [99] On July 30, Kamairahó invited me to go with him to the [123] apatxirú. On the previous day, Chief Tanupantxóa had already begun the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working

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114 course, I cannot state with certainty that all these objects ¾ actually come from the Tapirapé. In particular this cannot be done in the case of the spindle; yet they all have something about them that is more or less foreign to the Karajá.

192 Of words, I obtained the following through the Karaja in their perhaps corrupt pronunciation: penis cuff, bibbá; urucú, biá; tobacco, bádumá.

114 [131] 4. Observations in Tapirapé territory. In traveling on the Rio Tapirapé I came upon traces of a people who I assume were Tapirapé, for I met them in approximately the region in which, according to the accounts of the Karajá, the Tapirapé were supposed to live; I then crossed the boundary

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Ill. 266a, b.
Doll of white earth.

114 between the Karajá territory and the Tapirapé territory, as my Karajá companions declared; finally, the number of villages encountered (three) corresponds to that given by the Karajá.

[324] [354] The traces that I came across were the following: on the twelfth day of the river journey footprints on a sandbank; on the thirteenth day a lake blocked off by a fish fence, next to it in the forest a place for roasting food, from which a path led northward over the campo; on the fourteenth day a second roasting place with a campo path; from noon of this day all traces ceased. From the twelfth to the fourteenth day, on the other hand, places of fires, as well as the remains of old lake barricades, were to be seen everywhere.
[See pp. 339-337 -- Analyst]

[Ed., pp. 87-88 are not translated.]

000 [89] In Mühlmann (p. 344) we read: "In Polynesia, the new year was reckoned from the beginning of the fishing season, and since this period of time coincided with the appearance of the Pleiades above the horizon, a fruitful half-year, mata-li'i-i-nia, that is, 'Pleiades above,' was distinguished from an unfruitful or less fruitful half-year, mata-li'i-i-raro, that is, 'Pleiades below.' A Pleiadic year was also known in India."

? It is also worth mentioning Métraux's observation (p. 51) that the Pleiades seem to have been the object of special beliefs among the Tupinambá, who were convinced, according to an unpublished manuscript by Thevet, that they fostered the growth of manioc, the staple of their diet. One of the most beautiful legends of the Taulipáng, a Karaíb [Carib] tribe of the Roraima, relates how the Pleiades came to the sky and also mentions their function as heralds of the rainy season that brings an abundance of food with the appearance of shoals of fish moving upstream to spawn (Koch-Grünberg, p. 13).

805 Among the Tapirapé, I did not find anything corresponding to this Indian and Polynesian culture trait [Tr., the Tapirapé do lend importance to the Pleiades]. It is true that of all the events in the yearly cycle, the rainy season is of greatest interest to these Indians. They did not tell me anything about the Pleiades, however. The rainy season is to them the opposite of what it is to the Taulipáng, namely, not the time of well-being, but, in the words of the Tapirapé, the time of evil shadows, of baleful spirits. It is characteristic of the timid nature of these Tupí Indians that they lend greatest [191] [221] [132] importance to the time of greatest distress, instead of centering their thoughts on the dry season, which is to them the pleasant time of abundant vegetable and animal foods and thus the time of health and pleasure in being alive. [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 89 and the first paragraph, as well as the first three sentences of the second paragraph, on p. 90 are omitted.]

[90] The Tapirapé could not tell me the number of days in the 821 lunar month, although they were familiar with the moon cycle and •192 called the new moon txãhi apát, "moon sleeps," or txãhi ãkantxím, "moon finished," and the full moon ãuvahó, ho being the augmentative suffix, and ãuva corresponding probably to the ãu, "lunar," listed by Montoya, and the yacy icáua, "full, fat moon," given by Stradelli. The first quarter, when the visible part is not yet very thick, is called

821 emeimoatxãmpanã, a word that refers to the thin, long tembetá
42 [Tr., lip plug] of the boys. To other stages of [91] visibility they gave the names itaxavãhaupũ, eviyik, and akaemorũt, three terms whose meaning I was unable to determine and which must therefore be disregarded until further elucidated.

805 It became apparent that the Tapirapé are not in the habit of
192 reckoning time in terms of lunar months when I attempted to find out the duration they attribute to the span of time corresponding roughly to our year. They distinguished the following three periods: amĩna, "rain," the rainy season; amĩna akũpaãk, the end of the rainy season; and amĩna apãm, "rain sleeps," the dry season. They attributed, still with some certainty, about five txãhi akantxĩm, "moon finished," to the first period, while their computations for the second period varied from one to five, and those for the "sleep of the rain" from three to eight. [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

Although they are not unfamiliar with the continuous alternation
[171] of day and night, the Brazilian Indians, to my knowledge, do not have words covering those two phases as a unit. The Tapirapé word ãna merely designates the day from sunrise to sundown in contrast to the darkness of the night, and corresponds to ãra in the above-cited Tupí dictionaries. For "night" the Tapirapé have the terms kanõk (or kanõk), ĩpĩtũn (or ĩpĩtũnã), and txãhi eni (or txãhi ãni), the first one designating nightfall or early evening, the second a dark, moon less [92] night, and the third a moonlit night or moonlight. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the first sentence of the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

It is not surprising that the concept of "midnight" is lacking among clockless people like the Tapirapé [Ed., the remainder of
114 the sentence is omitted]. The Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica
192 [Vocabulary of the Aboriginal Brazilian Language] lists the word
805 pigcarê with the translation, "the whole night, or throughout the night." I did not hear any similar term in Tapirapé, not even a word similar to pĩhã, another term for "night" listed by Montoya.

The Tapirapé word kaẽm, "daybreak," corresponds to coẽ in Montoya, coẽma in the "Dicionário Brasiliano [Aboriginal Brazilian Dictionary]," coamutu in the Vocabulário na Lingua Brasílica, and coẽma in Stradelli.

For "midday" the Tapirapé said atxavuãpũ. Montoya lists açayê, and the Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica, açajê. In Stradelli, the word "middle" is pytera.

192 805 According to my Tapirapé informants, "today" is in, "tomorrow" is ãnzeivé, "yesterday" is designated by the number anzapé, "one," and "day before yesterday" by mokõimi, "two." [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the exact and numerical reference to a past event seldom goes farther back than mokõimi, "day before yester-
[822] day," since as a rule they do not count to mapit, "three," preferring to say vuaitfpe, "much "(in quantity), or mo (or mũ), "far away" (a word that designates great distance, in space as well as [93] time, and that is perhaps related to mõmbiri, "far away," in Mbomoya). Concerning the future, on the other hand, they frequently say ãnzeivé, "tomorrow," although they may be referring to a time later than the following day.

805 Since not only the computations of time but its direct denomina-tions as well are invariably abstract, however, it is more convenient to the Tapirapé mentality to use mostly indirect designations by grounding the references to past and future times in concrete phenomena.
[821] Thus, they indicate the time of day by extending their hand in the direction of the place where the sun was or will be at the time in ques-
[171] tion. By what I saw, and also by what Krause (p. 339) mentions, the Karajá [Caraja] proceed in the same fashion.

If certain events took place several weeks or months earlier, the
[824] Tapirapé pinpoint them chronologically by showing with the hand the degree of development of certain plants at the times in question, for example, the height of maize or sugar cane. If several years
[856] have gone by, the Tapirapé narrator extends his hand to the height that a certain person had reached at that time. This person is usually the narrator himself, if his age enables him to do so. If he is about 50 years old and thus stopped growing dozens of years ago, but wishes to indicate an event that occurred five years earlier, he will use a child five years old or older.

805 It should be mentioned, finally, that the words kaém, "daybreak,"
823 and kanúk, "nightfall," are also used for purposes of orientation in
[192] geographical space, the former meaning "east" and the latter "west." Judging by the explanations given to me by the Tapirapé, the concepts of "north" and "south" are lacking among them.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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114 and evenings suspended in a large Brazilian hammock. In this state of exaltation, I must have been the very picture of the languid white [123] man in the tropics. Each late afternoon our house became a gather- [914] ing place for the Tapirapé villagers, who came not only to visit with me (communication was still difficult) but also with each other, and 123 to gaze upon the belongings of the *nari* (non-Indian). My illness 538 proved to be a boon for ethnographic research. People were more patient with the sick anthropologist than with the well one. They told stories, not only for my benefit, but also to entertain each other. [913] In attempting to explain to me about a mythological culture hero, a man would find himself telling a myth to the attending audience. Thus, I heard (and saw) Tapirapé stories told as they should be—as dramatic forms spoken with vivacity and replete with mimicry of the animals that are so often characters in these folktales. With my still imperfect knowledge of Tapirapé I inevitably lost the thread of the story and it had to be retold to me more slowly.

115 Champukwi was a frequent visitor during these days of my con- 123 valescence. He came each morning on the way to his garden and 124 he became accustomed to drinking morning coffee with us. And, [512] each late afternoon after he had returned from his garden, he came "to talk"—often slowly retelling the stories and incidents that I had difficulty understanding the evening before. Several days during this period he did not work in his garden but sat for two or three hours talking. He learned when he should pause or repeat a phrase or [212] sentence in order that I might take notes. He came to understand what writing meant, discovering that what I wrote in my notebook I could repeat to him later. In time he appreciated the fact that I was not so much interested in learning the Tapirapé language as I was in comprehending the Tapirapé way of life. As so often is the case when a person understands and speaks a foreign language poorly, one communicates best with but a single person who is accustomed to one's mistakes and one's meager vocabulary. Thus, I could understand and make myself understood to Champukwi better than any [192] other Tapirapé. Moreover, because he spent long hours in our house, [126] he was learning Portuguese from Valentim Gomes, and this was an aid in helping me translate newly learned words and phrases in Tapirapé and even helped me understand his explanations of Tapirapé culture patterns. Champukwi thus consciously became my teacher, and others came to realize that he was teaching me. During

13: Wagley E-S (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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morning we embarked downriver. My last memory of Champukwi was of him standing on the bank waving in *tari* style until our boat made the curve of the river.

I did not return to visit the Tapirapé until 1953, but news of them came to me at intervals. Valentim Gomes returned to the region in 1941 as an officer of the Brazilian Indian Service, and his post was charged with the protection of the Tapirapé Indians. In his first year in this capacity, he wrote me: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the 26th of July [1941]. They were in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, and the like. There were plenty of bananas. But I am sorry to say that after we left them, twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Champukwi, the best informant in the village, and our best friend." Several slow exchanges of letters brought further details from Valentim. In some manner, perhaps through a visit from a Brazilian frontiersman, several Tapirapé had contracted common colds. Its fatalness to them is indicated by the name they give it—*ó-ó* (*ó* is the augmentative which might be translated as "big, big"). Since they have no knowledge of the process of contagion and have not acquired immunity to the common cold, the disease spread rapidly throughout the village. The Tapirapé realized, I knew, that colds and other diseases such as measles which they had suffered before, were derived from visitors. Yet they also believed that death resulted from evil magic or sorcery. Why do some people who are very sick from colds get well, they asked, while others who are no more ill, soon die? It is only because those who die are the victims of sorcery, they had explained to me. So, following many deaths, including that of a young man like Champukwi, who enjoyed prestige and had many kinsmen, I was not surprised to learn from Valentim Gomes that the powerful shaman, Urukumu, had been assassinated. As Champukwi had told me, suspicion of Urukumu had already been growing even during my residence in the village. After the death of Champukwi, one of his many "brothers" (actually a cousin but called by the same term as brother in Tapirapé) had entered Urukumu's house late at night and clubbed him to death. To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related

In the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *kwanwahé*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of

[96:155] Note

128 For the citation of sources, the italicized number (for example, 2) refers to the numeration of the works of the author concerned, which appear in the bibliography presented at the end of the present work [Ed., the bibliography was apparently not published]; the Roman number (for example, I) indicates, for works of several volumes, the volume concerned; the Arabic number not italicized (for example, 2) is the page number; for works paginated with Roman numerals, a special designation is given for the page (for example, p. I).

• 194 [96:156] Since the native words are not regularly stressed on the penultimate, the acute accent indicates the tonic syllable.

The Tapirapé language is even more nasalized than the other Tupí dialects we know. Since this nasalization affects nearly all sounds in the pronunciation of certain individuals, it has not been specifically indicated.

Parentheses ( ) indicate that the sound of the letter between them is reduced to near imperceptibility.

a, e, o, u are closed vowels.

b, d, f, j, l, m, n, p, t, v sound the same as in Portuguese [Tr., therefore roughly as in English].

au has the same sound as in the German auf.

i before a vowel is the German j in ja; before a consonant or at the end of a word, it is a vowel.

y represents the guttural i characteristic of Tupí and certain other South American linguistic families, which appears, for example, in the Tupí word y, "water." In Tapirapé, it often ends in a reduced consonant that recalls the German ch in ich.

g has the same sound as in the Portuguese gato, guerra, and guia, or the German gut, or the English "good." It forms a special sound only when preceded by n.

ng has the nasal and medial gutteral sound of the German singen and English "king." The g following ng (ngg) is pronounced like the g in the Portuguese gato [or English "good."].

•194

h is aspirated as in the German hat and English has.

k corresponds to the Portuguese c in cão [or the English "car"].

ch is the sch in the word schoco, or the ch in the Spanish muchacha, or the ch in English "charm."

x as in the Portuguese caixa, or the sch in the German schon, or sh in English "she."

r is mid-dental (alveolar), close to the nasal n.

s is the Portuguese s in sal, or the German ss in essen, or s as in English "song."

ã as in Portuguese ã, or the German ähnlich.

õ as in the French eux and the ö in German mögen.

ũ is the u in the French dur, or the ü in German für.

The following sounds alternate among themselves: (1) a:e; (2) a:o; (3) e:ã:i:y; (4) o:u, (5) u:ũ:y; (6) m:v; (7) r:l:v; (8) ch:t. [Ed., the remainder of this section in Vol. 96, pp. 157-165, bearing the title, "1. The Tapirapé River," is omitted.] [Map 1 appears here.]

171 According to Karl von den Steinen (2, 339), the Kamayurá voice
192 a nasalized maiá, that is to say, almost maniá (meyo and menyo
252 in his spelling). The same author (ibid., Fig. 56) reproduces a
262 spade decorated with geometric designs that was used by these Indians to turn the cakes over. In Tamplitfua I did not see any special implement for this purpose, and in Wagley's collection at the [Brazilian] National Museum there is nothing like it either. [Ed., the last two sentences concluding the section in Vol. 114 are omitted.]

[115:256] To the Tapirapé, the most important vegetable
262 dish is unquestionably cauí.' [Ed., five sentences are omitted.]
171 In sixteenth century references, the intoxicating drinks of the
192 Tupinambá appear as Kaa.wy and Kawi in the spelling of the German Hans Staden (e 2, f 3), Cahouin in Thevet (1, 121), and Caou-in in De Léry (125). The nasalized i indicated by the two
• 194 Frenchmen, and later pointed out in various Tupi languages by authors coming from different countries, does not exist either in Tapirapé or in Kamayurá, but in both these languages the u in kauí is nasalized, and the i is the tonic syllable (cf. Von den Steinen 2, 213). Furthermore, neither the [115:256] Tapirapé
[273] nor the Kamayurá make intoxicating beverages. The Tapirapé
272 designate with the word kauí their peanut, maize, manioc, cotton-
192 seed, squash, and banana soups, and even straight drinking water
171 (ỹ-kauí), while the Kamayurá use this term for the simple refreshing drink made of water and crumbled beiju (ibid.). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The kauí of the Tapirapé is not always made exclusively from
272 one of the plants mentioned above. There are mixtures, such as crushed maize with chewed peanuts or with chewed cottonseed. No other plant aside from those listed are used, however, and no such soups are made, for example, with caiá or yams. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 256 and the first paragraph on p. 257 are omitted.]

[115:257] None of the [early] authors mentions expressly the
[114] three kinds of cauí that are made by the Tapirapé with cotton seeds,
[252] peanuts, and squash. As I have already mentioned, the cotton seeds are chewed with crushed maize. The resulting drink has a yellowish-green appearance and little flavor. It is true that the
171 Tupinambá of Bahia also found those seeds nutritious, but they pre-
252 pared them in a different fashion. Gabriel Soares de Sousa (235)

that all participants in the tãtãupãũã [90] are called thin. Nothing could point up the importance of the institution more effectively than this observation. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The word tãtã is used both by the Tapirapé and by the Karajá [Carajá] to designate cultivated bananas in general. It also means "fire" in their language, as in all Tupí-Guaraní tongues, and it differs from these only in its nasalization, an element which is peculiar to the Tapirapé language as a whole.

The word upãũã means "everything eaten."

The word tãtãupãũã may mean that the fire went out, or that everything that was near the fire was eaten.

Every individual belongs to the same eating group through life. Sons belong to their father's group, daughters to their mother's.

The eating groups are not important to marriage; some of the men belong to the same group as their wives, while others belong to a different group.

[91] The principal chief, Kamairahó, was a Txankanépéra, while the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ', was a Panaĩvũãna. As I lived in Kamairahó's household and belonged, in a way, to his family, I also became a Txankanépéra, and they explained to me that as a consequence my own relatives, although absent, had also become Txankanépéra.

Within their group, all members regard one another as brothers and sisters.

Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life, namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group companions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond occasionally bringing together the inhabitants of different houses from birth to death.

At certain times the entire population of the village gathers together for the tãtãupãũã, which at such times is not really a feast carried out to meet the obligations imposed by the consumption-group organization, but a veritable banquet.

On July 3, the time of the kãũihó, or "bad kãũĩ" (literally, "big kãũĩ" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kãũĩ, which formerly was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was warm and so good that I ate my fill.

372 Juruna [Yuruna] territory, called this habit of waving a burning
171 piece of wood to one side and another "the Indian way" in his diary. Among the Tapirapé, the burning sticks shaken in this
372 fashion serve as nocturnal protection against certain anchinga,
372 that is to say, evil spirits. Hans Staden (p 4) also wrote of the
171 Tupinambá: "At night, when they must attend to their needs, they do not like to leave their houses without taking a light, for such is their fear of the devil called Ingange and frequently seen by them." According to Koch-Grünberg (Z, III, 168), the fear of evil spirits (mauarí) impels the Tauripáng to carry a burning stick when they leave the house at night.

In spite of the constant danger presented by the anchinga and
514 naturally also by the fearsome Kayapó neighbors, the Tapirapé never defecate near the house even at night, but go into the labyrinth of felled trunks lying between the village and the forest, far enough so the clean open spaces near the dwelling will not be soiled and the odor of the feces will not reach the house. The
[195] custom of retiring to a good distance for this purpose is embodied in the expression haa-pe-pyá ("belly-to-the-woods"), or to translate it more freely, "I shall now take my belly toward the woods," a phrase with which every well-bred lady in Tampiitama must announce to her housemates her intention to go and defecate.

When it comes to urinating, however, these women are not quite as formal. When we rose from a night session carried out in front of the house and presided over by Kamairabó, the moon was out and I could see dark spots on the ground where members of the female sex had been sitting. Without moving or showing the slightest sign of unrest, the ladies, young and old, who had been sitting around us, had urinated copiously while the great man and I aired the most profound mythological questions. Apparently, the wet spots on which they sat had not been overly unpleasant to them.

Naturally, a woman who is standing does not sit directly upon the ground, but squats, when she wishes to urinate. The men also adopt this position. There were some interesting endeavors at
177 cultural change in this respect, however. Once, some time after
514 my arrival in the village, while I urinated in the neighboring woods, I was surprised to see several young men imitate me by standing also. No sooner had they started out in this way, however,

§26 admiration for the whiteness of my skin, not for its softness, for in this respect they could not be surpassed. My *camarada* Daniel, a northern Brazilian who was almost as dark as they were, did not attract as much attention. The skin tone they consider most at-
61 §26 tractive, however, must not seem to them as remote from their own color as it seems to us, for they characterized their own skin exactly as they did mine, with the terms *chinga* and *typifonia*, both of which mean "white." Whether these Tapirapé words differ in
o[96] scope from our own term for "white," or whether the yearning for the ideal makes the Indians appear to themselves as lighter than they actually are, this is in any case a prime example of the possibility of broad differences in the conceptualization of such seemingly concrete phenomena and shows the researcher the desirability of comparing, whenever possible, his own observations with the information provided by the Indians.

Other native peoples of South America also prefer white skins.
M1 §26 Fritz Krause (2, 185) writes: "The ideal of the Karajá is the whitest skin possible; they prized my white complexion very highly, and they themselves wished to be quite white (cf. the role of white people in their myths)."

In 1663, Simão de Vasconcellos (LX) wrote that the Indians of Brazil told the Portuguese their own ancestors had been "people of white complexion," and when they were asked why they had not remained white, they answered (LXI): "Let us make an experiment: exchange your clothing for ours, and go about naked in the sun and in the rain, as we do; and you will soon see that [105:83] you have turned from white to our own hue." Consequently, just as according to the words of the Tapirapé there is no difference between their color and mine, the Indians to whom Vasconcellos is referring clearly stated that they regarded their own skin as basically identical to that of the Portuguese.

Not only do forest Indians, such as the Tapirapé, and river Indians, such as the Karajá, prefer white complexions, but so do savanna Indians, such as the Toba. In the universal conflagration myth of this Chaco tribe, only one man survived the fire that destroyed the entire earth. "But there was no woman. Then they lowered down from the sky a woman tied to a rope, and they cut the rope from above when the woman was close to the earth. Because they cut it very close to the ground, she came out ugly, but

175 villages, asking them to come and visit the Whites who were with
648 them. The 30 men, wary and afraid that some treachery might be afoot, resolved not to stay long in those parts. They sang the praises of the Whites, asked the Indians to come with them to São Paulo where they would be near their churches and all that was necessary for their salvation, but they did all this deceitfully, in a professional backwoods way. They stirred 3,000 souls. And since the
[241] Indians not long before had changed the site [of their gardens] and the provisions of manioc flour from the plots they had abandoned were almost exhausted, they embarked four days later in 300 canoes
[501] out of the many they owned. On embarking, the 30 men managed to take from them all their bows and arrows. They proceeded up-river, touching ground every day to rest and sleep. Among the 3,000 souls was an Indian woman (who must have been the daughter of one of the seven Frenchmen, whose progeny was numerous), the wife of the son of a certain chief who had followed our men. This woman (who had been neatly endowed by nature, according to the informant, with all the parts requisite to a perfect body) was given by the captain to one of his henchmen. The latter, either to rid himself of the worry caused by the presence of the woman's husband, or perhaps to add to it still further, returned the woman to the captain. The wretched Indian was so deeply affected by the usurpation of his rightful matrimony, and the others by the fact that within a few days they would all be separated, that at a certain time and place they got together and rose against the 30 men, killing 16 and a few of the Indians they had taken with them. Satisfied with the death of these men, they turned back toward their villages in the same canoes. The 14 men who got away, but whom the Indians could have killed, proceeded up-river with only two of the aforementioned Caatingas, who either would not or could not follow the other Indians. They reached the São Paulo settlement, which they had left 19 months earlier..."

174 The identification of their language with Lingua-geral [Tr., the Tupi lingua franca] characterizes the "Caatingas" as Tupí. To
101
[191] my knowledge, there is no evidence of the existence of other Tupí Indians, besides the Tapirapé, along the part of the Araguaia that stretches between its confluence with the Tocantins and the northern part of Bananal Island. We must take into account, however, that

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

# TAPIRAPÉ SOCIAL AND CULTURE CHANGE 1940-1953

by

CHARLES WAGLEY

The Tapirapé are a Tupi-speaking tribe whose aboriginal habitat lay between the Araguaya and Xingu rivers in central Brazil. Tapirapé society and culture, as it existed before 1940, has been described by Herbert Baldus and the present author in a series of articles and monographs.[1] In 1940, when I left the Tapirapé village after approximately eighteen months of residence and research, I was convinced that Tapirapé society was rapidly disintegrating and that it would soon cease to exist as a distinct organized unit. At that time, although Tapirapé culture was essentially unchanged from its aboriginal condition, severe depopulation had so disrupted the social structure that the society seemed no longer to satisfy the minimal conditions for group survival.[2] A mere 147 individuals grouped in but one village were all that remained in 1940 of this tribe that once had numbered at least one thousand people living in five large villages. In 1953, when I returned for a short visit of three weeks with the Tapirapé Indians in their new village at the mouth of the Tapirapé River on the Araguaya, I found but 51 individuals. The rapid process of depopulation

1. Cf. Herbert Baldus, *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, São Paulo, 1937, and "Os Tapirapé, tribo Tupi no Brasil Central," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, Vols. XCVI-CV, CVII-CXXVII, São Paulo, 1944-49; and Charles Wagley, "Tapirapé Shamanism," *Boletim do Museu Nacional, Antropologia*, N.º 2, Rio, 1943.

2. Charles Wagley, "The Effects of Depopulation upon Social Organization as Illustrated by the Tapirapé Indians," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Series II, Vol. 3, N.º 1, pp. 12-16, New York, 1940.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

## INTRODUCTION

The Tapirapé Indians are a Tupi-speaking tribe living in Central Brazil west of the Araguaya River. Their villages formerly extended some two hundred miles to the north of the Tapirapé River, an affluent of the Araguaya; but today their one remaining village lies west of the Araguaya, about forty miles north of the Tapirapé and 160 miles from the point of union of the two rivers. This settlement contains a total population that does not exceed 150 people, the residue of five villages that probably existed so late as the turn of the century and that are said to have had a population of about two hundred people each. A progressive population decline has followed the acquiring of diseases from contact with the neighboring Carajá Indians of the Araguaya River and from European visitors. Such contacts, however, have left their aboriginal culture little changed.

The Tapirapé are properly a forest people, maintaining an agricultural life on clearings hewed from the great tropical forest. Their cultivated fields are large producing manioc (both *Manihot manihot* and the sweet species *Manihot palmata aypi*), maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, yams, kará (*Dioscorea sp.*), cotton, and bananas.

The dry months of June through September of each year are devoted to clearing the garden sites. This work is done by men, frequently working individually, sometimes in communal labor formed by the men's moiety groups (1). When the clearing is done collectively, the large field is divided into individual plots which become individual property;

(1) There is an excellent description of this communal activity, called *apatxiru* by the Tapirapé in Herbert Baldus, 1937, "Os grupos de comer e os grupos de trabalho dos Tapirapé", *in Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, pp. 98-111. São Paulo.

[p.61]
[p.60 blank]

T /404 cont./
105 center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language
C differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand
[190] each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé
C seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the
648 Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs,
[939] food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé,
opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the
C Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The
[921] Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret
the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has
been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally
a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago;
C since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far
[927] upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave
women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are
taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and
263 appear here./

C 3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the
162 Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys
T from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than
[140] /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black
T incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b
304 /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).
302

C In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the
439 Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near
126 the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (kŭwaâ; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method
T of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very
303 regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The
T spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ
283 in any way from those of the Karajá.

T The club (ĩwŭrá, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round
411 clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved
and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of
cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the
handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and
depressions.

[TEXT Continues on P. 339]

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

# WORLD VIEW OF THE TAPIRAPE INDIANS

By Charles Wagley

The Tapirape live in Central Brazil north of the Tapirape River, a western affluent of the Araguaya River. They are a Tupi-speaking people isolated from other peoples speaking the same language. Culturally they are related more closely to the Tupi-speaking people of the coast than to those of the head waters of the Xingu River. The only peoples with whom they have had contacts within historic times are their northern neighbors, the Gês-speaking Northern Kayapo and the Carajá (including the Javahe branch) of the Araguaya. Because of hostility with both these neighboring peoples, the Tapirape have withdrawn farther from the Araguaya and have contacts at present with the Carajá only through occasional European visitors. Introduced disease, acquired from these visitors and earlier from the Carajá, have reduced the Tapirape from five large villages (originally more than two hundred per village) to one with less than 150 people. Contacts with Europeans, however, have been short and few, leaving the Tapirape aboriginal culture little changed.

According to Tapirape tradition, they came to their present home from the north and east.[1] One group of them lived on the Araguaya and for a time shared a common village with the Javahe branch of the Carajá. The Tapirape are traditionally interested in country to the east, not to the west. It is to the east that Maratawa, the "home of the gods," lies, and in this direction, too, is the home of two legendary peoples: the Wanchira, a cannibalistic tribe which ate a famous mythical ancestor of the Tapirape, and the "other Tapirape," speaking the same language and sharing the same culture. East of the Araguaya River there is said to be another large river and great mountains where various supernaturals live.

Formerly, Tapirape who were captives of the Carajá returned to tell of that country and people, and in modern times Tapirape have visited both Carajá and Kayapo, as well as various Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya. No foreign or hostile tribes prevent them from wandering westward into the open country toward the Xingu River, but it is a region of little interest to them, and they never travel far in this direction. Of the Xingu River and people, they know only what Brazilian visitors have told

[1] According to Métraux, the Tapirape were known to have been on the Araguaya as early as the 18th century. He believes the Tapirape to be fugitives from the coast of Brazil, probably from the vicinity of Rio, possibly from the Tamoyo. Certainly they came from the east, but my material points to a migration from the northeast rather than from the southeast, as would be the case if migration had been from the forests of Rio. Métraux, Alfred, Migrations Historiques des Tupi-Guarani, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N.S.* 19, 24 (1927).

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few 177
months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of [197]
Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and [191]
verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these 114
youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals 123
we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," [621]
the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses [361]
arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were [592]
each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the per- [551]
sonal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Maria-
pawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let
alone pronounce. 114

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study [122]
intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the wide- [197]
spread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least
passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms
of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed
explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which [241]
manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops
were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poison- [462]
ous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I [252]
watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture [323]
their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm- [285]
thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building [462]
was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly [345]
became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and [291]
the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude [834]
women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never
to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also [302]
to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed
their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on
their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many [126]
other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes
and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather 123
pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our
antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversa-
tions that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales
of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

171 children raised under the German authoritarianism of the turn of
858 the century did not seem as "grownup." The attitude of the Indian child, [127:235] however, is determined not only by the freedom he enjoys along with many neo-Brazilian children, but also by two other factors which make him more like the adults: (1) among the
[857] Indians, the activities of the child are much closer to those of the adults than among us and are never different in type from the work of the parents; (2) from the earliest age, the Indian child owns
[421] individual property which he and he alone may dispose of as he wishes.

We have already alluded above to the strict respect shown for
857 the child's property. As far as work is concerned, it may be said
969 that the Tapirapé children learn adult work through play. The boy
422 of three already has a small bow and arrow, the size of which corresponds to his size. The girl of three already has a small sifter, the size of which corresponds to her size. Thus, the two of them go fishing like a grownup couple, with the little man shooting the fish and the little woman gathering them in the sifter. Naturally, the size of the fish is also in proportion to the size of the fishermen. When they return home, they put the little fish in the embers and roast them. Then they eat them, thus showing that a Tapirapé of three already knows how to take care of himself. As the boy and girl grow, so do the bow and sifter, until they become a man's bow and a woman's sifter when their owners reach puberty. This applies to all the implements used by these Indians, namely, clubs, baskets, pestles, spindles, and other utensils. This, however, does not mean that prior to puberty the boys participate in the economic life to the same extent as the girls, who often, while the boys loaf, help their mothers from a tender age according to their strength and to the capacities of their years and thus constitute an increasingly productive element.

Naturally, Tapirapé children imitate grownups in areas other
857 than work. They soon learn the so-called automatic smile that
• [201] characterizes those Indians, a certain coquettishness, and what stirs most vividly the soul of their tribe, that is, dances and songs. I saw boys from four to seven years old making dance masks for themselves with wild-banana leaves, put them on their heads, and then dance and sing in a manner corresponding to the type of mask used. In the Karajá village of Santa Isabel, I witnessed similar scenes in 1947.

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirape SP22



Fear was present in the formalization of quarrels full of hatred, a formalization which obliged the opponents to avoid direct contact. They had to remain hidden from one another and not interrupt the speech of their antagonist, but only reply when he had finished. One such quarrel began in the afternoon of June 27, 1935. Kamairahó lay in his hammock with open eyes and didn't answer when several people called him. Maninohó, the eldest man of the neighbouring house, begins to pronounce insults. He stays inside his house. The entrances of the houses are so arranged that it is impossible to look from the interior of one house into the interior of another.[4] Kamairahó's wife stays outside between the two houses without looking towards either of them. She faces the men's house in the centre of the village and replies to Maninohó with extraordinary gravity, in a level voice and with calm gestures. They are discussing a question of shamanism. Maninohó seems to be doing the provoking. The other persons present continue with their habitual activities, neither laughing nor speaking. After a while Maninohó's aggressiveness seems to increase. Kamairahó's wife joins her husband and the eldest man of her house places himself close to the entrance but inside, holding a club and railing violently in a loud and monotonous voice. When he finishes, profound silence rules for some moments. Then the other replies in the same tone. Never does one interrupt the other. This rule is also observed when two Tapirapé women have a quarrel as well as among other South American tribes.[5] The quarrel between the two men, one always hidden from the other, lasted until sunset. Late that night the old man of Kamairahó's house, where I was also living, asked me for my electric torch and went with his wife for water by a very roundabout way in order to avoid the proximity of Maninohó's house. These precautionary measures—the lamp, the company of his wife, and the détour—reveal clearly the fear he had of the adversary. Supposing then that fear has contributed to create the institution of formalized quarrels we may consider it a factor of socialization. But is it only a tribal behaviour pattern or also fear that causes the victim of theft to abstain from any exteriorized reaction? Frequently I observed that the theft of some thing obtained from the white men, for instance a necklace of glass beads, was known immediately in the whole village; the victim, however, suffers in silence without any demonstration and doesn't attempt any revenge.

As an institution which is essentially a product of fear appears that of the shamans. Nonexistent in certain South American tribes and little developed in others, it is so important to the Tapirapé that they informed me of certain local groups having renounced their independence and joined the inhabitants of another village because there were no more shamans among them.[6] This becomes credible when one considers Charles Wagley's[7] quotation of one of his informants' words: "Without our pancé, all we Tapirapé die." According to the same author,[8] "the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman." This means that the first place in Tapirapé society belongs to the person who defends the community against the ever terrible dangers of the supernatural world. It is collective fear which gives him this status. But the easy and continuous contact with the forces of destruction makes the shaman for his part also a man to be feared, and consequently exposes him to other dangers, to dangers which we would not call supernatural. When cases of death occur in the village, and especially several in a short time, it is usual to attribute the cause to a shaman and therefore many shamans are murdered. Then it is also collective fear which, in such cases, moves a Tapirapé to defend the community

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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could come quietly to us at night to drink water, to ask for something to eat, and even to sleep in an extra hammock we had for visitors. His affairs were evidently extensive, for he once divided all of the adult women of the village into two categories—those "I know how to talk with" (i.e., to seduce) and those "I do not know how to talk with." There were many with whom he "could talk."

Unfortunately, by late November of 1939, I knew too much about Champukwi's affairs either for his comfort or for mine. His wife sometimes came to my house to ask if I knew where he had gone (I could generally guess), and once an irate husband even came to inquire of his whereabouts. His Don Juan activities had evidently increased. His friendship with me caused him trouble with other Tapirapé who were envious of the presents he received. The story was circulated that he had stolen a pair of scissors which, in fact, I had given to him. Moreover, several people caught colds, and he was accused of bringing the infection from Furo de Pedra (actually it was probably transmitted by the frontiersman who had helped transport us to the village in November). Champukwi sought revenge by cutting down one of the main supports of the men's house, which promptly caved in. No one died or was seriously injured and the destruction of the men's house was soon forgotten since it is normally rebuilt each year. However, people continued to criticize Champukwi, much of their criticism revolving around his relationship with me. There are no realms of esoteric secrets in Tapirapé culture (as there are in many cultures) that must not be revealed to an outsider; there is only the "secret" of the men from the women that the masked dancers are not supernatural beings but merely masquerading men, but I had been fully and openly brought into this "secret." I was, moreover, exceedingly careful in conversation never to refer to any bit of personal information that some informant, Champukwi or another, had told me. But rumors were rife in the small village—that I was angry and would soon leave (I was by then a valuable asset), that Champukwi told me lies about others, that I refused to give a bushknife to a household leader because Champukwi had urged me not to do so (I refused because I had already given him one bushknife), and the like.

Champukwi reacted moodily, often violently, to this situation. I could no longer count on his visits nor on our research interviews. He now visited us with a glum look on his face, and when he was

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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114 and evenings suspended in a large Brazilian hammock. In this state of enervation, I must have been the very picture of the languid white [123] man in the tropics. Each late afternoon our house became a gather- [574] ing place for the Tapirapé villagers, who came not only to visit with me (communication was still difficult) but also with each other, and 123 to gaze upon the belongings of the *tori* (non-Indian). My illness 538 proved to be a boon for ethnographic research. People were more patient with the sick anthropologist than with the well one. They told stories, not only for my benefit, but also to entertain each other. [713] In attempting to explain to me about a mythological culture hero, a man would find himself telling a myth to the attending audience. Thus, I heard (and saw) Tapirapé stories told as they should be—as dramatic forms spoken with vivacity and replete with mimicry of the animals that are so often characters in these folktales. With my still imperfect knowledge of Tapirapé I inevitably lost the thread of the story and it had to be retold to me more slowly.

115 Champukwi was a frequent visitor during these days of my con- 123 valescence. He came each morning on the way to his garden and 124 he became accustomed to drinking morning coffee with us. And, [512] each late afternoon after he had returned from his garden, he came "to talk"—often slowly retelling the stories and incidents that I had difficulty understanding the evening before. Several days during this period he did not work in his garden but sat for two or three hours talking. He learned when he should pause or repeat a phrase or [212] sentence in order that I might take notes. He came to understand what writing meant, discovering that what I wrote in my notebook I could repeat to him later. In time he appreciated the fact that I was not so much interested in learning the Tapirapé language as I was in comprehending the Tapirapé way of life. As so often is the case when a person understands and speaks a foreign language poorly, one communicates best with but a single person who is accustomed to one's mistakes and one's meager vocabulary. Thus, I could understand and make myself understood to Champukwi better than any [192] other Tapirapé. Moreover, because he spent long hours in our house, [126] he was learning Portuguese from Valentim Gomes, and this was an aid in helping me translate newly learned words and phrases in Tapirapé and even helped me understand his explanations of Tapirapé culture patterns. Champukwi thus consciously became my teacher, and others came to realize that he was teaching me. During

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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241 and planting, which begins after the first light rains of October, is done
462 individually and principally by the men. Cotton and peanuts, however,
[423] are women's crops. The women plant these in their husband's garden plots and harvest them themselves. While a new garden plot is cleared each year, a particular garden plot is generally used for two years and then abandoned. A man plants such crop as maize, beans, and peppers on the plot the first year and as they are harvested, he replants the plot with manioc. Maize is harvested from the end of December through February, the season of heaviest rains; while other crops are harvested at the end of the rains in May and June.

[241] Large gardens with many different crops guarantee to the Tapi-
262 rapé a variety and abundance of garden stuff, but meat and fish are
22 definitely luxuries. People in the village could not remember a time when there had been real hunger among them, but they were frequently hungry for meat and fish. This lack in the diet is supplied by frequent trips to the near-by Tapirapé River and the grass plains that border it where fish and game, principally wild pork (*Tagassu pecari*), deer, peccary (*Tagassu tajacu*), water fowl, and tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*) are found in abundance. During the dry season these plains abound in piqui (*Caryocar villosum*), palm nuts especially andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), used for body oil — and other wild fruits.

556 Among the Tapirapé wealth is not reckoned in terms of basic sub-
435 sistance, for these goods are so easy to obtain as to be considered with little regard. The possessions that lend real distinction of wealth are such luxury articles as the breast and tail feathers of the red parrot (*Ara chloroptera ?*), beads, and pieces of hardware acquired through contact with white men or trading with other Indians. These goods are accordingly the most valued media of exchange in the community. Other goods used for a medium of exchange were urucú (*Bixa orellana*), tobacco, extra hammocks, decorated gourds, string for binding feathers to arrows, and cane arrow shafts.

361 The houses of a Tapirapé village form a circle around a great central ceremonial men's house. There are nine of these large thatch dwellings with rounded roofs in the modern Tapirapé village; four to eight simple
591 families (father, mother, and children) share a house. Each simple family
592 has a section of the unpartitioned house where they lead a domestic life separate from the others. Residence is matrilocal and the women of such a household are ideally related by kinship; yet each large household has

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



Te 177 648 [731] [164] Te Ta 177 Ta Te [171] by Bento Maciel Parente in 1616 made war upon the Tenetehara. Epidemics, which raged in the early 17th century among the Indian populations of northeast Brazil, certainly reached the Tenetehara. From time to time smallpox, measles, and other diseases have taken a heavy toll among these Indians. The impact of the dominant culture upon the Tenetehara was more intense than it has been upon the Tapirapé. In addition to differences in the nature of the contact continuum, factors inherent in the society and the culture of the two tribes were responsible for the reaction of these societies to Luso-Brazilian contact and for the population trends which followed. Since the Tenetehara and the Tapirapé have historically related cultures sharing many patterns and institutions common to most Tupi speaking tribes, a comparison of the two societies and cultures should allow us to determine the variables responsible for their contrasting reactions.

Te Ta 22 [241] [361] Te Ta 311 361 [166] [241] Te Ta [162] [621] Te Ta 161 The subsistence methods of the tribes were in aboriginal times basically similar. Both were tropical forest horticulturists depending upon hunting, fishing, and forest fruits to supplement their diet. For fishing, the Tenetehara had an advantage since their villages were normally situated near rivers and streams while the Tapirapé villages were located inland many kilometers from the river. In hunting, the Tapirapé had the advantage of nearby open plains country where hunting was more productive than in the tropical forest. Neither tribe had a land problem: the nearest village of the Karajá, who were Tapirapé neighbors, was at least two hundred kilometers away and the Timbira neighbors of the Tenetehara were savanna people offering no competition for forest land. Both tribes during aboriginal times had sufficient territory to move their villages every five or six years when suitable garden sites near their villages had been used up by the slash-and-burn system of horticulture. The two tribes inhabited similar physical environments and they had approximately the same technological equipment to cope with it. Their technology and their subsistence methods must have limited the maximum population of any one village and there are indications that approximately two hundred people was the average village size for both groups. On the other hand, a lack of territory evidently did not enforce a limitation on the number of villages for the tribe. Yet while the Tapirapé tell of only five villages in aboriginal times many times that number are reported by early observers for the Tenetehara. Although specific data is not available, it seems that in aboriginal times Tapirapé population was relatively small and stable while the Tenetehara population was at least twice as large and probably expanding.

Te Ta 168 847 Te [842] [845] 847 This difference in population level between the two tribes in aboriginal times was related to the population policies held by the two groups as well as to differences in social structure of the groups concerned. These cultural values relating to population level are explicit in attitudes toward family size and in positive actions to limit families. Among the Tenetehara infanticide is indicated only in the case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



Te 182 [796] [22]

of numbers. Ceremonials in 1940 had not been abandoned but they were performed in an attenuated and disheartened manner. There was little motivation to accumulate the meat, the forest fruits, and the garden products which important ceremonials require among the Tapirapé.

Te 476 796 596 182 Te [177]

Ceremonials and cooperative economic activities in Tenetehara society are organized by extended family and kin groups. Lack of numbers, of course, creates difficulties in carrying out ceremonials and in organizing economic activities but it does not have the effect of disorganizing the society. Cooperation of large extended families in gardening and in collecting babasu nuts and copaiba oil is still the general pattern among the Tenetehara. Tenetehara social structure was moleable to change. Adjustment to new circumstances after Luso-Brazilian contact must have been easier for the Tenetehara than for the Tapirapé.

Te Te 161 182 183 105 571

This brief comparison of the cultural values and of those aspects of social structure of the Tenetehara and of the Tapirapé in terms of their effect upon population size and on population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact suggest several general hypotheses. First, the available information concerning the population size of these two tribes in aboriginal times indicates that the Tenetehara were much more numerous than the Tapirapé. Yet both tribes were tropical forest peoples with roughly similar technological equipment. It seems to the writer that this difference in population size between the two tribes was functionally related to ideological values and to social structure and not to differences in technology and environment. In other words, such differences in population can hardly be interpreted strictly in Malthusian terms. While population potentials are certainly limited by food supply, the level of technology, the application of medical knowledge, and other material factors, social institutions and culturally derived values are influential in determining trends in population size within the limits set by such "natural" factors.

Second, the social structure and the cultural values of any society are functionally related to a given population level. With change in population size, both the cultural values regarding population size and social structure must be adjusted. The Tapirapé concept of family size remained unchanged in face of modified conditions (i.e. higher death-rate caused by foreign diseases) with the result that the adult population was no longer replaced by births. A rapidly declining population disrupted Tapirapé socio-ceremonial organization and affected the internal system of production and distribution. The Tenetehara with a more moleable social structure than that of the Tapirapé were able to survive the initial impact of Luso-Brazilian contact until the protection of the Jesuits allowed them to make necessary adjustments to the new circumstances.

Te [797]

Te Te 171 161 182 571

Finally, this comparison between the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara calls to mind other primitive societies whose social structure must have been functionally related to population level and to demographic trends in face of European civilization. In Brazil, the Bonkokamekra (Eastern Timbira) with their complex moiety system and the Apinaré with their kin marriage

342 In simpler structures, such as house g (Photos. 64 and 67 to the right) and the summer dwellings (Photo. 7), there is no framework of rods, and because of this the leaves covering [110:196] the lower part of the shelter lean obliquely against the outer longitudinal poles with their stems resting directly upon the ground. The smaller sides are open in house g and only slightly covered [221] in the summer dwelling shown in Photograph 7. Structures of the latter type are erected in the fields and in neighboring wooded [226] areas when the dry season and its fishing opportunities lure the Indians into leaving their village and moving closer to the river in August, September, and October. The fact that the roofing of these temporary dwellings is not as good as that of permanent houses is understandable, since they are used as a protection against dew and sunlight rather than against rain properly speaking. The remnants of summer dwellings that I found along the trail leading from the river to the village consisted merely of a framework of poles lacking the finer latticework of sticks, and their covering was completely gone.

It is worth noting the existence of a sort of porch which took up entirely one of the smaller sides of house a and which was two and a half meters wide (Fig. 9). It was thatched only on its upper part, down to the longitudinal poles, and it was used by the men and women who wanted to be in the open air while lying in their hammocks or performing household tasks, but who wished to be sheltered from the sun (Photo. 48).

The house entrances are about the width of an adult person (Photos. 59 and 67), and they are bounded on top by the longitudinal pole, 1.60 meters from the ground. To my knowledge, they are never closed up.

[355] Reverend Kegel told me that during the rainy season the Tapirapé raise an earth bank around each house to prevent the waters from seeping in.

417 Beside the houses there stand wooden frameworks, triangular
251 or quadrangular according to the number of their legs, where manioc, peppers, and other fruits are laid out to dry and bananas are left to warm up in the sun.

345 The takana deserves special mention, not only because of its function as the men's house but also because of its appearance

241 The Karajá plots are wretched as compared with those of the
171 Tapirapé. I found Karajá Indians living north of the mouth of the Tapirapé River who suffered hunger for several years because they had always planted on the same spot. The Araguaia had flooded it several times, depriving them of the fruit of their labor and punishing them for their lack of foresight. The fact that this happened to a people who had known the river so thoroughly and for such a long time goes to show that they are not very adept and capable at tilling the soil. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph on p. 191 and the first paragraph on p. 192 are omitted.]

241 [113: 192] From June to August, that is to say, during the
[221] driest months of the year, the Tapirapé cut down forest growth to make new plots. The felling of trees is carried out by the method
[171] so widespread among South American tribes and also used by the White colonists of Brazil and neighboring countries. It consists of causing a whole cluster of trees to topple together by incising them in such a way that they all must fall in the same direction when their swaying neighbor leans against them from the opposite side. The largest tree in the group, usually a veritable giant, is felled in such a way that it drags to the ground along with it all its companions weakened by the axe. [Ed., the last half of p. 192 and the first paragraph of p. 193 are omitted.]

[113:193] The following note by Steere (385) refers to the
171 Yamamadí, an Aruak [Arawak] tribe of the Purus River: "The
241 first civilized men who visited them say that, at that time, they incised the trees in the shape of a belt, removing the bark with the stone ax. Then, they felled the trees by burning them with firewood piled up around their base."

Stradelli (575) provides a more detailed description of the same procedure as used by the Indians of the upper Uaupés: "The ax is used to make an initial incision all around the tree, which bruises rather than cuts the bark. When this has been done, and after a few days have elapsed to allow the bruised spot to dry or at least to wither, they pile up around the tree a lot of dry wood and then set fire to it. The bruised part, which is at least withered if the time was not sufficient for it to dry, naturally catches fire more readily than the rest. Once the fire has gone out, they remove the layer of charcoal resulting from this initial procedure and scrape the wood bare. They immediately light a new fire, then remove

241 cut down the biggest one. Throughout this work, they only used
476 axes with rather long handles (Photos. 56 and 61). Each man hit the trunks at the level most convenient to him, so that the stumps varied in height from 30 to 90 centimeters. After extreme exertion for a while, each man would rest until he felt like resuming his task. They were all quite diligent. And as I watched those men, most of them [113:195] endowed with the physique of our adolescents, conquer piece after piece of the huge forest around them, I saw none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness or tedious-
[461] ness that characterizes so much of the collective work among us. Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side, as though they were performing a very amusing game.

Since the time when the trees are felled is the driest of the
221 year, the leaves and branches of the toppled trees wither more
241 rapidly and become easily combustible. The Tapirapé set fire to them and then do their planting between the felled and nearly carbonized trees as soon as the rains come to nurture the vegetation. Thus, the chief time for planting falls in November and December, but in certain areas of higher humidity it comes as early as October.

To plant yams, cará [Tr., another kind of yam], and manioc,
244 the Indians use the hoe to dig a funnel-shaped hole, from one to
[412] one and a half meters in diameter and depth at the center, in which they pile up the earth in the shape of a cone. They slip into this cone four or five yam protuberances or an equal number of cará knobs, that is to say, fragments or "eyes" of the respective tubers, or four or five manioc shoots. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195 and the first two lines of p. 196 are omitted.]

[412] [113:196] The dibble is used by the Tapirapé to plant maize,
241 peanuts, and cotton in straight lines that ride over the fallen trunks and other irregularities in the terrain and lie about four meters apart. In planting cotton, around December, they place several seeds in each hole and keep the holes about two meters apart; the distance is smaller when planting maize or peanuts. Weeding also begins in December. Maize, peanuts, and cotton are harvested from June to August. Manioc and bananas are gathered throughout the year. Bananas and maize are gathered when still green and hung under the house roof to ripen, for there are many forest animals interested in eating them. The plots,

/406 cont./

114 On the campo path from the first roasting place, which was later
[489] joined by the second coming from the left, we reached a large
[361] village on the second day of the land march, two smaller villages
[312] on the third day, all three abandoned and in utter ruins. Water was not to be found on the campo on which the villages were located; the swamps and brooks to which paths led were dried out and, when excavated, in part to a depth of one meter, did not even yield moist earth, to say nothing of water.

131 On the basis of the discoveries and observations that I
133 made at these places, I formed the following opinion. The tribe lives on the high campo that extends from the southern bend of the Tapirapé to the north as far as the high mountains (or plateau borders) that enclose it in the north and west. In front of these borders there extends a tremendous trough, apparently the source region of the Tapirapé, which from there flows around out of the high campo in the west and south, then turns off to the north-
[361] east. /407/ Here, approximately 130 kilometers due west from
[142] the Tapirapé mouth, the tribe lives in one large and two smaller
361 villages during the rainy season. The large village seemed to have had three to four houses; the second, smaller one, two to
[392] three; the third perhaps the same number. The houses were in such a state of ruin that their construction was no longer recognizable; apparently they were large rectangular buildings with a pointed gable roof. The villages lie close to the large forest
[133] area that accompanies the trough in front of the mountains. All around in smaller troughs extend large swamps to which brooks
221 lead. During the dry season these water areas dry up completely, so that even holes up to a meter deep in the brook bed do not yield moist earth. As a result, the Indians are compelled to migrate to water areas, and apparently they then first seek the
[437] upper Tapirapé. In former times they seem to have come farther downstream to a certain place where they met the Karajá, who extended their fishing expeditions this far, and traded with them. This trading place lies about 30 kilometers southeast of the first village (34 kilometers from the second and third). As
[226] a result of the conflicts with the Karajá, they now avoid this

/407 cont./

221 region and come to the river farther upstream, before it turns
226 toward the northeast. Here, by means of poisonous cipo, they
[252] fish successive lakes blocked off by fences. They seem to travel from upstream downward, for the upper roasting place showed only a few new beams among very old ones, whereas the lower one was apparently quite recently built. This lower one, beside which they fished from the middle to the end of August 1908, lies about 16 kilometers south-southwest of the first village (24 kilometers
[487] from the second and third). The well-worn paths that go from the two roasting places, join, and lead by way of the first village to the other two, seem to indicate that the Indians visit this spot annually. Where they go from here I was unable to find out; perhaps they went across the Tapirapé to the south. In any case a campo lake abounding in fish, several kilometers away from the trading place, showed no traces of human beings.

161 These people seem to be very numerous. The number of
[342] houses is small, to be sure, but their dimensions seemed to be
[252] quite considerable. The 26 huge grills at the first roasting place and 10-15 at the second, the sandbanks completely trodden down with footprints beside the first fish lake, certainly lead one to
513 conclude that there is a large crowd of people. Sleeping is
352 apparently done in hammocks. This is indicated first by the net coverings that the Karajá buy from them, and then by the complete absence of sleeping places beside the roasting place, which was certainly used for many days.

241 Besides manioc (according to the account of the Karajá), these people also plant maize, as is indicated by many, partly
231 charred corncobs at the roasting place. As domestic animals they keep dogs, the traces of which were numerous on the sand-
224 banks. It may surely be assumed that they devote themselves to
[136] hunting. The campo is extremely rich in deer, the forests in wild pigs. Certainly they will not forgo these sources of meat.

226 In addition, fishing is practiced on a large scale through poisoning the /408/ /Ill. 267 appears here/ /409/ water of blocked-off lakes. We saw barrier poles everywhere in the territory of this tribe in front of lake outlets. The first lake that we came across was completely blocked off by a fence that was

[Text continues on p. 344]

[Ed., pp. 87-88 are not translated.]

000 [89] In Mühlmann (p. 344) we read: "In Polynesia, the new year was reckoned from the beginning of the fishing season, and since this period of time coincided with the appearance of the Pleiades above the horizon, a fruitful half-year, mata-li'i-i-nia, that is, 'Pleiades above,' was distinguished from an unfruitful or less fruitful half-year, mata-li'i-i-raro, that is, 'Pleiades below.' A Pleiadic year was also known in India."

2 It is also worth mentioning Métraux's observation (p. 51) that the Pleiades seem to have been the object of special beliefs among the Tupinambá, who were convinced, according to an unpublished manuscript by Thevet, that they fostered the growth of manioc, the staple of their diet. One of the most beautiful legends of the Taulipáng, a Karaíb [Carib] tribe of the Roroima, relates how the Pleiades came to the sky and also mentions their function as heralds of the rainy season that brings an abundance of food with the appearance of shoals of fish moving upstream to spawn (Koch-Grünberg, p. 13).

Among the Tapirapé, I did not find anything corresponding to 805 this Indian and Polynesian culture trait [Tr., the Tapirapé do lend importance to the Pleiades]. It is true that of all the events in the yearly cycle, the rainy season is of greatest interest to these Indians. They did not tell me anything about the Pleiades, however. The rainy season is to them the opposite of what it is to the Taulipáng, namely, not the time of well-being, but, in the words of the Tapirapé, the time of evil shadows, of baleful spirits. It is character- [181] istic of the timid nature of these Tupí Indians that they lend greatest [221] importance to the time of greatest distress, instead of centering their [132] thoughts on the dry season, which is to them the pleasant time of abundant vegetable and animal foods and thus the time of health and pleasure in being alive. [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 89 and the first paragraph, as well as the first three sentences of the second paragraph, on p. 90 are omitted.]

[90] The Tapirapé could not tell me the number of days in the 821 lunar month, although they were familiar with the moon cycle and 192 called the new moon txãhi apát, "moon sleeps," or txãhi akantxím, "moon finished," and the full moon ãuvahó, ho being the augmentative suffix, and ãuva corresponding probably to the ãu, "lunar," listed by Montoya, and the yacy icáua, "full, fat moon," given by Stradelli. The first quarter, when the visible part is not yet very thick, is called

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



but lives and re-lives his life cycle as the cycle of the seasons. In the early rains of October to January, Petura is a small boy. During the heavy rains of January to March, he is an adolescent youth. He is a young warrior as the rains diminish in April to June, and as the year draws to its close for the Tapirape during the remaining dry months, Petura becomes old. Then as the year begins again with the first refreshing rains of October, he begins a new life cycle. This is the agricultural year for the Tapirape. They plant when he is young (October) and harvest as he matures (in May and June).

Petura was not the only hero who benefited the Tapirape. To the "home of the gods" travelled Tomatociri and Mukwura II, other ancestor heroes, in search of their father Mukwura. There Mukwura gave his son, Tomatociri, the bow and arrow which he brought back to the Tapirape. There, too—and this is typical of Tapirape readjustment to newly-learned knowledge—the younger brother Mukwura II was given fire arms which he transmitted to his descendants, the Europeans or Torí.[9]

Shamans are equated with these ancestor heroes. If shamans die a non-violent death, they go immediately to Maratawa where they live plentifully supplied with food, tobacco, and all aids to the good life. If they die violently, however (i.e., are suspected of sorcery and killed by the Tapirape) they go to another home of shamans in the west. This is the "house of the winds" where the heavy winds blowing from the southwest come during the late dry season. They are given an artificial face, and they stay here until they heal before going east to join their companions in Maratawa. Only shamans and culture heroes continue after life in the form that they had on earth.

It is chiefly through shamans that the Tapirape know of the sun, moon and other heavenly bodies. A shaman had seen the sun "close by." The sun, he said, is an old man with no hair on his head. He travels through the heavens wearing a large head-dress of red parrot feathers, and since red parrot feathers are "hot," the head-dress gives off heat. Each night, after limping through his daily orbit (for the "sky is rough" and the sun continually has thorns in his feet) he returns underground to the east to his house at Maratawa.[10] There he eats very little and in a short time sets out again. The morning after Wantanamu, a shaman, had died, several Tapirape saw that the sun was red; it was very "hot" and angry because a shaman had died.

As the sun is male, so the moon is female. Both are thought of as people,

[9] I was unable to get the original of this story before the obvious change was made to make it fit with new conditions. It is similar, however, to a Tupinamba story recorded by Thevet and quoted by Métraux (*ibid.*, p. 13), which tells of Ariowte and Tamendonare, twin sons of Sommay.

[10] See Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 14, for Siuaia version.

101 [16] The Tapirapé Indians live in central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a left tributary of the Araguaia located in the extreme south of the state of Pará. They speak a dialect of Tupi-Guarani, the most widespread aboriginal tongue in Brazil. In spite of a great decline in their population, they still possess a rich cultural tradition which is peculiar to them and which distinguishes them [173] from other tribes. Their customs and traditions are transmitted orally with great care from generation to generation. One of the most 881 interesting among them is the ceremony in which the youth assumes the status of a grown man. This change in status is marked by nearly all peoples. Among us, when a young man reaches the age of 21, he can vote, marry, sign documents, etc.; among many primitive groups, the youth proves that he has become an adult by undergoing torture or achieving success in the hunt.

Among the Tapirapé, this tradition is observed with a festival [302] of song and dance called "hair-tying," for henceforth the young man will wear his hair tied at the back of the neck in adult fashion. For 858 several years before the ceremony, the boy keeps his body painted [302] black with genipap, wears his hair cropped close to the head--"like a monkey," in the words of the Tapirapé-- is subjected to food restrictions, and has his arms and legs scarified until they bleed so he [304] [856] will "grow strong." When he reaches 14 or 15 years of age, his family decides that the time has come for him to become an adult.

881 At the close of the rainy season, the time of harvesting and [221] thus of plenty for the tribe, the "hair-tying" ceremony is carried out. For months beforehand, the youth allows his hair to grow until it comes [302] [462] down to his shoulders. Meanwhile, mother and aunts weave threads (cords) to adorn him, while father and uncles collect feathers with [283] [237] which they make elaborate ornaments. All Tapirapé youths become adults through this rite; the sons of important men, however, and [554] those who were "favorite sons" (the Tapirapé elect certain children to preferential treatment) are much more richly attired than the others. The ceremony is costly to the family, and much time is needed before-hand to gather the necessary materials--macaw tail feathers, short [237] feathers of the blue macaw and parrot, breast fluff of wild ducks, cotton threads for the ornaments, and beads. All these items are [556] [435] valuable to the Tapirapé, who gauge their own wealth in these terms.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



## CULTURE

### SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

137 The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive 133 132 rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

**Farming.**—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their 241 villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their [484] large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, cará (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

[221] Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also 241 it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work 616 festival (apačirú). When communally prepared, the large clearings are 476 afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, gener- [423] ally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apačirú, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaô) at the end 241 of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as [462] the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, cará, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout [422] the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clear- [361] ings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

262 Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is 252 the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupí* groups, however, the

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



*Tapirapé* do not use the tipití (the long woven tube in which the water is squeezed from poisonous manioc), but squeeze poisonous manioc with their hands. The pulp is then spread out on a platform in the sun to be thoroughly dried. The flour is toasted in a clay pot over a very hot fire. 252

**Wild foods.**—Meat is a definite luxury to the agricultural *Tapirapé*. Monkeys, armadillos, forest fowls, cuati (*Nasua* sp.), and both kinds of peccary (*Tayassus tajacu* and *T. pecari*) are occasionally killed in the forest at any time during the year. The hunting and fishing season, however, is from June through October, when the savanna country is dry. The savannas are extraordinarily rich with game. Plains deer, wild pigs, peccary, and wild duck, and geese near the drying swamps are plentiful. 224 [221]

Fish are shot with the bow and arrow and stupefied with timbó (*Paullinea pinnata* or *Serjania* sp.) in the almost dry streams and lakes. The village is almost deserted in September and October, after garden sites have been cleared and before planting. Men, women, and children move out to the plains country near the Tapirapé River and set up a temporary camp. They collect turtle eggs and kill turtles in the river. They gather piqui fruit (*Caryocar vellosum*), andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), and other wild fruits, and, from October through November, they find wild honey both on the savanna and in the forest. 226 221 222

Hunting is done with the bow and arrow, but a club is used to finish the kill, especially wild pigs or jaguars. [224]

## HOUSES AND VILLAGES

The houses of a *Tapirapé* village form an oval around a large ceremonial men's house (tãkana), which is forbidden to the women. Both the large men's house, approximately 20 by 65 feet (6 by 20 m.), and the residential houses, averaging 13 by 33 feet (4 by 10 m.), have a quadrangular floor plan with arched roofs made by bending flexible poles and tying them together over a roof beam (pl. 19, *bottom, left*). The walls and the roof are covered with leaves of buritĩ palm and wild banana. 361 342 345

In the surviving village, called Tampitawa, there were nine residential houses, each housing from four to eight simple families. Each family occupies a determined sector of the house where they cook, keep their belongings, and hang their sleeping hammocks. Household utensils, such as baskets, pots, hammocks, and gourds, are owned by the women of each simple family. Houses, though built by men, are said to be the property of the women of the house. The house frame is constructed cooperatively by all the men of the house. Each man covers the portion to be used by his wife and children. 592 422 [423] 342

Ideally, residence is matrilocal, and the house is inhabited by a group of closely related women and their husbands. The household leader is generally the husband of the oldest woman of the group (see p. 172). Owing perhaps to great depopulation and the accumulation of refugees [591] 592

171 other Gê tribes and of the Bororo, but they differ from their north-
361 ern neighbors in the ground plan and framework of the houses, in
[342] the manner of burial, and in the use of the sleeping hammock.
[964] The Tapirapé resemble various tribes of the upper Xingu basin in the layout of the houses around a ceremonial house and in the use of the sleeping hammock, but differ from them in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of the dwellings versus the ceremonial house, as well as in the custom of burying the dead inside the house. It is also worth noting the difference between the elongated-dome shape of the Tapirapé and northern Kayapó houses and the beehive shape of the Kayamo-Chavante dwellings on the Rio das Mortes. [Ed., end of Vol. 111.]

## Chapter 8

### [112:51] Subsistence

●222 The Tapirapé derive their subsistence largely from farming and fishing. This does not keep them from using any opportunity they may have to gather wild fruits and honey and to hunt. The fruits of certain trees are plucked as they chance to be found along the way, but those of the tucum-açú (Astrocharyum spec.), called chavana in Tapirapé, are sought out systematically during the month of October. In September or thereabouts, the men equip themselves with axes and gourds and go into the forest to look for honey. During the same month they catch turtles and turtle eggs. At different times of the year they gather the larvae of various kinds of wasps (kaua, "wasp" in Tapirapé) and kill animals both small and large. Although some of them hunt at all times of the year,
224 February and March are the special hunting months, for this is the time when game, especially wild pigs, armadilloes, and pacas, is crowded in by the rising waters.

During my stay in Tampiitaua, there was only one man who preferred hunting to any other occupation. He was Kanchovani, a Tapirapé about 32 years of age who was more slender in body than many other members of his tribe. While the others worked in their

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



veral weeks on the Araguaya. Frequently shamans, through their dreams, learn and then tell the Tapirapé where large bands of wild pigs can be found and advise them how to approach the band (21). 756 787 [224]

The cleansing of food may be accomplished by the shaman by tasting it or by blowing smoke or his breath over it. Several times each year these rites are performed over the first fruits of harvests to insure their safety before the people taste the crop. In December the first ears of the new maize are picked and presented to a strong shaman who then gives them to his wife to cook. At sundown of the day on which this is done the shaman walks to the central plaza followed by his wife, who carries the cooked maize and places it in a pile before him, ready for the ceremonies that will follow. In 1939, Panteri was the shaman who initiated this ceremony and he was joined by five other proved shamans. The people of the village gathered about this group of shamans who sat in a circle facing the maize. One by one the shamans took deep draughts from their burning pipes and blew the smoke over the maize. Then, one by one again, each pinched off a few grains from an ear and ate them. When the last had tasted the new maize, the ceremony was ended. The youngsters of the village then fell upon the pile of maize; the crop had been tasted by the shamans and found free from danger for the people. The next day maize was eaten in all houses. 276 756 796 241

A similar ceremony is performed in August or September with the first wild honey of the season, and again about January or February when new corn is ground to make the thick beverage kaui. I did not hear of such "tasting of first fruits" by shamans for other garden crops and informants were unable to remember any one occasion when shamans had found new maize or honey too dangerous for consumption by the people. [222]

Again, each year in the first months of the rainy season when the new crop of maize is threatened by the first heavy rains and electrical storms, Tapirapé shamans must "fight" against Thunder and his mi- 756 789

(21) Many such prophecies are found wanting, and several times I heard people speak of a shaman's prophecy as a "lie". Often prophecies are only made known to people after events have proved them true.

476 thundering noise, dragging along in its fall its weaker companions.

Every once in a while, a voice was heard behind the trees. One could not see who it was, but the call sounded very close. Immediately, the boys rushed to the spot where the voice came from. Soon they returned with their arms full of bananas. They ran jubilantly toward us and distributed them.

These bananas reached a length of 30 centimeters and a middle circumference of 15 to 20 centimeters. The men brought them in hampers close to the working area, but never came out of the woods into the garden with their load.

The skin of the bananas was black, and their flesh was already brownish and too soft. This is the condition in which the Tapirapé like them best. The fruits are gathered when green and buried at the spot where they grew. The Karajá do the same thing. In the sun-heated ground, the bananas reach the desired state of rottenness more quickly than if they were kept at home. Then, too, they are warm when taken out of the ground, and this endears them further to the Indians.

They are not peeled in order to be eaten. The tough skin is opened a little at one of the tips, the tip is placed between the lips, and the skin slowly emptied by squeezing it with the fingers so that the pulp gradually enters the mouth. Kamairahó ate one banana after another. As for myself, I found them nauseating.

[108] The sun was already quite low when we left. We forged ahead at a rapid pace, one behind the other on the narrow trail. We were not far from the village when the path opened onto a small, cleared, triangular space. The women sat in the corners of this space and watched us in silence. The women and girls had split into three groups which tallied with the work groups of their husbands and fathers. They had placed pots of food in the area in the same arrangement. There were banana kãũí, peanut kãũi, cottonseed kãũí, toasted kará, and many other good things. Each group ate only from the pots placed for it at a specific spot. There were smaller quantities for the Tãnãvé, because they were fewer. I was invited from all sides, and since I was very hungry I did not spare the other two groups. Only when I was beginning to be satiated did I put down, with a great show of surprise, the pot of banana soup of the Anantxá from which I had just partaken, and declared that I was a Tãnãvé. This fact, however, did not seem to be of great importance to my hosts.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



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13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



the next two months we had daily sessions, some very brief and others lasting two or more hours. 115 123 124

In October of 1939, some six months after my arrival, I found it necessary to leave the Village of the Tapirs to go to Furo de Pedra for supplies and to collect mail that was held there for me. Valentim Gomes and I had come up the Tapirapé River, a tributary of the Araguaia, pulled by an outboard motor belonging to an anthropological colleague who had since returned to the United States. Now we had to paddle ourselves downstream. We could expect little help from the sluggish current and since the river was so low, it might be necessary to haul our canoe through shallows. Malaria had left me weak and I doubted that I was equal to this strenuous task. Several Tapirapé men, including Champukwi, were anxious to accompany us, but having Indians with us in Furo de Pedra was not advisable. First, they were susceptible to the common cold, which among relatively uncontaminated peoples such as these American aborigines often turns into a serious, and even fatal, disease. Second, unaccustomed to clothes, money, many foods, and other Brazilian customs and forms of etiquette, they would be totally dependent upon us during our stay in this frontier community. Nevertheless, the temptation to have my best informant with me during the trip and during our stay in Furo de Pedra was great and so we agreed to take Champukwi. 122 [164] [177]

The trip was made slowly. Two good frontiersmen in a light canoe could have made it in three days, but we took eight. Champukwi was of little help in the canoe; unlike the riverine tribes the Tapirapé are a forest people who know little about the water, and few of them had ever traveled by canoe. Champukwi was unusual in that he could swim. Although he had more endurance than I, his efforts at paddling endangered the equilibrium of our canoe. However, he could shoot fish with his bow and arrow. The dry season had driven game from the open savanna which borders the Tapirapé River so that we were able to kill deer, *mutum* (another species of large forest fowl), and a wild goose to supplement the less palatable fare we had brought with us. Each night we camped on a beach from which we were able to collect the eggs of a small turtle, the *tracaja*, that had been buried in the sand. Only the mosquitoes which swarmed during sundown and early evening marred our trip. The experience remains one of the most memorable 115 484 [481] [226] [224] [222] [136]

578 In this regard one should mention, first and foremost, the
621 survivors of the village abandoned in 1932. They may be distin-
guished from the other inhabitants of Tampiitáua by their scowl,
their perennial tendency to make mocking remarks in a low voice,
and their lack of hospitality. Their village, located "ten days'
march" to the north, reputedly hated the Whites. It established
contact with Tampiitáua through trade and a few marriages. I
still found about 20 of those "enemies," counting the men, women,
[123] and children. I got along well with them. One of them, Maninohó,
became my close friend and an exception among his people in his
increasingly hospitable behavior toward me. This did not prevent
many Tampiitáua people from hating him. Perhaps it even in-
creased the antagonism.

Gradually, I learned that the 20 individuals who disappeared
621 in 1934 had been, for the most part, former inhabitants of the vil-
166 lage that became extinct in 1932. Mr. Kegel recalled that al-
578 ready in 1933 there was a rumor in Tampiitáua that they would
move far away. They were, on the whole, unpopular and re-
mained enemies of the Whites. When they left, they took with
them everything they owned. They walked away towards the north.
[622] A sorcerer--medicine man, an influential and vigorous man who
had been accused of causing the death of Kamairá's wife, joined
them and became their leader. They had not been seen again in
1935, and it was so widely believed that they had been killed by
the Kayapó that, as I have already mentioned, the whole tribe
wanted to run away to Macauba and later commemorated the at-
tack through the pantomime described earlier. There was no abso-
lute certainty, however, as to the end met by the 20 persons. It
was said, as I have already mentioned, that they never returned
from a hunting trip. All the Tapirapé I asked spoke of this com-
[627] munal hunt, but it is probable that those 20 persons were expelled
from the community. It is well to note, however, that this
hypothesis would not be corroborated by the fact that they took with
them everything they owned. Indeed, they left at the very time
[361] when the entire village was being transferred to a new site. Fur-
[224] thermore, when people leave the village for several days with their
[226] families in order to hunt or fish communally, they usually take
[352] along all their household goods, which as a rule are quite easy to
carry because they are few and light in weight.

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361 ern neighbors in the ground plan and framework of the houses, in
[342] the manner of burial, and in the use of the sleeping hammock.
[764] The Tapirapé resemble various tribes of the upper Xingu basin in the layout of the houses around a ceremonial house and in the use of the sleeping hammock, but differ from them in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of the dwellings versus the ceremonial house, as well as in the custom of burying the dead inside the house. It is also worth noting the difference between the elongated-dome shape of the Tapirapé and northern Kayapó houses and the beehive shape of the Kayamo-Chavante dwellings on the Rio das Mortes. [Ed., end of Vol. 111.]

## Chapter 8

### [112:51] Subsistence

222 The Tapirapé derive their subsistence largely from farming and fishing. This does not keep them from using any opportunity they may have to gather wild fruits and honey and to hunt. The fruits of certain trees are plucked as they chance to be found along the way, but those of the tucum-açú (Astrocharyum spec.), called chavana in Tapirapé, are sought out systematically during the month of October. In September or thereabouts, the men equip themselves with axes and gourds and go into the forest to look for honey. During the same month they catch turtles and turtle eggs. At different times of the year they gather the larvae of various kinds of wasps (kaua, "wasp" in Tapirapé) and kill animals both small and large. Although some of them hunt at all times of the year,
224 February and March are the special hunting months, for this is the time when game, especially wild pigs, armadilloes, and pacas, is crowded in by the rising waters.

During my stay in Tampiitaua, there was only one man who preferred hunting to any other occupation. He was Kanchovani, a Tapirapé about 32 years of age who was more slender in body than many other members of his tribe. While the others worked in their

224 plots or at some task in the village, he would be on the lookout in the jungle or in the scrub forest. Some younger men also went hunting from time to time, but Kanchovani stood out as a specialist, a hunter par excellence.

Aside from individual hunting, there are collective hunts carried out by a few men (Photo. 24) or by the work groups.

The hunting weapons consist of bow and arrow and club. While traveling, the Indian usually takes along a bow and arrow, and often a club as well. On August 5, when we met a pair of jaguars as we marched from the village to the river, Kamairá and Chapokó ran after them with bow and club in hand. On July 14, a Tapirapé killed a wild pig with a club.

The bow (vuirampana) shown in Figure 13 and in Photographs
411 25, 26, 27, and 29 is typical [112:52] [Fig. 13 appears here.] [112:53] In the specimen shown in Photograph 29, the stave of patí palm wood (Syagrus botryophora), tantaú or tantayva in Tapirapé, is 175 centimeters long, and its circumference is eight centimeters in the center part, five centimeters near the notches at the ends, and three and a half at the tips, of which the upper one is four and a half and the lower one three and a half centimeters long. The cross-section is circular. The cord of vegetable matter (iniyma, ámayma) is 162 centimeters long. Sometimes it is rubbed with the greasy urucú paste, and this is done even more frequently to the bow stave and to the club. On certain bows made
[531] with special care, which are used by the dance leaders as decorative weapons and to mark time, the cord is whitened all over (Photos. 4, 68, 69).

Krause (2, 264) gives the length of the Karajá bow cord as
171 184-204 centimeters. Except for its size, this bow is identical to
411 that of the Tapirapé. In Meyer's (3, 8) classification, these bows belong to the "eastern Brazilian" type. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Krause (2, 262) writes as follows about the palm wood of which
439 the Karajá bow stave is made: "They say that this wood (olotó, woaluó) grows only in the Tapirapé area. In any case, according to their unanimous assertion, the Indians of the southern band obtain their bows, or the materials for them, from the Karajá of the northern band or from the Tapirapé themselves. As a result, I was able to acquire bows only from the northern band, for among the

[Text continues on p. 98]

171 25 centimeters wide and 12 centimeters in circumference on the
411 above-mentioned Karajá club which is in my possession. Both specimens are made of heavy wood. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

In hand-to-hand fighting, to kill at a short distance, the club
411 is usually preferable to the arrow. The Tapirapé will also grab
[726] their clubs when quarreling with a member of their own tribe, but
[578] in spite of this menacing gesture the quarrel is usually limited to a string of verbal insults. While in daytime dances the men of
411 Tampiitaua held in their hands an arrow or bow, and only excep-
535 tionally a club, in the kaó, or great nocturnal group dance, they held clubs and bush knives. These weapons were not used largely to mark time, as was the case with the bow and arrow in the daytime dances. They were displayed to make clear the character of kaó, which, as shown also by the intonation of the accompanying chant and by other elements, is basically a martial one. Fur-
[721] thermore, when equipped with clubs and bush knives, the warriors stood ready every night to repel any dreaded attack by their Kayapó neighbors. As far as hunting is concerned, it must be re-
● 224 called that the density of the forest vegetation and the height of
411 the grass in the savanna frequently ruled against the use of bow and
[137] arrow and impelled the Indian to attack from a short distance, that is to say, to use the club. In spite of this, during the march between the village and the river I observed that all the men carried
[683] bows and arrows, while they did not all carry clubs. Another specialized function of the Tapirapé club is to kill those people who are regarded as evil sorcerers.

The Tapirapé spear (yvyra-hãia, "pointed stick," or mina,
114 "spear") may have been imported from the Karajá. There are no
411 references to spears among the ancient Tupinambá or among the
[439] upper Xingu tribes. In Montoya's work (2, II), however, we find
[171] the terms ibirãhaquâbae, "pointed stick" (haquâ, "point") and my, "spear, prong." I did not see any spears while I was with the
[535] Tapirapé, but at Macauba on Bananal Island, Mr. Frederico Kegel showed me one that he had brought back from a previous visit to those Indians, and told me that they used it exclusively in their dances to mark the time, in the same manner as the above-men-
171 tioned weapons. This spear resembled the Karajá spear (donolí)
411 described by Krause (2, 272-273 and Fig. 126). It was likewise a

171 decorative object used on festive occasions and equipped with a
411 large bone point superposed on the shaft and adorned with tufts of pendant feathers. On the Karajá spear, however, these tufts are secured between the bone point and a braided ornament that covers the front part of the shaft along a length of 50 to 80 centimeters, while in the Tapirapé photographs published in the article "A civilização dos indios de Goyaz" [The Civilization of the Goiás Indians] (Revista [112:58] da Semana), they are fastened behind (or, if the spear is held vertically, under) the two-tone braiding. The Karajá told Krause (loc. cit.) that in olden times, when the spear was used to hunt jaguars, the tufts served to frighten the animal. Speaking of the Kayapó, the same author (2, 390) writes that he observed a few spears similar to those of the Karajá in the course of a ceremony.

224 Judging by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use hunting traps
171 and differ in this respect from the ancient coastal Tupi whose traps are mentioned by several authors, for example, by Léry (134, 143) in the sixteenth century and by Vasconcellos (p. LXXVII) in the seventeenth. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

311 During our march to the river, the Tapirapé set fire to the high, dry grass. According to them, they did this to make walking
484 easier on the return journey. This reason differs from that indi-
171 cated to me by the Brazilian frontiersmen when they set grass fields
224 on fire. They said that new grass would grow as a result of the burning and would attract deer and other animals, thus improving hunting conditions. Krause (2, 247) got the same explanation from the Karajá, who also liked to set fire to the grass fields. It may be
224 that the reason given by the Tapirapé reflects their lack of inclination for hunting. To my knowledge, they do not set fire to the fields for the purpose of killing the animals who run away from the fire and of gathering the small rodents who die in the flames, like, for example, the Chamakoko [Chamacoco] of the Chaco (Baldus 1, 32) and the Paressi of Mato Grosso (Roquette Pinto 126).

224 Among the dozen dogs (chavuana) in Tampiitaua, I did not
231 find a single one specialized for a certain type of game. The two dogs who were with us when we encountered the pair of jaguars were immediately frightened by the animals and dared not run after them even in the company of the Indians. On the other hand, the wild

224 pig killed on July 14 was brought to bay by Tapirapé dogs. Krause
23 (2, 407) found numerous tracks of Tapirapé dogs on a sandbar of the river that goes by the same name. The same author (2, 245 and 386) mentions dogs belonging to the Karajá (kjolozá in their
171 language) and the Kayapó. According to the Tapirapé, the
231 Ampanea stole young dogs from them. The complete absence of
[648] dogs in the upper Xingu region, which was noted by Von den Steinen (1, 326) in 1884, was confirmed in 1924 by Hintermann (255).

224 I was unable to obtain a satisfactory explanation for the following custom, which was related to me by my companion Kegel: the Tapirapé, after killing game, place a number of small sticks, corresponding to the number of animals killed, at the spot where they re-enter one of the paths used by the tribe; they tear each stick slightly and insert a feather or a few hairs of the slain animal in the resulting slit. I encountered the same custom in 1946 among the Kaingang [Caingang] of the upper Ivaí. There, the Indian Salvador Veiniá, after hunting baitaca [Tr., parrots of the Pionias genus], plucked a few feathers from one of these birds in my presence and tossed them beside the path. This same Kaingang, while in [112:59] the company of my assistant Harald Schultz, once found a stick lying on a footpath with two clusters of tateto hair in its split upper tip, and he said that two of those wild pigs had been killed at that spot and that the stick with the hair had been left there by the hunter to impart the news to passersby.

I did not observe any magic with the explicit purpose of catch-
224 ing or multiplying game. It is uncertain whether the animal dances
533 and songs which I shall describe in the chapter dealing with re-
535 ligion [Tr., apparently not published] have such a purpose, or whether their aim is merely to express joy. The Indians themselves
[226] say that there is a lot of fish when they sing, but that there is also a lot of fish when they do not sing. To judge from this statement, the animal songs and dances are not hunting magic. The Tapirapé
533 sing and dance because they like to sing and dance. For this reason,
535 also, they borrowed songs and dances from the Karajá. It would
177 be necessary to find out (1) whether the animal dances and songs were originally magical, (2) whether anyone still regards them as such, and (3) if so, who does. I was unable to settle these questions.

171 According to Francisco S.G.Schaden (30), the fathers in this
846 locality, accompanied by their wives, visit the new mother on the Sunday following the birth and must not refuse a draught of spirits at the time of this so-called Kindchenkaffee, for otherwise it is said that the newborn child would be unable to urinate. We see, therefore, that in this case the child's well-being hinges on the behavior of its parents' friends.

Among certain South American tribes, the father is not per-
[224] mitted to go hunting during the first few days following the birth (cf. Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 136). I was told that the Tapirapé goes hunting at this time and is even accompanied by his wife as soon as she is able to come.

853 Wagley and Galvão (3, 172) assert that Tapirapé parents must
933 abstain from sexual relations until the child is "weaned." They
[114] may intend this word to refer to the time when the child begins to take other foods aside from its mother's milk, for the latter is taken, whenever possible, for two or three years or even longer. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The Tapirapé seem to believe in magic conception, although
842 they know that pregnancy results from sexual relations. On March 31, 1942, Dr. Wagley told me the following story: once, at the beginning of his stay in Tampiitaua, he suddenly heard, "Here comes Dotoí." He knew that this was the name which the women and children of the village used to call me, adding the diminutive i to the title by which the camarada Daniel addressed me [Tr., in Brazilian pronunciation, "Doctor" sounds like doutô]. Wagley, surprised, [123:55] turned around and saw coming toward him not the colleague from São Paulo but a Tapirapé boy. "Where is Dotoí?" he asked. They pointed to the boy. "But Dotoí is far away," he objected. Then they told him that the boy was also called Dotoí because he was the son of the Dotoí from São Paulo. And as proof of this kinship they showed the ethnologist that the boy, like his distant progenitor, had no tembetá orifice in his lower lip as did other Tapirapé boys of his age. In a dry scientific work such as this, it is idle to conjecture what Wagley thought about me then and whether he compared the skin color of Dotoí II with that of the other other children. It is enough to say that he is my friend and the most understanding North American I know. Naturally, he did not fail to notice that the boy's age tallied roughly with the number

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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225 and they will fish only in shallow clear rapids. When they must swim
481 to catch turtles, a shaman guarantees their safety. A powerful shaman
756 dreams. He travels to the river, ties he jaws of the alligators with wires,
825 strikes the *piranha* across their teeth so they cannot bite, and ties up the large snakes into knots with their own tails.

756 The abundance of the food supply may also become the respon-
825 sibility of the shaman. Some powerful shamans have the ability to control the movements and the increase of the bands of pigs. These
[787] shamans visit in their dreams the "home of wild pigs" near the Tapi-
[103] rapé River on a hill called by them *Towaiyawá* — Ringed tail of the coati (*Nasua* sp.). There the shaman has sexual intercourse with female pigs, causing large increase in the bands. Those pigs that run fastest and are hardest to kill are these "children of the *pancé*". The
[776] shaman's control over the movement of bands of pigs comes through his control over the *ancúnga* called *ampukáya* — "crying spirits". Wild pigs are said to be "pets" of these spirits and follow them about.
[224] Shamans who are powerful enough capture these spirits and take them, followed by their pets, to an appointed place where Tapirapé men wait to kill the pigs. None of the living shamans was believed to be capable of these controls over the wild pigs and several of the Indians blamed the recent lack of sucess of hunting expeditions and the apparent scarcity of pigs on the declining power of the shamans.

756 The dream journeys of the shamans also give them the power of
787 prophecy, as was indicated by Panteri's vision of the fever in the village of the *peropi áwa*. Such dream experiences are not limited to the demonic world but sometimes occur in other earthly regions. The shaman may visit Carajá villages or Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya, where he sometimes learns facts of great interest or importance to his fellow-tribesmen. When Panteri visited the Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya River for the first time, he said that he recognized faces that he saw for he had been to these places many times in his dream. When I returned to the Tapirapé village after three months' absence, one shaman claimed to have prophecied my arrival to the day. He had traveled in his dream, he said, to the Araguaya River and had seen my canoe moving up the Tapirapé River. Another in the same way foresaw the arrival of a young Tapirapé who was returning from se-

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



veral weeks on the Araguaya. Frequently shamans, through their dreams, learn and then tell the Tapirapé where large bands of wild pigs can be found and advise them how to approach the band (21). 756 787 [224]

The cleansing of food may be accomplished by the shaman by tasting it or by blowing smoke or his breath over it. Several times each year these rites are performed over the first fruits of harvests to insure their safety before the people taste the crop. In December the first ears of the new maize are picked and presented to a strong shaman who then gives them to his wife to cook. At sundown of the day on which this is done the shaman walks to the central plaza followed by his wife, who carries the cooked maize and places it in a pile before him, ready for the ceremonies that will follow. In 1939, Panteri was the shaman who initiated this ceremony and he was joined by five other proved shamans. The people of the village gathered about this group of shamans who sat in a circle facing the maize. One by one the shamans took deep draughts from their burning pipes and blew the smoke over the maize. Then, one by one again, each pinched off a few grains from an ear and ate them. When the last had tasted the new maize, the ceremony was ended. The youngsters of the village then fell upon the pile of maize; the crop had been tasted by the shamans and found free from danger for the people. The next day maize was eaten in all houses. 276 756 796 241

A similar ceremony is performed in August or September with the first wild honey of the season, and again about January or February when new corn is ground to make the thick beverage kaui. I did not hear of such "tasting of first fruits" by shamans for other garden crops and informants were unable to remember any one occasion when shamans had found new maize or honey too dangerous for consumption by the people. [222]

Again, each year in the first months of the rainy season when the new crop of maize is threatened by the first heavy rains and electrical storms, Tapirapé shamans must "fight" against Thunder and his mi- 756 789

(21) Many such prophecies are found wanting, and several times I heard people speak of a shaman's prophecy as a "lie". Often prophecies are only made known to people after events have proved them true.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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555 west "where the earth ends and the water begins" and where the sun
622 returns to sleep after its travels across the sky. In Maratawa shamans
756 have an inexhaustible supply of tobacco, many red parrot feathers,
775 much manioc, kaui, bananas, meat, and all the other necessities and
[766] luxuries of life. Frequently a shaman is buried with a pipe filled with tobacco in his mouth, so that he may have smoke to drive out fatigue on the trip to Maratawa; and sometimes food is buried with the body so he may eat, for the journey to Maratawa is long.

556 Aside from these non-material considerations, there is one very
756 real factor which insures social respect to the Tapirapé shaman. Shamans are in general the wealthiest men among the Tapirapé. Although they may at times receive meat or honey for their cures or as presents for bringing the spirits of children to parents, payments to them are usually in those luxury goods that are the marks of wealth. It was readily observed that the beads and hardware which I gave as presents to the Tapirapé soon passed into the hands of shamans as payments for cures.

756 Payments to the shamans for curing the ill depend upon the seriousness of the illness and upon what the patient or his family has to offer. Frequently a shaman names his fee when his cure has been successful, asking for specific objects, for he knows full well what each family owns. Unsuccessful cures are never paid. For example, for the treatment of his sister's son and of his daughter, who were both sick at once, Kamairaho, a shaman himself, called three shamans and paid each the price that he asked. He paid one, Panteri, a machete and two strings of beads; to another, Urukumu, he gave an axe, a pocket knife, a pair of scissors, and five tail feathers of a red parrot; he gave only four strings of beads to Kamairai, who was considered a shaman of less power than the other two. Another young man with few possessions gave five arrows to a shaman who successfully treated his wife; still another paid the breast feathers from his parrot and four string of
[262] beads to a shaman. When Txawaniuma killed a *paca*, the meat of
[224] which is highly prized by the Tapirapé, he gave some to his companion of the hunt and divided the rest between two shamans who had treated his small daughter successfully. Neither shaman had to ask for any
[577] specific gift or payment. People often complain to others about the high price they had to pay to a shaman, but generally they pay what is

128 [Ed., p. 86 and all but the last two lines of p. 87 are not translated.]

[87] In the pages that follow I wish to discuss a social institution
121 of the Tapirapé, the like of which I have not yet found [88] either among the other tribes I have visited or in the literature. I call it "eating groups." [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

The social significance of this organization into "eating groups"
264 derives from their purpose, which is as follows. Sometimes it happens
224 that the produce of the hunt or of the harvest, which among these Indians may be eaten by either sex and also by the children (for exam-
[262] ple, wild pig, curassow, guan, turtle, honey, etc.), is too sizable for the hunter's family and not sizable enough to be shared justly and advantageously with the entire population of the village. In such a case, to avoid a less equitable act, the distribution is made among the mem-
574 bers of the eating group to which the hunter belongs.
476

At the time of my stay among the Tapirapé, they were divided
264 into seven eating groups [89]. They say that in the old days the groups
551 were more numerous. The names of the existing groups are Txankanépéra [Tr., the Portuguese x equals English sh], Pananivũãna, Maniitivuéra, Kãũũãnõí, Tãũãũpéra, Ãmpirampé, Avãinki'. Whenever I asked for an explanation of their meaning, I was merely given the word tãtáupãũã. Undoubtedly, however, some of the group names are related to the names of animals and plants, Txankanépéra with txankané (alligator), Maniitivuéra with mandiivũnã (a variety of manioc), Ãvãinki' with vũãiki'rã (a variety of manioc). This may be
[771] a vestige of totemic ideas, although they are not manifested in the behavior of the group members. For example, the attitude of the Txankanépéra group members toward the alligator is no different from that of the members of other groups. It is true that at the common
551 feasts each person is called by the name of the group and also is what
476 the name represents. Thus, for example, a member of the
264 Txankanépéra group will say, "Txe Txankanépéra," which means both "I am called Txankanépéra" and "I am Txankanépéra," and says to his group-fellow, male or female, "Ané Txankanépéra ('You are called Txankanépéra,' or 'You are Txankanépéra')."

192 Tãtáupãũã designates both the common feast of a group and the
574 institution of eating groups in general. When I asked the Tapirapé what
476 they called themselves as a community, I got the answer "Ampiãũã"
264 (a word that means "man" in the Tupí of the Amazon) and the statement
[101]

264 [92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of
574 various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets.
476 These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kãũũãnõĩ, owing to their small numbers, had joined the Ãvãinkĩ' to form a single group. All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group.
[262] There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of karã [Tr., a kind of yam], peanut kãũĩ, etc. Before that, there was a great
431 distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom
574 he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such
[622] as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better
[177] use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay
264 the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted to-
476 gether, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they
574 pleased. Kamairahõ, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk
[554] of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother.
123 We called each other "Txankanépéra," and Ampitánya, his little adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Ané Txankané-
[597] péra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other groups also called me "Txankanépéra," and I called them by the name of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

264 [93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that
574 there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The
535 plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the
[776] good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kãũihõ and vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness,
132 the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season with its "good shadows," summer.

574 They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they
796 also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

224 On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tãtãupãũã of an
264 eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Ãvãinkĩ' had killed
476 with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting
574 the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group.
[462] In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts

264 476 574 such as the head and legs, which they gave to those members of their
[224] family who did not belong to the same eating group.

The feasting had already begun before the sun was up. In the
[345] takána, the large dance house, which is essentially a men's house and
[562] thus as a rule not visited by women, the Ãvãinki´ of both sexes sat
[952] [94] on straw mats stretched for the purpose around large pots containing the roasted pig. The animal was cut up in such a way that the pieces could easily be held in the hand.

When I appeared, they all graciously invited me to help myself.
[123] I declined, stating that I was a Txankanépéra, and in view of this they did not insist further.

Naturally, members of other eating groups may ask the feast participants for a piece. Custom, however, demands that they withdraw after receiving what they requested. Only members of the same group may sit in the circle surrounding the pots. As a rule, however, a member of another group does not come to the people who are feasting and ask for a piece.

In any case, I did not want to carry my pride in being a Txankané-
123 264 476 574 péra too far, and therefore I accepted the invitation of a special friend, Vuãnomantxí, whose wife had prepared the bulk of the food for the Ãvãinki´ and thus earned the pig's head for her family. While she sat with her group-fellows in the takána, her husband and son, and a few other persons who were not relatives but who belonged to the family, so to speak, because they were the only other occupants of the small hut, lay across their hammocks and chewed contentedly. When I came in, Vuãnomantxí tore from the pig's head the piece that he considered the best and offered it to me. I began to chew on it, and this required much fortitude because the meat was very tough. [95] When my chin began to hurt badly and I was certain that I had swallowed enough of those awful bites, I craved a bonus and asked for the brains. My friend smiled--he always had a friendly smile for me, thoroughly joyous and relaxed--and gave me to understand that my tastes were not inferior to those of the most illustrious Tapirapé. Then, with his athletic strength, he broke open the skull, handed me the bulk of the brains, and stuffed the rest into his mouth.

Before the sun was up, only the pig's bones remained in Vuãnomantxi
264 476 house and in the takána.

Aside from the tãtáupáũa, there is another institution which also
[574] [611] involves eating in hereditary groups. It is called apatxirũ. Its purpose,

/407 cont./

221 region and come to the river farther upstream, before it turns
226 toward the northeast. Here, by means of poisonous cipo, they
[252] fish successive lakes blocked off by fences. They seem to travel from upstream downward, for the upper roasting place showed only a few new beams among very old ones, whereas the lower one was apparently quite recently built. This lower one, beside which they fished from the middle to the end of August 1908, lies about 16 kilometers south-southwest of the first village (24 kilometers
[487] from the second and third). The well-worn paths that go from the two roasting places, join, and lead by way of the first village to the other two, seem to indicate that the Indians visit this spot annually. Where they go from here I was unable to find out; perhaps they went across the Tapirapé to the south. In any case a campo lake abounding in fish, several kilometers away from the trading place, showed no traces of human beings.

161 These people seem to be very numerous. The number of
[342] houses is small, to be sure, but their dimensions seemed to be
[252] quite considerable. The 26 huge grills at the first roasting place and 10-15 at the second, the sandbanks completely trodden down with footprints beside the first fish lake, certainly lead one to
513 conclude that there is a large crowd of people. Sleeping is
352 apparently done in hammocks. This is indicated first by the net coverings that the Karajá buy from them, and then by the complete absence of sleeping places beside the roasting place, which was certainly used for many days.

241 Besides manioc (according to the account of the Karajá), these people also plant maize, as is indicated by many, partly
231 charred corncobs at the roasting place. As domestic animals they keep dogs, the traces of which were numerous on the sand-
●224 banks. It may surely be assumed that they devote themselves to
[136] hunting. The campo is extremely rich in deer, the forests in wild pigs. Certainly they will not forgo these sources of meat.

226 In addition, fishing is practiced on a large scale through poisoning the /408/ /Ill. 267 appears here/ /409/ water of blocked-off lakes. We saw barrier poles everywhere in the territory of this tribe in front of lake outlets. The first lake that we came across was completely blocked off by a fence that was

[Text continues on p. 344]

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



A man now points to the
uthwestern horizon and says, "Ware killed all spirits there; they are only 773
irit souls now." (To the north and east, however, many demon spirits 776
e still alive and active.) Ware engaged in a constant battle of wits with [823]
e spirit world. He killed many of the dangerous variety by setting fire to
eir stringy hair which trailed behind them, and he also killed off an-
her group of beings which clubbed men to death and drank their blood.
Sometimes shamans (*panche*) see malevolent beings in their dream 756
avels, and may even become friendly with them or receive their aid. For 776
ample, one shaman told of wandering far in an unknown forest as he 787
eamed, and of coming upon the spirits called *oreya*, who have long hair
ound in a mass, and who carry only one arrow with which they can
ll a man. They were about to shoot him but he shouted "No, I am a
aman!" and they left him alone, gave him food and aided him to return.
nly shamans can have such relations with these supernaturals. Tapirape
ymen are afraid to dream.

The shaman is indispensable to Tapirape living, not only because he has 756
ealings with the spirit world, and through his wanderings enriches the 842
nowledge of men, but also because he is of value in many practical ways.
Thus he controls the pregnancy of women. Pregnancy is known to relate
sexual intercourse, but conception comes only when a shaman brings a
hild to a woman. Thunder, and several types of birds, animals and fish, [825]
ave "children," that is, spirits of children. The shaman brings one of these
spirits" to a woman, putting it inside her while she sleeps. A woman who
vants a child can, for example, bring honey to a shaman. This will make [787]
im dream, and he will bring her a child. Similarly, a barren woman pre-
umably "had quarrelled much with the shaman."

When Tapirape swim, while fishing and shooting large turtles in the 756 825
Tapirape River, their safety depends upon the shaman. In this section of 751
Brazil, rivers are full of alligators, *piranha* (carnivorous fish) and sting [481]
rays, and according to Tapirape belief, large snakes lurk in deep pools.
Before men may swim safely the shaman must tie the jaws of the alli-
gators, strike the *piranha* across their teeth so they will not bite, and tie up
the tails of the large snakes. When Tapirape go hunting, it is up to the [224]
shaman to tell them where packs of wild pigs will be found, or to lead
them down to a good spot in the plains country.[23] Danger may lurk in all
food; thus Tapirape often take new corn, fresh meat, or any food, to have
danger "blown" out of it by the shaman.

The universe for the Tapirape is not finite or entirely known; it is 772
dangerous. Tales of culture heroes and experiences of shamans provide a 756 773

[23] When the Tapirape have made kills of wild pigs, which are "pets" of Thunder he will [821]
be angry and send a sudden rain or clouding of the sky. If a Tapirape sees an unexpected [776]
rainbow in the sky he will say, "The shaman has been successful against Thunder" (i.e., in
finding game).

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara S06



forest spirits performed by the men during the dry season were a function of the men's moieties. The "Feast Groups" met at intervals during the dry seasons at their traditional stations in the central plaza for ceremonial meals. At such times, as Herbert Baldus has shown, these "Feast Groups" functioned as a mechanism for food distribution in a season when more food was available than a family would normally consume. (7) The "Feast Groups" sometimes formed to collect honey and to hunt. The age grades of the men's moieties also frequently acted together economically; they organized work parties for clearing of large garden sites and they went out on large cooperative hunts after herds of wild pigs.

In aboriginal Tapirapé society ceremonial life and many important cooperative subsistence acticities were based upon this balanced set of associations. A Tapirapé village in order to assure adequate representation in the various age grades of the men's moieties as well as in the "Feast Groups" by necessity had to consist of about 200 people or more. A small village of fifty to a hundred people, for example, would not have provided sufficient number of males of the proper ages to allow the age graded moieties to carry out their ceremonials nor to organize their cooperative subsistence activities. Tapirapé village organization was therefore not conducive to a process of "splitting off" of groups from one village to form another. The size of Tapirapé villages was limited by their tecnological equipment within their tropical forest environment yet the social structure made the formation of numerous small villages difficult. In contrast, the less formalized social structure of the Tenetehara allowed for villages of varying size within the limits of their ecological adjustment. Extended family groups easily might break off from a larger village to form a new settlement fully able to carry out the cooperative economic activities and even ceremonials of the society. This process is constantly occurring in contemporary Tenetehara society. When tensions arise between extended families, one group simply splits off from the parent village to join another or to form a separate village without serious effects on the ceremonial or economic system. Tenetehara social structure offered a favorable condition for an expanding population after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected population.

Tapirapé social structure seems also to have been more vulnerable to disorganization in face of a rapid change in population size. Rapid depopulation after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected the normal functioning of their highly segmented and balanced social structure. By 1940, the lack of men had thrown the system of reciprocal and competitive activities of the men's age-graded moieties out of balance. There were not enough men of the "older" age-grade of either moiety nor of the young men "warrior" age-grade of one moiety to form functioning units to reciprocate in cooperative garden clearing and to participate in group hunts. Several of the "Feast Groups" had been disbanded for lack of numbers

(7) Baldus (1937) p. 88 ff.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



*Tapirapé* do not use the tipiti (the long woven tube in which the water is squeezed from poisonous manioc), but squeeze poisonous manioc with their hands. The pulp is then spread out on a platform in the sun to be thoroughly dried. The flour is toasted in a clay pot over a very hot fire. 252

**Wild foods.**—Meat is a definite luxury to the agricultural *Tapirapé*. Monkeys, armadillos, forest fowls, cuati (*Nasua* sp.), and both kinds of peccary (*Tayassus tajacu* and *T. pecari*) are occasionally killed in the forest at any time during the year. The hunting and fishing season, however, is from June through October, when the savanna country is dry. The savannas are extraordinarily rich with game. Plains deer, wild pigs, peccary, and wild duck, and geese near the drying swamps are plentiful. 224 [221]

Fish are shot with the bow and arrow and stupefied with timbó (*Paullinea pinnata* or *Serjania* sp.) in the almost dry streams and lakes. The village is almost deserted in September and October, after garden sites have been cleared and before planting. Men, women, and children move out to the plains country near the Tapirapé River and set up a temporary camp. They collect turtle eggs and kill turtles in the river. They gather piqui fruit (*Caryocar vellosum*), andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), and other wild fruits, and, from October through November, they find wild honey both on the savanna and in the forest. 226 221 222

Hunting is done with the bow and arrow, but a club is used to finish the kill, especially wild pigs or jaguars. [224]

## HOUSES AND VILLAGES

The houses of a *Tapirapé* village form an oval around a large ceremonial men's house (tãkana), which is forbidden to the women. Both the large men's house, approximately 20 by 65 feet (6 by 20 m.), and the residential houses, averaging 13 by 33 feet (4 by 10 m.), have a quadrangular floor plan with arched roofs made by bending flexible poles and tying them together over a roof beam (pl. 19, *bottom, left*). The walls and the roof are covered with leaves of buriti palm and wild banana. 361 342 345

In the surviving village, called Tampitawa, there were nine residential houses, each housing from four to eight simple families. Each family occupies a determined sector of the house where they cook, keep their belongings, and hang their sleeping hammocks. Household utensils, such as baskets, pots, hammocks, and gourds, are owned by the women of each simple family. Houses, though built by men, are said to be the property of the women of the house. The house frame is constructed cooperatively by all the men of the house. Each man covers the portion to be used by his wife and children. 592 422 [423] 342

Ideally, residence is matrilocal, and the house is inhabited by a group of closely related women and their husbands. The household leader is generally the husband of the oldest woman of the group (see p. 172). Owing perhaps to great depopulation and the accumulation of refugees [591] 592

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



requited by gifts of beads, hardware, and salt which I provided judiciously from time to time. After a few days, I began noting questions to be asked of Champukwi in the late afternoon when he now habitually visited our house. But this was the time that others also liked to visit. At this hour of the day our house was often crowded with men, women, children, and even pets—monkeys, parrots, and wild pigs—for which the Tapirapé along with other Brazilian tribes have an especial fondness. Such social gatherings were hardly conducive to the ethnological interview or even to the systematic recording of vocabulary. So I asked Champukwi if I might go with him to his garden. There, alternating between helping him cut brush from his garden site and sitting in the shade, I was able to conduct a kind of haphazard interview. Often, while he worked, I formulated questions in my halting Tapirapé and I was able by repetition to understand his answers. Although the Tapirapé villagers began to joke of Champukwi's new garden site as belonging to the two of us, these days were very valuable for my research.

Walking through the forest to and from Champukwi's garden, we often hunted for *jacu*, a large forest fowl rather like a chicken. I attempted to teach Champukwi how to use my .22 rifle, but he had difficulty understanding the gunsights and missed continually. He attempted to show me how to "see" the *jacu* hidden in the thick branches of the trees, but I seldom caught sight of the birds until they had flown. Thus, our complementary incapacities combined to make our hunting in the tropical forest quite unproductive, and in disgust Champukwi often resorted to his bow and arrow. Only later in the year, after he had practiced a great deal by shooting at tin cans did Champukwi master the use of the rifle, and this new-found skill greatly added to his prestige among the Tapirapé.

My abiding friendship with Champukwi perhaps really began when I came down with malaria about six weeks after our arrival. During the first few days of my illness, I was oblivious to my surroundings. I am told that while one *panché*, or medicine man, predicted my death, another tried to cure me by massage, by blowing tobacco smoke over my body, and by attempting to suck out the "object" that was causing the fever. Evidently his efforts—plus the atabrine tablets administered by Valentim Gomes—were successful, for my fever abated. I realized, however, that convalescence would be slow. Unable to leave the house for almost three weeks, I spent my days

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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the next two months we had daily sessions, some very brief and others lasting two or more hours. 115 123 124

In October of 1939, some six months after my arrival, I found it necessary to leave the Village of the Tapirs to go to Furo de Pedra for supplies and to collect mail that was held there for me. Valentim Gomes and I had come up the Tapirapé River, a tributary of the Araguaia, pulled by an outboard motor belonging to an anthropological colleague who had since returned to the United States. Now we had to paddle ourselves downstream. We could expect little help from the sluggish current and since the river was so low, it might be necessary to haul our canoe through shallows. Malaria had left me weak and I doubted that I was equal to this strenuous task. Several Tapirapé men, including Champukwi, were anxious to accompany us, but having Indians with us in Furo de Pedra was not advisable. First, they were susceptible to the common cold, which among relatively uncontaminated peoples such as these American aborigines often turns into a serious, and even fatal, disease. Second, unaccustomed to clothes, money, many foods, and other Brazilian customs and forms of etiquette, they would be totally dependent upon us during our stay in this frontier community. Nevertheless, the temptation to have my best informant with me during the trip and during our stay in Furo de Pedra was great and so we agreed to take Champukwi. 122 [164] [177]

The trip was made slowly. Two good frontiersmen in a light canoe could have made it in three days, but we took eight. Champukwi was of little help in the canoe; unlike the riverine tribes the Tapirapé are a forest people who know little about the water, and few of them had ever traveled by canoe. Champukwi was unusual in that he could swim. Although he had more endurance than I, his efforts at paddling endangered the equilibrium of our canoe. However, he could shoot fish with his bow and arrow. The dry season had driven game from the open savanna which borders the Tapirapé River so that we were able to kill deer, *mutum* (another species of large forest fowl), and a wild goose to supplement the less palatable fare we had brought with us. Each night we camped on a beach from which we were able to collect the eggs of a small turtle, the *tracaja*, that had been buried in the sand. Only the mosquitoes which swarmed during sundown and early evening marred our trip. The experience remains one of the most memorable 115 484 [481] [226] [224] [222] [136]

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

**Champukwi of the Village of the Tapir.**

Champukwi sketched for me the stories of Petura, the Tapirapé ancestral hero who stole fire from the King Vulture, daylight from the night owl, *genipa* (used for dye) from the monkeys, and other items for the Tapirapé. However, he persuaded Maeumi, an elder famous for his knowledge of mythology, to relate the details although he himself helped considerably to clarify for me the meaning of native phrases and to make the stories told by Maeumi more fully understandable. Champukwi also forewarned me of events that I might want to witness, events that without his warning I might have missed. Such were the wrestling matches which took place upon the return of a hunting party between those men who went on the hunt and those who remained at home. He told me of a particularly handsome basket a man had made, which I might want to add to my collection for the Brazilian National Museum. He came to tell me that a young woman in a neighboring house was in labor, thus enabling me to get a photograph of the newborn infant being washed in the stream, and he urged the men to celebrate for my benefit a ceremony which might easily have been omitted. Champukwi was no longer merely an informant. He became a participant in ethnographic research although, of course, he never thought of it in these terms. He seemed somehow to understand the anthropologist's task in studying his culture, and in the process he gained considerable objectivity about his own way of life.

Yet it must be said that Champukwi did not seem to discredit the norms, institutions, and beliefs of his own people. Although he saw Valentim and me walk safely down the path through the forest late at night, he steadfastly refused to do the same; for the path was a favorite haunt of the lonely ghosts of deceased Tapirapé who might harm the living. He reasoned that the *tori* were probably immune to this danger. When he was ill, he took the pills we urged upon him but he also called in the shaman. His curiosity about airplanes, automobiles, and "gigantic canoes" (passenger boats) which he saw pictured in the magazines we had brought with us, was great; but he boasted that the Tapirapé could walk farther and faster than any *tori* or even the Caraja (who are a canoe people). In fact, his interest in, and enthusiasm for, certain Tapirapé activities seemed to be heightened by our presence. Almost all Tapirapé ceremonials involve choral singing and Champukwi was a singing leader of one of the sections of the men's societies. He was always pleased when

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



of fish, of insects, and several natural phenomena, especially thunder, have children: that is, they are thought to control "spirits of children" (20). A shaman steals, or more simply, takes spirits of children from these sources and brings them to a woman while she sleeps. Parents who wish children can bring presents to a *pancé* to "make him dream and bring a child to them". Most Tapirapé parents can identify the source of their children and the shaman who brought them. One father explained that he had taken honey to the *pancé* Urukumu, making him dream, and that Urukumu had then traveled to the house of Thunder and brought back a child to his wife. Another gave a present of fish to a shaman who brought back a child from the small fish called piau (*Leporinus* sp.); and yet another gave honey to a *pancé* who brought back a child from the horsefly (Tabanidae). 756 82 842

To the Tapirapé all good and likewise all evil can be laid at the door of the shaman. Consequently a phenomenon such as barrenness is always the fault of the shaman. A barren woman or a man with no children by his wife must have "quarrelled much with the *pancé*". For example, it was clear to Kamairaho that his failure to have children by the three wives with whom he had lived during his lifetime was due to the shaman: "They do not want me to have a child", he said. He had no suspicion concerning his own sterility, even though his present and third wife had had a daughter by her first husband; for according to Tapirapé belief, all men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are biological fathers of child, and Kamairaho was in this manner the "father" of several children. 756 842 [837]

The safety of Tapirapé men depends upon the power of their shaman during the period each October and November when they must swim while they fish and shoot turtles; for in this region of Brazil rivers are infested with alligators, sting rays (*Potamotrygon histrix*), and the carnivorous fish called piranha (Serrasalminae). The Tapirapé also believe that large snakes lurk in deep pools of the rivers ready to wrap themselves around men and pull them beneath the water. During the year men will not swim in deep water unless it is absolutely necessary 225 756 481 825

(20) Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, jacú (*Penelope* sp.), *jakamí* (*Psophia* sp.), fish as called *tukunare* (*Cichla ocellaris*), pacú (*Mylinae* sp.), and *piranha* (*Pygocentrus*), and *jakari* (*Prochilodus* sp.), were listed as sources of "spirits of children".

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



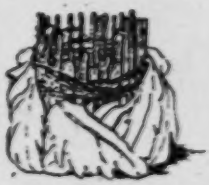
225 and they will fish only in shallow clear rapids. When they must swim
481 to catch turtles, a shaman guarantees their safety. A powerful shaman
756 dreams. He travels to the river, ties he jaws of the alligators with wires,
825 strikes the *piranha* across their teeth so they cannot bite, and ties up the large snakes into knots with their own tails.

756 The abundance of the food supply may also become the respon-
825 sibility of the shaman. Some powerful shamans have the ability to control the movements and the increase of the bands of pigs. These
[769] shamans visit in their dreams the "home of wild pigs" near the Tapi-
[103] rapé River on a hill called by them *Towaiyawá* — Ringed tail of the coati (*Nasua* sp.). There the shaman has sexual intercourse with female pigs, causing large increase in the bands. Those pigs that run fastest and are hardest to kill are these "children of the *pancé*". The
[776] shaman's control over the movement of bands of pigs comes through his control over the *ancúnga* called *ampukáya* — "crying spirits". Wild pigs are said to be "pets" of these spirits and follow them about.
[224] Shamans who are powerful enough capture these spirits and take them, followed by their pets, to an appointed place where Tapirapé men wait to kill the pigs. None of the living shamans was believed to be capable of these controls over the wild pigs and several of the Indians blamed the recent lack of sucess of hunting expeditions and the apparent scarcity of pigs on the declining power of the shamans.

756 The dream journeys of the shamans also give them the power of
787 prophecy, as was indicated by Panteri's vision of the fever in the village of the *peropi áwa*. Such dream experiences are not limited to the demonic world but sometimes occur in other earthly regions. The shaman may visit Carajá villages or Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya, where he sometimes learns facts of great interest or importance to his fellow-tribesmen. When Panteri visited the Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya River for the first time, he said that he recognized faces that he saw for he had been to these places many times in his dream. When I returned to the Tapirapé village after three months' absence, one shaman claimed to have prophecied my arrival to the day. He had traveled in his dream, he said, to the Araguaya River and had seen my canoe moving up the Tapirapé River. Another in the same way foresaw the arrival of a young Tapirapé who was returning from se-

/409 cont./

226 still green. The location of the fence is shown in Ill. 7. The fence extends from the lake shore to the sandbank that separates it from the river. Vertical posts are driven in and joined together by a horizontal beam floating on the water. They are supported on either side by diagonal struts. Inside, dense foliage is tied on, which is supposed to prevent the stupefied fish from being carried out (Ill. 267). The posts had been cut nearby in the forest on the southern bank. The water was poisoned with poisonous cipo that lay in quantities on the sandbank and at the rear end of the lake; it had been fetched from the forest at the [501] end of the lake. The Indians apparently do not have boats for traveling on the [395] lake. Serving for this were a few light tree trunks that lay tied together in the lake beside the sandbank. In this way they had caught all kinds of fish, even piraruçú, obviously in large quantities, as the large number of grills (26) 225 shows. They also caught turtles and kept them alive. They had built a sort of cage, in the shade of which the turtles were able to survive the hot part of the day (Ill. 268). Sticks about a meter high were stuck in the ground in a circle three-fourths of a meter in diameter, interwoven with leaves, and joined together by cipo winding.



Ill. 268.
Turtle cage.

252 The preparation of food seems to be done by boiling and roasting. The fire is transported with large blocks of wood that lay about everywhere. Cooking is obviously done in clay vessels, the shards of which lay scattered around at the first roasting place and beside the paths. Chiefly, however, the yield from the fishing expeditions seems to be roasted, perhaps for stores, for the entire layout of the roasting places and the numerous back-baskets indicated large-scale activity. Roasting was done near the lakes in the forest on large sites on which huge grills were found. These had a triangular or rectangular form, a roasting surface as large as four square meters, and were mounted to the trees of the forest. Often several, with their frames, were joined (see Ill. 269 a-c /see p. 346; Pl. 29 /see p. 18/, Ill. 2). The beams of these racks

137 The savanna of the hinterland beyond the left bank of the river
241 is bounded on the north by this huge forest, in which many generations of Tapirapé Indians have found enough virgin growth to prepare annually new plots that provide them with an abundance of bananas, maize, peanuts, gourds, beans, manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, peppers, tobacco, and cotton. This forest, aside from being flooded
193 extensively even in the dry season, contains small streams flowing
312 on wide beds of clear sand, which offer the Indians cool, limpid
226 water for drinking and bathing, and abundant fish, large and small, that play an important part in their diet.

The only man-made trails that we know of so far in the vicinity
487 of the Tapirapé River are the more or less deeply marked footpaths of the Tapirapé Indians. On the savanna, they are about 20 centimeters wide and follow the sinuous line involuntarily produced by human beings when they walk on flat ground. [97:51] We can verify this sinuosity, for example, on a long beach, when we attempt to reach a certain point directly and later look at the trail left by our feet. We notice that it meanders and thus differs from all animal tracks, those of the jaguar or water cavy as well as those of birds, which always run in a straight line unless they curve out deliberately.

To give an idea of a specific part of the river environs at a
114 specific time of year, I shall now describe my land journey toward the
133 north, from Porto Salvação to Tampiltána. I left on June 19, 1935, at 3:30 in the afternoon, carrying on my back the requisite sleeping and eating equipment. I walked at the rapid pace used by the local frontiersmen on long hikes, making about five kilometers an hour on flat, unobstructed ground. I went through dry grassland with a scatter-
[137] ing of medium-sized trees which sometimes stood dozens of meters apart. After a walk of nearly three hours, I reached Lake Tucunaré,
[103] so called because of its abundant fish of the same name which attract
[136] the Tapirapé Indians to the place every year. At the time of my passage, Lake Tucunaré was a slow and deep brook which I had to cross up to my waist in water. They say that it connects with the Tapirapé River during the rainy season. It is surrounded by trees, and the water is full of them. After wading through it, I reached a place on the shore where those Indians often set up their sleeping hammocks and
[136] where I spent the night. There were quite a few mosquitoes. The
[132] chief plague of the day, however, in spite of my deliberately late start, was the heat.

578 In this regard one should mention, first and foremost, the
621 survivors of the village abandoned in 1932. They may be distin-
guished from the other inhabitants of Tampiitíua by their scowl,
their perennial tendency to make mocking remarks in a low voice,
and their lack of hospitality. Their village, located "ten days'
march" to the north, reputedly hated the Whites. It established
contact with Tampiitíua through trade and a few marriages. I
still found about 20 of those "enemies," counting the men, women,
and children. I got along well with them. One of them, Maninobó,
[123] became my close friend and an exception among his people in his
increasingly hospitable behavior toward me. This did not peevent
many Tampiitíua people from hating him. Perhaps it even in-
creased the antagonism.

Gradually, I learned that the 20 individuals who disappeared
621 in 1934 had been, for the most part, former inhabitants of the vil-
166 lage that became extinct in 1932. Mr. Kegel recalled that al-
578 ready in 1933 there was a rumor in Tampiitíua that they would
move far away. They were, on the whole, unpopular and re-
mained enemies of the Whites. When they left, they took with
them everything they owned. They walked away towards the north.
[622] A sorcerer--medicine man, an influential and vigorous man who
had been accused of causing the death of Kamairí's wife, joined
them and became their leader. They had not been seen again in
1935, and it was so widely believed that they had been killed by
the Kayapó that, as I have already mentioned, the whole tribe
wanted to run away to Macauba and later commemorated the at-
tack through the pantomime described earlier. There was no abso-
lute certainty, however, as to the end met by the 20 persons. It
was said, as I have already mentioned, that they never returned
from a hunting trip. All the Tapirapé I asked spoke of this com-
[627] munal hunt, but it is probable that those 20 persons were expelled
from the community. It is well to note, however, that this
hypothesis would not be corroborated by the fact that they took with
them everything they owned. Indeed, they left at the very time
[36] when the entire village was being transferred to a new site. Fur-
[224] thermore, when people leave the village for several days with their
[226] families in order to hunt or fish communally, they usually take
[352] along all their household goods, which as a rule are quite easy to
carry because they are few and light in weight.

351 lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the village square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstruc-
[972] tions. The trunks served as seats and, bit by bit, as firewood. They lay in such numbers over the vast area stretching between the houses and the edge of the forest, and were so entangled and
[114] ensnarled by their branches, that the imaginative Madame de
[712] la Falaise (196), who visited Tampiitaua on August 23, 1935, that is to say, shortly after my departure, went so far as to write the following: "We proceeded toward the village, where the tribe, for fear of armed aggression, has fortified the surroundings. The felled, tangled trees, the traps and ingenious obstacles, are discouraging. The boldest aggressor would break his neck long before he got the better of them" [translated from French].

361 In this respect, however, I must confess that the only serious
712 obstacles I encountered daily on crossing the area in question were
114 the products of the tribal digestive processes, for the supposed
[514] fortification held no role other than that of a huge toilet. [110: 192] I do not wish to determine whether such obstacles may be termed "ingenious," but I wish to emphasize that they did not discourage me. The truth is that the Tapirapé do not fortify their
[171] village in any way, and differ in this respect from the Tupinambá, who surrounded their villages (Jean Parmentier apud J.F. de Almeida Prado, 180; Hans Staden, p. 3; Gabriel Soares de Sousa, 366). The "traps and ingenious obstacles" mentioned above exist only in the imagination of the author. Even the act of placing
[721] sentries, a precaution referred to in Chapter 5, is strikingly inconsistent with the natural bent of the Tapirapé.

Toward the east a stream meandered, a few paces from the
361 village. Its clear, fresh waters ran free of the thick forest for only
[972] a short stretch, which was used at the same time as bathroom and
[515] drinking fountain, and as a spot for fishing and for washing the
[226] sleeping hammocks. A well-beaten path led from it to the vil-
[487] lage plaza, skirting a plot of sugar cane to the left. According to
259 what Reverend Kegel told me, this plot resulted from collective
476 labor performed for Kamaiwahó. The latter had ruled on the site of the plot and concurrently on that of the village, which had been built later beside the communally prepared garden. It was, so to speak, a luxury plot, for it contained nothing but the sweet grass

342 In simpler structures, such as house g (Photos. 64 and 67 to the right) and the summer dwellings (Photo. 7), there is no framework of rods, and because of this the leaves covering [110:196] the lower part of the shelter lean obliquely against the outer longitudinal poles with their stems resting directly upon the ground. The smaller sides are open in house g and only slightly covered [221] in the summer dwelling shown in Photograph 7. Structures of the latter type are erected in the fields and in neighboring wooded [226] areas when the dry season and its fishing opportunities lure the Indians into leaving their village and moving closer to the river in August, September, and October. The fact that the roofing of these temporary dwellings is not as good as that of permanent houses is understandable, since they are used as a protection against dew and sunlight rather than against rain properly speaking. The remnants of summer dwellings that I found along the trail leading from the river to the village consisted merely of a framework of poles lacking the finer latticework of sticks, and their covering was completely gone.

It is worth noting the existence of a sort of porch which took up entirely one of the smaller sides of house a and which was two and a half meters wide (Fig. 9). It was thatched only on its upper part, down to the longitudinal poles, and it was used by the men and women who wanted to be in the open air while lying in their hammocks or performing household tasks, but who wished to be sheltered from the sun (Photo. 48).

The house entrances are about the width of an adult person (Photos. 59 and 67), and they are bounded on top by the longitudinal pole, 1.60 meters from the ground. To my knowledge, they are never closed up.

[355] Reverend Kegel told me that during the rainy season the Tapirapé raise an earth bank around each house to prevent the waters from seeping in.

417 Beside the houses there stand wooden frameworks, triangular 251 or quadrangular according to the number of their legs, where manioc, peppers, and other fruits are laid out to dry and bananas are left to warm up in the sun.

345 The takana deserves special mention, not only because of its function as the men's house but also because of its appearance

224 pig killed on July 14 was brought to bay by Tapirapé dogs. Krause
23 (2, 407) found numerous tracks of Tapirapé dogs on a sandbar of the river that goes by the same name. The same author (2, 245
171 and 386) mentions dogs belonging to the Karajá (kjolozá in their
231 language) and the Kayapó. According to the Tapirapé, the
[648] Ampanea stole young dogs from them. The complete absence of dogs in the upper Xingu region, which was noted by Von den Steinen (1, 326) in 1884, was confirmed in 1924 by Hintermann (255).

224 I was unable to obtain a satisfactory explanation for the following custom, which was related to me by my companion Kegel: the Tapirapé, after killing game, place a number of small sticks, corresponding to the number of animals killed, at the spot where they re-enter one of the paths used by the tribe; they tear each stick slightly and insert a feather or a few hairs of the slain animal in the resulting slit. I encountered the same custom in 1946 among the Kaingang [Caingang] of the upper Ivaí. There, the Indian Salvador Veiniá, after hunting baitaca [Tr., parrots of the Pionias genus], plucked a few feathers from one of these birds in my presence and tossed them beside the path. This same Kaingang, while in [112:59] the company of my assistant Harald Schultz, once found a stick lying on a footpath with two clusters of tateto hair in its split upper tip, and he said that two of those wild pigs had been killed at that spot and that the stick with the hair had been left there by the hunter to impart the news to passersby.

I did not observe any magic with the explicit purpose of catch-
224 ing or multiplying game. It is uncertain whether the animal dances
533 and songs which I shall describe in the chapter dealing with re-
535 ligion [Tr., apparently not published] have such a purpose, or whether their aim is merely to express joy. The Indians themselves
[226] say that there is a lot of fish when they sing, but that there is also a lot of fish when they do not sing. To judge from this statement, the animal songs and dances are not hunting magic. The Tapirapé
533 sing and dance because they like to sing and dance. For this reason,
535 also, they borrowed songs and dances from the Karajá. It would
177 be necessary to find out (1) whether the animal dances and songs were originally magical, (2) whether anyone still regards them as such, and (3) if so, who does. I was unable to settle these questions.

533 In any case, the greater part of the animal dances and songs
535 that I witnessed dealt with fish. Only the dance of the chankui, that is, "little guan," was also performed frequently. A dance
[171] by this name is mentioned by Von den Steinen (2, 313) for the Auetõ and Kamayurá as "original" to these Tupi tribes. Actually,
[137] those gallinaceans of the Penelope genus, which are easy to catch, abound in Tapirapé territory, and their tasty meat is not barred to either sex. It would be possible to build fine hypotheses about the connection between these facts and the above-mentioned dance, but I shall abstain.

The predominance of fish dances accords with the importance
● 226 of fishing. The chief fishing period lasts from June to October. During these months, the waters are low and clearer, and in many places it is possible to see all the way down to the bottom. The
[133] small streams gradually dry out, and the fish are compelled to crowd into certain stretches of the river and into the lakes. The latter lose their connections with the river, or they are closed off artificially with dams, observed by Krause (2, 409, Fig. 7, and 267, Plate 29), which consist of stakes connected with crosspieces and covered with thick foliage.

The areas thus dammed are poisoned with a vine called chimá in Tapirapé. The Indians pound the water with pieces of this vine, and call the procedure anchimaká. The water turns a purplish blue. Only the very small fry are killed, however. Other fish are stunned.
[312] To get drinking water the Indians dig holes in the banks, which sometimes lie no farther than one meter from the poisoned waters, but whose contents, filtered through the sand, are harmless to man. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[112:60] Another Tapirapé fishing method, which I have already mentioned, is with the bow and arrow. While the large barbed arrow is used exclusively by adult men, the small one with one or several simple wooden points is used by the boys. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

At Tampiitaua I saw a fish trap (chekiá) consisting of a cylin-
227 drical, funnel-shaped basket made of cane strips (Photo. 32). Aside from this, the Indians showed me a strange object, according to them, used to catch the tiniest fish, which is placed in the water, like the trap, in such a way that the current makes it easy for the fish to get in and impossible for it to get out. This object

227 consists of cane internodes, slit lengthwise in such a way that a ring of the same material placed across the middle of each internode constitutes, so to speak, the common base of two cones formed by the splayed and distended strips, which remain joined only at the tips of the internode, that is to say, at the two nodes (Photo. 31). The Tapirapé name for this "rod-trap" is chekiá-
[192] nayngaua, and the name of the material used is angkamanchyva, the same kind of cane that is used in making arrows. I must
171 confess that I never saw the chekiá-nayngaua in use and have not
227 heard of its existence in other tribes. Among the eastern Bororo, however, there are hair ornaments consisting of cane internodes which are also distended with a ring of the same material and adorned with feathers. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

The strainer (yrupema) of cane strips is used by children and
227 adults of both sexes to catch small fish, as I frequently observed at the village stream. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[112:61] There are couples who go to the fishing waters at
●226 night with burning sticks. The fish are drawn by the light, and they are killed easily with a club or bush knife or caught with the hand. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not see any fishing with nets among the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not witness any harpoon fishing among the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, I did not see any fishing with the im-
171 plement of small pointed sticks arranged in the shape of a truncated
227 cone, which is called kutu by the Bakairi (Von den Steinen 2, 73, 74, and 236). It is also used by the Tembé (Nordenskiöld 6, 102 and Map 11), but is not found among the Karajá and Kayapó.

To judge by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use fishhooks and
227 do not care much for them as gifts. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

On a lake whose waters had been poisoned by the Tapirapé,
114 the same author [Krause] (2, 409) saw a few light tree trunks
501 bound together, which he assumed had been used for navigation. As I already mentioned in Chapter 2, I found on the Tampiitaua stream a trunk hollowed out in the shape of a canoe, but lying with

114 its opening facing downward. As a result, it served us nicely to
501 wash our clothes on. It had apparently been made just to pass the time and did not seem to have any further purpose. The
171 Tapirapé do not usually travel in boats, differing in this respect
501 from the Tupinambá and from most of the present-day Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 207-211), from the Xingu Indians (Von den Steinen 2, 234), and from the Karajá (Krause 2, 276), but not from the Kayapó (ibid., 393). The Chavante, who do not have canoes either, cross the Rio das Mortes on the crude rafts described by Szaffka. It is worth noting, however, that the Tapirapé retain
[192] the old Tupi word for "canoe," that is, yana, written yara by Stradelli and considered by him (715) "a contraction of y, 'water,' and iara, 'mistress,' 'mistress of the water.'" In any case, it is not impossible that the Tapirapé formerly possessed canoes for navigation.

As far as fishing is concerned, let us also mention Manggambí's
787 "dream." The people of Tampiitaua often say that they dreamed
776 of something which they actually suspect or know about. Manggambí
●226 was the fattest Tapirapé at the time of my visit. He dreamed of an abundance of fish at a specific spot in a certain stream, [112:62] which held so many fish that the anchinga would be able to eat them
[535] in large quantities. The name anchinga is applied not only to certain spirits, but also to the masked dancers who represent them. All the anchinga who inhabit the hills and waters feed on fish. This
[182] Tapirapé belief, incidentally, is a token of the importance of fishing. Manggambí said that "all" the men should go and fetch the fish he had dreamed of. What Tampiitaua regards as "all" the men did go. They were Manggambí himself and eight companions. When they returned, Manggambí held a large basket full of tiny fish, which were cooked and eaten shortly before dawn in the ceremonial house by the men and adolescents who had impersonated [in the dance] anchinga, chankuí [a bird], and irangchá [a fish]. [Ed., end of Vol. 112.]

105 [113:191] Although fishing is one of their chief means of subsistence, the Tapirapé cannot be regarded essentially as a fishing tribe, as their neighbors the Karajá might fittingly be described. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua do not lead the amphibian life of those big-river navigators. They are forest Indians and cultivators par excellence. In this respect, they remain typical Tupi Indians.

171/ 262 otter (No. 22), the [120:54] spider monkey (No. 38), the vultures (Nos. 54-56), the hawk (No. 58), the small lizard (No. 87), Mabuia agilis (No. 88), the teju (No. 89), the papavento (No. 91), the truira-peva (No. 92), the snakes (Nos. 93-98), the toad (No. 101), the mollusks (Nos. 140-142), the arachnoids (Nos. 146-148) (except for the ticks removed from the human body), the myriapods (Nos. 149-151), and the insects (Nos. 152-186) (except for those caught in flagrante sucking human blood and for certain larvae and honey). Most of the animals that are not eaten by the Tapirapé are known to the Karajá, Cherente, and Kaingang and are not eaten by these three tribes either, except for the bat which is eaten by "some men" among the Cherente, the spider monkey which is eaten by Karajá men, and the teju which is eaten by "some men" among the Cherente and by a few present-day Kaingang.

13. Just as I was told that it would not harm a Tapirapé woman to eat of the animals whose flesh is usually eaten only by the men (cf. item 10 above), I also heard that those animals not eaten by any Tapirapé would not harm anyone who should happen to eat them. There are, however, certain animals eaten exclusively by [753] the men, namely, the tapir (No. 27), the marsh deer (No. 30), the rhea (No. 41), and the alligator (No. 81), which, if eaten by the father of a small child, would cause the latter to fall ill and die. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the subsequent paragraph, No. 14, are omitted.]

262 Concerning animal foods, the following observations are also in order.

The Tapirapé do not consume the raw blood of animals, for they regard it as bad.

226 262 In spite of the distance between Tampiitaua and the river, and in spite of the fact that the life of the Tapirapé as forest dwellers and farmers does not allow fish to play as important a role in their [171] diet as in that of the Karajá water-dwellers, this animal is of greater importance to the Tapirapé than any other. From early childhood, they are constantly looking for small fish in the stream near the vil- [787] lage. They dream that there is abundant fish at certain spots, and

since the information provided by such dreams is readily accepted, they organize collective fishing trips. Fish constitutes their main source of animal fat and calcium. The calcium comes from the bones, [120:55] crumbled into a strongly spiced sauce, their favorite breakfast food. This is a cold dish, but the flesh of the fish is eaten on the previous day, good and hot, and invariably accompanied by manioc flour. I caused general amazement when I ate small roasted fish for the first time in Tampiitaua, and did so without manioc flour. My friend Vuanomanchi said that fish without flour is bad, gesticulated and spat as though he were smelling bad odor, and wanted to get up and fetch some of his own flour. A woman who was eating seated by my side immediately offered me hers. Of all the pictures in the zoological book that I showed them, it was always those of fish that aroused the greatest interest. The majority of the masked dances I witnessed dealt with fish, and there is an unmasked dance in which most of the text of the song consists of the word ypirá. It was this generic term for fish that I also heard almost invariably when I asked for the cause of a disease. This did not mean, however, that eating fish had been harmful to the sick person, but that a fish bone had been shot into his body as a magic projectile by an evil sorcerer. They also say that all the spirits of the hills and of the waters eat fish, and do not mention any other food for these spirits. Furthermore, as already stated at the beginning of this chapter, fish, along with manioc, is the only food included in the Tapirapé description of the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven that lies above our visible one. They do not fail to add that in this case "very fat fish" are involved. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Concerning head lice, I wish to mention in passing the fact that I never found any on my own body during my stays among various tribes, in spite of the fact that much lousy hair came in contact with mine and that I did not take any special preventive measures. The same proved to be the case among other Whites who stayed with South American Indians. I also know of a blond young man on whose head lice of the Krabo [Craho] Indians settled without biting.

5: Krause--26 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

C
225

Ill. 6. Tortoise cages of the Karajá. Tapirapé River.
(Drawn from a photograph.)
/Ill. 6 appears on p. 119./

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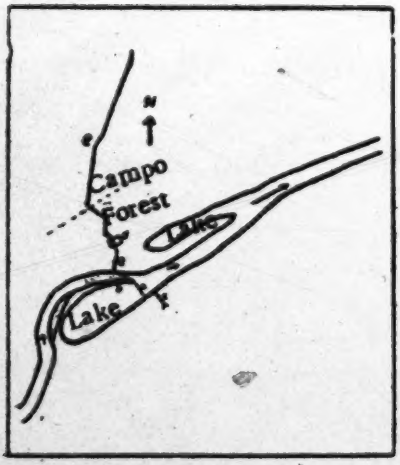


a: Fish fence
b: Sandbank
c: Path to the place where trees are felled.
d: Roasting place.
e: Path to the roasting place and to the villages.

Ill. 7.
Sketch map of the fish-lakes in the Tapirapé River.
/Ill. 7 appears on p. 122./

/406 cont./

114 course, I cannot state with certainty that all these objects Of actually come from the Tapirapé. In particular this cannot be done in the case of the spindle; yet they all have something about them that is more or less foreign to the Karajá.

192 Of words, I obtained the following through the Karaja in their perhaps corrupt pronunciation: penis cuff, hõõlã; urucú, kãã; tobacco, bãdũmã.

114 4. Observations in Tapirapé territory. In traveling on
[131] the Rio Tapirapé I came upon traces of a people who I assume were Tapirapé, for I met them in approximately the region in which, according to the accounts of the Karajá, the Tapirapé were supposed to live; I then crossed the boundary

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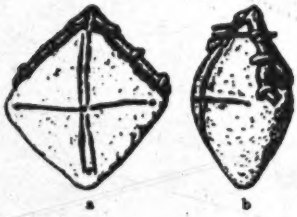



Ill. 266a, b.
Doll of white earth.

114 between the Karajá territory and the Tapirapé territory, as my Karajá companions declared; finally, the number of villages encountered (three) corresponds to that given by the Karajá.

[226] The traces that I came across were the following: on
[250] the twelfth day of the river journey footprints on a sandbank; on the thirteenth day a lake blocked off by a fish fence, next to it in the forest a place for roasting food, from which a path led northward over the campo; on the fourteenth day a second roasting place with a campo path; from noon of this day all traces ceased. From the twelfth to the fourteenth day, on the other hand, places of fires, as well as the remains of old lake barricades, were to be seen everywhere.

[See pp. 337-339-- Analyst]

/406 cont./

114 On the campo path from the first roasting place, which was later
[489] joined by the second coming from the left, we reached a large
[361] village on the second day of the land march, two smaller villages
[312] on the third day, all three abandoned and in utter ruins. Water
was not to be found on the campo on which the villages were
located; the swamps and brooks to which paths led were dried
out and, when excavated, in part to a depth of one meter, did
not even yield moist earth, to say nothing of water.

131 On the basis of the discoveries and observations that I
133 made at these places, I formed the following opinion. The tribe
lives on the high campo that extends from the southern bend of
the Tapirapé to the north as far as the high mountains (or plateau
borders) that enclose it in the north and west. In front of these
borders there extends a tremendous trough, apparently the source
region of the Tapirapé, which from there flows around out of
the high campo in the west and south, then turns off to the north-
[361] east. /407/ Here, approximately 130 kilometers due west from
[162] the Tapirapé mouth, the tribe lives in one large and two smaller
361 villages during the rainy season. The large village seemed to
have had three to four houses; the second, smaller one, two to
[342] three; the third perhaps the same number. The houses were in
such a state of ruin that their construction was no longer recog-
nizable; apparently they were large rectangular buildings with
a pointed gable roof. The villages lie close to the large forest
[133] area that accompanies the trough in front of the mountains. All
around in smaller troughs extend large swamps to which brooks
221 lead. During the dry season these water areas dry up completely,
so that even holes up to a meter deep in the brook bed do not
yield moist earth. As a result, the Indians are compelled to
migrate to water areas, and apparently they then first seek the
[437] upper Tapirapé. In former times they seem to have come
farther downstream to a certain place where they met the Karajá,
who extended their fishing expeditions this far, and traded with
them. This trading place lies about 30 kilometers southeast of
the first village (34 kilometers from the second and third). As
[224] a result of the conflicts with the Karajá, they now avoid this

/407 cont./

221 region and come to the river farther upstream, before it turns
226 toward the northeast. Here, by means of poisonous cipo, they
[252] fish successive lakes blocked off by fences. They seem to travel from upstream downward, for the upper roasting place showed only a few new beams among very old ones, whereas the lower one was apparently quite recently built. This lower one, beside which they fished from the middle to the end of August 1908, lies about 16 kilometers south-southwest of the first village (24 kilometers
[487] from the second and third). The well-worn paths that go from the two roasting places, join, and lead by way of the first village to the other two, seem to indicate that the Indians visit this spot annually. Where they go from here I was unable to find out; perhaps they went across the Tapirapé to the south. In any case a campo lake abounding in fish, several kilometers away from the trading place, showed no traces of human beings.

161 These people seem to be very numerous. The number of
[342] houses is small, to be sure, but their dimensions seemed to be
[252] quite considerable. The 26 huge grills at the first roasting place and 10-15 at the second, the sandbanks completely trodden down with footprints beside the first fish lake, certainly lead one to
513 conclude that there is a large crowd of people. Sleeping is
352 apparently done in hammocks. This is indicated first by the net coverings that the Karajá buy from them, and then by the complete absence of sleeping places beside the roasting place, which was certainly used for many days.

241 Besides manioc (according to the account of the Karajá), these people also plant maize, as is indicated by many, partly
231 charred corncobs at the roasting place. As domestic animals they keep dogs, the traces of which were numerous on the sand-
224 banks. It may surely be assumed that they devote themselves to
[136] hunting. The campo is extremely rich in deer, the forests in wild pigs. Certainly they will not forgo these sources of meat.

226 In addition, fishing is practiced on a large scale through poisoning the /408/ /Ill. 267 appears here/ /409/ water of blocked-off lakes. We saw barrier poles everywhere in the territory of this tribe in front of lake outlets. The first lake that we came across was completely blocked off by a fence that was

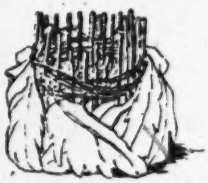
[TEXT Continues on P. 344]

5: Krause--343 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja
TAPIRAPE SP22

Ill. 267.
The fish-fence on the fish-lake of the Tapirapé, viewed from the river.
(Drawn from a photograph.

/409 cont./

226 still green. The location of the fence is shown in Ill. 7. The fence extends from the lake shore to the sandbank that separates it from the river. Vertical posts are driven in and joined together by a horizontal beam floating on the water. They are supported on either side by diagonal struts. Inside, dense foliage is tied on, which is supposed to prevent the stupefied fish from being carried out (Ill. 267). The posts had been cut nearby in the forest on the southern bank. The water was poisoned with poisonous cipo that lay in quantities on the sandbank and at the rear end of the lake; it had been fetched from the forest at the [501] end of the lake. The Indians apparently do not have boats for traveling on the [225] lake. Serving for this were a few light tree trunks that lay tied together in the lake beside the sandbank. In this way they had caught all kinds of fish, even pirarucús, obviously in large quantities, as the large number of grills (26) 225 shows. They also caught turtles and kept them alive. They had built a sort of cage, in the shade of which the turtles were able to survive the hot part of the day (Ill. 268). Sticks about a meter high were stuck in the ground in a circle three-fourths of a meter in diameter, interwoven with leaves, and joined together by cipo winding.



Ill. 268.
Turtle cage.

252 The preparation of food seems to be done by boiling and roasting. The fire is transported with large blocks of wood that lay about everywhere. Cooking is obviously done in clay vessels, the shards of which lay scattered around at the first roasting place and beside the paths. Chiefly, however, the yield from the fishing expeditions seems to be roasted, perhaps for stores, for the entire layout of the roasting places and the numerous back-baskets indicated large-scale activity. Roasting was done near the lakes in the forest on large sites on which huge grills were found. These had a triangular or rectangular form, a roasting surface as large as four square meters, and were mounted to the trees of the forest. Often several, with their frames, were joined (see Ill. 269 a-c /see p. 346; Pl. 29 /see p. 18/, Ill. 2). The beams of these racks

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



*Tapirapé* do not use the tipiti (the long woven tube in which the water is 252
squeezed from poisonous manioc), but squeeze poisonous manioc with their hands. The pulp is then spread out on a platform in the sun to be thoroughly dried. The flour is toasted in a clay pot over a very hot fire.

**Wild foods.**—Meat is a definite luxury to the agricultural *Tapirapé*. 224
Monkeys, armadillos, forest fowls, cuati (*Nasua* sp.), and both kinds of peccary (*Tayassus tajacu* and *T. pecari*) are occasionally killed in the forest at any time during the year. The hunting and fishing season, [221]
however, is from June through October, when the savanna country is dry. The savannas are extraordinarily rich with game. Plains deer, wild pigs, peccary, and wild duck, and geese near the drying swamps are plentiful.

Fish are shot with the bow and arrow and stupefied with timbó 226
(*Paullinea pinnata* or *Serjania* sp.) in the almost dry streams and lakes. The village is almost deserted in September and October, after garden 221
sites have been cleared and before planting. Men, women, and children move out to the plains country near the Tapirapé River and set up a temporary camp. They collect turtle eggs and kill turtles in the river. 222
They gather piqui fruit (*Caryocar vellosum*), andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), and other wild fruits, and, from October through November, they find wild honey both on the savanna and in the forest.

Hunting is done with the bow and arrow, but a club is used to finish [224]
the kill, especially wild pigs or jaguars.

## HOUSES AND VILLAGES

The houses of a *Tapirapé* village form an oval around a large ceremonial 361
men's house (tãkana), which is forbidden to the women. Both the large men's house, approximately 20 by 65 feet (6 by 20 m.), and the residential 342
houses, averaging 13 by 33 feet (4 by 10 m.), have a quadrangular floor 345
plan with arched roofs made by bending flexible poles and tying them together over a roof beam (pl. 19, *bottom, left*). The walls and the roof are covered with leaves of buriti palm and wild banana.

In the surviving village, called Tampitawa, there were nine residential 592
houses, each housing from four to eight simple families. Each family occupies a determined sector of the house where they cook, keep their belongings, and hang their sleeping hammocks. Household utensils, such 422
as baskets, pots, hammocks, and gourds, are owned by the women of each simple family. Houses, though built by men, are said to be the property [423]
of the women of the house. The house frame is constructed cooperatively 342
by all the men of the house. Each man covers the portion to be used by his wife and children.

Ideally, residence is matrilocal, and the house is inhabited by a group [591]
of closely related women and their husbands. The household leader is 592
generally the husband of the oldest woman of the group (see p. 172). Owing perhaps to great depopulation and the accumulation of refugees

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



the next two months we had daily sessions, some very brief and others lasting two or more hours. 115 123 124

In October of 1939, some six months after my arrival, I found it necessary to leave the Village of the Tapirs to go to Furo de Pedra for supplies and to collect mail that was held there for me. Valentim Gomes and I had come up the Tapirapé River, a tributary of the Araguaia, pulled by an outboard motor belonging to an anthropological colleague who had since returned to the United States. Now we had to paddle ourselves downstream. We could expect little help from the sluggish current and since the river was so low, it might be necessary to haul our canoe through shallows. Malaria had left me weak and I doubted that I was equal to this strenuous task. Several Tapirapé men, including Champukwi, were anxious to accompany us, but having Indians with us in Furo de Pedra was not advisable. First, they were susceptible to the common cold, which among relatively uncontaminated peoples such as these American aborigines often turns into a serious, and even fatal, disease. Second, unaccustomed to clothes, money, many foods, and other Brazilian customs and forms of etiquette, they would be totally dependent upon us during our stay in this frontier community. Nevertheless, the temptation to have my best informant with me during the trip and during our stay in Furo de Pedra was great and so we agreed to take Champukwi. 122 [164] [177]

The trip was made slowly. Two good frontiersmen in a light canoe could have made it in three days, but we took eight. Champukwi was of little help in the canoe; unlike the riverine tribes the Tapirapé are a forest people who know little about the water, and few of them had ever traveled by canoe. Champukwi was unusual in that he could swim. Although he had more endurance than I, his efforts at paddling endangered the equilibrium of our canoe. However, he could shoot fish with his bow and arrow. The dry season had driven game from the open savanna which borders the Tapirapé River so that we were able to kill deer, *mutum* (another species of large forest fowl), and a wild goose to supplement the less palatable fare we had brought with us. Each night we camped on a beach from which we were able to collect the eggs of a small turtle, the *tracaja*, that had been buried in the sand. Only the mosquitoes which swarmed during sundown and early evening marred our trip. The experience remains one of the most memorable 115 484 [481] [226] [224] [222] [136]

171 These Indians, like the Karajá (ibid.) and Kayapó (ibid., 393)
411 decorate the shaft section between the two cotton bindings with
531 one or more rings of red resin (totayga, chotahypyrynga). In the Tupi tribe, the width of these rings varies from one to eight centimeters. The raw material is cooked in a pot with water by the
[462] woman, since, according to the Tapirapé behavior pattern, all
[252] cooking in pots is female work, while roasting falls to the men. The cotton thread is also made by the woman. Otherwise, the arrow, like other weapons and their component parts, is made by
[422] the man, and usually the owner of the weapon was also its maker.

Thevet (1, 291) writes as follows of a tree called "Vhebehasou"
171 which is extremely tall, with leaves similar to those of a cabbage
314 and fruits over a foot long which never ripen because they are soon eaten up by wild bees: "In addition, it bears a red gum, suitable to many different ends, which they handle skillfully" [translated from French]. Could it be that the Indians visited by Thevet, that is to say, the Tupinambá of the sixteenth century, used the above-mentioned "red gum" for the same end as the Tapirapé use totayaga?

227 The barbed arrow is better suited to the pursuit of large fish
411 than any other, since the barb, by fastening the weapon to the animal's body, not only prevents it from escaping and weakens and kills it, as also happens with mammals, but also facilitates the removal of the fish from the water. The conditions are different, however, when small fish are shot in shallow waters where the arrowpoint easily penetrates into the sand. In such cases the Tapirapé use a small bow (vuirampampí) and special arrows, 60 to 70 centimeters long, with simple rounded wooden points, ten to 20 centimeters long, which are inserted directly into the cane shaft. In harmony with the overall size of these arrows, parrot
[237] feathers are used at the tip instead of the plumage of macaws and other large birds used on barbed arrows. In other respects, however, these two types of arrows are identical from the tip of the cane shaft, which is bound with a strip of philodendron bark, to the other tip where the bow cord rests upon the notch, and all the details of the feathered section are exactly the same. As far as the point is concerned, however, it is worth noting that sometimes the small arrows have up to three of those simple, rounded, wooden points instead of just one (see Photo. 30). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

533 In any case, the greater part of the animal dances and songs
535 that I witnessed dealt with fish. Only the dance of the chankui, that is, "little guan," was also performed frequently. A dance
[171] by this name is mentioned by Von den Steinen (2, 313) for the Auetö and Kamayurá as "original" to these Tupí tribes. Actually,
[137] those gallinaceans of the Penelope genus, which are easy to catch, abound in Tapirapé territory, and their tasty meat is not barred to either sex. It would be possible to build fine hypotheses about the connection between these facts and the above-mentioned dance, but I shall abstain.

The predominance of fish dances accords with the importance
226 of fishing. The chief fishing period lasts from June to October. During these months, the waters are low and clearer, and in many places it is possible to see all the way down to the bottom. The
[133] small streams gradually dry out, and the fish are compelled to crowd into certain stretches of the rivers and into the lakes. The latter lose their connections with the river, or they are closed off artificially with dams, observed by Krause (2, 409, Fig. 7, and 267, Plate 29), which consist of stakes connected with crosspieces and covered with thick foliage.

The areas thus dammed are poisoned with a vine called chimá in Tapirapé. The Indians pound the water with pieces of this vine, and call the procedure anchimaká. The water turns a purplish blue. Only the very small fry are killed, however. Other fish are stunned.
[312] To get drinking water the Indians dig holes in the banks, which sometimes lie no farther than one meter from the poisoned waters, but whose contents, filtered through the sand, are harmless to man. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[112:60] Another Tapirapé fishing method, which I have already mentioned, is with the bow and arrow. While the large barbed arrow is used exclusively by adult men, the small one with one or several simple wooden points is used by the boys. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

At Tampiitaua I saw a fish trap (chekiá) consisting of a cylin-
●227 drical, funnel-shaped basket made of cane strips (Photo. 22). Aside from this, the Indians showed me a strange object, according to them, used to catch the tiniest fish, which is placed in the water, like the trap, in such a way that the current makes it easy for the fish to get in and impossible for it to get out. This object

227 consists of cane internodes, slit lengthwise in such a way that a ring of the same material placed across the middle of each internode constitutes, so to speak, the common base of two cones formed by the splayed and distended strips, which remain joined only at the tips of the internode, that is to say, at the two nodes (Photo. 31). The Tapirapé name for this "rod-trap" is chekiñ-
[192] nayngana, and the name of the material used is angkamanchyva, the same kind of cane that is used in making arrows. I must
171 confess that I never saw the chekiñ-nayngana in use and have not
227 heard of its existence in other tribes. Among the eastern Bororo, however, there are hair ornaments consisting of cane internodes which are also distended with a ring of the same material and adorned with feathers. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

The strainer (yrupema) of cane strips is used by children and
227 adults of both sexes to catch small fish, as I frequently observed at the village stream. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[112:61] There are couples who go to the fishing waters at
226 night with burning sticks. The fish are drawn by the light, and they are killed easily with a club or bush knife or caught with the hand. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not see any fishing with nets among the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not witness any harpoon fishing among the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, I did not see any fishing with the im-
171 plement of small pointed sticks arranged in the shape of a truncated
227 cone, which is called kutu by the Bakairi (Von den Steinen 2, 73, 74, and 236). It is also used by the Tembé (Nordenskiöld 6, 102 and Map 11), but is not found among the Karajá and Kayapó.

To judge by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use fishhooks and
227 do not care much for them as gifts. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

On a lake whose waters had been poisoned by the Tapirapé,
114 the same author [Krause] (2, 409) saw a few light tree trunks
501 bound together, which he assumed had been used for navigation. As I already mentioned in Chapter 2, I found on the Tampilitana stream a trunk hollowed out in the shape of a canoe, but lying with

1:Baldus--182 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

227

Photo. 30

Small fishing arrows with one and three points.

Photo. 31

"Rod-trap".

1:Baldus--189 E-5 (1936, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 33

Roasting fish. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

227
516

Photo. 32

Funnel-shaped fish trap (chekif) with Ipayva (No. 106) sitting beside it.

133 and our camarada [Tr., guide or hired hand], as well as several
487 Indians, and we set out again after a brief rest.

Two hours later we crossed another body of water surrounded by trees. Since Reverend Kegel was taken with leg cramps and also had to vomit several times because he had drunk water too quickly, we stayed there for about two hours.

Then we set out again in a long file, one behind the other. The sun burned down, but fortunately there was a breeze from time to
[484] time. To make their return journey easier, the Indians set fire to all the grass they found. Suddenly, in an unburned patch of grassland, we saw a pair of spotted jaguars engaged in amorous play. My camarada Daniel shot at them with his gun. Both animals ran away, one of them bleeding. Daniel with the gun and two Indians with bow
[231] and club vainly ran after them. The two Tapirapé dogs who were with us behaved in rather sorry fashion. One of them jumped about a little and barked, while the other did not even find courage for that.

Two hours later we reached Lake Tucunaré, where we found
[194] numerous mosquitoes. It took us three or four hours to go from there to Porto Salvação, along an old Indian trail on very hard and hot ground.

[97:53] It took us, therefore, 13 or 14 hours to return from the village to the river, and this was more or less the time we spent walking on the way out.

## Names of the River and its Tributaries

[Ed., one paragraph omitted.]

103 The Tapirapé Indians call the Tapirapé River aviohy (or aviuhy),
which means "fluff water," hy being "water." They are very fond of
[301] the fluff of the jabiru, duck, and vulture for body ornamentation, and
[237] they find it chiefly on this river. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 97, pp. 53-54, is omitted.]

352 bananas ripe for eating. The storeroom proper begins there and
415 extends to the upper crossbeams, from which hang large quanti-
[251] ties of bananas. Similar strips [of bark] tied to the roof just within the reach of a standing adult support small baskets, gourds, and small bags whose contents (usually manioc flour), like all foodstuffs, must be protected from the voracity of cockroaches and
[342] dogs. The floor of the house is of light grey, beaten earth. Low,
[764] oblong mounds mark the graves. The smoke that always fills the
354 house gives the inner side of the entire thatch cover a shiny black

[345]

Fig. 11. Plan of the takan.

hue. The half-light maintained throughthe night by the fires burning beside the hammocks becomes alittle brighter when daylight filters in through the slits in the lower part of the walls and through the doors.

Here is a nocturnal scene in house a.

512 The chickens roosting upon the roof keep moving unceasingly,
[231] and from all sides comes the rustling of myriads of scuttling roaches.
[136]

[345]

Fig. 1[illegible]. Cross-section of the takana.

The swinging of hammocks makes the crossbeams creak. The
[516] smoke from the fires is not sufficient to protect the naked bodies from mosquitoes, and because of this, the Tapirapé swings his hammock, pushing his hand or foot against a rope stretched at his side or hanging one leg outside the hammock and pushing with it against the floor. He swings in this fashion until he goes to sleep.

512 Hens and their chicks walk about the floor through the night eating cockroaches, and so do chickens who from infaficy are used to the role of nocturnal birds around the fires. From time to time, a dog [231] walks leisurely about, patiently investigating the gastronomic possibilities. The large jars of cauí are closed tight, however, [251] and all other foods are hung out of reach. The dog yawns, urinates from habit against a beam, and lies down again near the fire. Sometimes one of the fires flares up, illuminating brightly the whole house, everything that is moving about, and everything that is making a sound. As far as noises are concerned, it must be said that the human beings do not show any constraint either, and this becomes more apparent as the talk dies down. As a rule, two or three hours after sundown, everyone has stopped talking. It is true that those who turn in later, around midnight perhaps, after dancing outside or becoming cold while sleeping in the takana, speak up freely so that some people awaken and the talk is resumed for a moment. I remain lying for a long time, unable to go to sleep. It is impossible to put up a mosquito net because of the smoke, which would come in [110:199] and accumulate, unable to escape. Then, too, there is not enough space in the house to stretch out this strange object. So I pull the woolen blanket over my head, and when I am on the point of suffocation and bathed in sweat, I surrender once more to the mosquitoes (Anopheles brand) and to the smoke. This is repeated I know not how many times. The cockroaches that visit me have already ceased to arouse any reaction on my part. Sometimes, however, the shirt I have folded up to serve as a pillow falls onto the grave where, separated vertically from me by a meter and a half of air and earth, lies the corpse of one of the occupants of the house. After I have picked it up, I shake it to remove the dust, trying not to think of the human spittle, the dog urine, and the chicken excrement, and set it again under my head. While I do this, I must be careful not to knock down the revolver and flashlight that I keep in my hammock to defend Tampilitana against nocturnal Kayapó attacks. All of a sudden, a roar echoes very close to my ear. My hammock neighbors, the two [255] sorcerers--medicine men, Kamaiahó and Urukumy, are commonly consulted during the night, and the fierce retching and other sounds associated with vomiting are part of their therapy. My hammock is

114 slept with his wife in the same net, this also being the custom
711 among the Tapirapé with certain exceptions, couples in the region
513 of the Xingu headwaters, according to Herrmann Meyer's diary (1, 64), sleep separately in nets set up one above the other. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá, according to Léry (276), took their nets along when they went hunting and fishing, hanging them from trees when it was time to sleep.

711 The Tapirapé custom of swinging the hammock was also
516 found among Indians of the eastern Bolivian forest. Each of the following words by Richard N. Wegner (1, 70) about the Siriono may be applied to many inhabitants of Tampiitaua: [111:113] "Both naked Siriono lay in short hammocks. Only the buttocks and the head more or less fitted in. The right foot was balanced on the cord that held up the net, while the left leg, which hung out even in sleep, kept the net swinging throughout the night."

The menstruation net is a peculiarity of Tapirapé culture.
952 Certain hammocks have an opening at the spot where the woman's
513 buttocks lie. As a rule, these nets are also used at other times.
841 In house d, however, the couple consisting of Techipy and Manchiró slept with Marekanñ, their three-year-old daughter, in the same net, and also possessed a menstruation hammock. The latter, however, was used by Manchiró only at the time for which it was intended, and this is why I left it blank in Figure 8. I have never heard of the existence of menstruating nets in other cultures. It is possible, of course, that they may exist among other peoples and go unnoticed by explorers.

The net in house c, which I left blank on the same figure,
231 was tiny because it belonged to a small dog. It was the bed of a "dog child," in the words of the Tapirapé.

In their use of the hammock, these Indians differ from their
711 eastern, northern, and probably also their southern neighbors.
513 The Kanjó and Kayapó sleep on the ground (cf. Krause 2, 198
952 and 373), and the same must be assumed of the Rio das Mortes Chavante, among whom many mats have been found, but to my knowledge no sleeping hammocks.

114 The small bench was an article of which only one specimen
711 existed in Tampiitaua. We read in Métraux (2, 63): "No cultural
952

177 than overcome by habit they bent down until they were squatting
514 again. These inroads on the traditional manner [111:117] of urinating were repeated on the days that followed. "I urinate"
[192] is ankurúg in Tapirapé. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

A letter from Father Antônio Blasquez, written in Bahia in
000 1557 and included in the Cartas jesuíticas [Letters from the Jesuits] (II, 173) says of the local Tupinambá: "Their houses are dark, ill-smelling, and smoky, and in the center stand some jars shaped like half-troughs that recall the caldrons of hell. At the same moment, some of the Indians are laughing and others are crying, so slowly does the night go by in this house, where no one goes out. Their beds are hammocks rotten with urine, for they are so lazy that they will not get up to answer the calls of nature." [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

As far as the Tapirapé are concerned, I may say that I never
514 saw them urinate inside the house and never smelled urine on their hammocks, which, in any case, were washed in the nearby stream. To judge the cleanliness of the village as a whole, there is
356 no better authority than that of the mistress of a household in one
364 of the most civilized nations of Europe, namely, the charming Madame de la Falaise, who writes as follows about Tampiitaua (200): "The general impression is one of stability and cleanliness, which is not encountered in any of the Caraja villages I visited. Here, there is neatness. No litter, no thrift-shop jumble, no tattered witches, no garbage, or broken pottery. Caraja villages express disorder, laziness, a heedless attitude. They are flea markets stinking of old fish. The Tapirapé village expresses order. The basic character of each race is clearly expressed. The Caraja,
000 who camp for five or six months [111:118] at most, delight in the
361 temporary. The Tapirapé, who are much more sedentary, set up their house for a long time" [translated from French.] [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Of course, the cleanliness of the Tapirapé has limits which
231 the kindness of Madame de la Falaise does not disclose, but which
364 become apparent when we take a good look at the ground in some of the photographs reproduced in this work. There is no doubt that the voracity of the dogs and chickens contributes a great deal to the cleanliness of the houses and their immediate vicinity, for if it were not for them, much of the kind of garbage in which they are

231 interested would remain where it is. Also, I have already men-
364 tioned the enthusiastic battling of the chickens against roaches,
[136] which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé
[825] to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw
one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which
would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (159-160), in-
136 cidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá
192 and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on
European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Arauers by the
savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also
come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find
something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they
get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco
leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such
articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they
get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked
and poorly wrapped at night, these Arauers gnawed them to the
bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning." [trans-
lated from French].

The word written arauers in the French spelling of the sixteenth century author tallies perfectly with the anavé, anaué, and araué with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we
171 may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá
[361] in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the
[342] erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the
[476] elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and
[764] in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient
[712] coastal Tupi in not fortifying their village with fences and in
possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in
[345] the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most
typically Tupi are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial,
and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Karajá
[352] in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupi name they
give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses
within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings,
in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The
171 Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:119] of houses
361 around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

171 decorative object used on festive occasions and equipped with a
411 large bone point superposed on the shaft and adorned with tufts of pendant feathers. On the Karajá spear, however, these tufts are secured between the bone point and a braided ornament that covers the front part of the shaft along a length of 50 to 80 centimeters, while in the Tapirapé photographs published in the article "A civilização dos indios de Goyaz" [The Civilization of the Goiás Indians] (Revista [112:58] da Semana), they are fastened behind (or, if the spear is held vertically, under) the two-tone braiding. The Karajá told Krause (loc. cit.) that in olden times, when the spear was used to hunt jaguars, the tufts served to frighten the animal. Speaking of the Kayapó, the same author (2, 390) writes that he observed a few spears similar to those of the Karajá in the course of a ceremony.

Judging by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use hunting traps
224 and differ in this respect from the ancient coastal Tupi whose
171 traps are mentioned by several authors, for example, by Léry (134, 143) in the sixteenth century and by Vasconcellos (p. LXXVII) in the seventeenth. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

During our march to the river, the Tapirapé set fire to the
311 high, dry grass. According to them, they did this to make walking
484 easier on the return journey. This reason differs from that indi-
171 cated to me by the Brazilian frontiersmen when they set grass fields
224 on fire. They said that new grass would grow as a result of the burning and would attract deer and other animals, thus improving hunting conditions. Krause (2, 247) got the same explanation from the Karajá, who also liked to set fire to the grass fields. It may be
224 that the reason given by the Tapirapé reflects their lack of inclination for hunting. To my knowledge, they do not set fire to the fields for the purpose of killing the animals who run away from the fire and of gathering the small rodents who die in the flames, like, for example, the Chamakoko [Chamacoco] of the Chaco (Baldus 1, 32) and the Paressi of Mato Grosso (Roquette Pinto 126).

Among the dozen dogs (chavuana) in Tampiitaua, I did not
224 find a single one specialized for a certain type of game. The two
231 dogs who were with us when we encountered the pair of jaguars were immediately frightened by the animals and dared not run after them even in the company of the Indians. On the other hand, the wild

224 pig killed on July 14 was brought to bay by Tapirapé dogs. Krause
●23 (2, 407) found numerous tracks of Tapirapé dogs on a sandbar of the river that goes by the same name. The same author (2, 245 and 386) mentions dogs belonging to the Karajá (kjolozá in their
171 language) and the Kayapó. According to the Tapirapé, the
231 Ampaneá stole young dogs from them. The complete absence of
[648] dogs in the upper Xingu region, which was noted by Von den Steinen (1, 326) in 1884, was confirmed in 1924 by Hintermann (255).

224 I was unable to obtain a satisfactory explanation for the following custom, which was related to me by my companion Kegel: the Tapirapé, after killing game, place a number of small sticks, corresponding to the number of animals killed, at the spot where they re-enter one of the paths used by the tribe; they tear each stick slightly and insert a feather or a few hairs of the slain animal in the resulting slit. I encountered the same custom in 1946 among the Kaingang [Caingang] of the upper Ivaí. There, the Indian Salvador Veiniá, after hunting baitaca [Tr., parrots of the Pionias genus], plucked a few feathers from one of these birds in my presence and tossed them beside the path. This same Kaingang, while in [112:59] the company of my assistant Harald Schultz, once found a stick lying on a footpath with two clusters of tateto hair in its split upper tip, and he said that two of those wild pigs had been killed at that spot and that the stick with the hair had been left there by the hunter to impart the news to passersby.

I did not observe any magic with the explicit purpose of catch-
224 ing or multiplying game. It is uncertain whether the animal dances
533 and songs which I shall describe in the chapter dealing with re-
535 ligion [Tr., apparently not published] have such a purpose, or whether their aim is merely to express joy. The Indians themselves
[226] say that there is a lot of fish when they sing, but that there is also a lot of fish when they do not sing. To judge from this statement, the animal songs and dances are not hunting magic. The Tapirapé
533 sing and dance because they like to sing and dance. For this reason,
535 also, they borrowed songs and dances from the Karajá. It would
177 be necessary to find out (1) whether the animal dances and songs were originally magical, (2) whether anyone still regards them as such, and (3) if so, who does. I was unable to settle these questions.

241 incidentally, although separated from one another by strips of forest, are not provided with fences or scarecrows.

171 Gabriel Soares de Sousa (377) wrote of the sixteenth century
512 Tupi in Bahia: "When the Tupinambá go to their gardens, they work only from seven in the morning until midday." Except for the apachirú, which involves afternoon work, this also applies to the Tapirapé. The couples leave the village early in the morning and return at the hottest hours. The Portuguese chronicler goes on to say (ibid.): "The males customarily clear the forest growth,
171 burn it, and dress the ground, while the females plant the food-
462 stuffs and weed them." Among the Tapirapé, not only do the men have the same duties as the ancient Tupinambá, but aside from this they also do the planting and weeding and carry the large baskets in which the farm produce is taken home. The women participate only in the planting of maize, peanuts, and cotton, that is to say, both sexes sow these plants and harvest them.

Krause wrote of the Karajá (2, 243): "They say that the planting of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, and urucú falls to the women." The division of labor among those Indians is exactly the same as among the Tapirapé, as far as the dressing of the ground, the planting of manioc and cará, and the conveyance of the large baskets are concerned, for all those tasks devolve to the male sex in both tribes (cf. Krause ibid. and Plate 15).

Among the majority of other South American Indians, it is the woman who carries heavy burdens from the plot, as, for example, among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen 2, 214; Max Schmidt 2, 429) and among those of the Guianas and Venezuela (Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 50 and Plate 53). Von den Steinen's generalization (loc. cit.) is incorrect, however, when he states of the Indians in that Xingu region: "As in all of Brazil [113: 197], not only does the home preparation of manioc fall to the women, but so does its planting." I have already mentioned that this planting is male work among the Tapirapé and Karajá, and, according to Koch-Grünberg (loc. cit.), the same applies to the Taulipáng and their neighbors.

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé also cultivate various plants in large quantities. These will be listed in the following chapter.

● 231 When I was in Tampiitaua, there were no domestic animals aside from dogs and chickens. There were no vestiges of a pair of

There were no vestiges of a pair of
231 pigs brought in shortly before that time by a White friend who
[648] hoped to induce the Indians to raise these animals.

I referred to the dogs above when I spoke about hunting. The puppies of those canines of the harrier type were suckled by women, and unfortunately not by old ones, but by the most beautiful girls. In one house, hung alongside the sleeping hammocks, there was even an incredibly small net which was the bed of one of these four-footed children. After a childhood replete with such pampering, however, the dog's life becomes a dog's life. He goes through it hungry, his ribs showing, stealing remnants of human food and sometimes even bananas, and granted as his only truly inexhaustible and non-forbidden means of subsistence the gathering of cockroaches. Just as he must now chew on these bugs instead of sucking on a kind Tapirapé breast, he must, instead of being petted, submit to curses, blows, and kicks, even though they are usually administered with a certain restraint and even gentleness. When, at a male gathering, a man's flatulence gives rise to unpleasant odors, the nearest dog is blamed for it, and the men grunt disapprovingly and kick in the animal's direction, an uncertain kick aimed at the air rather than at the dog.

The chickens are not usually fed by human hands either and
235 therefore resort to hunting the cockroaches which abound on the walls and floor of the house. At night, by the light of the fires, I often saw hens with their chicks walking around the house in search of those bugs. This does not mean that they ate anything else during the day.

Just as dogs are never confined in any way, so do the chickens enjoy complete freedom and at the time of my visit used to roost on top of the houses. Their role in Tapirapé culture is to supply feathers on rare occasions, and even more rarely to supply a dish of meat.

The Tapirapé word for "chicken" is vuyranchampokáinia,
[192] which corresponds to the guirâ çapucaya listed in the Vocabulário da Língua Brasílica, which, according to Ayrosa, was probably compiled by Anchieta. [Ed., all but the last paragraph of p. 198 is omitted.]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



*Case of Ipawungi*

756 781 796 Ipawungi, a young man of about twenty years of age, is a novice to shamanism. During one of his dreams, stimulated by "eating smoke" he saw *ančúnga* but was unable to identify which ones they were. During the Thunder ceremony, however, he decorated his body as did the *ančúnga* he had seen in his dream. He painted a cross with urucu [302] on his chest and wore feathers of the white vulture (urubú-rei — *Sarcoramphus papa*) down the sides of his arms. As a protective mea- [751] sure he carried a mirror with him during all ceremonies for, like ghosts of the dead, the beings of Thunder are frightened if they see their own image in a mirror. During one sundown session Ipawungi fell crying wildly, and scratching his body frantically from head to foot, as if the itching were unbearable, letting out blood-curdling screams. This behavior was seen several times during the ceremony in other persons. The [827] itching, informants told me, comes from many invisible fleas which jump from any dog on to the body of a person participating in the ceremony. [231] Dogs, therefore, are securely tied to house posts or to trees at the edge of the village during the four days of the Thunder ceremony but they, of course, escape now and again.

*Case of Campukwi*

Campukwi, a young man of about twenty-four years of age, says that he does not want to be a shaman because "Tapirapé have killed many shamans". He took part rather casually in several of the phases of the ceremony; he "ate smoke" and moved about with the group in the evening session when the creatures of Thunder were being called. At the end of the session, when the powerful shamans saw "many topi", he fell, struck down with the rest of the group. Campukwi's wife was not present but his sister came to his side to help him. She looked at him carefully and laughingly said that he was faking. She kicked him and left him instead of helping him to the sidelines. Campukwi stood up, laughed, and left the group.

Now and again through the ceremonies spectators made such observations concerning participants whose reactions seemed doubtful. Some participants did now and again pretend and people laughed at them. It was all taken in a spirit of fun.

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221 region and come to the river farther upstream, before it turns
226 toward the northeast. Here, by means of poisonous cipo, they
[252] fish successive lakes blocked off by fences. They seem to travel from upstream downward, for the upper roasting place showed only a few new beams among very old ones, whereas the lower one was apparently quite recently built. This lower one, beside which they fished from the middle to the end of August 1908, lies about 16 kilometers south-southwest of the first village (24 kilometers
[487] from the second and third). The well-worn paths that go from the two roasting places, join, and lead by way of the first village to the other two, seem to indicate that the Indians visit this spot annually. Where they go from here I was unable to find out; perhaps they went across the Tapirapé to the south. In any case a campo lake abounding in fish, several kilometers away from the trading place, showed no traces of human beings.

161 These people seem to be very numerous. The number of
[342] houses is small, to be sure, but their dimensions seemed to be
[252] quite considerable. The 26 huge grills at the first roasting place and 10-15 at the second, the sandbanks completely trodden down with footprints beside the first fish lake, certainly lead one to
513 conclude that there is a large crowd of people. Sleeping is
352 apparently done in hammocks. This is indicated first by the net coverings that the Karajá buy from them, and then by the complete absence of sleeping places beside the roasting place, which was certainly used for many days.

241 Besides manioc (according to the account of the Karajá), these people also plant maize, as is indicated by many, partly
231 charred corncobs at the roasting place. As domestic animals they keep dogs, the traces of which were numerous on the sand-
224 banks. It may surely be assumed that they devote themselves to
[136] hunting. The campo is extremely rich in deer, the forests in wild pigs. Certainly they will not forgo these sources of meat.

226 In addition, fishing is practiced on a large scale through poisoning the /408/ /Ill. 267 appears here/ /409/ water of blocked-off lakes. We saw barrier poles everywhere in the territory of this tribe in front of lake outlets. The first lake that we came across was completely blocked off by a fence that was

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 344]

Fig. 9. Tanupantxóa-Kamanané, about 45 years old, and in 1947 the oldest Tapirapé. He defended his village alone against the Kaiapó.

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Fig. 10. Tapirapé youth making a wax doll.

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13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



requited by gifts of beads, hardware, and salt which I provided judiciously from time to time. After a few days, I began noting questions to be asked of Champukwi in the late afternoon when he now habitually visited our house. But this was the time that others also liked to visit. At this hour of the day our house was often crowded with men, women, children, and even pets—monkeys, parrots, and wild pigs—for which the Tapirapé along with other Brazilian tribes have an especial fondness. Such social gatherings were hardly conducive to the ethnological interview or even to the systematic recording of vocabulary. So I asked Champukwi if I might go with him to his garden. There, alternating between helping him cut brush from his garden site and sitting in the shade, I was able to conduct a kind of haphazard interview. Often, while he worked, I formulated questions in my halting Tapirapé and I was able by repetition to understand his answers. Although the Tapirapé villagers began to joke of Champukwi's new garden site as belonging to the two of us, these days were very valuable for my research.

Walking through the forest to and from Champukwi's garden, we often hunted for *jacu*, a large forest fowl rather like a chicken. I attempted to teach Champukwi how to use my .22 rifle, but he had difficulty understanding the gunsights and missed continually. He attempted to show me how to "see" the *jacu* hidden in the thick branches of the trees, but I seldom caught sight of the birds until they had flown. Thus, our complementary incapacities combined to make our hunting in the tropical forest quite unproductive, and in disgust Champukwi often resorted to his bow and arrow. Only later in the year, after he had practiced a great deal by shooting at tin cans did Champukwi master the use of the rifle, and this new-found skill greatly added to his prestige among the Tapirapé.

My abiding friendship with Champukwi perhaps really began when I came down with malaria about six weeks after our arrival. During the first few days of my illness, I was oblivious to my surroundings. I am told that while one *pancié*, or medicine man, predicted my death, another tried to cure me by massage, by blowing tobacco smoke over my body, and by attempting to suck out the "object" that was causing the fever. Evidently his efforts—plus the atabrine tablets administered by Valentim Gomes—were successful, for my fever abated. I realized, however, that convalescence would be slow. Unable to leave the house for almost three weeks, I spent my days

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Champukwi on the Trip to Furo do Pedro.

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of my life, a feeling that was shared, I believe, by Valentim Gomes and by Champukwi.

Champukwi adjusted to Furo do Pedro with amazing rapidity. His short visit as a youth to the mission station undoubtedly contributed to his quick adaptation although, to be sure, there were minor problems and incidents. The Brazilians of Furo do Pedro were accustomed to Indians, for nearby there was a village of semi-civilized Carajá Indians who frequently visited and traded in the settlement. Yet, Champukwi was a bit of a curiosity—the town-people had seen only one other Tapirapé. The local Brazilians invited him into their homes and offered him coffee and sweets. Both Valentim Gomes and I watched over his movements with all the anxiety of overprotective parents for fear that he might be exposed to a respiratory infection (he did not contract any) or that the hospitality of the local Brazilians might persuade him to drink cachaça (sugar cane *aguardiente*). Alcoholic beverages were unknown to the Tapirapé who are unlike most South American groups IN THIS RESPECT.

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There were no vestiges of a pair of
231 pigs brought in shortly before that time by a White friend who
[648] hoped to induce the Indians to raise these animals.

I referred to the dogs above when I spoke about hunting. The puppies of those canines of the harrier type were suckled by women, and unfortunately not by old ones, but by the most beautiful girls. In one house, hung alongside the sleeping hammocks, there was even an incredibly small net which was the bed of one of these four-footed children. After a childhood replete with such pampering, however, the dog's life becomes a dog's life. He goes through it hungry, his ribs showing, stealing remnants of human food and sometimes even bananas, and granted as his only truly inexhaustible and non-forbidden means of subsistence the gathering of cockroaches. Just as he must now chew on these bugs instead of sucking on a kind Tapirapé breast, he must, instead of being petted, submit to curses, blows, and kicks, even though they are usually administered with a certain restraint and even gentleness. When, at a male gathering, a man's flatulence gives rise to unpleasant odors, the nearest dog is blamed for it, and the men grunt disapprovingly and kick in the animal's direction, an uncertain kick aimed at the air rather than at the dog.

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● 235 therefore resort to hunting the cockroaches which abound on the walls and floor of the house. At night, by the light of the fires, I often saw hens with their chicks walking around the house in search of those bugs. This does not mean that they ate anything else during the day.

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235 [113:198] I did not see any tamed animals in Tampitaua. In my talks with the inhabitants, however, I gathered that, like Indians in general, they would have liked to have such animals, and that they had formerly owned various mammals and wild birds. The most important among these were the red-blue-and-green macaw (Ara chloroptera Gray, arara in Tapirapé), much rarer in the Araguaia basin than the blue-and-yellow macaw (Ara ararauna Lin., kanind in Tapirapé), for the [113:199] former's red feathers are more highly prized as ornaments than the latter's blue and yellow ones. This is the case not only among the Tapirapé, 171 but also among the Karajá, and this is why shortly before my ar- 235 rival to the Araguaia a man of this tribe of canoemen had traded in a canoe, which at that time and in that area was worth from 50 to 100 milreis or one rifle, for the nestling of a red-blue-and-green macaw. At the time when the Karajá traded regularly with 499 the Tapirapé, these nestlings were one of the chief commodities of trade.

This trade, through which the Tupi tribe received iron articles [412] in exchange for tamed macaws, urucú, hammocks, quartz tembetá, [241] and other products of their industry, actually played a decisive role in their subsistence, owing especially to the importance of the iron tools in farming. In this respect, it was fortunate for the Tapirapé that they established direct contact with the Whites shortly after they broke relations with the Karajá. For the lack of iron tools among people who had never worked with stone axes would probably have led either to rash behavior in their "foreign relations," or to intratribal conflicts.

Thus, as far as the subsistence of the Tapirapé is concerned, 797 their most important relations with the Whites are their contacts with [412] the Dominicans, which have occurred with some regularity every year or two since 1914 and which keep them supplied with the necessary tools. Actually, no real trading is involved in this case, since as a rule the Indians are not required to furnish any products of their industry in exchange for the materials, but only to pay attention to certain words and procedures peculiar to the Fathers. This 437 is not to say that they are ignorant of the concept of reciprocal trade 123 with the Whites. When I wanted to acquire an arrow for my collection, they not only knew how to set high prices, but also how to raise the value of the common object by calling it a "captain's

[133 and our camarada [Tr., guide or hired hand], as well as several
-187] Indians, and we set out again after a brief rest.

Two hours later we crossed another body of water surrounded by trees. Since Reverend Kegel was taken with leg cramps and also had to vomit several times because he had drunk water too quickly, we stayed there for about two hours.

Then we set out again in a long file, one behind the other. The sun burned down, but fortunately there was a breeze from time to
[474] time. To make their return journey easier, the Indians set fire to all the grass they found. Suddenly, in an unburned patch of grassland, we saw a pair of spotted jaguars engaged in amorous play. My camarada Daniel shot at them with his gun. Both animals ran away, one of them bleeding. Daniel with the gun and two Indians with bow
[231] and club vainly ran after them. The two Tapirapé dogs who were with us behaved in rather sorry fashion. One of them jumped about a little and barked, while the other did not even find courage for that.

Two hours later we reached Lake Tucunaré, where we found
[194] numerous mosquitoes. It took us three or four hours to go from there to Porto Salvação, along an old Indian trail on very hard and hot ground.

[97:53] It took us, therefore, 13 or 14 hours to return from the village to the river, and this was more or less the time we spent walking on the way out.

## Names of the River and its Tributaries

[Ed., one paragraph omitted.]

103 The Tapirapé Indians call the Tapirapé River aviohy (or aviuhy), which means "fluff water," hy being "water." They are very fond of
[301] the fluff of the jabiru, duck, and vulture for body ornamentation, and
[237] they find it chiefly on this river. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 97, pp. 53-54, is omitted.]

304 equipped with a row of embedded teeth, their points sticking out
413 of the outer, convex side of the piece. The opposite side[1] is com-
[237] pletely covered with a thick black layer of beeswax. The teeth are those of the so-called "dog-fish," alkyngapeva in Tapirapé, a scaly fresh-water fish of the Characinidae family, Hydrocyon subfamily, whose colloquial name alludes to its dog-like dentition (cf. Rodolfo von Ihering, 165). The 17 teeth of the scarifier I acquired in Tampiinfua (Photo. 23) jut out three to six centimeters. This piece is eight centimeters long and measures five and a half centimeters at its broadest part.

304 According to information obtained from the Tapirapé, the
881 girls are tattooed during the rainy season following their first menstruation. The operation is carried out at nightfall, between January and March, when there is tall maize, plentiful game crowded together by the rising waters, and much merrymaking as a result of all this. The Indians tattoo their chin and cheeks (Fig. 1). The cheek tattoo reaches below the ear, so that a small part of it is covered by the hair. The crossing vertical
304 and horizontal incisions look like a fine-meshed net. This
824 design is called kobova. The wounds are first rubbed with a kaauna leaf (káa, "plant"; una, "black, dark blue"). This leaf, previously squeezed into a turtle shell (chauvatí-ampekuera) full of water, is wet with its own juice mixed in
[398] water. It is the juice of kaauna that yields the indelible dark-blue tone of the tattooing. The leaf is held close to the wound for some time. Then, the Indians blow crushed cotton leaves
[278] with a pipe (amynichóha(u)va) onto the wounds. It may be that they do this to alleviate the pain, for the girls cry a great deal [107:115] throughout the operation, and the tattooed parts become terribly swollen (ivuvurá). As at

Fig. 1

302 the time of their first menstruation, the girls have so much urucú
881 in their hair that their coiffure, mixed with the greasy substance, looks like a sort of cap. They are not, however, painted with

1 [of the scarification tool.—Analyst]

302 genipap. They have given up for keeps the amaniuaí or cotton
881 ornaments they wore in childhood. Some others change names,
[953] if they did not already do so at the time of their first menstruation.
They eat nothing but green-maize cauí [a sup]. Both men and
women sing the hadó, a kind of national anthem. When the whole
ceremony is over, the girl is painted with se genipap stripes
characteristic of women.

The tattooing is done by certain mature men. They need not
304 be sorcerer--medicine men, but some of them are, like Urukamy
482 for example (Photo. 53). The aim of the stooping is to differentiate the women from the girls. The smallknife used to make the incisions (Photo. 22) is called voamé. It consists of a fragment of
[297] rodent incisor embedded in a small piece of thin cane wrapped in
a narrow strip of philodendron inner bark. This strip strengthens
[304] the small rod, which was previously covered with resin to provide
a better hold. The tooth fragment in the knife reproduced here
(Photo. 22) consists of that part of a paca (amoamé) incisor nearest to
237] the gum, and thus not of its cutting section. The edge was created
by scraping the fragment with a knife. Sometimes the fragment is
also taken from the tooth of an agouti (ahaí, aiaucha), another
rodent that, like the paca, belongs to the Cavidae family.

Krause (2, 404) writes of Tapirapé tattooing: "Tattooing exists
304 among married women; they cut vertical lines in their chins, and
114 a line that goes down obliquely from either side of the mouth."
As we can see, this does not quite agree with the tattooing I observed. And the drawings published by Krause (ibid., Fig. 362), although they disagree with the description above by the same author in showing several oblique lines originating at the corners of the lips, rather than just one, still do not resemble the crossed horizontal and vertical lines that I saw on the faces of Tapirapé women. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 115, pp. 116-119 which include several pages of comparative data on scarification, and all but the last paragraph on p. 120 are omitted.]

107:120] To summarize, we may say that the special character
304 of female tattooing differentiates the Tapirapé from all neighboring
171 tribes about which anything is known in this connection. The data
[114] of Herrmann Meyer about the Aravine and their tattooing, which are given in Chapter 4 of this work, are not sufficient to be taken into account in studying this topic. It should be pointed out further

302 set forth by ethnocentric Europeans. Among the precautionary
789 measures taken by the killer of the Tapirapé shaman, listed by Wagley (4, 16-17 [Tr., in English at 4, 72]), there is also painting the entire body with genipap and the hair with urucú. According to the same author (ibid., 11 [Tr., in English at 4, 67]), a certain Tapirapé medicine man painted his chest and chin with urucú to represent the cauí of blood that drools from the mouth of forest spirits. [Ed., the remainder of p. 127, p. 128, and all but the last paragraph of p. 129 are omitted.]

000 [108:129] Krause (2, 214) writes that the Karajá, when they paint their bodies, usually reserve the color red for men and adolescent boys, and the black for boys and young girls. He adds (ibid.), "Only once did I see a woman painted wholly with red." I wish [108:130] to note in this connection, however, that as far as our trading fabrics are concerned, the Karajá in 1935 left the red ones exclusively to the women, while the men dressed in those of other colors, such as white or green. They might already have learned from the Whites that men do not wear red. A person like the
[291] Tapirapé Kamairabó, who had had less contact with so-called civilized people than the Karajá, hid his charms at that time under a woman's dress which had originally been red and which might be said to have remained red in spite of daily wear for weeks on end.

In view of the facts noted by Krause (ibid., 386) about the
101 northern Kayapó and by Von den Steinen (2, 184-188) about the
171 Indians of the upper Xingu basin, it may be said in summary that
302 the Tapirapé are quite sharply differentiated from their neighbors in facial and body painting, although certain similarities exist with the Karajá in torso painting, and with the Kayapó and Xingu Indians in the red "stockings." It is worth noting that such "stockings" were also used by the Tupinambá.

According to what I saw, the Tapirapé stick soft plumage
301 (aviõ, aviõ) chiefly on the arms and legs of children. The girl
● 237 Ampitúnia was often adorned in this way. Grownups, however, also use white down glued on the arm when wearing a certain
[291] mask (Photo. 70). At the initiation ceremony, the adolescent has white down glued on the forehead, arms, torso, and thighs, with the exception of the buttocks. The glue is a resin (ykyryva in

The glue is a resin (ykyryva in
301 Tapirapé) used by both sexes to anoint the body and hair. Once
•237 crushed, it is mixed with peanut oil (chany). [Ed., the last two
[314] paragraphs of p. 130 and all but the last paragraph of p. 131 are
[341] omitted.]

[108:131] Larger feather ornaments are used by the Tapirapé, as a rule, only on festive occasions. The Tapirapé Kanchovanf, however, when I invited him to come with me to the Araguaia, showed me the large red macaw feathers that he intended to wear on his head upon reaching the Karajá villages. These are the
[171] feathers prized most highly both in his own tribe and among the shore dwellers of the big river. I never saw any Tapirapé use them aside from such occasions. [Ed., the remainder of p. 131 and the first half of p. 132 are omitted.]

[108:132] The circular feather headdress is of the greatest
292 importance to the Tapirapé. Referring to its use in the Thunder
796 ceremony, Wagley writes (4, 33-34 [Tr., in English at 4, 89-90]): "... each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate
[796] headdress--the ankungitána. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer. Without exception all who
292 wore the ankungitána, even Panterí and Urukumú, showed genuine
781 fear and fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder. Before a man could put the headdress on, a shaman waved it slowly before
[756] his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific 'heat.' When Urukumú wore the ankungitána, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circuit of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid, and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panterí. Panterí likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the
787 headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song, and when
786 he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Panterí [108:133] related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: 'I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They

787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a topī). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus Panterí vanquished the topī), but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panterí had not defeated the topī, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow). I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the
[821] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topī and many souls of shamans near
[775] [756] him. I did not talk but returned fast.' He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and
292 again a rare layman, wore the ankungitána, and people marveled
781 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panterí grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a panché-iúnwera. Urukumú picked up the ankungitána. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him."

825 I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized
[292] most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of
[237] the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (ibid., Note 30) says in this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red
[821] feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told
[753] me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not
292 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated
285 by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. ibid., Fig. 1).
114 The figures in Wagley's work (ibid., Figs. 1-9) do not provide any details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the feathers. The frame (Photo. 15) that I acquired in Tampiitáua

292 pairs are joined into a knot after having been twined once around
285 every strip. Their starting point at the other end of the band was also a knot, so that the band displays 28 knots at each end. The strings are cut three or four centimeters beyond the knot, except for the strings involved in the four outermost knots on each side. These strings extend about 30 [108:135] centimeters beyond the knots on one side, and slightly over 11 centimeters on the other side. These strings are twisted into a cord in groups of four, while the other strings are not joined in any way along the three or four centimeters that extend beyond the knots. The strips, when they retain their natural curvature, leave an empty space within their folded ends. The large tail feathers of the red macaw are inserted in this opening to complete the impressive ornament. They are kept in an internode of thick cane when not in use.

292 The frame specimen described and reproduced above was the only one I found in Tampiitáua. It was in Maninohó's possession. I
[114] have not found any reference in the literature to such objects among the Karajá, the Kayapó, or any other Indians. Nor do I know whether
[171] anything like the Tapirapé head "edifice" reproduced by Wagley is to be found in any other tribe.

Reverend Kegel described to me the circular occipital head-
292 dress he saw at the initiation ceremony as a wooden disk about 15
881 centimeters in diameter and two centimeters thick, blackened with
●237 genipap, and bearing three concentric circles of feathers laid out in a radiating pattern. The inner circle consisted of scalloped, dark-green duck feathers, the middle one of white jabiru feathers, and the outer one of red macaw tail feathers. The hair of the boy who was being initiated was gathered into a pigtail and drawn through a hole in the center of the disk. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 135 and the first paragraph of p. 136 are omitted.]

[108:136] I saw a large semicircular wooden disk with small
532 holes in the center hanging from the wall of the men's house in Tampiitáua. The Tapirapé showed me that those holes were meant for the eyes and that the disk, when covered with a mosaic of feathers and a crown of macaw feathers, was used as a dance mask (Photo. 70). Unfortunately, however, I did not have an opportunity
171 to find out the specific function of this mask, which is as distinct
532 from other Tapirapé masks as it is from those of the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 20) and which bears no resemblance to the masks

532 of wood, plaited and woven material found by Von den Steinen
[171] (2, Figs. 94-118) among the Xingu tribes.

The cylindrical masks of the Tapirapé are also adorned with feathers (Photo. 72). In the daytime dances of these Indians, some
301 of the male participants wear one or several red macaw tail feathers vertically on the occiput (Photo. 5). On such occasions they also wore the ear ornament (Photo. 21), which I acquired in Tampiitáua and which I shall now describe. Two strings, twisted
[283] counter-clockwise and consisting of two threads spun clockwise, are tied to a cotton cord twisted clockwise and consisting of two strings twisted counter-clockwise and made up in turn of two threads spun clockwise. The first two strings mentioned are each folded in the middle and placed on the rope in such a way that on one side there is a loop, and on the other the two free-swinging ends. These ends are slipped through the loop and stretched to make a knot. Each end, after being slipped through a perforated palm nut,
[237] is attached to three or four tail feathers of the green oropendola (Ostinops viridis), which are yellow with black spots and up to nine centimeters long. The feathers are tied by the lower, denuded part of the stem, which is folded up at the tip for the purpose. When the cord is worn across the forehead and tied on the occiput, the
[386] feathers fall over the ears. All the threads are dyed with genipap. [Ed., the last two lines of p. 136 and the first paragraph of p. 137 are omitted.]

[108:137] According to Reverend Kegel, the Tapirapé adoles-
301 cent at the initiation ceremony wears around his neck two cotton
881 strips, three centimeters wide, which hang down in front to below the knees and in the back to below the calves. These strips end in tassels, and under the tassel is a palm-nut shell, its opening facing downward, surrounded with small breast feathers of the red macaw. On each arm the boy wears a cotton cord from which hang five of these shells with the same little red feathers.

To summarize: the Tapirapé feather ornaments are not only
171 distinct from those of the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó visited by
301 Krause (2, passim), from those of the inhabitants of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen 2, 328), the Boróro (Colbacchini and Albisetti, passim), the Tupi tribe of the Urubu (Lopes 2, passim), and the Tupinambá (Métraux 2, 130-148), but also much less numerous and varied than the featherwork in any of these tribes.

171 This scarcity may be one of the consequences of the great epi-
301 demics, since the dead are buried with all their feather ornaments.
[182] In addition, the Tapirapé, as cultivators and forest Indians, have
[764] fewer opportunities to obtain the raw materials for these ornaments than the more game-oriented tribes who live close to rivers and to other areas rich in bird life.

415 Like the ancient Tupinambá (Léry 159), the Tapirapé keep the large macaw feathers in internodes of thick cane (vuanantú). [Ed., the last sentence on p. 137, which concludes the section in Vol. 108, is omitted.]

237 [109:75] I found a single specimen of a crown of jaguar claws
292 in Tampiitáua (Photo. 16). It belonged to Maninohó, who used it only for certain daytime dances (Photo. 4). Its name was simply chauvuanohó pyampé, "jaguar claw." It consisted of a wooden ring that reached one centimeter in width and 20 centimeters in diameter, wrapped in cotton thread blackened with genipap and charcoal. Not only does this thread keep the ring closed, but it also holds 14 jaguar claws, all of which are set pointing in the same direction. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

301 The use of flowers as a head ornament is unusual among South American Indians. I observed it only once in Tampiitáua. Iravuy, a married man 26 years old, returned once from the forest with a bunch of flowers in his hand. On entering the village, he met Ampitánia on the path and gave her the flowers. This girl, who was four or five years old, immediately tied them to her hair. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

304 Male Tapirapé have pierced ears. I was told that among them it is the mother who [109:76] makes these perforations in the early hours of the day following the birth of her child. She does this with the bone needle used in the manufacture of the cotton ornaments called tamankurá. Small pieces of tucum wood [Tr.,
301 Bactris setosa) or thin cane are placed in the holes, and for initiates
881 these pieces may reach two centimeters in length. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

171 To summarize, it may be said that as far as ear ornaments and their attendant cultural traits are concerned, the Tapirapé differ
301 considerably not only from all their neighbors about whom anything is known in this connection, but from the ancient Tupinambá as well.

304 Like the ear perforation, that of the lower lip is restricted to members of the male sex among the inhabitants of Tampiitáua. According to them, it is also made by the mother with a bone [412] needle on the morning following the birth of her child. The 301 Tapirapé do not have a generic name for the objects inserted into the artificial lip opening, which vary with the age of the wearer. •237 When they want to refer to a lip ornament without specifying [192] which one, they merely say emekuana (emeguana, temekuana), or emekuanĩ if a small boy is concerned. Emé means "lower lip" (cheremé, "my lower lip"), kuana means "hole," and i is a diminutive (kuanĩ, "little hole"). The opening in a child's lip is indeed much smaller than in that of an adult such as Kamairá (Photo. 57). They insert a bone there until the time when the boy who is about to be initiated has his hair cut, and this bone grows along with its wearer (Photos. 3, 6, 25, 28, 61). Thus, a boy who was about five years old wore a wild-pig bone nine and a half centimeters long and from two to four millimeters wide, with a crosspiece about eight millimeters wide (Photo. 18). A boy of eight or ten had a deer bone 25 centimeters long and three to five [109:77] in diameter, with a crosspiece one centimeter wide (Photo. 17). Rhea bones were also used as boys' lip ornaments. The bone is introduced from the inside, so that the crosspiece remains inside the mouth to secure the ornament.

When a boy's hair is cut, a year before his initiation cere- [302] mony, the deer bone is replaced with the wooden plug worn by [881] the men (Photo. 19a). Some of those plugs contain the embedded tooth of a tapiti (Sylvilagus minensis, tampichĩ in Tapirapé) (Photo. 55). The plug with a tooth shown in Photograph 19a is about eight to ten millimeters in diameter and six millimeters along its full length, or in other words, four millimeters in the wooden section and two millimeters in the projecting part of the tooth. The piece that secures the plug is two centimeters wide. [824] The plugs are made with the pointed excrescences found on the trunks of a tree called tanchimoyva in Tapirapé. The one reproduced here (Photo. 19b) is 25 millimeters long and from 15 to 25 millimeters wide.

301 At the initiation ceremony, however, and only on that great 324 day, the boy wears an ornament that would qualify for the Tupi [881] name tembetá, from tembé, "lower lip," and itá, "stone." This

439 southern band they were regarded as precious articles." This may explain why Nuerehí, a Karajá about 50 years old and an inhabitant of Beroromandú, a village located near Santa Teresinha, asked me to bring him a bow and a handful of arrows from the Tapirapé, stating that these objects were better in the Tupi tribe than in his own. I already mentioned in Chapter 2 that, according to Krause (2, 456), the word uohú, with which the Karajá designate the Tapirapé, means "arrow." This may possibly refer to their capacity as arrow suppliers. [101]

171/411 The arrows (oyva) of these Indians, shown in Photographs 27, 29, and 30, resemble the corresponding Karajá and Kayapó arrows described by Krause (2, 264-270, 392-393). The corresponding arrows are the barbed ones and those with a simple, rounded, wooden tip. I have not seen any Tapirapé arrows like the two encountered by the same author (2, 411 and Fig. 270), of which one had a flat wooden tip with "barbs cut out on both sides and a double edge," while the other had a cane tip. Nor did I find [112:54] arrows with notched wooden tips among the Tapirapé, such as those Krause (2, 265) encountered among the Karajá. On the other hand, the bird arrow with a thick wax tip which that author (2, 247) noted in the same tribe is also used by the Tapirapé (see Photos. 25 and 26).

Like the Karajá, Kayapó (loc. cit., 267 and 392), and tribes of the Xingu headwaters (Von den Steinen 2, 229), the Tapirapé also make a kind of barbed arrow by fastening to the tip of the wooden part of the shaft, previously grooved laterally, a small piece of bone that is slightly curved and sharp at both ends. This piece is tied on, and the whole binding is covered with black resin. In the barbed Tapirapé arrows tipped with the spine of the sting-ray, the barb is not made with the spine also, as Krause (2, 393 and Fig. 249h) asserts of a Kayapó arrow that is similar but made of wood. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.] [314]

[297] The length of barbed arrows with bone or sting-ray tips is roughly identical among the Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé. The tip, on the average, is six centimeters long, the wooden part of the shaft from 35 to 50 centimeters, and the cane part about one meter long.

The wooden rod bearing the arrow point (oyvanchí, chi meaning "point") is inserted into the cane stem (angkamanchyva) and

171
411 secured there with resin. It was previously placed near the fire to be straightened out while still hot. As a rule, however, the rod becomes straight in general orientation only and remains crooked in one or several places. An essentially agricultural tribe like the Tapirapé does not make weapons with the care expended on such work by a hunting tribe, such as the Bororo, for example. The heat of the fire also serves to harden the wood, which is sometimes dyed red or black.

The section of the cane shaft that encircles the rod is bound
[824] spirally with a narrow black strip of philodendron bark (vuamé)
[314] glued on with resin. This covering is from nine to 16 centimeters long and makes the shaft stronger.

The feathered part (pepá or "wing," pe meaning "path," "direction," "forward motion," and pa meaning "hand") is, on the average, from 16 to 25 centimeters long. Like the Karajá and the Kayapó, the Tapirapé fasten two feathers in opposition to each
[237] other at the extreme tip of the shaft. The feathers are usually those of macaws, hawks, or hoatzins. Their stems are tied to the shaft with cotton thread (inimá). The twisting of the feathers, which aims at spinning the arrow in flight, seldom covers a quarter of the shaft circumference and often does not even cover an eighth of it. The barbs of the feathers are crudely cut out
[439] with scissors acquired from the Whites, and the half that juts out is broader than the other half. The stem of the feather is slit at the tip and glued to the cane covered with resin. Both spiral bindings of cotton thread are fastened to the shaft with resin. The front one is of [112:55] blackened cotton, about six centimeters long, and holds small red and sometimes yellow macaw breast feathers whose barbs extend backward, that is to say, inside the feathering. The rear binding is of white cotton, about one and a half centimeters long, and serves not only to secure the thinner part of the feather stems, but also to strengthen the tip of the arrow. This tip has an oblique notch (vuatachimeakáua), more than half a centimeter deep, that receives the bow cord. The binding reaches up to this notch, and its third function seems to be that of a tribal marking, for aside from the parallel threads it bears two crossed ones which are, as Krause (2, 270) heard among the Karajá, characteristic of the Tapirapé.

171 411 531 These Indians, like the Karajá (ibid.) and Kayapó (ibid., 393) decorate the shaft section between the two cotton bindings with one or more rings of red resin (totayga, chotahypyrynga). In the Tupi tribe, the width of these rings varies from one to eight centimeters. The raw material is cooked in a pot with water by the [462] [252] woman, since, according to the Tapirapé behavior pattern, all cooking in pots is female work, while roasting falls to the men. The cotton thread is also made by the woman. Otherwise, the arrow, like other weapons and their component parts, is made by [422] the man, and usually the owner of the weapon was also its maker.

171 314 Thevet (1, 291) writes as follows of a tree called "Vhebehasou" which is extremely tall, with leaves similar to those of a cabbage and fruits over a foot long which never ripen because they are soon eaten up by wild bees: "In addition, it bears a red gum, suitable to many different ends, which they handle skillfully" [translated from French]. Could it be that the Indians visited by Thevet, that is to say, the Tupinambá of the sixteenth century, used the above-mentioned "red gum" for the same end as the Tapirapé use totayaga?

227 411 The barbed arrow is better suited to the pursuit of large fish than any other, since the barb, by fastening the weapon to the animal's body, not only prevents it from escaping and weakens and kills it, as also happens with mammals, but also facilitates the removal of the fish from the water. The conditions are different, however, when small fish are shot in shallow waters where the arrowpoint easily penetrates into the sand. In such cases the Tapirapé use a small bow (vuirampampí) and special arrows, 60 to 70 centimeters long, with simple rounded wooden points, ten to 20 centimeters long, which are inserted directly into the cane shaft. In harmony with the overall size of these arrows, parrot [237] feathers are used at the tip instead of the plumage of macaws and other large birds used on barbed arrows. In other respects, however, these two types of arrows are identical from the tip of the cane shaft, which is bound with a strip of philodendron bark, to the other tip where the bow cord rests upon the notch, and all the details of the feathered section are exactly the same. As far as the point is concerned, however, it is worth noting that sometimes the small arrows have up to three of those simple, rounded, wooden points instead of just one (see Photo. 30). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

136 262 (179) chauanakaõ. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the mutillid depicted in Fig. 518 and known as the "squeaking ant" [Tr., in English, "velvet ant"] owing to the sound it emits when caught, and also as "little jaguar" or "jaguar louse" owing to its pattern. A bold etymologist might perhaps interpret the Tapirapé word as "dog song" or even "jaguar song," taking into account not only the sound and the spots, but also the terms mentioned under No. 23 and the fact that kaõ is the name of a specific song in Tapirapé and corresponds to the Guarani term guahú which means "the barking of dogs" (Recalde 1, 68). There might even be a connection with the large stinger possessed by the female of the species, which causes sufficient pain to draw howls of despair from its victim. The Tapirapé do not eat this insect.

(180) taiyva -- fire ant (Solenopsis geminata). Not in R. von Ihering's book.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the carpenter ant (Prenolepis) in Fig. 519.

(181) mamangao -- bumblebee (Bombus spec.). The Tapirapé asserted that they eat the honey of this large bee that is described as "worthless" by R. von Ihering (256). They call all kinds of [237] honey and bee ef or eirí, and they eat the honey of 20 different bees. My companion F.C. Kegel gathered 29 Tapirapé names for bees.

[119:87]

(182) kaueauí -- mandaçaia [Tr., a stingless honeybee] [237] (Melipona spec.). They eat the honey of this bee, which incidentally is also regarded as delicious by the Whites. R. von Ihering's Fig. 533.

(183) tatef -- jatai (Trigona spec.). They eat the tasty honey [237] of this small bee. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book. I dealt with another Trigona species, the graze-eye, under No. 173.

(184) anchova. The Tapirapé gave this name to a small black bee which gets entangled in the hair and which, according to them, does not yield honey. It may be the irapuã [Tr., a small stingless bee] (Trigona ruficrus), whose honey is actually sparse and "worthless" in R. von Ihering's words (256). Not depicted in his book.

(185) kíua -- wasp in general. The larvae are eaten roasted in their nest cells and then removed from their cubicles with a twig

1:Belém--176 E-5 (1933, 1947)1944-1949 SF22 Tapirapé SF22

237
292

Photo. 16

Crown of jaguar teeth.

Photo. 15

Framework of headdress without the feathers.

1:Balóm--177 E-S (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapiapé SP22

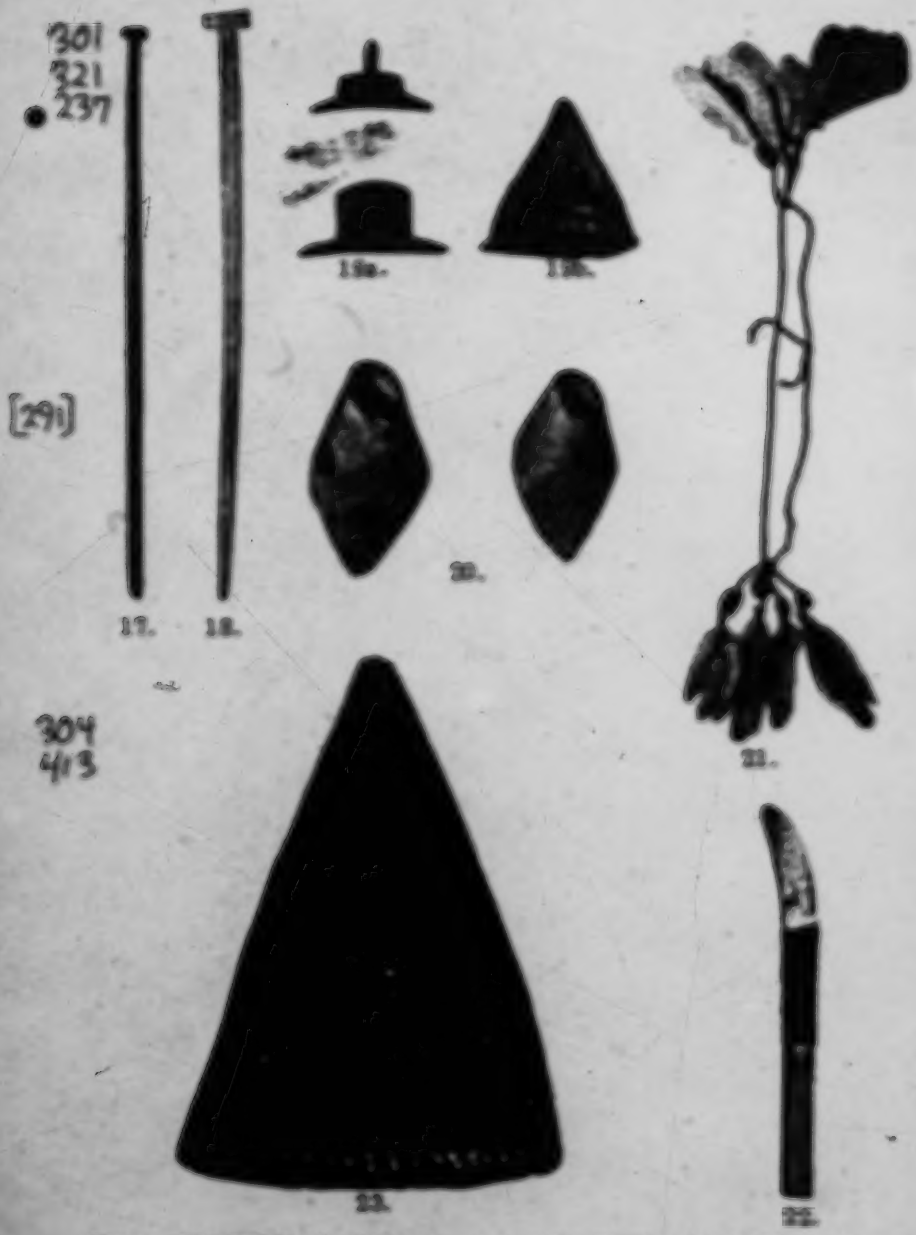


Photo. 17. Tembetá of deer bone. -- 18. Tembetá of wild-pig bone. -- 19a. Wooden tembetá. -- 19b. Raw material for wooden tembetá. -- 20. Penis sheaths. -- 21. Ear ornament. -- 22. Small tattooing knife. -- 23. Sacrifice.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



893
756
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796

Fig. 1

*Ankangtáwa* — Ornamento de cabeça para a cerimônia do Trovão

*Ankangtáwa* — Headdress for the Thunder Ceremony

[p. 42 is blank]

264 476 only by their respective owners. I do not know, however, whether [623] the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the prepara- [651] tion of the principal chief's garden.)

The ãntaiva of the Anantxí were the chief Tanupamxóa and [624] Vuiraí, and those of the Vuirantxinió were the chief Kamairí and the sorcerer--medicine man Maninohó.

476 In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three 857 groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were called Vuanankóra, Vuirantxína, and Vuirantxinoí. The last one is now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tãnãvé or Anantxí belong [611] to the first one, and the sons of the Vuirantxinió to the second one. The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were [881] Vuirantxinió. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work-group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in [462] all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution, for "the women and girls stay home when the men do collective work."

[ 98] They say that each apatxirí group has its specific ornament 801 for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I 476 was not with the Tapirapé. The Tãnãvé wear three large red macaw 535 feathers hanging from the head onto the back. The Anantxí also wear 237 three large macaw feathers in the same fashion, but two are from the blue and yellow macaw and only the middle one is red; in addition, they wear on their arms the white breast fluff of the king vulture. The Vuirantxinió are not differentiated from the Tãnãvé. The Vuanankóra wear smaller red feathers from the tail of the macaw, hanging from the head onto the back. The Vuirantxína are similarly adorned and also wear macaw fluff on their arms.

Concerning the word apatxirí, Curt Nimuendajú wrote me as fol- 192 lows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word apatxirí is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is omitted.]

476 [ 99] On July 30, Kamairahó invited me to go with him to the [123] apatxirí. On the previous day, Chief Tanupamxóa had already begun the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working

101 [16] The Tapirapé Indians live in central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a left tributary of the Araguaia located in the extreme south of the state of Pará. They speak a dialect of Tupi-Guarani, the most widespread aboriginal tongue in Brazil. In spite of a great decline in their population, they still possess a rich cultural tradition which is peculiar to them and which distinguishes them [173] from other tribes. Their customs and traditions are transmitted orally with great care from generation to generation. One of the most 861 interesting among them is the ceremony in which the youth assumes the status of a grown man. This change in status is marked by nearly all peoples. Among us, when a young man reaches the age of 21, he can vote, marry, sign documents, etc.; among many primitive groups, the youth proves that he has become an adult by undergoing torture or achieving success in the hunt.

Among the Tapirapé, this tradition is observed with a festival [302] of song and dance called "hair-tying," for henceforth the young man will wear his hair tied at the back of the neck in adult fashion. For 858 several years before the ceremony, the boy keeps his body painted [302] black with genipap, wears his hair cropped close to the head--"like a monkey," in the words of the Tapirapé-- is subjected to food restrictions, [304] and has his arms and legs scarified until they bleed so he [856] will "grow strong." When he reaches 14 or 15 years of age, his family decides that the time has come for him to become an adult.

88 At the close of the rainy season, the time of harvesting and [221] time of plenty for the tribe, the "hair-tying" ceremony is carried out. For months beforehand, the youth allows his hair to grow until it comes [302] down to his shoulders. Meanwhile, mother and aunts weave threads [462] (cords) to adorn him, while father and uncles collect feathers with [283] which they make elaborate ornaments. All Tapirapé youths become [237] adults through this rite; the sons of important men, however, and [554] those who were "favorite sons" (the Tapirapé elect certain children to preferential treatment) are much more richly attired than the others. The ceremony is costly to the family, and much time is needed beforehand to gather the necessary materials--macaw tail feathers, short [237] feathers of the blue macaw and parrot, breast fluff of wild ducks, cotton threads for the ornaments, and beads. All these items are [556] [455] valuable to the Tapirapé, who gauge their own wealth in these terms.

881 On the eve of the ritual, the preparations begin. The youth's
[302] body is painted black with genipap. On his face, a black line is drawn under the mouth and a circle under the eyes, which are elongated with a line at the corners. The father or uncles put the last
[916] touches on a large diadem. At dawn on the day of the ceremony, the youth is led to the large ceremonial house built in the center of the Tapirapé village, and his hair is set to support the large
[292] ankungitana (diadem) made of numerous macaw, parrot, and duck
[297] feathers fastened to a base of muriti palm and hard wood and weighing about five kilograms. The hair is trimmed and tied into a roll
[302] on the nape of the neck with a cord at least five meters long, to provide a base for the fastening of the large diadem. The lower lip
[301] is adorned with a ceremonial quartz tembetá [Tr., cylindrical plug].

The ceremony itself begins late in the morning. For 24 hours
[535] the youth dances continually, surrounded by his fellow tribesmen and accompanied by the songs and dances of men and women. He dances ill at ease, for he is soon tired by the weight and discomfort of the ornaments. Tapirapé tradition explains this ritual as a test of en-
773 881 durance for the young men. According to one legend, a Tapirapé ancestor called Xavanamu and his son Makanci were captured by an enemy tribe. Xavanamu was eaten, and his son was forced to dance under the weight of a large diadem and the numerous ornaments that covered his body. At the end of a long day of dancing, Makanci, who had retained his strength, managed to flee and disappeared into the woods followed closely by his foes. He vanished on reaching a large hollow trunk. Nowadays, Tapirapé youths wear ornaments similar to those left behind by their ancestor.

In 1941, when we witnessed the "hair-tying" of the youth
881 Kaucinampõ, several Tapirapé predicted that he would cry "for he would become very tired during the night," but the boy stood up valiantly to the test. It is in another way, however, that men recall their initiation. One of them said, "When I danced, I was more beautiful than at any other time." It is true that at no other time of life does the individual get so much attention and make such a show with such rich ornaments. And this during adolescence!

Thus, the Tapirapé turn this ceremony into an opportunity for fun, which their men recall more or less in the same manner as our youths recall their first ball.

137 The savanna of the hinterland beyond the left bank of the river
241 is bounded on the north by this huge forest, in which many generations of Tapirapé Indians have found enough virgin growth to prepare annually new plots that provide them with an abundance of bananas, maize, peanuts, gourds, beans, manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, peppers, tobacco, and cotton. This forest, aside from being flooded
153 extensively even in the dry season, contains small streams flowing
312 on wide beds of clear sand, which offer the Indians cool, limpid
226 water for drinking and bathing, and abundant fish, large and small, that play an important part in their diet.

The only man-made trails that we know of so far in the vicinity
487 of the Tapirapé River are the more or less deeply marked footpaths of the Tapirapé Indians. On the savanna, they are about 20 centimeters wide and follow the sinuous line involuntarily produced by human beings when they walk on flat ground. [97:51] We can verify this sinuosity, for example, on a long beach, when we attempt to reach a certain point directly and later look at the trail left by our feet. We notice that it meanders and thus differs from all animal tracks, those of the jaguar or water cavy as well as those of birds, which always run in a straight line unless they curve out deliberately.

To give an idea of a specific part of the river environs at a
114 specific time of year, I shall now describe my land journey toward the
133 north, from Porto Salvação to Tampiténa. I left on June 19, 1935, at 3:30 in the afternoon, carrying on my back the requisite sleeping and eating equipment. I walked at the rapid pace used by the local frontiersmen on long hikes, making about five kilometers an hour on flat, unobstructed ground. I went through dry grassland with a scatter-
[137] ing of medium-sized trees which sometimes stood dozens of meters apart. After a walk of nearly three hours, I reached Lake Tucunaré,
[103] so called because of its abundant fish of the same name which attract
[136] the Tapirapé Indians to the place every year. At the time of my passage, Lake Tucunaré was a slow and deep brook which I had to cross up to my waist in water. They say that it connects with the Tapirapé River during the rainy season. It is surrounded by trees, and the water is full of them. After wading through it, I reached a place on the shore where those Indians often set up their sleeping hammocks and
[136] where I spent the night. There were quite a few mosquitoes. The
[172] chief plague of the day, however, in spite of my deliberately late start, was the heat.

114 I left at 6:30 the following morning. Everything was wet with
133 dew. I skated over a stretch of black earth, damp and slippery
[132] ("soap"). I saw jaguar tracks. At eight o'clock, I reached a flooded
[134] forest strip which I had to ford. The same thing happened after walking another ten minutes. At ten o'clock I reached a traditional Tapirapé resting place located in a small patch of forest which contains fresh water. I rested there until four in the afternoon, and then set out again and waded through a swampy area. At 5:30 I reached
[134] dry scrub land where I was able to set up camp for the night. Before going to sleep, I heard frequent jaguar calls.

When I awoke on the twenty-first my clothes were soaked through with dew. I set out at six o'clock. Half an hour later, I was lost in a large and swampy mauritì grove. At seven o'clock I reached dry scrub land, and at 9:15 the great forest. During the first 15 minutes of walking, the ground of the forest was more or less dry, but after that it became completely flooded. I walked for an hour and a half in water, which flowed in several places. At 11:30 [97:22] I
[241] found manioc in a brook. I then crossed four gardens separated from each other by strips of forest. At a quarter before one, I met four
[561] youths of the Tapirapé tribe, and half an hour later, still walking through the immense forest, I spotted in its midst the village of those Indians.

When I returned from the village to Porto Salvação on August 5
497 of the same year, I made the whole trip in a single day. I left at dawn with a Tapirapé youth. Although these Indians, as a rule, walk a little more slowly than the local Brazilian frontiersmen, their pace is still quite rapid and very even so that they proceed at the same speed through forest and grassland, and since they hardly stop to rest in the daytime, they may walk 40 or 50 kilometers a day.

On the way back, we took a different course through the forest.
133 The area we had gone through on the way out was still flooded. We
497 walked on ground that was quite dry, making a wide curve to the west. We reached the grassland within two hours. In ukoy areas the Indians
[241] had already burned the grass, and our feet and legs were free of that hindering growth which adds so much to the traveler's weariness. Once in a while, a fresh breeze blew upon us. We walked four hours through
[137] open grassland and scrub forest, with frequent glimpses of pairs of deer,
[134] until we reached the traditional Tapirapé resting place in the small
[134] patch of forest containing fresh water. There we found Reverend Kegel

175 villages, asking them to come and visit the Whites who were with
648 them. The 30 men, wary and afraid that some treachery might be afoot, resolved not to stay long in those parts. They sang the praises of the Whites, asked the Indians to come with them to São Paulo where they would be near their churches and all that was necessary for their salvation, but they did all this deceitfully, in a professional backwoods way. They stirred 3,000 souls. And since the
[241] Indians not long before had changed the site [of their gardens] and the provisions of manioc flour from the plots they had abandoned were almost exhausted, they embarked four days later in 300 canoes
[501] out of the many they owned. On embarking, the 30 men managed to take from them all their bows and arrows. They proceeded up-river, touching ground every day to rest and sleep. Among the 3,000 souls was an Indian woman (who must have been the daughter of one of the seven Frenchmen, whose progeny was numerous), the wife of the son of a certain chief who had followed our men. This woman (who had been neatly endowed by nature, according to the informant, with all the parts requisite to a perfect body) was given by the captain to one of his henchmen. The latter, either to rid himself of the worry caused by the presence of the woman's husband, or perhaps to add to it still further, returned the woman to the captain. The wretched Indian was so deeply affected by the usurpation of his rightful matrimony, and the others by the fact that within a few days they would all be separated, that at a certain time and place they got together and rose against the 30 men, killing 16 and a few of the Indians they had taken with them. Satisfied with the death of these men, they turned back toward their villages in the same canoes. The 14 men who got away, but whom the Indians could have killed, proceeded up-river with only two of the aforementioned Caetingas, who either would not or could not follow the other Indians. They reached the São Paulo settlement, which they had left 19 months earlier..."

174 The identification of their language with Lingua-geral [Tr., the Tupi lingua franca] characterizes the "Caetingas" as Tupí. To
[197] my knowledge, there is no evidence of the existence of other Tupí Indians, besides the Tapirapé, along the part of the Araguaia that stretches between its confluence with the Tocantins and the northern part of Bananal Island. We must take into account, however, that

241 171 The Karajá plots are wretched as compared with those of the Tapirapé. I found Karajá Indians living north of the mouth of the Tapirapé River who suffered hunger for several years because they had always planted on the same spot. The Araguaia had flooded it several times, depriving them of the fruit of their labor and punishing them for their lack of foresight. The fact that this happened to a people who had known the river so thoroughly and for such a long time goes to show that they are not very adept and capable at tilling the soil. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph on p. 191 and the first paragraph on p. 192 are omitted.]

241 [221] [171] [113: 192] From June to August, that is to say, during the driest months of the year, the Tapirapé cut down forest growth to make new plots. The felling of trees is carried out by the method so widespread among South American tribes and also used by the White colonists of Brazil and neighboring countries. It consists of causing a whole cluster of trees to topple together by inciting them in such a way that they all must fall in the same direction when their swaying neighbor leans against them from the opposite side. The largest tree in the group, usually a veritable giant, is felled in such a way that it drags to the ground along with it all its companions weakened by the axe. [Ed., the last half of p. 192 and the first paragraph of p. 193 are omitted.]

171 241 [113:193] The following note by Steere (383) refers to the Tamanadi, an Aruak [Arawak] tribe of the Purus River: "The first civilized men who visited them say that, at that time, they incised the trees in the shape of a belt, removing the bark with the same ax. Then, they felled the trees by burning them with firewood piled up around their base."

Stradelli (378) provides a more detailed description of the same procedure as used by the Indians of the upper Uaupés: "The ax is used to make an initial incision all around the tree, which bruises rather than cuts the bark. When this has been done, and after a few days have elapsed to allow the bruised spot to dry or at least to wither, they pile up around the tree a lot of dry wood and then set fire to it. The bruised part, which is at least withered if the time was not sufficient for it to dry, naturally catches fire more readily than the rest. Once the fire has gone out, they remove the layer of charcoal resulting from this initial procedure and scrape the wood bare. They immediately light a new fire, then remove

171 the new layer of charcoal, and repeat this until the tree is felled."
●241 [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[113:194] I do not know whether the Tapirapé used the method described by Stradelli. I heard that they felled large trees by setting up a fire beneath the roots. If this is confirmed by the vestiges of carbonization on the roots of fallen trunks and in the holes lying around them, which were still visible in the old plots in 1935, not much time would have elapsed since fire was used for this purpose. Considering that the Tapirapé have owned
[177] iron axes for dozens of years, it should then be assumed that fire was used in connection with these products of our civilization.

In any case, I did not find stone axes among the Tapirapé,
174 nor did I find anyone in Tampilitana who had used them, or anyone
412 who had found similar implements at sites formerly occupied by the tribe. Of course, there is no doubt that the Tapirapé did possess them in the past, and they may have been as small as those of the Ampanaé, according to the Tapirapé. It is certain, however, that
174 several generations ago the Tapirapé obtained iron objects
412 (itanchoa, "iron," "glass," from ita, "stone," and choa, "yellow")
439 through the Karajá, and not only axes, but bush knives as well (kyché-eté, from kyché, "knife," and eté, "real," an augmentative, the term kiché being already mentioned in the Vocabulário da Língua Brasílica [Vocabulary of the Indigenous Brazilian Language] as quigce, by Montoya as quicé [author: i= y in our spelling], and by Stradelli as kicé). It is worth noting that the Tapirapé, who have
[177] used metal cutting tools for so long, cannot bring themselves to sharpen them, although this procedure has already been taught to them several times by the Whites, who also offered them sharpening stones. This is an illustration of the fact that the acceptance of foreign cultural traits does not necessarily imply the acceptance of all the procedures connected with them.

On July 30, I witnessed the felling of some trees, carried out
241 as a collective endeavor called apachirá by the Tapirapé (the
976 puchirum of the frontiersmen in the states of Pará and Amazonas). The leader, Tanapanchoa, marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those places without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax. He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others. The other men selected their own trees around his as they pleased. They incised the small ones and finally

241 cut down the biggest one. Throughout this work, they only used
476 axes with rather long handles (Photos. 56 and 61). Each man hit the trunks at the level most convenient to him, so that the stumps varied in height from 30 to 90 centimeters. After extreme exertion for a while, each man would rest until he felt like resuming his task. They were all quite diligent. And as I watched those men, most of them [113:195] endowed with the physique of our adolescents, conquer piece after piece of the huge forest around them, I saw none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness or tedious-
[461] ness that characterizes so much of the collective work among us. Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side, as though they were performing a very amusing game.

Since the time when the trees are felled is the driest of the
221 year, the leaves and branches of the toppled trees wither more
241 rapidly and become easily combustible. The Tapirapé set fire to them and then do their planting between the felled and nearly carbonized trees as soon as the rains come to nurture the vegetation. Thus, the chief time for planting falls in November and December, but in certain areas of higher humidity it comes as early as October.

To plant yams, carú [Tr., another kind of yam], and manioc,
244 the Indians use the hoe to dig a funnel-shaped hole, from one to
[412] one and a half meters in diameter and depth at the center, in which they pile up the earth in the shape of a cone. They slip into this cone four or five yam protuberances or an equal number of carú knobs, that is to say, fragments or "eyes" of the respective tubers, or four or five manioc shoots. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195 and the first two lines of p. 196 are omitted.]

[412] [113:196] The dibble is used by the Tapirapé to plant maize,
241 peanuts, and cotton in straight lines that ride over the fallen trunks and other irregularities in the terrain and lie about four meters apart. In planting cotton, around December, they place several seeds in each hole and keep the holes about two meters apart; the distance is smaller when planting maize or peanuts. Weeding also begins in December. Maize, peanuts, and cotton are harvested from June to August. Manioc and bananas are gathered throughout the year. Bananas and maize are gathered when still green and hung under the house roof to ripen, for there are many forest animals interested in eating them. The plots,

241 incidentally, although separated from one another by strips of forest, are not provided with fences or scarecrows.

Gabriel Soares de Sousa (377) wrote of the sixteenth century
M1 Tupi in Bahia: "When the Tupinambá go to their gardens, they
512 work only from seven in the morning until midday." Except for the apachirá, which involves afternoon work, this also applies to the Tapirapé. The couples leave the village early in the morning and return at the hottest hours. The Portuguese chronicler goes on to say (ibid.): "The males customarily clear the forest growth,
M1 burn it, and dress the ground, while the females plant the food-
462 stuffs and weed them." Among the Tapirapé, not only do the men have the same duties as the ancient Tupinambá, but aside from this they also do the planting and weeding and carry the large baskets in which the farm produce is taken home. The women participate only in the planting of maize, peanuts, and cotton, that is to say, both sexes sow these plants and harvest them.

Krause wrote of the Karajá (2, 243): "They say that the planting of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, and urucú falls to the women." The division of labor among those Indians is exactly the same as among the Tapirapé, as far as the dressing of the ground, the planting of manioc and carú, and the conveyance of the large baskets are concerned, for all those tasks devolve to the male sex in both tribes (cf. Krause ibid. and Plate 15).

Among the majority of other South American Indians, it is the woman who carries heavy burdens from the plot, as, for example, among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen 2, 214; Max Schmidt 2, 429) and among those of the Guianas and Venezuela (Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 50 and Plate 53). Von den Steinen's generalization (loc. cit.) is incorrect, however, when he states of the Indians in that Xingu region: "As in all of Brazil [112: 197], not only does the home preparation of manioc fall to the women, but so does its planting." I have already mentioned that this planting is male work among the Tapirapé and Karajá, and, according to Koch-Grünberg (loc. cit.), the same applies to the Tauripáng and their neighbors.

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé also cultivate various plants in large quantities. These will be listed in the following chapter.

When I was in Tampitiana, there were no domestic animals
231 aside from dogs and chickens. There were no vestiges of a pair of

235 [113:198] I did not see any tamed animals in Tampiitana. In my talks with the inhabitants, however, I gathered that, like Indians in general, they would have liked to have such animals, and that they had formerly owned various mammals and wild birds. The most important among these were the red-blue-and-green macaw (Ara chloroptera Gray, arara in Tapirapé), much rarer in the Araguaia basin than the blue-and-yellow macaw (Ara ararauna Lin., kanimé in Tapirapé), for the [113:199] former's red feathers are more highly prized as ornaments than the latter's blue and yellow ones. This is the case not only among the Tapirapé,
171 but also among the Karajá, and this is why shortly before my ar-
235 rival to the Araguaia a man of this tribe of canoemen had traded in a canoe, which at that time and in that area was worth from 50 to 100 milreis or one rifle, for the nestling of a red-blue-and-green macaw. At the time when the Karajá traded regularly with
459 the Tapirapé, these nestlings were one of the chief commodities of trade.

This trade, through which the Tupi tribe received iron articles
[412] in exchange for tamed macaws, urucú, hammocks, quartz tembetá,
[249] and other products of their industry, actually played a decisive role in their subsistence, owing especially to the importance of the iron tools in farming. In this respect, it was fortunate for the Tapirapé that they established direct contact with the Whites shortly after they broke relations with the Karajá. For the lack of iron tools among people who had never worked with mere axes would probably have led either to rash behavior in their "foreign relations," or to intertribal conflicts.

Thus, as far as the subsistence of the Tapirapé is concerned,
797 their most important relations with the Whites are their contacts with
[412] the Dominicans, which have occurred with some regularity every year or two since 1914 and which keep them supplied with the necessary tools. Actually, no real trading is involved in this case, since as a rule the Indians are not required to furnish any products of their industry in exchange for the materials, but only to pay attention to certain words and procedures peculiar to the Fathers. This
482 is not to say that they are ignorant of the concept of reciprocal trade
123 with the Whites. When I wanted to acquire an arrow for my collection, they not only knew how to set high prices, but also how to raise the value of the common object by calling it a "captain's

262 the mangaba [Tr., fruit of the mangabeira] is "the best wild fruit"
824 in the Paresi Range and in many other localities of Mato Grosso and the northeastern part of Brazil.

The palm tree called pinana by the Tapirapé and macaba by my north-Brazilian camarada, with a nut, slightly larger than a cherry, that ripens in October or November. This nut is boiled
[252] until the flesh is softened and then rubbed on a strainer lying in a pot, so that the flesh is worked loose from the pit and falls into the pot where it is boiled in water. The end result is reminiscent of walnuts in flavor and is refreshing.

[114:195] The small nut of another tree, the tucuma palm or tucum-acu (Astrocaryum spec., chavana in Tapirapé) is prized for its oil content and is gathered in October.

The Tapirapé like to eat a kind of mushroom they call yvĩpé.

These Indians cultivate several other plants aside from those
243 mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Maize (Zea mays L.,
252 avandxí in Tapirapé) is harvested while still green, hung inside
262 the house to yellow, and then crushed and used to make porridge
824 or cauí. Its Tapirapé name corresponds to abati in Staden (o 2), auati in Léry (120), ubatim in Soares de Souza (199), auatí in Stradelli (384), and abatí in Montoya (2, I, 267 and II, 10). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The seeds of peanuts (Arachis spec., monoví in Tapirapé) are
244 pounded and then added to certain mushes, or else roasted, pounded,
252 and eaten in this way, or roasted and eaten without being subjected
262 to the pestle, or chewed and spit into the pot to ferment and turn
824 into cauí. [Ed., the remainder of p. 196, p. 196, and the first paragraph on p. 197 are omitted.]

[114:197] In the previous chapter, we mentioned that the
262 Tapirapé women participate in sowing and harvesting only peanuts,
824 maize, and cotton. The observation by the sixteenth century
[262] Portuguese author [Gabriel Soares de Sousa] that peanuts are "very
[244] hot when eaten excessively," and harmful in certain cases, seems to agree with the idea expressed by the Tapirapé custom that re-
[251] quires father and mother to abstain from this food during their child's first two years so as not to endanger his life.

The peanuts I saw in large quantities among the Tapirapé seem
197 to be a variety of Arachis nambyquarae. This species was found
17 by Kuhlmann in 1819 among the Nambikwara [Nambiquara] of
244

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
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and only 147 inhabitants. This is an extraordinary example of the ravages of European diseases among a native American people.

Tampitawa (Village of the Tapir) is composed, therefore, of a residue from all of the five original villages. All of the customs and ceremony attached to inter-village relations have of course disappeared. People remember their former village affiliation, or that of their parents. They still speak of a person as being "the son of Fish Village," but village loyalty, once strong, has disappeared. Formerly, villages were basically endogamous, but some marriage outside of the village did take place. Today, only three people can say that they are descendants of people from Tapir Village. Ancient inter-village antagonism existed, especially between Tapir and the village which joined with it in 1900. Today, this conflict is only remembered under the stress of some quarrel and is referred to only as a taunt.

Depopulation has had little effect on the economic life of the Tapirapé. They are basically a forest agricultural people with large plantations. Manioc is their staple. Plantations are large enough, and the economic organization fluid enough, to allow for the support of large numbers of refugees for a year or so until they can make gardens for themselves. Refugees have joined one of the large households, at present eight, each with some twenty-five to thirty people. Formerly these households were matrilineal groups headed by a man of high prestige. His wife's relatives formed the matrilineal group and he demanded labor from his numerous sons-in-law (husbands of daughters of wife, including extended "daughters"). The coming of refugees disrupted these matrilineal households. If a refugee woman lacked a close female kin, her husband often arranged for habitation with a friend or a relative of his. Men of high status offered the hospitality of their houses to incoming men of rank. Today, therefore, many rearrangements of relatives live under one roof, and two and even three separate groups of female relatives live under as many older men, whereas formerly they would have formed one household under the leadership of one household head. In no one case, does a man control a complete household as he would have done under the old system.

/407 cont./

221 region and come to the river farther upstream, before it turns
226 toward the northeast. Here, by means of poisonous cipo, they
[352] fish successive lakes blocked off by fences. They seem to travel from upstream downward, for the upper roasting place showed only a few new beams among very old ones, whereas the lower one was apparently quite recently built. This lower one, beside which they fished from the middle to the end of August 1908, lies about 16 kilometers south-southwest of the first village (24 kilometers
[489] from the second and third). The well-worn paths that go from the two roasting places, join, and lead by way of the first village to the other two, seem to indicate that the Indians visit this spot annually. Where they go from here I was unable to find out: perhaps they went across the Tapirapé to the south. In any case a campo lake abounding in fish, several kilometers away from the trading place, showed no traces of human beings.

161 These people seem to be very numerous. The number of
[342] houses is small, to be sure, but their dimensions seemed to be
[252] quite considerable. The 26 huge grills at the first roasting place and 10-15 at the second, the sandbanks completely trodden down with footprints beside the first fish lake, certainly lead one to
513 conclude that there is a large crowd of people. Sleeping is
352 apparently done in hammocks. This is indicated first by the net coverings that the Karajá buy from them, and then by the complete absence of sleeping places beside the roasting place, which was certainly used for many days.

•241 Besides manioc (according to the account of the Karajá), these people also plant maize, as is indicated by many, partly
231 charred corncobs at the roasting place. As domestic animals they keep dogs, the traces of which were numerous on the sand-
224 banks. It may surely be assumed that they devote themselves to
[134] hunting. The campo is extremely rich in deer, the forests in wild pigs. Certainly they will not forgo these sources of meat.

206 In addition, fishing is practiced on a large scale through poisoning the /408/ /111. 287 appears here/ /409/ water of blocked-off lakes. We saw barrier poles everywhere in the territory of this tribe in front of lake outlets. The first lake that we came across was completely blocked off by a fence that was

[Text continues on p. 344]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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241 and planting, which begins after the first light rains of October, is done
462 individually and principally by the men. Cotton and peanuts, however,
[423] are women's crops. The women plant these in their husband's garden
plots and harvest them themselves. While a new garden plot is cleared
each year, a particular garden plot is generally used for two years and
then abandoned. A man plants such crop as maize, beans, and peppers on
the plot the first year and as they are harvested, he replants the plot
with manioc. Maize is harvested from the end of December through
February, the season of heaviest rains; while other crops are harvested
at the end of the rains in May and June.

[271] Large gardens with many different crops guarantee to the Tapi-
262 rapé a variety and abundance of garden stuff, but meat and fish are
22 definitely luxuries. People in the village could not remember a time
when there had been real hunger among them, but they were frequently
hungry for meat and fish. This lack in the diet is supplied by frequent
trips to the near-by Tapirapé River and the grass plains that border it
where fish and game, principally wild pork (*Tayassu pecari*), deer,
peccary (*Tayassu tajacu*), water fowl, and tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*)
are found in abundance. During the dry season these plains abound in
piqui (*Caryocar villosum*), palm nuts especially andiroba (*Carapa
guyanensis*), used for body oil — and other wild fruits.

556 Among the Tapirapé wealth is not reckoned in terms of basic sub-
435 sistence, for these goods are so easy to obtain as to be considered with
little regard. The possessions that lend real distinction of wealth are
such luxury articles as the breast and tail feathers of the red parrot (*Ara
chloroptera?*), beads, and pieces of hardware acquired through contact
with white men or trading with other Indians. These goods are accordingly
the most valued media of exchange in the community. Other goods used
for a medium of exchange were urucú (*Bixa orellana*), tobacco, extra
hammocks, decorated gourds, string for binding feathers to arrows, and
cane arrow shafts.

361 The houses of a Tapirapé village form a circle around a great central
ceremonial men's house. There are nine of these large thatch dwellings
with rounded roofs in the modern Tapirapé village; four to eight simple
591 families (father, mother, and children) share a house. Each simple family
592 has a section of the compartmented house where they lead a domestic life
separate from the others. Residence is matrilocal and the women of such
a household are closely related by kinship; yet each large household has

## INTRODUCTION

The Tapirapé Indians are a Tupi-speaking tribe living in Central Brazil west of the Araguaya River. Their villages formerly extended some two hundred miles to the north of the Tapirapé River, on affluents of the Araguaya; but today their one remaining village lies west of the Araguaya, about forty miles north of the Tapirapé and 160 miles from the point of union of the two rivers. This settlement contains a total population that does not exceed 150 people, the residue of five villages that probably existed as late as the turn of the century and that are said to have had a population of about two hundred people each. A progressive population decline has followed the acquiring of diseases from contact with the neighbouring Carajá Indians of the Araguaya River and from European visitors. Such contacts, however, have left their aboriginal culture little changed.

The Tapirapé are primarily a forest people, maintaining an agricultural life on clearings hewed from the great tropical forest. Their cultivated fields are large producing manioc (both *Manihot* manihot and the sweet species *Manihot palmata* esculenta), maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, yams, bark (*Dioscorea* sp.), cotton, and bananas.

The dry months of June through September of each year are devoted to clearing the garden sites. This work is done by men, frequently working individually, sometimes in communal labor hewed by the men's society groups (1). Where the clearing is done collectively, the large field is divided into individual plots which become individual property.

(1) There is an excellent description of this communal activity, called *ajuri*, by the Tapirapé in Herbert Baldus, 1937, "Os grupos de ajuri e os grupos de trabalho dos Tapirapé", in *Revista do Etnologia Brasileira*, pp. 98-111, São Paulo.

[p.61]
[p.60 bottom]

4: Wagley E.-S (1939-1940) 1943
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vural weeks on the Araguaya. Frequently shamans, through their dreams, leave and then tell the Tapirapé where large bands of wild pigs can be found and advise them how to approach the herd (21). 756 787 [224]

The cleansing of food may be accomplished by the shaman by tasting it or by blowing smoke or his breath over it. Several times each year these rites are performed over the first fruits of harvests to insure their safety before the people taste the crop. In December the first ears of the new maize are picked and presented to a strong shaman who then gives them to his wife to cook. At sundown of the day on which this is done the shaman walks to the central plaza followed by his wife, who carries the cooked maize and places it in a pile before him, ready for the ceremonies that will follow. In 1939, Pastoni, was the shaman who initiated this ceremony and he was joined by five other proved shamans. The people of the village gathered about this group of shamans who sat in a circle facing the maize. One by one the shamans took deep draughts from their burning pipes and blew the smoke over the maize. Then, one by one again, each pinched off a few grains from an ear and ate them. When the last had tasted the new maize, the ceremony was ended. The youngsters of the village then fell upon the pile of maize; the crop had been tasted by the shamans and found free from danger for the people. The next day maize was eaten in all houses. 276 756 796 271

A similar ceremony is performed in August or September with the first wild honey of the season, and again about January or February when new corn is ground to make the thick beverage kasi. I did not hear of such "tasting of first fruits" by shamans for other garden crops and informants were unable to remember any one occasion when shamans had found new maize or honey too dangerous for consumption by the people. [222]

Again, each year in the first months of the rainy season when the new crop of maize is threatened by the first heavy rains and electrical storms, Tapirapé shamans enact "fights" against Thunder and his ser- 756 787

(21) Many such prophecies are found wanting, and several times I heard people speak of a shaman's prophecy as a "lie". Other prophecies are only made known to people after events have proved them true.

162 What strikes us in the above table is, on the one hand, the small number of children in relation to adults (18 individuals through 15 years of age and 41 over 15 years of age), and, on the other hand, [165] the brevity of the life span (only ten individuals were over 30). Only one man and one woman were slightly over 40.

According to the reports that I received in October, 1947, from [115] Mr. Valentim Gomes, the man in charge of the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres, and from Father M. H. Leiong at Conceição do Araguaia, the numerical ratios listed above underwent modifications [776] caused by the Kaiapó [Cayapo] attack on Tampinfua at the end of August, in the course of which three women were killed and two women and one boy were abducted. Of the 59 individuals examined, therefore, there remained 31 males and 22 females.

Aside from illness, the custom of killing newborn children under [697] certain circumstances contributes to the decimation of the tribe.

Of the changes in Tapirapé culture which occurred since my first 178 visit 12 years ago, I wish to mention primarily the scarcity of 262 vegetable foods. The literature on these peaceful and industrious 241 Tupi Indians contains numerous references to their large plots. I may add that in the quantity and variety of their garden produce they outstripped not only the neighboring tribes but also the frontier people. In 1935, in the months of June to August, I found the village provided abundantly with the most delicious bananas, five varieties of manioc and numerous other tubers, beans, peanuts, and maize. In 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little cará [Tr., a variety of yam], or manioc cake. The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts, for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such [574] a change in the food situation affects the tribal behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality.

It is true that this may also have resulted in part from contact 77 with the neighboring Whites who have settled on the Tapirapé River [648] over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their 177 body is undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. 291 Thus, instead of satisfying the appetites of their Indian visitors, they

648 [166]

Conceição do Araguaia, as was Father Luiz Palha's plan." He says that these Indians wish to build a village near the houses of the above-mentioned São Pedro ranch, on the right margin of the Tapirapé, and he adds: "If the Indian Service is not in a position to establish a post for the Tapirapé Indians, it would be worth studying the possibility of entrusting Mr. Lucio da Luz with their protection. Mr. Lucio da Luz is a man of great means, and he would not be primarily interested in the meager wages of a man-in-charge or whatever he might be to those Indians, but would do this rather out of the humanitarian feelings which he seems to possess."

648 667 [341] [311]

Whatever the case may be, there are three basic needs to be considered in any resettlement of the Tapirapé: 1) the existence of an extensive forest adequate for the large gardens of this essentially farming tribe; 2) the exclusion of all representatives of our civilization who are not employees of the Indian Service, anthropologists, or physicians associated with the Service; 3) the exclusion of members of other aboriginal tribes.

I believe that Father Lelong is correct when he writes in his letter with reference to the Kaiapó who invaded Tapirapé territory: "Ten armed men would suffice to clear the territory of these assassins." These ten men, however, should be under the orders of the Indian Service so as to catch the culprits in the slaughter without shedding blood and take them to the idyllic penitentiary established at the Indian post of Icatu in the state of São Paulo. One of the most urgent tasks is unquestionably the lasting pacification of the northern Kaiapó who, unlike the Akuá-Chavante, have the habit of leaving the traditional boundaries of their territory to attack harmless neighbors (cf. what I wrote about this in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 102, São Paulo, 1945, pp. 123-130).

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



them. "Is it true," they ask, pointing westward, "that there is another Aro- 823
guaya (large river) there?"

The Tapirapé know well their traditional country—that territory north of the Tapirapé River to the River Preto, and west to the Araguaya. They know the plains country which borders the Tapirapé River and the tropical [361]
forest to the north where formerly their five villages stretched in a line some fifty to seventy-five miles apart. At least once during a man's life it [574]
was customary to visit all these villages, and before setting out he would acquaint himself with the rivers, hills, and good hunting places along the trail. At the present time, since the Tapirapé are a sedentary agricultural [241] ●
people, depending upon large gardens of manioc, corn, yams, and bananas, [344]
rather than upon hunting as the chief basis of their food supply, and since they have no trade, they do little travelling. The spatial limit of their direct experience is small.

Knowledge of the horizons beyond their direct experience—of far off 773
places and people, of the supernatural and spirit worlds, of the heavens, of the origins of peoples and things, comes to them only through stories of their legendary heroes, or through experiences of their shamans. Myths relate the creation, adventures, and travels of a series of successive culture heroes who took the form of civilizing gods.[9] Tapirapé shamans travel [792]
widely in their dreams; they whisk off to far places—to the Araguaya, to [787]
the heavens, to the home of Thunder (see p. 257)—in their "canoes" [415]
(opened gourds used as eating utensils by the Tapirapé), or they may take the form of a bird as they travel in dreams. Since a Tapirapé has this great wealth of vicarious experience to draw upon, he never answers for himself [823]
when asked of those realms beyond his knowledge. Instead he tells of the exploits of a legendary culture hero, or of the travels of a shaman "who has been there."

The Tapirapé are thus equipped with a wide range of second-hand ex- 772
perience. They have no concept of a closed or limited universe. New 823
knowledge either adds to, or fits into, their second-hand knowledge of a broad universe. Thus a Tapirapé youth, seeing for the first time the large rock formation at the mouth of the Tapirapé River, identified it as the place in which Panchoi, a contemporary shaman, had seen the tremendous red parrots from which the supernaturals pluck feathers. Similarly, one travelling on the Araguaya recognized the large rapids below Santa Maria da Araguaya as those created by Kaowahu, a culture hero, to com-

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[9] Métraux, Alfred, La Religion des Tupinambas (1928), p. 7: "Pour les Tupinambas, comme pour la plupart des tribus américaines, certaines personnalités dotées d'une puissance exceptionnelle à cette fin commune des magiciens ont été les artisans du monde tel qu'il se présente à leurs yeux, mais ils en ont été souvent aussi les ordonnateurs après les transformations. Je veux dire par là que, soucieux d'abord de leur confort, les auteurs, et le plus leur nombre est important, partielle et incomplète, ne s'achevant que postérieurement à la venue d'hommes divins."

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



Te 177 648 [731] [164] Te Ta 177 Ta Te [171] by Beato Maciel Parente in 1616 made war upon the Tenetehara. Epidemics, which raged in the early 17th century among the Indian populations of northeast Brazil, certainly reached the Tenetehara. From time to time smallpox, measles, and other diseases have taken a heavy toll among these Indians. The impact of the dominant culture upon the Tenetehara was more intense than it has been upon the Tapirapé. In addition to differences in the nature of the contact continuum, factors inherent in the society and the culture of the two tribes were responsible for the reaction of these societies to Luso-Brazilian contact and for the population trends which followed. Since the Tenetehara and the Tapirapé have historically related cultures sharing many patterns and institutions common to most Tupi speaking tribes, a comparison of the two societies and cultures should allow us to determine the variables responsible for their contrasting reactions.

Te Ta 22 [241] [361] The subsistence methods of the tribes were in aboriginal times basically similar. Both were tropical forest horticulturists depending upon hunting, fishing, and forest fruits to supplement their diet. For fishing, the Tenetehara had an advantage since their villages were normally situated near rivers and streams while the Tapirapé villages were located inland many kilometers from the river. In hunting, the Tapirapé had the advantage of nearby open plains country where hunting was more productive than in the tropical forest. Neither tribe had a land problem: the nearest village of the Karajá, who were Tapirapé neighbors, was at least two hundred kilometers away and the Timbira neighbors of the Tenetehara were savanna people offering no competition for forest land. Both tribes during aboriginal times had sufficient territory to move their villages every five or six years when suitable garden sites near their villages had been used up by the slash-and-burn system of horticulture. The two tribes inhabited similar physical environments and they had approximately the same technological equipment to cope with it. Their technology and their subsistence methods must have limited the maximum population of any one village and there are indications that approximately two hundred people was the average village size for both groups. On the other hand, a lack of territory evidently did not enforce a limitation on the number of villages for the tribe. Yet while the Tapirapé tell of only five villages in aboriginal times many times that number are reported by early observers for the Tenetehara. Although specific data is not available, it seems that in aboriginal times Tapirapé population was relatively small and stable while the Tenetehara population was at least twice as large and probably expanding.

Te 311 361 [166] [241] Te Ta [162] [621] Te Ta 161

This difference in population level between the two tribes in aboriginal times was related to the population policies held by the two groups as well as to differences in social structure of the groups concerned. These cultural values relating to population level are explicit in attitudes toward family size and in positive actions to limit families. Among the Tenetehara infanticide is indicated only in the case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused

Te Ta 168 847 Te [842] [845] 847

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



## CULTURE

### SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

[137] The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive 133 152 rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

241 [394] **Farming.**—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, cará (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

[221] Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also 241 it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work 616 festival (apučiré). When communally prepared, the large clearings are 776 afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, gener- [423] ally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apučiré, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaó) at the end 241 of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as [362] the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, cará, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout [422] the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clear- [361] ings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

262 Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is 252 the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupí* groups, however, the

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



those for group singing during the harvest ceremonies and the ceremony 533
of kawi (p. 176); those for the masked dancers during the dry season; and a very large number of songs specifically for the "Big Sing" (manikahi) during the latter part of the rainy season. During this period (approximately March through April), singing takes place throughout each night from sundown to sunrise. On these occasions, [66]
the singing leader and the men of one of the moieties introduce the verse of each song and the refrain is then taken up by the men of the other moiety and the women of the tribe. Women sing in a higher key than the men and, generally, a phrase behind the men. The songs of the masked dancers, each representing a supernatural being, differ stylistically from those used on other occasions in being sung in a falsetto tone, in a manner [178]
similar to that of the neighboring *Carajá*. Many such songs have been [177]
admittedly learned from the *Carajá*.

**Dancing.**—Both men and women dance as they sing. In general, the 535
*Tapirapé* dance bending slightly forward, stamping out the time of the music with one foot. Dancing differs greatly, however, according to the occasion. During the harvest ceremonies, men dance in a line, side by [241]
side, each man's wife dancing directly behind him. During the group singing of the "Big Sing," the men dance in moiety groups facing each other, and women dance behind the moiety group of their husbands. On one occasion during this time, men dance with women, side by side, with a curious skipping step.

**Games.**—Men's moieties run foot races against each other after the 526
communal work festival (p. 168); they race in a straight line across the village plaza. Wrestling takes place at one wet-season ceremony, and, now and again, throughout the year as sport. The *Tapirapé* explain, [171]
however, that the *Carajá* are better wrestlers and that it is more properly a *Carajá* sport. In wrestling, opponents stand face to face, grasping each other about the neck, and attempt to force or to trip the other to the ground. During one festival, men, one from each moiety at a time, compete by throwing blunt-headed spears at each other. Gambling games [525]
are unknown.

**Stimulants.**—Native tobacco, though used for leisure-time smoking, is 276
principally a stimulant and medicine. A *Tapirapé* will not travel without 755
a supply of tobacco to blow smoke over his tired body at the end of the day, in order to take out soreness and tiredness. Tobacco is necessary to shamans in all their activities. They blow tobacco smoke over the patient in curing (p. 177), and, to induce dreams and a trance, they swallow large gulps of smoke until they become intoxicated and nauseated. When people have seen ghosts, shamans fumigate them with tobacco [751]
smoke, in order to drive away the ghost's influence. Shamans fumigate 276
new maize, the first honey of the season and, sometimes, fresh meat to 756
drive out possible supernatural danger. This native tobacco is smoked [789]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

## RELIGION

*Tapirapé* religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, anhanga (spirit or shadow).

The anhanga likewise, human spirits or ghosts (ahã or anhanga among the *Tapiramhe*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called anhanga, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Waré, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many anhanga, among whom were the awakó anhá, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mumpiankó were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, *bottom, right*).

**Rites.**—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (anhanga) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest ceremonial (kaô) and the ceremony of kawi (a soupilke beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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are called upon to fight Thunder. This, the important *Tapirapé* ceremony, lasts for 4 days, and is the high point of shamanistic activity.

Karawara, the Thunder, lives on distant Muriawá surrounded by the souls of dead shamans and by the tupã (probably equivalent to the *Tupinamba* word, "tupan"), small anthropomorphic beings whose bodies are covered with white hair.

The tupã travel through space in their canoes (half gourds), the sound of which produces the noise of the storm. The arrows which the tupã shoot cause lightning. During the ceremony, the shamans, completely intoxicated by the tobacco and stimulated by the unceasing dancing and singing, fall into a trance (pl. 19, *top, right*) during which they travel to Thunder's house in order to fight him. Thunder sets the tupã against the shamans, who, wounded by the arrows of "Thunder's creatures," fall into unconsciousness.

### SHAMANISM

The *Tapirapé* can visualize the supernatural world through the reports of the dreams of their shamans, whose power grows in proportion to their ability to dream. A dream is a voyage, during which the soul frees itself of the body and travels through space. In these dreams the shamans travel to regions which are entirely unknown to the living, and in general are inhabited by spirits. With their powers, the shamans succeed in taming some of the spirits, who then become their familiar spirits. The power and prestige of the shaman (pané) depend on the number of his familiar spirits.

The *Tapirapé* speak of battles between shamans wherein each calls out his familiar spirits against the other while dreaming. More often, a shaman sets his familiar spirits upon laymen and kills them. A shaman may also kill his victim during a dream by throwing a malignant object, usually a piece of bone or a worm, into his body.

The victims of sorcery appeal to friendly shamans, who attempt to cure them by extracting the malignant object by suction, massage, and blowing tobacco. When many deaths occur simultaneously and the *Tapirapé* suspect a certain shaman of having caused them, they do not hesitate to kill him. One man recalled that during his lifetime 10 shamans suspected of sorcery had been killed. He himself had killed a shaman whom he suspected of having killed his brother. In spite of the constant suspicion surrounding them, the shamans do not employ mechanical techniques or sympathetic magic in sorcery.

The shamans make great use of tobacco, which is essential for healing and dreaming. They smoke it in large tubular clay pipes. Cures usually take place at dusk. The shaman squats by the patient's hammock and smokes for a long time, becoming intoxicated and blowing the smoke from the pipe over the patient's body. He then massages the patient,

away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," the older men who were the heads of the six large hayrpile-like houses arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the personal names—such as Opruanui, Wanaanamu, Kamanare, Mariapawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let alone pronounce.

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the widespread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poisonous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm-thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversations that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

262 the mangaba [Tr., fruit of the mangabeira] is "the best wild fruit"
824 in the Paresi Range and in many other localities of Mato Grosso and the northeastern part of Brazil.

The palm tree called pinana by the Tapirapé and macaba by my north-Brazilian camarada, with a nut, slightly larger than a cherry, that ripens in October or November. This nut is boiled
[252] until the flesh is softened and then rubbed on a strainer lying in a pot, so that the flesh is worked loose from the pit and falls into the pot where it is boiled in water. The end result is reminiscent of walnuts in flavor and is refreshing.

[114:195] The small nut of another tree, the tucuma palm or tucum-açu (Astrocaryum spec., chawana in Tapirapé) is prized for its oil content and is gathered in October.

The Tapirapé like to eat a kind of mushroom they call yulipé.

These Indians cultivate several other plants aside from those
343 mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Maize (Zea mays L.,
252 avandxí in Tapirapé) is harvested while still green, hung inside
262 the house to yellow, and then crushed and used to make porridge
824 or cauí. Its Tapirapé name corresponds to abati in Staden (c 2), auati in Léry (120), ubatim in Soares de Sousa (199), auatí in Studart (384), and abatí in Montoya (2, I, 357 and II, 10). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The seeds of peanuts (Arachis spec., monovi in Tapirapé) are
244 pounded and then added to certain mushes, or else roasted, pounded,
252 and eaten in this way, or roasted and eaten without being subjected
262 to the pestle, or chewed and spit into the pot to ferment and turn
824 into cauí. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195, p. 196, and the first paragraph on p. 197 are omitted.]

262 [114:197] In the previous chapter, we mentioned that the
824 Tapirapé women participate in sowing and harvesting only peanuts,
[462] maize, and cotton. The observation by the sixteenth century
[241] Portuguese author [Gabriel Soares de Sousa] that peanuts are "very hot when eaten excessively," and harmful in certain cases, seems to agree with the idea expressed by the Tapirapé custom that re-
[251] quires father and mother to abstain from this food during their child's first two years so as not to endanger his life.

137 The peanuts I saw in large quantities among the Tapirapé seem
17 to be a variety of Arachis nambyquarae. This species was found
244 by Kuhlmann in 1919 among the Nambikuara [Nambicuara] of

241 476 cut down the biggest one. Throughout this work, they only used axes with rather long handles (Photos. 56 and 61). Each man hit the trunks at the level most convenient to him, so that the stumps varied in height from 30 to 90 centimeters. After extreme exertion for a while, each man would rest until he felt like resuming his task. They were all quite diligent. And as I watched these men, most of them [113:195] endowed with the physique of our adolescents, conquer piece after piece of the huge forest around them, I saw none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness or tediousness that characterizes so much of the collective work among us. [461] Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side, as though they were performing a very amusing game.

Since the time when the trees are felled is the driest of the 221 year, the leaves and branches of the toppled trees wither more 241 rapidly and become easily combustible. The Tapirapé set fire to them and then do their planting between the felled and nearly carbonized trees as soon as the rains come to nurture the vegetation. Thus, the chief time for planting falls in November and December, but in certain areas of higher humidity it comes as early as October.

To plant yams, carí [Tr., another kind of yam], and manioc, 244 the Indians use the hoe to dig a funnel-shaped hole, from one to [412] one and a half meters in diameter and depth at the center, in which they pile up the earth in the shape of a cone. They slip into this cone four or five yam protuberances or an equal number of carí knobs, that is to say, fragments or "eyes" of the respective tubers, or four or five manioc shoots. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195 and the first two lines of p. 196 are omitted.]

[412] [113:196] The dibble is used by the Tapirapé to plant maize, 241 peanuts, and cotton in straight lines that ride over the fallen trunks and other irregularities in the terrain and lie about four meters apart. In planting cotton, around December, they place several seeds in each hole and keep the holes about two meters apart; the distance is smaller when planting maize or peanuts. Weeding also begins in December. Maize, peanuts, and cotton are harvested from June to August. Manioc and bananas are gathered throughout the year. Bananas and maize are gathered when still green and hung under the house roof to ripen, for there are many forest animals interested in eating them. The plots,

262 824 the mangaba [Tr., fruit of the mangabeira] is "the best wild fruit" in the Parecis Range and in many other localities of Mato Grosso and the northeastern part of Brazil.

The palm tree called pinana by the Tapirapé and macaba by my north-Brazilian camarada, with a nut, slightly larger than a cherry, that ripens in October or November. This nut is boiled [252] until the flesh is softened and then rubbed on a strainer lying in a pot, so that the flesh is worked loose from the pit and falls into the pot where it is boiled in water. The end result is reminiscent of walnuts in flavor and is refreshing.

[114:196] The small nut of another tree, the tucuma palm or tucum-açu (Astrocaryum spec., chavana in Tapirapé) is prized for its oil content and is gathered in October.

The Tapirapé like to eat a kind of mushroom they call yêpé.

These Indians cultivate several other plants aside from those 243 mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Maize (Zea mays L., 252 avandxí in Tapirapé) is harvested while still green, hung inside 262 the house to yellow, and then crushed and used to make porridge 824 or cauí. Its Tapirapé name corresponds to abati in Staden (c 2), aiati in Léry (120), ubatim in Soares de Sousa (199), auatí in Stradelli (384), and abatí in Montoya (2, 1, 357 and II, 10). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

244 The seeds of peanuts (Arachis spec., monoví in Tapirapé) are 252 pounded and then added to certain mushes, or else roasted, pounded, 262 and eaten in this way, or roasted and eaten without being subjected 824 to the pestle, or chewed and spit into the pot to ferment and turn into cauí. [Ed., the remainder of p. 196, p. 196, and the first paragraph on p. 197 are omitted.]

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137 17 244 The peanuts I saw in large quantities among the Tapirapé seem to be a variety of Arachis nambyquarae. This species was found by Kuhlmann in 1919 among the Nambikuara [Nambicuara] of

[87] Primeira Bueno in the state of Mato Grosso and described by Hoehne
171 (1, 21-22 and Table 190; 3). Like it, the Tapirapé mamoré differs
244 from the "common peanut" (Arachis hypogaea) in its size, which
is much larger, for its pod may reach seven centimeters in length
and its seeds two or three centimeters. According to Hoehne (1,
22), each specimen of Arachis nambyquarae may yield from 50 to
100 pods. Owing to its oil content and abundance, the peanut is
262 of some importance in the Tapirapé diet and also was one of my
favorite foods during my stay in Tampiitéua. Krause (2, 241-242,
268-269, and 287) does not mention this plant among the Karajá,
Javahé, and Kayapó. A legend I heard in July, 1947, at the
Karajá village of Santa Isabel, however, states that a civilizing
hero of that tribe, the evening star, taught them to plant peanuts
among other things.

Less important than peanuts to the Tapirapé were the large
244 flat beans [Tr., lima beans], slightly larger than those of Europe.
262 Only a few individuals cultivated them, planting them in small
824 quantities.* Their Tapirapé name, kumanã, corresponds to comanã
in Soares de Souza (200) and cumanã in Montoya (2, II, 105v) and
Stradelli (427). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] The large Tapirapé
bean seems to be a variety of [114:195] Phaseolus lunatus L. and
thus to belong to the same species as the beans mentioned by
Anchieta (Hoehne 2, 107), Thevet (ibid., 122), and Soares de
[252] Souza (ibid., 211-213). In Tampiitéua, it is boiled in small
earthenware pots. Then its green skin is removed. Underneath this
skin, the bean is white. I ate it with great pleasure.

Smaller than these beans are the round yellow fruits of a
leguminous shrub cultivated by the Tapirapé and called kumanã-
ryyraã, "bean-shrub." The neo-Brazilians plant this shrub on
Morro da Areia [Tr., a high outcrop hill on the Araguaia River]
and other places in the region and give it the name anduzeiro. This
name might lead us to assume that the plant belongs to the Cytisus
cajanus Lin. species.

262 The Tapirapé use the fruits of certain Cucurbitaceae as recep-
824 tacles after removing the flesh, and they use those of another variety
252 in the same family to prepare a highly prized dish with the juice.
[485] This juice is heated, and as it begins to boil it is mixed in with
pounded raw maize; the boiling mixture is stirred for ten minutes
until it thickens. Sometimes they add crushed peanuts. In this

361 lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the vil-
lage square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstruc-
[372] tions. The trunks served as seats and, bit by bit, as firewood.
They lay in such numbers over the vast area stretching between
the houses and the edge of the forest, and were so entangled and
[114] entwined by their branches, that the imaginative Madame de
[712] la Falaise (198), who visited Tampitanas on August 22, 1935, that
is to say, shortly after my departure, went to far as to write the
following: "We proceeded toward the village, where the tribe,
for fear of armed aggression, has fortified the surroundings. The
felled, tangled trees, the traps and ingenious obstacles, are dis-
couraging. The boldest aggressor would break his neck long be-
fore he got the better of them" [translated from French].

361 In this respect, however, I must confess that the only serious
712 obstacles I encountered daily on crossing the area in question were
114 the products of the tribal digestive processes, for the supposed
[514] fortification held no role other than that of a huge toilet. [110:
192] I do not wish to determine whether such obstacles may be
termed "ingenious," but I wish to emphasize that they did not
discourage me. The truth is that the Tapirapé do not fortify their
[171] village in any way, and differ in this respect from the Tupinambá,
who surrounded their villages (Jean Parmentier apud J.F. de
Almeida Prado, 180; Hans Staden, p. 3; Gabriel Soares de Sousa,
360). The "traps and ingenious obstacles" mentioned above exist
only in the imagination of the author. Even the act of placing
[721] sentries, a precaution referred to in Chapter 5, is strikingly incon-
sistent with the natural bent of the Tapirapé.

361 Toward the east a stream meandered, a few paces from the
[372] village. Its clear, fresh waters ran free of the thick forest for only
515 a short stretch, which was used at the same time as bathroom and
[226] drinking fountain, and as a spot for fishing and for washing the
[447] sleeping hammocks. A well-beaten path led from it to the vil-
lage plaza, skirting a plot of sugar cane to the left. According to
● 219 what Reverend Kegel told me, this plot resulted from collective
476 labor performed for Kamaiurahó. The latter had ruled on the site
of the plot and concurrently on that of the village, which had been
built later beside the communally prepared garden. It was, so to
speak, a luxury plot, for it contained nothing but the sweet grass

257 that the Indians suck. It was, incidentally, the only cultivated
176 plot within the clearing where Tampiitaua stood.

The center of Tampiitaua was the takana, the large men's
361 house. Eight communal huts were grouped around it, with their
342 entrances set in such a way that it was impossible to look from the
345 inside of one hut into that of another (cf. Fig. 8, in which the chief entrances are represented with black rectangles and the secondary ones with blank rectangles). The village plaza stretched between the front of the takana and the semicircle formed by the houses on the east side of the settlement, and it was the setting for dances, singing, games, races, speeches, and banquets.

The "village of the tapir," however, had not always stood
361 in the clearing where I found it, nor did it remain there after my
166 departure (cf. Ch. 5). At certain times, the Tapirapé move far away. At regular intervals varying from two to five years, however, they move the village to a spot only one or a few leagues away. When they abandoned the village located on the banks of the lower Tapirapé, the distance they covered was considerable, that is to say, probably a few dozen kilometers. Long distances
[621] were also covered at various times when villages split up or joined
[578] together, as a result, in the former case, of internal dimensions, and in the latter case of dwindling population [Fig. 8 appears here] [110:193] or lack of shamans. The chief causes for the smaller,
196 habitual moves are the plagues of cockroaches and the number of
166 graves within the huts. The unchecked proliferation of Blattella
361 germanica L. compels the Indians to abandon and burn down all their houses every few years. The recurrence of this event is ensured by the carelessness of the Indians, for after the village has been destroyed the household goods carried to the new site are never sufficiently free from cockroaches to prevent them from
[764] soon swarming all over the dwellings. When epidemics cause the
[731] floors of the huts to fill rapidly with graves, this manner of burial may entail the erection of a new village within an even shorter period of time.

Not only does the settlement change as to site, however, but
361 it also changes in size. I have already mentioned in Chapter 5 the data furnished by Reverend Kegel, according to which
[342] Tampiitaua consisted of about 14 houses in August, 1932. The

[Text continues on p. 79]

252 262 424 case, the addition is made before the juice begins to boil. The fruit that supplies this juice reaches 35 centimeters in length, 30 in circumference, and has a thick, hard shell. In Tapirapé name is horuanchoa, choa (or chova) referring to the color yellow. The neo-Brazilians in the area know this fruit by the name cruá which, according to the Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa, 5th edition, is synonymous with cruá, cruaú, and melão-caboclo (Sicana odorifera Naud.) [Tr., the canabanana]. In Stradelli's Nheengatú vocabulary (430), cuúna is "a kind of squash covered with protuberances." [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

249 263 114 [177] [171] Kamaiabá's small sugar-cane plantation lay close to Tampiitíua in 1935. No other member of the tribe owned a plantation of Saccharum officinarum L., and in 1947 I did not see any. The sugar cane was used exclusively for sucking and was a recent import. Krause (2, 242) refutes Ehrenreich's statement that the Karajá planted sugar cane on sandbars, and says that what he saw was manioc and maize. He writes in reference to those Indians: "... I saw no sugar cane. If they had possessed it, they probably would not have been so eager for my sugar... " This conclusion is wrong. The fact that they sucked on sugar cane never kept the Tapirapé from asking for my rapadura [Tr., raw brown sugar in lumps].

These Indians make beiju (meijú or mãjú in their language), 252 262 sometimes with the tapioca extracted from manioc mash, as already mentioned, [114:199] and at other times with peanut or maize flour. According to Ayrosa (1, 54), the word "mbeiú or mbeyú of the Tupi-Guarani" is "equivalent to 'coil,' 'roll,' 'fold,' etc." The same author (ibid., 51-54) lists several varieties of this cake, which has been described by various authors. The Tapirapé beijú is similar in shape to the so-called beiju-açú, which is a large, thin disk roasted in a shallow earthen pan. It is not everyday food. During my stays in Tampiitíua, I saw it only once. This was on June 29, 1935, at the time of a festival of "masks." They placed a large pan full of these disks of manioc-mash tapioca, made by Anampí, the wife of Tanupanchoa, in the middle of the takana. This important man offered it to several of the people 171 present and apportioned it himself. I, too, got my share and liked 252 it. Hans Staden (q 2) mentions similar Tupinambá cakes made in the 262 same fashion with the same material and writes their name as byyw. 192

92 Tampitaua could teach a lesson to the "civilized" frontiersmen, whom I never observed to use any filtering process in any of the Brazilian states I visited, but who merely drew water from river, pond, or swamp. It is true that when they have fresh, clear water available from small streams such as the one that flowed by the 1935 village, the Tapirapé omit the filtering. They seldom keep water longer than a few hours, and they leave it in gourds, usually small, that they also use as a rule to fetch the water.

276 The only narcotic used by the Tapirapé is tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum L.). They call it petyma. The small species they smoke grows in the forest without being cultivated. Only exceptionally
[24] do they transplant a few specimens close to their gardens. They dry the leaves of this Solanaceae in the sun, and then store them in
[115] the large braided cylinders (orokoroa) that are worn on the head in certain masked dances. They do not allow the tobacco to ferment. Before putting it into the pipe, they crumble the leaves by rubbing them between their hands.

In 1935 they had two kinds of pipe (petyaua), that is, clay pipes, and pipes made of the fruit of the jequitibá [Tr., any tree of the Cariniana genus]. In 1947, the clay pipes had vanished. The
171 Karajá and Kayapó also use pipes made of the fruit of the jequitibá
276 (Krause II, 280 and 380). These two tribes and the Tapirapé do not chew tobacco and do not take snuff, nor do they smoke cigars or cigarettes like the numerous Tupi tribes mentioned by Métraux (II, 116), among them the Tupinambá, Aweté, and Yuruna, and to which we may add the Kamayurá (cf. Meyer I, 61). This how, ever, does not mean that my Tampitaua friends did not pounce avidly on the butt of every cigarette I threw upon the ground, and smoke it until they burned their mouth and fingers. The Karajá are also crazy about smoking, and koty', that is, tobacco, is what they ask for most often from the traveler. While among them both women and men smoke the pipe, [122:172] only the men smoke among the Tapirapé. Speaking of the Tupinambá, Léry (190) states that he did not see the women use "Petun smoke."

The Tapirapé transfer the smoke from mouth to stomach, and then expel it noisily in a rapid sequence of belches. I did not see them expel it through the nostrils, as reported by Léry (190) and

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other tribes. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and villages to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

## RELIGION

*Tapirapé* religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, anhanga (spirit or shadow).

The anhanga likewise, human spirits or ghosts (ala or anhanga among the *Tapiramde*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called anhanga, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Waré, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many anhanga, among whom were the awaká anká, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mumpiankú were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, *bottom, right*).

**Rites.**—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (anhanga) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest ceremonial (kaó) and the ceremony of kawi (a soupline beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans

342 In simpler structures, such as house g (Photos. 64 and 67 to the right) and the summer dwellings (Photo. 7), there is no framework of rods, and because of this the leaves covering [110:196] the lower part of the shelter lean obliquely against the outer longitudinal poles with their stems resting directly upon the ground. The smaller sides are open in house g and only slightly covered [221] in the summer dwelling shown in Photograph 7. Structures of the latter type are erected in the fields and in neighboring wooded [226] areas when the dry season and its fishing opportunities lure the Indians into leaving their village and moving closer to the river in August, September, and October. The fact that the roofing of these temporary dwellings is not as good as that of permanent houses is understandable, since they are used as a protection against dew and sunlight rather than against rain properly speaking. The remnants of summer dwellings that I found along the trail leading from the river to the village consisted merely of a framework of poles lacking the finer latticework of sticks, and their covering was completely gone.

It is worth noting the existence of a sort of porch which took up entirely one of the smaller sides of house a and which was two and a half meters wide (Fig. 9). It was thatched only on its upper part, down to the longitudinal poles, and it was used by the men and women who wanted to be in the open air while lying in their hammocks or performing household tasks, but who wished to be sheltered from the sun (Photo. 48).

The house entrances are about the width of an adult person (Photos. 59 and 67), and they are bounded on top by the longitudinal pole, 1.60 meters from the ground. To my knowledge, they are never closed up.

[955] Reverend Kegel told me that during the rainy season the Tapirapé raise an earth bank around each house to prevent the waters from seeping in.

Beside the houses there stand wooden frameworks, triangular 417 or quadrangular according to the number of their legs, where 251 manioc, peppers, and other fruits are laid out to dry and bananas are left to warm up in the sun.

345 The takana deserves special mention, not only because of its function as the men's house but also because of its appearance

352 415 [251] bananas ripe for eating. The storeroom proper begins there and extends to the upper crossbeams, from which hang large quantities of bananas. Similar strips [of bark] tied to the roof just within the reach of a standing adult support small baskets, gourds, and small bags whose contents (usually manioc flour), like all foodstuffs, must be protected from the voracity of cockroaches and [342] [344] dogs. The floor of the house is of light grey, beaten earth. Low, oblong mounds mark the graves. The smoke that always fills the 354 house gives the inner side of the entire thatch cover a shiny black

[345]

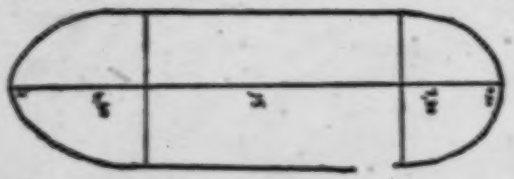

Fig. 11. Plan of the takana.

hue. The half-light maintained through the night by the fires burning beside the hammocks becomes a little brighter when daylight filters in through the slits in the lower part of the walls and through the doors.

Here is a nocturnal scene in house a.

512 [231] [136] The chickens roosting upon the roof keep moving unceasingly, and from all sides comes the rustling of myriads of scuttling roaches.

[345]

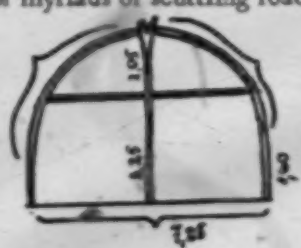

Fig. 12. Cross-section of the takana.

The swinging of hammocks makes the crossbeams creak. The [516] smoke from the fires is not sufficient to protect the naked bodies from mosquitoes, and because of this, the Tapirapé swings his hammock, pushing his hand or foot against a rope stretched at his side or hanging one leg outside the hammock and pushing with it against the floor. He swings in this fashion until he goes to sleep.

512 Hens and their chicks walk about the floor through the night eating cockroaches, and so do chickens who from infancy are used to the role of nocturnal birds around the fires. From time to time, a dog [231] walks leisurely about, patiently investigating the gastronomic possibilities. The large jars of cauí are closed tight, however, [251] and all other foods are hung out of reach. The dog yawns, urinates from habit against a beam, and lies down again near the fire. Sometimes one of the fires flares up, illuminating brightly the whole house, everything that is moving about, and everything that is making a sound. As far as noises are concerned, it must be said that the human beings do not show any constraint either, and this becomes more apparent as the talk dies down. As a rule, two or three hours after sundown, everyone has stopped talking. It is true that those who turn in later, around midnight perhaps, after dancing outside or becoming cold while sleeping in the takana, speak up freely so that some people awaken and the talk is resumed for a moment. I remain lying for a long time, unable to go to sleep. It is impossible to put up a mosquito net because of the smoke, which would come in [110:199] and accumulate, unable to escape. Then, too, there is not enough space in the house to stretch out this strange object. So I pull the woolen blanket over my head, and when I am on the point of suffocation and bathed in sweat, I surrender once more to the mosquitoes (Anopheles brand) and to the smoke. This is repeated I know not how many times. The cockroaches that visit me have already ceased to arouse any reaction on my part. Sometimes, however, the shirt I have folded up to serve as a pillow falls onto the grave where, separated vertically from me by a meter and a half of air and earth, lies the corpse of one of the occupants of the house. After I have picked it up, I shake it to remove the dust, trying not to think of the human spittle, the dog urine, and the chicken excrement, and set it again under my head. While I do this, I must be careful not to knock down the revolver and flashlight that I keep in my hammock to defend Tampiitaua against nocturnal Kayapó attacks. All of a sudden, a [155] roar echoes very close to my ear. My hammock neighbors, the two sorcerers--medicine men, Kamairahó and Urukumy, are commonly consulted during the night, and the fierce retching and other sounds associated with vomiting are part of their therapy. My hammock is

123 437 [chief's] arrow." This "mercantilism" even operated in the area of "spiritual" (or "non-material") culture, for just as they had bartered dances and songs with the Karajá, they also demanded songs from me in exchange for theirs, and I had to teach them a song from my childhood, in which the fox is accused of having [533] stolen the goose ("Fuchs, du hast die Gans gestohlen") to learn from them a children's ballad dealing with a mouse.

When the Tapirapé bartered among themselves, I observed considerable haggling. [Ed., end of Vol. 113.]

## Chapter 9

### [114:185] The Diet

262 824 The last chapter referred to the importance of plants in the Tapirapé diet. First and foremost, there is manioc. Aside from fish, it is the only food mentioned in these Indians' description of [772] the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven lying above our visible one. The inhabitants of Tampiitáua call the roots of that Euphorbiacea by the generic name mandiaga. Ayrosa (4, 112) questions the Tupi origin of the word mandioca [manioc].

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have both "wild manioc" [171] (Manihot utilissima Pohl) and "sweet manioc" (Manihot dulcis Pax.). They distinguish five varieties of the Manihot genus, while the number of varieties known to the ancient Tupi was even greater (cf. Soares de Sousa 187; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXVIII; Métraux 2, 65).

171 252 Like those Indians, the Tapirapé have two basic ways of preparing the manioc roots for consumption: (1) by placing them for a few days in water until they become soft, turning them into what they call mandiyvungna and what is called puba [manioc mash] by the neo-Brazilians; (2) by grating them without putting them through the water treatment [114:186] (cf. Staden q 2; Soares de Sousa 189 and 191; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXIX; Claude d'Abbeville 304-305). Some of the varieties are prepared in either way, and others are prepared only in one way. The roots softened [251] in water are dried in the sun and pounded in the mortar, and the mashed substance is used in the manufacture of beiju [flat cakes] and cauí [a soup].

252 In the Tapirapé barbecues, the height at which the grille is fastened varies with its different functions. It is placed low to [251] roast meat or fish, and higher to dry it.

171 The pot is held by three stones laid around the fire, as I also noted among the Karajá and as Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 48) ob- 252 served among the Taulipáng of the Rio Branco basin. What Karl [354] von den Steinen (2, 215) said of the Xingu Indians, that: "The men roasted [meat], but never boiled it," may be said also of the Tapirapé and of numerous other South American tribes (cf. Baldus 7, 142 and Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 91, 335, 351). Speaking of the Karajá, Krause (2, 253) amends this rule with the fact that "the men also know how to boil [meat]," as they show on trips whenever necessary. This cannot be said of the Tapirapé. They do [481] not carry pots on their journeys since they go on foot, while those Indians travel by canoe and therefore can take along with them heavy and breakable cooking utensils. Aside from this, the 252 division of labor is so strict among the sexes that the Tapirapé man, 462 if for some reason he does not have a wife, misses her simply from the fact that he cannot eat stew unless he is willing to take it from other families. On the other hand, the roasting of large animals is usually done by the men. It is only when game is killed close to the village that in some cases the women barbecue it. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

124 With the aim of setting up a Tapirapé zoological vocabulary, and also of finding out which animals were eaten by the inhabitants of Tampiitáua or by certain groups among them, I repeatedly showed to numerous persons of different ages and sex the figures in Rodolpho von Ihering s book entitled Da vida dos nossos animais. Fauna do Brasil [The Habits of Our Animals. Brazilian Fauna] (Rotermund & Co., São Leopoldo, 1934). This gave them much pleasure, and I recommend this method to Indianists as a way of establishing rapport. It also makes rather strict controls possible, since each animal is identified by several if not by numerous experts, and its name is pronounced several times by many individuals. Of course, a single look is not always sufficient for the Indian to recognize the animal represented. It is often necessary to [117:93] add comments about its size, color, motions, cry, and habits. Concerning certain insects, for example, the size of the

/409 cont./

252 [412] were lashed together with bast. They were obviously cut to size with stone axes, whereas thinner branches showed sharp knife cuts. Thus, iron knives have made their appearance here as a result of the carrying trade, even before a white man has seen the people themselves.

251 482 The roasted booty is apparently taken along by the Indians

252 ←

411 →

Ill. 269 a-c. Grills from the large roasting place of the Tapirapé.

Ill. 270 a, b. Arrows.

251 482 on their further expeditions to other water places. For this purpose they use transport back-baskets as well as smaller carrying bags, of which I brought along a selection from the specimens lying about at the roasting places.

171 411 531 These Indians, like the Karajá (ibid.) and Kayapó (ibid., 393) decorate the shaft section between the two cotton bindings with one or more rings of red resin (totayga, chotahypyrynga). In the Tupi tribe, the width of these rings varies from one to eight centimeters. The raw material is cooked in a pot with water by the [462] woman, since, according to the Tapirapé behavior pattern, all [252] cooking in pots is female work, while roasting falls to the men. The cotton thread is also made by the woman. Otherwise, the arrow, like other weapons and their component parts, is made by [422] the man, and usually the owner of the weapon was also its maker.

Thevet (1, 291) writes as follows of a tree called "Vhebehasou" 171 which is extremely tall, with leaves similar to those of a cabbage 314 and fruits over a foot long which never ripen because they are soon eaten up by wild bees: "In addition, it bears a red gum, suitable to many different ends, which they handle skillfully" [translated from French]. Could it be that the Indians visited by Thevet, that is to say, the Tupinambá of the sixteenth century, used the above-mentioned "red gum" for the same end as the Tapirapé use totayaga?

227 411 The barbed arrow is better suited to the pursuit of large fish than any other, since the barb, by fastening the weapon to the animal's body, not only prevents it from escaping and weakens and kills it, as also happens with mammals, but also facilitates the removal of the fish from the water. The conditions are different, however, when small fish are shot in shallow waters where the arrowpoint easily penetrates into the sand. In such cases the Tapirapé use a small bow (vuirampampí) and special arrows, 60 to 70 centimeters long, with simple rounded wooden points, ten to 20 centimeters long, which are inserted directly into the cane shaft. In harmony with the overall size of these arrows, parrot [237] feathers are used at the tip instead of the plumage of macaws and other large birds used on barbed arrows. In other respects, however, these two types of arrows are identical from the tip of the cane shaft, which is bound with a strip of philodendron bark, to the other tip where the bow cord rests upon the notch, and all the details of the feathered section are exactly the same. As far as the point is concerned, however, it is worth noting that sometimes the small arrows have up to three of those simple, rounded, wooden points instead of just one (see Photo. 30). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

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171 and cauí [a soup]. The fresh, grated manioc, after being dried
252 in the sun, put through the sifter, and roasted in a clay pot, yields the flour that goes into the making of certain dishes and that accompanies others by being tossed straight into the mouth with the hand. The Tupinambá had these three ways of consuming manioc, that is to say, the cake, the more or less fermented liquid varying in consistency between a porridge and a soup, and the flour which is added to other foods either in the pot or in the mouth (cf. Soares de Sousa 189 and 196; Simão de Vasconcellos, pp. LXXXV, CXXIX, and CXXX; and others).

Like the Tapirapé and many other tribes, those ancient inhabitants of the coast grated or pounded the manioc roots, dried them in the sun, ran the particles through a sifter, and roasted them in pots over the fire. The only notable difference in the procedures used in making the tubers edible was in the manner of wringing the grated mass of "wild manioc" to extract its poisonous juice. While Hans Staden (q 2) found the tipiti among the Tupinambá of the capitania [Tr., province] of São Vicente, and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (189) found it among the Tupinambá of Bahia, this press of braided palm leaves shaped like a tube or bag (cf. Baldus and Willems 219-220) was not mentioned by the French authors who visited Indians of the same name in other parts of Brazil in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (cf. Métraux 2, 104). Claude d'Abbeville (304) says specifically of the Tupinambá of Maranhão that "they take all the gratings from these roots and squeeze them with their hands..." [translated from French]. The
[174] use of the same procedure and the absence of tipiti among the Tapirapé are, therefore, corroborative of the assumption that these Indians came from Maranhão. [Ed., the remainder of p. 186, p. 187, and the first paragraph of p. 188 are omitted.]

[114:188] One variety of "sweet manioc" cultivated by the
262 Tapirapé, called vuaykyra, reaches more than 30 centimeters in
824 circumference and more than half a meter in length. I ate it frequently and with pleasure, boiled or roasted in the embers.

Other tubers that I tried among the Tapirapé, roasted in the
[252] same manner, were from the following plants: (1) a variety of sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas Lam., chetyka in Tapirapé), orange-colored inside and almost like pumpkin in taste; (2) purple cará (Dioscorea spec., urukú-ampaá in Tapirapé), purple inside, shaped

262 "long banana." It is probably a variety of the banana da terra
824 (Musa paradisiaca L., normalis subspec.). During my first stay with the Tapirapé, they ate it every day in large quantities. I, too, never tired of devouring the huge and extremely tasty fruits, with the result that my body acquired the same proportions as those of a horse that feeds on grass alone for months at a stretch.
●252 The [114:190] Tapirapé gather these bananas when green and hang them inside the house until they become yellow and ripe. Then they expose them to the sun until they are black outside and turning brownish inside. To achieve this, they place them on wooden frameworks that are erected at the place where the bananas grew, or at some other place regarded as adequate. The Karajá,
[171] who also cultivate these large bananas, bury them too, and so did the Pésa (Takunhapeba) of the lower Xingu visited by Von den Steinen (1, 275). The Tapirapé like to eat these fruits when they are not only rotting, but also warm from the immediate action of the sun or from the sand warmed by its rays. They do not peel
264 them, but open the hard skin a little at one of the tips, put the tip between their lips, and slowly empty the skin by squeezing it with their fingers so that the soft and brownish pulp gradually penetrates into their mouths. In this respect I did not agree with the taste of the Indians, for I found these bananas a revolting thing when rotten and preferred to eat them while still yellow on the outside and pinkish-yellow on the inside, when they were already quite juicy.

(2) The white flesh of one of the larger bananas was not dry
262 either, and its sweet flavor was reminiscent of candy permeated
824 with the scent used by a cheap barber, while its skin was pinkish-green. The Tapirapé name for this fruit is tatampiringó. Its length is equal to its circumference, that is to say, about 15 centimeters. My camarada called it "purple banana," asserting that among "civilized people" it reaches twice that circumference. It is probably Musa paradisiaca L., sapientum subspec., rubra var.

(3) The banana 15 centimeters long and ten centimeters in circumference, whose white and soft flesh had a mild flavor and whose green skin did not turn yellow, was probably the "São Tomé"
[252] banana. The Tapirapé hang it inside the house and call it inanchanynî.

(4) The banana called abïbakíngamaé by the Tapirapé is yellow both inside and out and similar in shape and flavor to the tatah´ banana, although a little smaller and drier.

262 the mangaba [Tr., fruit of the mangabeira] is "the best wild fruit"
824 in the Parecis Range and in many other localities of Mato Grosso and the northeastern part of Brazil.

The palm tree called pinaua by the Tapirapé and macaba by my north-Brazilian camarada, with a nut, slightly larger than a cherry, that ripens in October or November. This nut is boiled
[252] until the flesh is softened and then rubbed on a strainer lying in a pot, so that the flesh is worked loose from the pit and falls into the pot where it is boiled in water. The end result is reminiscent of walnuts in flavor and is refreshing.

[114:195] The small nut of another tree, the tucuma palm or tucum-açu (Astrocaryum spec., chavana in Tapirapé) is prized for its oil content and is gathered in October.

The Tapirapé like to eat a kind of mushroom they call yvãpá.

These Indians cultivate several other plants aside from those
243 mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Maize (Zea mays L.,
252 avandxí in Tapirapé) is harvested while still green, hung inside
262 the house to yellow, and then crushed and used to make porridge
824 or cauí. Its Tapirapé name corresponds to abati in Staden (e 2), auati in Léry (120), ubatim in Soares de Sousa (199), auatî in Stradelli (384), and abatí in Montoya (2, I, 357 and II, 10). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The seeds of peanuts (Arachis spec., monoví in Tapirapé) are
244 pounded and then added to certain mushes, or else roasted, pounded,
252 and eaten in this way, or roasted and eaten without being subjected
262 to the pestle, or chewed and spit into the pot to ferment and turn
824 into cauí. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195, p. 196, and the first paragraph on p. 197 are omitted.]

[114:197] In the previous chapter, we mentioned that the
262 Tapirapé women participate in sowing and harvesting only peanuts,
824 maize, and cotton. The observation by the sixteenth century
[462] Portuguese author [Gabriel Soares de Sousa] that peanuts are "very
[241] hot when eaten excessively," and harmful in certain cases, seems to agree with the idea expressed by the Tapirapé custom that re-
[751] quires father and mother to abstain from this food during their child's first two years so as not to endanger his life.

The peanuts I saw in large quantities among the Tapirapé seem
137 to be a variety of Arachis nambyquarae. This species was found
17 by Kuhlmann in 1919 among the Nambikuara [Nambicuara] of
244

137 Pimenta Bueno in the state of Mato Grosso and described by Hoehne
171 (1, 21-22 and Table 190; 2). Like it, the Tapirapé monovĩ differs
244 from the "common peanut" (Arachis hypogaea) in its size, which is much larger, for its pod may reach seven centimeters in length and its seeds two or three centimeters. According to Hoehne (1, 22), each specimen of Arachis nambyquarae may yield from 50 to 100 pods. Owing to its oil content and abundance, the peanut is
262 of some importance in the Tapirapé diet and also was one of my favorite foods during my stay in Tampiitáua. Krause (2, 241-242, 358-359, and 387) does not mention this plant among the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó. A legend I heard in July, 1947, at the Karajá village of Santa Isabel, however, states that a civilizing hero of that tribe, the evening star, taught them to plant peanuts among other things.

244 Less important than peanuts to the Tapirapé were the large
262 flat beans [Tr., lima beans], slightly larger than those of Europe.
824 Only a few individuals cultivated them, planting them in small quantities. Their Tapirapé name, kumanã, corresponds to comendá in Soares de Sousa (200) and cumandá in Montoya (2, II, 105v) and Stradelli (427). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] The large Tapirapé bean seems to be a variety of [114:138] Phaseolus lunatus L. and thus to belong to the same species as the beans mentioned by Anchieta (Hoehne 2, 107), Thevet (ibid., 132), and Soares de
[252] Sousa (ibid., 211-213). In Tampiitáua, it is boiled in small earthenware pots. Then its green skin is removed. Underneath this skin, the bean is white. I ate it with great pleasure.

Smaller than these beans are the round yellow fruits of a leguminous shrub cultivated by the Tapirapé and called kumanã-yvyraí, "bean-shrub." The neo-Brazilians plant this shrub on Morro da Areia [Tr., a high outcrop hill on the Araguaia River] and other places in the region and give it the name anduzeiro. This name might lead us to assume that the plant belongs to the Cytisus cajanus Lin. species.

262 The Tapirapé use the fruits of certain Cucurbitaceae as recep-
824 tacles after removing the flesh, and they use those of another variety
252 in the same family to prepare a highly prized dish with the juice.
[445] This juice is heated, and as it begins to boil it is mixed in with pounded raw maize; the boiling mixture is stirred for ten minutes until it thickens. Sometimes they add crushed peanuts. In this

252 case, the addition is made before the juice begins to boil. The
262 fruit that supplies this juice reaches 35 centimeters in length, 30
824 in circumference, and has a thick, hard shell. Its Tapirapé name is koruanchoa, choa (or chova) referring to the color yellow. The neo-Brazilians in the area know this fruit by the name croá which, according to the Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa, 5th edition, is synonymous with cruá, crauá, and melão-caboclo (Sicana odorifera Naud.) [Tr., the cassabanana]. In Stradelli's Nheêngatú vocabulary (435), curúua is "a kind of squash covered with protuberances." [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

249 Kamairabó's small sugar-cane plantation lay close to
263 Tampiitáua in 1935. No other member of the tribe owned a plan-
114 tation of Saccharum officinarum L., and in 1947 I did not see any.
[177] The sugar cane was used exclusively for sucking and was a recent
[171] import. Krause (2, 242) refutes Ehrenreich's statement that the Karajá planted sugar cane on sandbars, and says that what he saw was manioc and maize. He writes in reference to those Indians: "... I saw no sugar cane. If they had possessed it, they probably would not have been so eager for my sugar... " This conclusion is wrong. The fact that they sucked on sugar cane never kept the Tapirapé from asking for my rapadura [Tr., raw brown sugar in lumps].

These Indians make beiju (meijú or mãjú in their language),
252 sometimes with the tapioca extracted from manioc mash, as al-
262 ready mentioned, [114:199] and at other times with peanut or maize flour. According to Ayrosa (1, 54), the word "mbeiú or mbeyú of the Tupi-Guarani" is "equivalent to 'coil,' 'roll,' 'fold,' etc." The same author (ibid., 51-54) lists several varieties of this cake, which has been described by various authors. The Tapirapé beijú is similar in shape to the so-called beiju-açú, which is a large, thin disk roasted in a shallow earthen pan. It is not everyday food. During my stays in Tampiitáua, I saw it only once. This was on June 29, 1935, at the time of a festival of "masks." They placed a large pan full of these disks of manioc-mash tapioca, made by Anampí, the wife of Tanupanchoa, in the middle of the takana. This important man offered it to several of the people
171 present and apportioned it himself. I, too, got my share and liked
252 it. Hans Staden (q 2) mentions similar Tupinambá cakes made in the
262 same fashion with the same material and writes their name as byyw.
192

171 According to Karl von den Steinen (2, 539), the Kamayurá voice
192 a nasalized meiũ, that is to say, almost meniũ (meyu and menyu
●252 in his spelling). The same author (ibid., Fig. 54) reproduces a
262 spade decorated with geometric designs that was used by these Indians to turn the cakes over. In Tampiitsua I did not see any special implement for this purpose, and in Wagley's collection at the [Brazilian] National Museum there is nothing like it either. [Ed., the last two sentences concluding the section in Vol. 114 are omitted.]

[115:255] To the Tapirapé, the most important vegetable
262 dish is unquestionably cauĩ. [Ed., five sentences are omitted.]
171 In sixteenth century references, the intoxicating drinks of the
192 Tupinambá appear as Kaa.wy and Kawi in the spelling of the German Hans Staden (e 2, f 3), Cahouin in Thevet (1, 121), and Caou-in in De Léry (125). The nasalized i indicated by the two
194 Frenchmen, and later pointed out in various Tupi languages by authors coming from different countries, does not exist either in Tapirapé or in Kamayurá, but in both these languages the u in kauĩ is nasalized, and the i is the tonic syllable (cf. Von den Steinen 2, 213). Furthermore, neither the [115:256] Tapirapé
[273] nor the Kamayurá make intoxicating beverages. The Tapirapé
272 designate with the word kauĩ their peanut, maize, manioc, cotton-
192 seed, squash, and banana soups, and even straight drinking water
171 (ỹ-kauĩ), while the Kamayurá use this term for the simple refreshing drink made of water and crumbled beiju (ibid.). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The kauĩ of the Tapirapé is not always made exclusively from
272 one of the plants mentioned above. There are mixtures, such as crushed maize with chewed peanuts or with chewed cottonseed. No other plant aside from those listed are used, however, and no such soups are made, for example, with carĩ or yams. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 256 and the first paragraph on p. 257 are omitted.]

[115:257] None of the [early] authors mentions expressly the
[114] three kinds of cauĩ that are made by the Tapirapé with cotton seeds,
[252] peanuts, and squash. As I have already mentioned, the cotton seeds are chewed with crushed maize. The resulting drink has a yellowish-green appearance and little flavor. It is true that the
171 Tupinambá of Bahia also found those seeds nutritious, but they pre-
252 pared them in a different fashion. Gabriel Soares de Sousa (235)

171 writes: "The natives eat these cotton seeds crushed and then
252 boiled into a mush which they call mingau."

At the time of my stays among the Tapirapé, the monovĩ-
272 kauĩ was the kind most frequently used and the one I myself took most often. I confess that I liked this drink so much and developed such nostalgia for it that in 1947, when I again met the people whose hammocks had hung beside mine 12 years earlier, the first wish I expressed was this, "Monovĩ-kauĩ." It is worth noting
114 that Gabriel Soares de Souza (203), in describing the use of the
191 peanut among the Tupinambá, does not mention it in connection
272 with the preparation of a liquid. The same applies to squash, incidentally, of which, according to the sixteenth century Portuguese author (ibid., 201), "there are ten or 12 varieties" called gerumãs by the Tupinambá of Bahia. The Tapirapé drink made
272 with crumbled squash is called kuruã-kauĩ. Kuruã may not be
[137] one of the "varieties" of "gerumãs" known in Bahia, but like them, in any case, it belongs to the edible Cucurbitaceae.

The vegetable substances used in preparing the various kinds
[462] of Tapirapé kauĩ are crumbled or mashed by the women in three different ways, namely, between the hands, in the mortar, and between the teeth. Squash and bananas go between the hands; maize and manioc, the latter previously soaked in water and then sun-dried, go into the mortar; while maize, manioc, peanuts, and cotton seeds are chewed. In the Tapirapé language, amatykã
[192] means "I chew," and andjahãk, "I pound." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 257, p. 258, and the first paragraph on p. 259 are omitted.]

[115:259] The custom of turning a food into mush by chewing
252 it is used by the Tapirapé not only to make cauĩ, but for the two
[757] following purposes: they chew peanuts to make a paste with which they anoint their bodies when they have been made ill by spoiled
[858] manioc, and they chew certain foods and give the mush to nursing children. These children are also given true cauĩ. It is to be supposed that observing the already considerable saccharification that takes place in chewing led the Indians to apply this procedure to the preparation of their favorite food. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 259 and p. 260, which concludes the section in Vol. 115, are omitted.]

272 [116:55] Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have three stages in the preparation of their masticated-fermented drink: (1) they

171 necessarily mean that Karajá women are unfamiliar with the
272 recipes for these Tapirapé drinks. They might have come to know them through the girls from the Tupi tribe who were abducted by the Karajá at various times and under various circumstances. [Ed., end of Vol. 116.]

[117:91] The Tapirapé do not eat meat raw or rare, but
● 252 roasted in the embers or broiled, while smaller fish are boiled in a pot. Fish are often tossed whole into the embers, that is, without being gutted. They are left there until they are charred on the outside. This manner of preparing them lends them a delicious flavor. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

"I boil" is avfin in Tapirapé, "I roast," aihyn, and "I broil,"
[192] amakaé. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

When studying the widespread distribution of the barbecue in
171 South America, Nordenskiöld (6, 135-137 and Map 18) distin-
252 guished two types, namely: (1) a quadrangular platform of sticks supported by four or, rarely, three stakes, and (2) three sticks set up, like stacked rifles, with a grille laid out between them horizontally. He lists (ibid., 136) the Tapirapé among those having the first type on the basis of the information provided by Krause (2). This author (ibid., 122, 407, 409, Plate 29, and Fig. 269 a-c) found several subspecies of that type with three or four supports, one of the supports being a tree. The stakes were not forked like those of the Tupinambá barbecue of the same type (Staden k 4, [117:92] L 3, m 1, m 2, t 11; Léry 135; Claude d'Abbeville 294), which is apparently identical to those of the Karajá and Javahé seen by Krause (2, 251 and Plate 61). As far as the barbecue is concerned, however, the Tapirapé seem to differ even more from those tribes, since they also possess, as is shown in Photograph 33, the second type distinguished by Nordenskiöld and not mentioned by him as existing among the Tupinambá, Karajá, or Javahé. On the other hand, the same pyramid-shaped barbecue was found among the northern Kayapó (Krause 2, 387 and Plate 28) and the tribes of the upper Xingu basin visited by Von den Steinen (2, 236 and Fig. 30). To summarize, we may say that the inhabitants of Tamplitísua use both types of barbecue described by Nordenskiöld, while their neighbors, the Xingu Indians and the Tupinambá, are listed by the same author among the representatives having one type only.

252 In the Tapirapé barbecues, the height at which the grille is fastened varies with its different functions. It is placed low to
[251] roast meat or fish, and higher to dry it.

171 The pot is held by three stones laid around the fire, as I also noted among the Karajá and as Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 48) ob-
252 served among the Taulipáng of the Rio Branco basin. What Karl
[354] von den Steinen (2, 215) said of the Xingu Indians, that is: "The men roasted [meat], but never boiled it," may be said also of the Tapirapé and of numerous other South American tribes (cf. Baldus 7, 142 and Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 91, 335, 351). Speaking of the Karajá, Krause (2, 253) amends this rule with the fact that "the men also know how to boil [meat]," as they show on trips whenever necessary. This cannot be said of the Tapirapé. They do
[481] not carry pots on their journeys since they go on foot, while those Indians travel by canoe and therefore can take along with them heavy and breakable cooking utensils. Aside from this, the
252 division of labor is so strict among the sexes that the Tapirapé man,
462 if for some reason he does not have a wife, misses her simply from the fact that he cannot eat stew unless he is willing to take it from other families. On the other hand, the roasting of large animals is usually done by the men. It is only when game is killed close to the village that in some cases the women barbecue it. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

124 With the aim of setting up a Tapirapé zoological vocabulary, and also of finding out which animals were eaten by the inhabitants of Tampiitáua or by certain groups among them, I repeatedly showed to numerous persons of different ages and sex the figures in Rodolpho von Ihering's book entitled Da vida dos nossos animais. Fauna do Brasil [The Habits of Our Animals. Brazilian Fauna] (Rotermund & Co., São Leopoldo, 1934). This gave them much pleasure, and I recommend this method to Indianists as a way of establishing rapport. It also makes rather strict controls possible, since each animal is identified by several if not by numerous experts, and its name is pronounced several times by many individuals. Of course, a single look is not always sufficient for the Indian to recognize the animal represented. It is often necessary to [117:93] add comments about its size, color, motions, cry, and habits. Concerning certain insects, for example, the size of the

since the information provided by such dreams is readily accepted, they organize collective fishing trips. Fish constitutes their main source of animal fat and calcium. The calcium comes from the bones, [120:55] crumbled into a strongly spiced sauce, their favorite breakfast food. This is a cold dish, but the flesh of the fish is eaten on the previous day, good and hot, and invariably accompanied by manioc flour. I caused general amazement when I ate small roasted fish for the first time in Tampiitaua, and did so without manioc flour. My friend Vuanomanchi said that fish without flour is bad, gesticulated and spat as though he were smelling bad odor, and wanted to get up and fetch some of his own flour. A woman who was eating seated by my side immediately offered me hers. Of all the pictures in the zoological book that I showed them, it was always those of fish that aroused the greatest interest. The majority of the masked dances I witnessed dealt with fish, and there is an unmasked dance in which most of the text of the song consists of the word ypirá. It was this generic term for fish that I also heard almost invariably when I asked for the cause of a disease. This did not mean, however, that eating fish had been harmful to the sick person, but that a fish bone had been shot into his body as a magic projectile by an evil sorcerer. They also say that all the spirits of the hills and of the waters eat fish, and do not mention any other food for these spirits. Furthermore, as already stated at the beginning of this chapter, fish, along with manioc, is the only food included in the Tapirapé description of the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven that lies above our visible one. They do not fail to add that in this case "very fat fish" are involved. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

136 Concerning head lice, I wish to mention in passing the fact that I never found any on my own body during my stays among various tribes, in spite of the fact that much lousy hair came in contact with mine and that I did not take any special preventive measures. The same proved to be the case among other Whites who stayed with South American Indians. I also know of a blond young man on whose head lice of the Krabo [Crahó] Indians settled without biting.

171/264 [122:170] In their manner of eating the Tapirapé retain many similarities with the ancient Tupinambá. As was the case among the latter, the Tampiitaua family usually eats together from the same container, which stands in the middle, with the father lying in the hammock and the wife and children squatting on the ground (cf. Gabriel Soares de Sousa 366 and 375; Vicente de Salvador 35). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

These present-day Tupi, like the ancient coastal ones, do not drink while they eat (cf. Vicente de Salvador 33; Soares de Sousa 375; Anchieta 2, 330; Cardim 165; Léry 127). Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé eat "all the time, night and day, at any hour or moment" (Cardim 164), and what Simão de Vasconcellos (p. LXXXV) wrote about those Indians may be applied to these: "Eating time comes whenever nature demands it, as with wild animals; and nature demands it so often, that they eat during the day, and during the night if they must." It so happened that at midnight, when everyone was asleep, my hammock neighbor Kamairahó suddenly awoke because he was hungry. He got up, awakening his wife and children. The woman prepared fish, and finally they all began to eat and to take cauí.

The habit of tossing manioc flour into the mouth is a cultural trait that the Tapirapé share not only with the ancient coastal Tupi (cf. Léry 118-119; Thevet I, 303; Cardim 166; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. LXXXV), but also with the peasants who live near the city of São Paulo. The only difference is that around this modern metropolis the flour is propelled into the mouth with a spoon, while among the Indians this is done directly with the fingers.

262 252 Boiled food is eaten or drunk by the Tapirapé as hot as they can stand it. In this respect they can stand more than I, for example. If the food is still too hot even for them, they cool it off by blowing upon it or, if it is liquid, by stirring it with a gourd.

[192] [122:171] In Tapirapé, aõ means "I eat," and ayõ "I drink water," the o sounding almost like a u.

312 To obtain clear, fresh water, the Tapirapé dig a hole so close to still water or to the river that the liquid pepetrates through the dividing wall of earth. The use of this filtering process shows that what Anchieta (II, 330) wrote about the Indians he knew cannot be applied to these: "... they hardly distinguish bad water from good, and are satisfied with any kind." In this respect, the inhabitants of

1:Baldus--183 E-6 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 32

Funnel-shaped fish trap (chekif) with Ipayva (No. 106) sitting beside it.

Photo. 33

Roasting fish. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

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476
574 that all participants in the tãtáupáũã [90] are called this. Nothing
264 could point up the importance of the institution more effectively than
[101] this observation. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

171 The word tãtá is used both by the Tapirapé and by the Karajá
824 [Caraja] to designate cultivated bananas in general. It also means "fire" in their language, as in all Tupí-Guaraní tongues, and it differs
[194] from these only in its nasalization, an element which is peculiar to the Tapirapé language as a whole.

[192] The word upáũã means "everything eaten."

The word tãtáupáũã may mean that the fire went out, or that everything that was near the fire was eaten.

264 Every individual belongs to the same eating group through life.
476 Sons belong to their father's group, daughters to their mother's.
574 The eating groups are not important to marriage; some of the
[611] men belong to the same group as their wives, while others belong to a different group.

[91] The principal chief, Kamairahó, was a Txankanépéra, while
123 the second chief, Vũãtanamĭ', was a Pananĭvũána. As I lived in
[622] Kamairahó's household and belonged, in a way, to his family, I also became a Txankanépéra, and they explained to me that as a consequence my own relatives, although absent, had also become Txankanépéra.

264 Within their group, all members regard one another as brothers
476 and sisters.
574 Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life,
[608] namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group companions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond oc-
[621] casionally bringing together the inhabitants of different houses from birth to death.

264 At certain times the entire population of the village gathers to-
574 gether for the tãtáupáũã, which at such times is not really a feast
621 carried out to meet the obligations imposed by the consumption-group organization, but a veritable banquet.

On July 3, the time of the kãũihó, or "bad kãũí" (literally, "big kãũí" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the
●[252] chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kãũí, which formerly was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was warm and so good that I ate my fill.

476 thundering noise, dragging along in its fall its weaker companions.

Every once in a while, a voice was heard behind the trees. One [222] could not see who it was, but the call sounded very close. Immediately, the boys rushed to the spot where the voice came from. Soon they returned with their arms full of bananas. They ran jubilantly toward us and distributed them.

These bananas reached a length of 30 centimeters and a middle [197] circumference of 15 to 20 centimeters. The men brought them in [482] hampers close to the working area, but never came out of the woods into the garden with their load.

The skin of the bananas was black, and their flesh was already 252 brownish and too soft. This is the condition in which the Tapirapé 262 like them best. The fruits are gathered when green and buried at the [222] spot where they grew. The Karajá do the same thing. In the sun- [171] heated ground, the bananas reach the desired state of rottenness more quickly than if they were kept at home. Then, too, they are warm when taken out of the ground, and this endears them further to the Indians.

They are not peeled in order to be eaten. The tough skin is 264 opened a little at one of the tips, the tip is placed between the lips, and the skin slowly emptied by squeezing it with the fingers so that the pulp gradually enters the mouth. Kamairahó ate one banana after another. As for myself, I found them nauseating.

[108] The sun was already quite low when we left. We forged 264 ahead at a rapid pace, one behind the other on the narrow trail. We 476 were not far from the village when the path opened onto a small, 462 cleared, triangular space. The women sat in the corners of this space 574 and watched us in silence. The women and girls had split into three groups which tallied with the work groups of their husbands and fathers. They had placed pots of food in the area in the same arrangement. [262] There were banana kãũĩ, peanut kãũi, cottonseed kãũĩ, toasted kará, and many other good things. Each group ate only from the pots placed for it at a specific spot. There were smaller quantities for the Tãnãvé, because they were fewer. I was invited from all sides, and since I [123] was very hungry I did not spare the other two groups. Only when I was beginning to be satiated did I put down, with a great show of surprise, the pot of banana soup of the Anantxá from which I had just partaken, and declared that I was a Tãnãvé. This fact, however, did not seem to be of great importance to my hosts.

Plate 29

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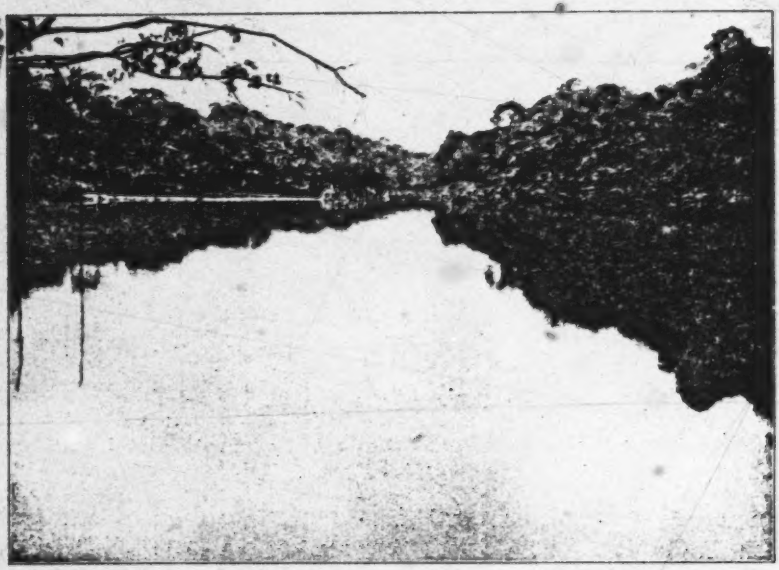

1. Lake blocked off by a fence on the Tapirapé River. View from the end of the lake.

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2. Tapirapé grill in the forest.

/Pl. 29 faces p. 124./

5: Krause--26 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

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Ill. 6. Tortoise cages of the Karajá. Tapirapé River.
(Drawn from a photograph.)
/Ill. 6 appears on p. 119./

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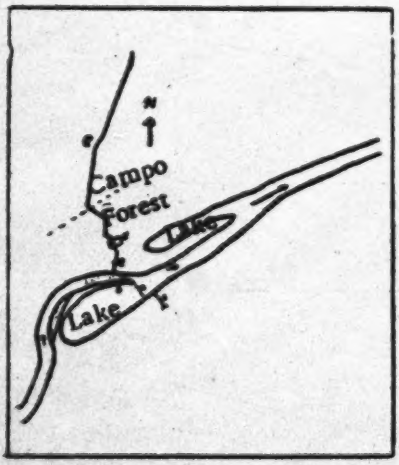


a: Fish fence
b: Sandbank
c: Path to the place where trees are felled.
d: Roasting place.
e: Path to the roasting place and to the villages.

Ill. 7.
Sketch map of the fish-lakes in the Tapirapé River.
/Ill. 7 appears on p. 122./

/406 cont./

114 course, I cannot state with certainty that all these objects of actually come from the Tapirapé. In particular this cannot be done in the case of the spindle; yet they all have something about them that is more or less foreign to the Karajá.

192 Of words, I obtained the following through the Karaja in their perhaps corrupt pronunciation: penis cuff, hōōlā; urucú, kāā; tobacco, bādūmā.

114 4. Observations in Tapirapé territory. In traveling on
[131] the Rio Tapirapé I came upon traces of a people who I assume were Tapirapé, for I met them in approximately the region in which, according to the accounts of the Karajá, the Tapirapé were supposed to live; I then crossed the boundary

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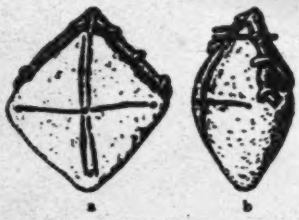


Ill. 266a, b.
Doll of white earth.

114 between the Karajá territory and the Tapirapé territory, as my Karajá companions declared; finally, the number of villages encountered (three) corresponds to that given by the Karajá.

[224] The traces that I came across were the following: on
[259] the twelfth day of the river journey footprints on a sandbank; on the thirteenth day a lake blocked off by a fish fence, next to it in the forest a place for roasting food, from which a path led northward over the campo; on the fourteenth day a second roasting place with a campo path; from noon of this day all traces ceased. From the twelfth to the fourteenth day, on the other hand, places of fires, as well as the remains of old lake barricades, were to be seen everywhere.

[See pp. 337-339 -- Analyst]

/407 cont./

221 region and come to the river farther upstream, before it turns
226 toward the northeast. Here, by means of poisonous cipo, they
[252] fish successive lakes blocked off by fences. They seem to travel from upstream downward, for the upper roasting place showed only a few new beams among very old ones, whereas the lower one was apparently quite recently built. This lower one, beside which they fished from the middle to the end of August 1908, lies about 16 kilometers south-southwest of the first village (24 kilometers
[487] from the second and third). The well-worn paths that go from the two roasting places, join, and lead by way of the first village to the other two, seem to indicate that the Indians visit this spot annually. Where they go from here I was unable to find out; perhaps they went across the Tapirapé to the south. In any case a campo lake abounding in fish, several kilometers away from the trading place, showed no traces of human beings.

161 These people seem to be very numerous. The number of
[342] houses is small, to be sure, but their dimensions seemed to be
[252] quite considerable. The 26 huge grills at the first roasting place and 10-15 at the second, the sandbanks completely trodden down with footprints beside the first fish lake, certainly lead one to
513 conclude that there is a large crowd of people. Sleeping is
352 apparently done in hammocks. This is indicated first by the net coverings that the Karajá buy from them, and then by the complete absence of sleeping places beside the roasting place, which was certainly used for many days.

241 Besides manioc (according to the account of the Karajá), these people also plant maize, as is indicated by many, partly
231 charred corncobs at the roasting place. As domestic animals they keep dogs, the traces of which were numerous on the sand-
224 banks. It may surely be assumed that they devote themselves to
[136] hunting. The campo is extremely rich in deer, the forests in wild pigs. Certainly they will not forgo these sources of meat.

226 In addition, fishing is practiced on a large scale through poisoning the /408/ /Ill. 267 appears here/ /409/ water of blocked-off lakes. We saw barrier poles everywhere in the territory of this tribe in front of lake outlets. The first lake that we came across was completely blocked off by a fence that was

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 344]

/409 cont./

226 still green. The location of the fence is shown in Ill. 7. The fence extends from the lake shore to the sandbank that separates it from the river. Vertical posts are driven in and joined together by a horizontal beam floating on the water. They are supported on either side by diagonal struts. Inside, dense foliage is tied on, which is supposed to prevent the stupefied fish from being carried out (Ill. 267). The posts had been cut nearby in the forest on the southern bank. The water was poisoned with poisonous cipo that lay in quantities on the sandbank and at the rear end of the lake; it had been fetched from the forest at the [501] end of the lake. The Indians apparently do not have boats for traveling on the [225] lake. Serving for this were a few light tree trunks that lay tied together in the lake beside the sandbank. In this way they had caught all kinds of fish, even pirarucús, obviously in large quantities, as the large number of grills (26) 225 shows. They also caught turtles and kept them alive. They had built a sort of cage, in the shade of which the turtles were able to survive the hot part of the day (Ill. 268). Sticks about a meter high were stuck in the ground in a circle three-fourths of a meter in diameter, interwoven with leaves, and joined together by cipo winding.

Ill. 268.
Turtle cage.

252 The preparation of food seems to be done by boiling and roasting. The fire is transported with large blocks of wood that lay about everywhere. Cooking is obviously done in clay vessels, the shards of which lay scattered around at the first roasting place and beside the paths. Chiefly, however, the yield from the fishing expeditions seems to be roasted, perhaps for stores, for the entire layout of the roasting places and the numerous back-baskets indicated large-scale activity. Roasting was done near the lakes in the forest on large sites on which huge grills were found. These had a triangular or rectangular form, a roasting surface as large as four square meters, and were mounted to the trees of the forest. Often several, with their frames, were joined (see Ill. 269 a-c /see p. 346; Pl. 29 /see p. 18/, Ill. 2). The beams of these racks

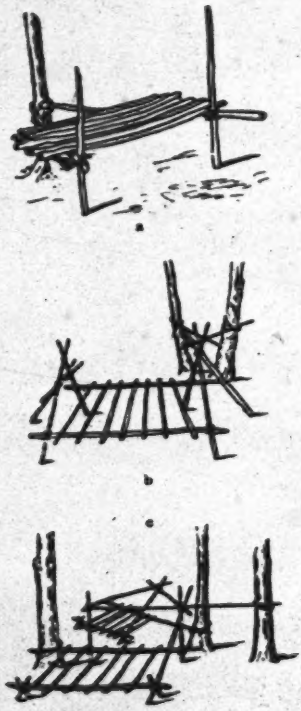
/409 cont./

252 were lashed together with bast. They were obviously cut to size
[412] with stone axes, whereas thinner branches showed sharp knife cuts. Thus, iron knives have made their appearance here as a result of the carrying trade, even before a white man has seen the people themselves.

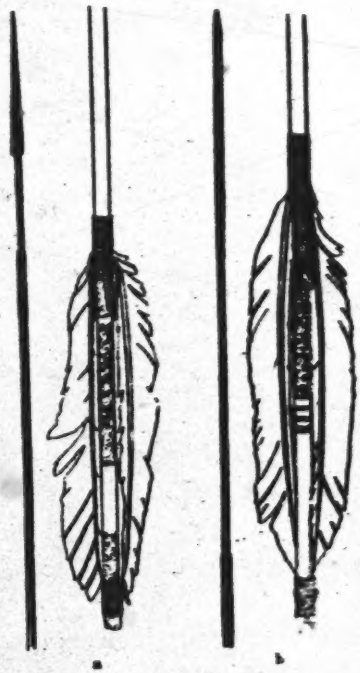
251 482 The roasted booty is apparently taken along by the Indians

252 ←

411 →



Ill. 269 a-c. Grills from the large roasting place of the Tapirapé.



Ill. 270 a, b. Arrows.

251 482 on their further expeditions to other water places. For this purpose they use transport back-baskets as well as smaller carrying bags, of which I brought along a selection from the specimens lying about at the roasting places.

648 [141] The superiority complex, a characteristic product of ethnocentrism, is not lacking among the new inhabitants of the Tapirapé River. These people, who are called caboclo [backwoodsmen] by the city dwellers of Rio and São Paulo, in turn call the Indians by this term, thus following the custom of the north Brazilians. To us, caboclo is the man who goes barefoot. To those shoeless frontiersmen, however, caboclo is the man who does not even bother to wear pants. Although pants and shoes delimit the cultural distance that separates them from the Indians on the one hand and from us on the other hand, there is one fact that marks them as members of our society and of no other. These poor conquerors of the unknown are not exempt from taxes. They have to pay them in heads of cattle.

Concerning this, one should mention the historic settlement of São José, an aggregation of about 30 houses, swarming with disease and misery, located at one of the most beautiful spots on the Araguaia. The inhabitants pay taxes of various sorts and say that the government does nothing for them. They pay a school tax, for example, but they have no school. Our companion, Dr. Haroldo Cândido de Oliveira, was the first doctor to visit them in 20 years. When the launch of the Indian Service goes by, these forlorn inhabitants of Goiás get a few medicines.

What would contribute to the frontiersman's feeling of superiority over the Indian, however, aside from the pants and the taxes, the taxes which enable him to belong to the capitalist world? Rifles are already found among the Karajá. And the Indians of the Araguaia are better fed, wash more often, and, as disclosed by the medical examination, suffer less from malaria and enjoy better general health than the so-called "civilized people" around them, who are for the most part, incidentally, Negroes and mulattoes. As an ethnocentric man, however, the frontiersman regards everything that differs from his own culture as inferior. The cultural differences between him and the Indian extend so thoroughly to every aspect of life, moreover, that they almost conceal the similarities caused by the identical geographical environment and by the fact that both groups belong to the same human species. Such tasty Indian dishes as the peanut, [262] maize, and manioc soups, masticated by the women to saccharify [252] them with the saliva, are, to the frontiersman, "filthy stuff" from which he turns in disgust. Tapirapé houses, covered with palm and

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



## CULTURE

### SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

137 The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth
133 and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive
132 rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

241 **Farming.**—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their
[494] large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, cará (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

[221] Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also
241 it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work
616 festival (apačirú). When communally prepared, the large clearings are
476 afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, gener-
[423] ally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apačirú, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaô) at the end
241 of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as
[462] the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, cará, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout
[422] the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clear-
[361] ings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

242 Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is
252 the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupí* groups, however, the

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1948) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



*Tapirapé* do not use the tipiti (the long woven tube in which the water is squeezed from poisonous manioc), but squeeze poisonous manioc with their hands. The pulp is then spread out on a platform in the sun to be thoroughly dried. The flour is toasted in a clay pot over a very hot fire. 252

**Wild foods.**—Meat is a definite luxury to the agricultural *Tapirapé*. Monkeys, armadillos, forest fowls, cuati (*Nasua* sp.), and both kinds of peccary (*Tayassus tajacu* and *T. pecari*) are occasionally killed in the forest at any time during the year. The hunting and fishing season, however, is from June through October, when the savanna country is dry. The savannas are extraordinarily rich with game. Plains deer, wild pigs, peccary, and wild duck, and geese near the drying swamps are plentiful. 224 [221]

Fish are shot with the bow and arrow and stupefied with timbó (*Paullinea pinnata* or *Serjania* sp.) in the almost dry streams and lakes. The village is almost deserted in September and October, after garden sites have been cleared and before planting. Men, women, and children move out to the plains country near the Tapirapé River and set up a temporary camp. They collect turtle eggs and kill turtles in the river. They gather piqui fruit (*Caryocar vellosum*), andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), and other wild fruits, and, from October through November, they find wild honey both on the savanna and in the forest. 226 221 222

Hunting is done with the bow and arrow, but a club is used to finish the kill, especially wild pigs or jaguars. [224]

## HOUSES AND VILLAGES

The houses of a *Tapirapé* village form an oval around a large ceremonial men's house (tikana), which is forbidden to the women. Both the large men's house, approximately 20 by 65 feet (6 by 20 m.), and the residential houses, averaging 13 by 33 feet (4 by 10 m.), have a quadrangular floor plan with arched roofs made by bending flexible poles and tying them together over a roof beam (pl. 19, *bottom, left*). The walls and the roof are covered with leaves of buriti palm and wild banana. 361 342 345

In the surviving village, called Tampitawa, there were nine residential houses, each housing from four to eight simple families. Each family occupies a determined sector of the house where they cook, keep their belongings, and hang their sleeping hammocks. Household utensils, such as baskets, pots, hammocks, and gourds, are owned by the women of each simple family. Houses, though built by men, are said to be the property of the women of the house. The house frame is constructed cooperatively by all the men of the house. Each man covers the portion to be used by his wife and children. 592 422 [423] 342

Ideally, residence is matrilocal, and the house is inhabited by a group of closely related women and their husbands. The household leader is generally the husband of the oldest woman of the group (see p. 172). Owing perhaps to great depopulation and the accumulation of refugees [591] 592

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the personal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Mariapawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let alone pronounce.

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the widespread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poisonous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm-thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversations that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

171 Another occasion to cut the hair short is the death of a close
302 relative, when not only the males (cf. Photos. 51 and 52) but the
765 opposite sex as well (Photo. 64) are compelled to undergo this procedure. This custom is quite widespread in South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

302 Among the Tapirapé at the present time, the hair is cut with
[177] scissors received from the Whites. [Ed., the remainder of p. 107
[412] is omitted, which includes the beginning of the sentence finished at the top of p. 108.]

[107:108] . . . in 1614, Father Claude d'Abbeville (267)
302 wrote of the hair of the Tupinambá of Maranhão: "[Ed., two
171 sentences are omitted.] They [the women] are quite meticulous
515 about combing their hair and do not fail to wash it and rub it with oil and Roucou every morning" [translated from French]. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

Some Tapirapé comb their hair with great care, although they do not wash it as frequently as the Tupinambá women observed by Father Claude, or massage it as often with oil and urucú. They
[314] would no doubt anoint it more frequently if it were not for the scarcity of the raw material, a palm nut that grows only at certain times of year. This scarcity impelled an honest matron to steal from us our only bottle of oil, which we had brought to remedy the lack of fat in the diet. Instead of lining our stomachs, the entire liter of nutritious liquid ended up on the good woman's head. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 108 is omitted.]

302 [107:109] The Tapirapé also put urucú in their hair, but only on special occasions. They apply it to boys on the festive day of
[881] initiation, to girls on the day when their first menstruation ends,
[764] and to the dead. It may have religious significance, but I cannot tell.

515 Aside from hair combing, delousing is a gesture of love. The
593 bugs caught end their existence between the teeth of the catcher, who thus swallows the blood of his or her beloved. This tender duty is performed on a mutual basis by parents and children and by loving spouses. Girls show the greatest enthusiasm for this type of quest. It does happen, however, that an old man still delouses an already married son (cf. Photo. 55).

826 Not only do they avoid losing the blood stolen by lice and
●261 mosquitoes by eating the culprits caught in the act, but they also

261 826 swallow the hair plucked from their own body. Indeed, like most South American Indians, the Tapirapé have the custom of carefully plucking all the hair from their faces and bodies. They refer to this procedure as ekopaá. They remove body hair by covering it first with hot ashes and then plucking it out with their fingers. They likewise pluck out their whiskers exclusively with the fingers. To remove eyebrows and eyelashes, however, they use a special instrument consisting simply of the caryopsis of a certain grass plant [Tr., identified in a later, omitted passage as the fruit of Streptogyne crinita Beauv., according to F.C. Hoehne (3)] which is equipped with teeth forming hooks at acute angles. The Indian holds this pod between the right thumb and index finger, while holding the eyebrow or eyelashes of the person he is about to beautify with the corresponding fingers of the left hand. Then he places the little hooks against the stretched hair, pushing down. A few hairs are invariably caught in this natural implement and removed along with it. [Ed., the last half of p. 109, which includes a detailed description of the use of Streptogyne crinita Beauv. as an instrument for depilation, pp. 110-113, and the first two lines of p. 114 are omitted.]

302 [413]

304 [881] [107:114] The Tapirapé apply scarification to men only. They first do this at the time when the boy who is to be initiated is given a haircut, that is to say, one year before the initiation ceremony. The procedure is repeated several times until marriage, and not infrequently it is carried out even after that. The Indians make vertical scratches on the skin of the arm between the shoulder and the elbow, and on the front part of the leg both on the thigh and between the knee and foot. The procedure is carried out by a mature man. Immediately afterward, the patient steps into the water to wash. It is extremely rare for inflammation to result. The aim of the procedure is to "give strength." According to Wagley (4, 17), the killer of a sorcerer--medicine man, in order to protect himself and the rest of his tribe against any possible danger, must, among other precautionary measures, "scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dogfish, just as he did in the course of the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult" [Tr., given in English in 4, 72]. I obtained no such information while I was in Tampiitáua.

[827] 751 114 304

304 413 [192] The scarifying tool has the same name as the scratches it makes, namely, chainiáua. It is a triangular gourd fragment

263 The pepper used by the Tapirapé and called by them ykaynia or ikeynia is apparently the bush red-pepper (Capsicum frutescens, Willd.). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph on this page and at the top of p. 56 is omitted.]

[120:56] The Tapirapé are immensely fond of raw brown sugar and our salt, and eat them as soon as they get them, that is, without waiting to use them as ingredients. To my knowledge, they [171] do not replace salt with substances extracted from vegetable ashes as do the Nahuquá (Von den Steinen 2, 100), Mehinaku (ibid., 106), Kamayurá (Meyer 1, 61), and other Brazilian tribes (Staden 9, 3; Martius 2, 497). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the first sentence of the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

● 261 The Tapirapé, too, are great geophagists. They have no salt and suffer from worms and intestinal disorders. A wattle-and-daub house built by my companion Frederico C. Kegel alongside the village lost the clay from its walls, for the inhabitants of Tampiitaua kept breaking off small pieces all day long which they savored as though they were candy. [Ed., the remainder of p. 56, p. 57 which concludes the section in Vol. 120, and all the section in Vol. 121, pp. 79-82, are omitted.]

[122:167] If we look at the Tapirapé diet from the standpoint 146 of nutritive values, we may repeat the observation of Josué de Castro (66) about the Amazon diet in general: "It strikes one immediately as inadequate in the extreme paucity or even absence of some of the protective foods: meat, milk, cheese, butter, eggs, green vegetables, and fruits." "The amount of vitamins of the B complex contained in manioc, which is the staple food, is much smaller than that contained in cereals, rice, and wheat, the husks of which are saturated with these elements. In addition, what small quantities exist are practically destroyed in the process of preparing the flour" (ibid., 89). Also worthy of note are the following words by the same author: "... maize protein is quite incomplete, for it lacks several active acids essential to growth and organic equilibrium. Manioc, too, is very poor in proteins, poorer even than maize and qualitatively inferior to it. The Amazon dweller is saved by the fact that he does not eat pure flour as the Mexican eats maize and maize alone for days on end" (ibid., 73). In any case, various opinions were cited at the beginning of this chapter about the nutritive values of manioc flour.

264 476 however, is totally different from that of the tãtãupãũã. It is not a group organization for consumption, but for production. For this reason, also, the feasts in specific groups associated with this institution are merely accessory.

The social significance of apatxirũ resides in the possibility of sharing a collective task in such a way that no member of the tribe will [461] feel discredited by an unfair assignment. This is done by turning work into a festive occasion and a sports competition.

"When there is a lot of water everywhere in the rainy season, the [776] ãũvanaĩ 'shadows' live in the takãna. Their headdress and breechcloth [291] are of muriti leaves, but their headdress does not have any macaw [535] feathers. [96] They dance through the entire rainy season. At that time, there are no other 'shadows' (antxĩna) but them. Unlike other 'shadows,' these do not live in the hills or in the waters, but only in the takãna. They do not sing, but only grunt in a low voice. During [261] the moons of the great rains, the belly does not get as full as during the dry season. But the ãũvanaĩ have to eat. Then they go to the gardens and 'steal.' They take what they stole to the takãna, where they eat it. In the apatxirũ, we prepare the gardens where they seek their food. They 'steal' only from those gardens that are prepared for them alone. The ãũvanaĩ are not evil. All Tapirapé men are ãũvanaĩ.

Such is, in summary, the information I received when I asked the purpose of the common gardens prepared in the apatxirũ.

For the apatxirũ, all Tapirapé men are divided into three work-groups called vuĩra. The word vuĩra means "bird," and the name of [551] each group designates a mythical bird which is represented not only by the group as a whole but by each of its individual members. They are called Tãnãvé, Anantxã, and Vuirantxinió.

The Tãnãvé group was the smallest one at the time of my visit, [624] but it included the individuals of highest social status: the principal chief, Kamairahó; the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ´; the chief and most [123] eminent sorcerer--medicine man, Urukumĩ´; and myself. (Naturally, Kamairahó stated immediately that I would be a Tãnãvé like himself.)

[97] Each of the three work groups has two leaders called ãntaĩva. 264 The ãntaĩva of the Tãnãvé were Vũãtanamĩ´ and Urukumĩ´. (Although 622 Kamairahó was also a Tãnãvé, he seemed to be the head of all three 476 groups in his capacity as principal chief. He is also the only one whose 651 private plot is prepared by the village inhabitants as a collective endeavor, while the private plots of other tribal members are prepared

177 are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural
291 rather than physical one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitáua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them are completely clothed.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actually
177 experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their new
262 neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the number
[161] of Tampiitáua inhabitants has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following [139] were not lacking, however. "Now the Tapirapé only eat small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs."

These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the
[261] dry season, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna as well as the human beings in the region have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the
[136] frontiersmen, by settling permanently in all the habitable places along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at
[361] certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitáua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers.

When I ascended the length of the Tapirapé River in a canoe in
311 1935, its banks were uninhabited. There was a single inhabitant at the river mouth, and he manned, so to speak, the most advanced
648 post of our civilization. In July, 1947, there were eight houses in Pôrto Velho, which stands more or less at the middle point of the navigable stretch, that is, 15 or 18 leagues from the mouth, and nearly all of their occupants came from the state of Pará and had lived previously at various spots on the Araguaia.

Their settlement, and with it the occupation of the Indian lands, began about five years ago and presents aspects characteristic of the processes that were repeated, with certain variations, throughout the colonization of Brazil. Their leader is a farmer by the name of Lucio

123 437 [chief's] arrow." This "mercantilism" even operated in the area of "spiritual" (or "non-material") culture, for just as they had bartered dances and songs with the Karajá, they also demanded songs from me in exchange for theirs, and I had to teach them a song from my childhood, in which the fox is accused of having [533] stolen the goose ("Fuchs, du hast die Gans gestohlen") to learn from them a children's ballad dealing with a mouse.

When the Tapirapé bartered among themselves, I observed considerable haggling. [Ed., end of Vol. 113.]

## Chapter 9

### [114:185] The Diet

262 824 The last chapter referred to the importance of plants in the Tapirapé diet. First and foremost, there is manioc. Aside from fish, it is the only food mentioned in these Indians' description of [772] the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven lying above our visible one. The inhabitants of Tampiitúna call the roots of that Euphorbiacea by the generic name mandiaga. Ayrosa (4, 112) questions the Tupi origin of the word mandioca [manioc].

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have both "wild manioc" [171] (Manihot utilissima Pohl) and "sweet manioc" (Manihot dulcis Pax.). They distinguish five varieties of the Manihot genus, while the number of varieties known to the ancient Tupi was even greater (cf. Soares de Sousa 187; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXVIII; Métraux 2, 65).

Like those Indians, the Tapirapé have two basic ways of pre- 171 paring the manioc roots for consumption: (1) by placing them for 252 a few days in water until they become soft, turning them into what they call mandiyvungna and what is called póba [manioc mash] by the neo-Brazilians; (2) by grating them without putting them through the water treatment [114:186] (cf. Staden q 2; Soares de Sousa 189 and 191; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXIX; Claude d'Abbeville 304-305). Some of the varieties are prepared in either way, and others are prepared only in one way. The roots softened [251] in water are dried in the sun and pounded in the mortar, and the mashed substance is used in the manufacture of beiju [flat cakes] and cauí [a soup].

171 and cauí [a soup]. The fresh, grated manioc, after being dried
252 in the sun, put through the sifter, and roasted in a clay pot, yields the flour that goes into the making of certain dishes and that accompanies others by being tossed straight into the mouth with the hand. The Tupinambá had these three ways of consuming manioc, that is to say, the cake, the more or less fermented liquid varying in consistency between a porridge and a soup, and the flour which is added to other foods either in the pot or in the mouth (cf. Soares de Sousa 189 and 196; Simão de Vasconcellos, pp. LXXXV, CXXIX, and CXXX; and others).

Like the Tapirapé and many other tribes, those ancient inhabitants of the coast grated or pounded the manioc roots, dried them in the sun, ran the particles through a sifter, and roasted them in pots over the fire. The only notable difference in the procedures used in making the tubers edible was in the manner of wringing the grated mass of "wild manioc" to extract its poisonous juice. While Hans Staden (q 2) found the tipiti among the Tupinambá of the capitania [Tr., province] of São Vicente, and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (189) found it among the Tupinambá of Bahia, this press of braided palm leaves shaped like a tube or bag (cf. Baldus and Willems 219-220) was not mentioned by the French authors who visited Indians of the same name in other parts of Brazil in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (cf. Métraux 2, 104). Claude d'Abbeville (304) says specifically of the Tupinambá of Maranhão that "they take all the gratings from these roots and squeeze them with their hands..." [translated from French]. The
[174] use of the same procedure and the absence of tipiti among the Tapirapé are, therefore, corroborative of the assumption that these Indians came from Maranhão. [Ed., the remainder of p. 186, p. 187, and the first paragraph of p. 188 are omitted.]

[114:188] One variety of "sweet manioc" cultivated by the
262 Tapirapé, called vuaykyra, reaches more than 30 centimeters in
824 circumference and more than half a meter in length. I ate it frequently and with pleasure, boiled or roasted in the embers.

Other tubers that I tried among the Tapirapé, roasted in the
[252] same manner, were from the following plants: (1) a variety of sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas Lam., chetyka in Tapirapé), orange-colored inside and almost like pumpkin in taste; (2) purple cará (Dioscorea spec., urukú-ampaí in Tapirapé), purple inside, shaped

262 like a turnip, the size of a child's fist, and slightly more pungent
824 in taste than the white cará with which we are familiar; (3) this
[177] same white cará, which was imported from the Whites as is shown by its Tapirapé name of mayrangkanakuera (mayra, "White man"; kaná, "cará"; kuera, "that was"), often 70 centimeters in circumference, half a meter in length, and tasteless; (4) a third Dioscoreacea, found wild in the forest and called kanachinga or "white cará" in Tapirapé because the tubers are white inside, which is shaped like a carrot, 20 centimeters around, 30 centimeters long, and as tasteless as mairangkanakuera; (5) a yam that reaches 60 centimeters in circumference and 35 in length (Alocasia spec., iampokumaé in Tapirapé), tastier than the various cará; (7) a smaller yam called uvanchaira in Tapirapé. It is a known fact that the sweet potato and the cará plants are autochthonous to America, while the yams are imported (cf. Hoehne 2, 187). The Tapirapé assert that they cultivated iampokumaé in remote times and remember having received uvanchaira from the Whites.

Hans Staden (v. 3) liked the sweet potato of the Tupinambá
171 and wrote its name as jettiki. The Tupi term was entered in the
824 vernacular as jetica (Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua
192 Portuguesa [Small Brazilian Dictionary of the Portuguese Language], 5th edition, 1944). Stradelli (500), in his Nheêngatu vocabulary, [114:189] listed iutyca as the word for "potato." Incidentally, the Tapirapé plant chetyka only in small quantities. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Aside from the tubers mentioned above, bananas are the vege-
262 table food of greatest importance to the Tapirapé. Like manioc, they are gathered by these Indians almost throughout the entire year. At the time of my visit in July, 1947, however, there were considerably fewer bananas and other foodstuffs in the village than in the months of June to August, 1935. In Chapter 2, it has al-
[192] ready been mentioned that the generic term chatá or tatá, with
[171] which the inhabitants of Tampiitáua designate the bananas they cultivate, resembles the Karajá word for this fruit. In Tampiitáua I ate the following varieties of this Musacea.

262 (1) A banana 30 centimeters long and from 15 to 20 centi-
824 meters in circumference, the largest one cultivated by the Tapirapé and for this reason called tatahó, that is, the generic term plus the augmentative. The neo-Brazilians of the Araguaia call it

262 "long banana." It is probably a variety of the banana da terra
824 (Musa paradisiaca L., normalis subspec.). During my first stay with the Tapirapé, they ate it every day in large quantities. I, too, never tired of devouring the huge and extremely tasty fruits, with the result that my body acquired the same proportions as those of a horse that feeds on grass alone for months at a stretch.
252 The [114:190] Tapirapé gather these bananas when green and hang them inside the house until they become yellow and ripe. Then they expose them to the sun until they are black outside and turning brownish inside. To achieve this, they place them on wooden frameworks that are erected at the place where the bananas grew, or at some other place regarded as adequate. The Karajá,
[171] who also cultivate these large bananas, bury them too, and so did the Péua (Takunhapeba) of the lower Xingu visited by Von den Steinen (1, 275). The Tapirapé like to eat these fruits when they are not only rotting, but also warm from the immediate action of the sun or from the sand warmed by its rays. They do not peel
264 them, but open the hard skin a little at one of the tips, put the tip between their lips, and slowly empty the skin by squeezing it with their fingers so that the soft and brownish pulp gradually penetrates into their mouths. In this respect I did not agree with the taste of the Indians, for I found these bananas a revolting thing when rotten and preferred to eat them while still yellow on the outside and pinkish-yellow on the inside, when they were already quite juicy.

262 (2) The white flesh of one of the larger bananas was not dry
824 either, and its sweet flavor was reminiscent of candy permeated with the scent used by a cheap barber, while its skin was pinkish-green. The Tapirapé name for this fruit is tatampiringó. Its length is equal to its circumference, that is to say, about 15 centimeters. My camarada called it "purple banana," asserting that among "civilized people" it reaches twice that circumference. It is probably Musa paradisiaca L., sapientum subspec., rubra var.

(3) The banana 15 centimeters long and ten centimeters in circumference, whose white and soft flesh had a mild flavor and whose green skin did not turn yellow, was probably the "São Tomé"
[252] banana. The Tapirapé hang it inside the house and call it inanchanynî.

(4) The banana called abãbakíngamaé by the Tapirapé is yellow both inside and out and similar in shape and flavor to the tatah banana, although a little smaller and drier.

262 824 (5) Another banana with highly "scented" flesh is also yellow both inside and out as indicated by its name, tatanchova. It is 15 centimeters long and 12 in circumference.

(6) Tatakyra is the name given in Tampiitáua to a green, medium-sized banana that tastes like a very dry potato when roasted in the embers.

[114:191] (7) The inhabitants of this village also cultivate the banana ouro (regia variety of the sapientum subspec.) which in their gardens reaches up to ten centimeters in length and eight in circumference. [Ed., the subsequent paragraph is omitted down to the last sentence.]

[171] The scarcity of bananas noted by Krause [2, 241-242] among the Karajá reveals, in any case, a characteristic difference between these Indians and the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of p. 191, pp. 192-193, and the first paragraph on p. 194 are omitted.]

[114:194] Although the same author [Nordenskiöld] (5, 114 29 and 76) assumes that in view of the similarity of the terms 171 mentioned earlier the Tapirapé became familiar with the banana 824 through the Karajá, we may note that on the extensive list of names used by South American Indians to designate the banana, which was published by Nordenskiöld along with a distribution map (ibid., 78-85 and Map IV), there is no term resembling chatá or tatá.

It is worth noting that the paankuá of the Tapirapé also plays 262 a certain role in their diet. In Tampiitáua, this "wild banana" 824 supplies not only leaves for the thatching of houses, but also seeds that the children eat roasted after removing the skin of the pip. The rather bland flavor is vaguely reminiscent of milk and wheat flour.

Among other wild plants used as food by the Tapirapé, the following should be mentioned.

The tree they call ampí, whose red fruits, shaped like cherries, ripen in October and taste like a sweet cherry.

The mangabeira (Hancornia speciosa Gomes, mangaua in Tapirapé), already described by Gabriel Soares de Sousa (210-211), whose yellow-green fruits, resembling small apples in shape and size, ripen in October. They are eaten raw, and without their skins they taste like a roasted apple. According to Hoehne (2, 227),

262 824 the mangaba [Tr., fruit of the mangabeira] is "the best wild fruit" in the Paressi Range and in many other localities of Mato Grosso and the northeastern part of Brazil.

The palm tree called pinaua by the Tapirapé and macaba by my north-Brazilian camarada, with a nut, slightly larger than a cherry, that ripens in October or November. This nut is boiled [252] until the flesh is softened and then rubbed on a strainer lying in a pot, so that the flesh is worked loose from the pit and falls into the pot where it is boiled in water. The end result is reminiscent of walnuts in flavor and is refreshing.

[114:195] The small nut of another tree, the tucuma palm or tucum-açu (Astrocaryun spec., chavana in Tapirapé) is prized for its oil content and is gathered in October.

The Tapirapé like to eat a kind of mushroom they call yvãpá.

These Indians cultivate several other plants aside from those 243 mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Maize (Zea mays L., 252 avandxí in Tapirapé) is harvested while still green, hung inside 262 the house to yellow, and then crushed and used to make porridge 824 or cauí. Its Tapirapé name corresponds to abati in Staden (e 2), auati in Léry (120), ubatim in Soares de Sousa (199), auatî in Stradelli (384), and abatí in Montoya (2, I, 357 and II, 10). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The seeds of peanuts (Arachis spec., monoví in Tapirapé) are 244 pounded and then added to certain mushes, or else roasted, pounded, 252 and eaten in this way, or roasted and eaten without being subjected 262 to the pestle, or chewed and spit into the pot to ferment and turn 824 into cauí. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195, p. 196, and the first paragraph on p. 197 are omitted.]

262 824 [114:197] In the previous chapter, we mentioned that the Tapirapé women participate in sowing and harvesting only peanuts, [462] maize, and cotton. The observation by the sixteenth century [241] Portuguese author [Gabriel Soares de Sousa] that peanuts are "very hot when eaten excessively," and harmful in certain cases, seems to agree with the idea expressed by the Tapirapé custom that re- [751] quires father and mother to abstain from this food during their child's first two years so as not to endanger his life.

197 The peanuts I saw in large quantities among the Tapirapé seem 17 to be a variety of Arachis nambyquarae. This species was found 244 by Kuhlmann in 1919 among the Nambikuara [Nambicuara] of

137 Pimenta Bueno in the state of Mato Grosso and described by Hoehne
171 (1, 21-22 and Table 190; 2). Like it, the Tapirapé monoví differs
244 from the "common peanut" (Arachis hypogaea) in its size, which is much larger, for its pod may reach seven centimeters in length and its seeds two or three centimeters. According to Hoehne (1, 22), each specimen of Arachis nambyquarae may yield from 50 to 100 pods. Owing to its oil content and abundance, the peanut is
262 of some importance in the Tapirapé diet and also was one of my favorite foods during my stay in Tampiitáua. Krause (2, 241-242, 358-359, and 387) does not mention this plant among the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó. A legend I heard in July, 1947, at the Karajá village of Santa Isabel, however, states that a civilizing hero of that tribe, the evening star, taught them to plant peanuts among other things.

244 Less important than peanuts to the Tapirapé were the large
262 flat beans [Tr., lima beans], slightly larger than those of Europe.
824 Only a few individuals cultivated them, planting them in small quantities. Their Tapirapé name, kumaná, corresponds to comendá in Soares de Sousa (200) and cumandá in Montoya (2, II, 105v) and Stradelli (427). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] The large Tapirapé bean seems to be a variety of [114:198] Phaseolus lunatus L. and thus to belong to the same species as the beans mentioned by Anchieta (Hoehne 2, 107), Thevet (ibid., 132), and Soares de
[252] Sousa (ibid., 211-213). In Tampiitáua, it is boiled in small earthenware pots. Then its green skin is removed. Underneath this skin, the bean is white. I ate it with great pleasure.

Smaller than these beans are the round yellow fruits of a leguminous shrub cultivated by the Tapirapé and called kumaná-yvyraí, "bean-shrub." The neo-Brazilians plant this shrub on Morro da Areia [Tr., a high outcrop hill on the Araguaia River] and other places in the region and give it the name anduzeiro. This name might lead us to assume that the plant belongs to the Cytisus cajanus Lin. species.

262 The Tapirapé use the fruits of certain Cucurbitaceae as recep-
824 tacles after removing the flesh, and they use those of another variety
252 in the same family to prepare a highly prized dish with the juice.
[415] This juice is heated, and as it begins to boil it is mixed in with pounded raw maize; the boiling mixture is stirred for ten minutes until it thickens. Sometimes they add crushed peanuts. In this

252 case, the addition is made before the juice begins to boil. The
262 fruit that supplies this juice reaches 35 centimeters in length, 30
824 in circumference, and has a thick, hard shell. Its Tapirapé name is koruanchoa, choa (or chova) referring to the color yellow. The neo-Brazilians in the area know this fruit by the name croá which, according to the Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa, 5th edition, is synonymous with cruá, crauá, and melão-caboclo (Sicana odorifera Naud.) [Tr., the cassabanana]. In Stradelli's Nheêngatú vocabulary (435), curúua is "a kind of squash covered with protuberances." [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

249 Kamairahó's small sugar-cane plantation lay close to
263 Tampiitáua in 1935. No other member of the tribe owned a plan-
114 tation of Saccharum officinarum L., and in 1947 I did not see any.
[177] The sugar cane was used exclusively for sucking and was a recent
[171] import. Krause (2, 242) refutes Ehrenreich's statement that the Karajá planted sugar cane on sandbars, and says that what he saw was manioc and maize. He writes in reference to those Indians: "... I saw no sugar cane. If they had possessed it, they probably would not have been so eager for my sugar... " This conclusion is wrong. The fact that they sucked on sugar cane never kept the Tapirapé from asking for my rapadura [Tr., raw brown sugar in lumps].

252 These Indians make beiju (meijú or mãjú in their language),
262 sometimes with the tapioca extracted from manioc mash, as already mentioned, [114:199] and at other times with peanut or maize flour. According to Ayrosa (1, 54), the word "mbeiú or mbeyú of the Tupi-Guarani" is "equivalent to 'coil,' 'roll,' 'fold,' etc." The same author (ibid., 51-54) lists several varieties of this cake, which has been described by various authors. The Tapirapé beijú is similar in shape to the so-called beiju-açú, which is a large, thin disk roasted in a shallow earthen pan. It is not everyday food. During my stays in Tampiitáua, I saw it only once. This was on June 29, 1935, at the time of a festival of "masks." They placed a large pan full of these disks of manioc-mash tapioca, made by Anampí, the wife of Tanupanchoa, in the middle of the takana. This important man offered it to several of the people
171 present and apportioned it himself. I, too, got my share and liked
252 it. Hans Staden (q 2) mentions similar Tupinambá cakes made in the
262 same fashion with the same material and writes their name as byyw.
192

171 According to Karl von den Steinen (2, 539), the Kamayurá voice
192 a nasalized meiũ, that is to say, almost meniũ (meyu and menyu
252 in his spelling). The same author (ibid., Fig. 54) reproduces a
●262 spade decorated with geometric designs that was used by these Indians to turn the cakes over. In Tampiitáua I did not see any special implement for this purpose, and in Wagley's collection at the [Brazilian] National Museum there is nothing like it either. [Ed., the last two sentences concluding the section in Vol. 114 are omitted.]

[115:255] To the Tapirapé, the most important vegetable
262 dish is unquestionably cauĩ.! [Ed., five sentences are omitted.]
171 In sixteenth century references, the intoxicating drinks of the
192 Tupinambá appear as Kaa.wy and Kawi in the spelling of the German Hans Staden (e 2, f 3), Cahouin in Thevet (1, 121), and Caou-in in De Léry (125). The nasalized i indicated by the two
194 Frenchmen, and later pointed out in various Tupi languages by authors coming from different countries, does not exist either in Tapirapé or in Kamayurá, but in both these languages the u in kauĩ is nasalized, and the i is the tonic syllable (cf. Von den Steinen 2, 213). Furthermore, neither the [115:256] Tapirapé
[273] nor the Kamayurá make intoxicating beverages. The Tapirapé
272 designate with the word kauĩ their peanut, maize, manioc, cotton-
192 seed, squash, and banana soups, and even straight drinking water
171 (ỹ-kauĩ), while the Kamayurá use this term for the simple refreshing drink made of water and crumbled beiju (ibid.). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The kauĩ of the Tapirapé is not always made exclusively from
272 one of the plants mentioned above. There are mixtures, such as crushed maize with chewed peanuts or with chewed cottonseed. No other plant aside from those listed are used, however, and no such soups are made, for example, with cará or yams. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 256 and the first paragraph on p. 257 are omitted.]

[115:257] None of the [early] authors mentions expressly the
[114] three kinds of cauĩ that are made by the Tapirapé with cotton seeds,
[252] peanuts, and squash. As I have already mentioned, the cotton seeds are chewed with crushed maize. The resulting drink has a yellowish-green appearance and little flavor. It is true that the
171 Tupinambá of Bahia also found those seeds nutritious, but they pre-
252 pared them in a different fashion. Gabriel Soares de Sousa (235)

124 pictures is much larger than the original, while the opposite applies to most other animals. It is especially difficult to identify various kinds of fish which vary considerably in actual size.

I shall transcribe from Rodolpho von Ihering's book the
128 colloquial and scholarly names, while sometimes omitting that of the species. Most of the errors which I have probably committed in spite of this precaution will thus, I hope, easily be corrected by zoologists. It is well to call the attention of those who study
[825] the geographic distribution of animals to the fact that the Tapirapé are not familiar with the species represented by R. von Ihering and omitted from the following list, for I showed them all the figures in the book. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

[Tr., the following list is summarized from the original text, and omissions have not been indicated. To avoid confusion, it should be emphasized that the first name listed is the Tapirapé term. Its translation is given in Portuguese when there is no English equivalent or it is uncertain, and in most cases the Brazilian term is of Tupi derivation.]

## MAMMALS

136 (1) anyrá -- bats in general. Not eaten.

•262 (2) tatu -- hairy six banded armadillo (Euphractus sexcinctus). Eaten by men. [117:94] The Tapirapé were not familiar with the nine-banded armadillo (Dasypus novemcinctus) in Fig. 15.

(3) tamanua -- great anteater (Myrmecophaga jubata). Eaten.

(4) tamanduá-beva -- small anteater (Tamandua tetradactylus). Eaten by men and youths, not by boys or women.

(5) chingó -- sloth (species of the Bradypodidae family). Not eaten. The Tapirapé word may arouse doubts, for it differs completely from the Tupi term mentioned by numerous authors.

(6) tapidjí -- tapiti (Tr., a small hare-like rodent] (Sylvilagus minensis). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 19.

(7) kuanohó -- rat (a species). They used this name for the wild rat (Axymycterus nasutus) in Fig. 20, as well as the coypu [117:95] (Myocastor coypus) in Fig. 22. Considering the great

136 differences in size and general appearance between these two
262 rodents, and taking the information by R. von Ihering (25) that the second one "is found only in the southern Brazilian states," I take it that the Tapirapé made a mistake. They said of both that only men eat them. It is also interesting to note the augmentative suffix ho when we read of the coypu: "Its body has the shape of a huge rat, but in size it is almost an agouti with short legs and a rat tail, almost as long as the body, measuring from 45 to 55 centimeters" (ibid.). The same Tapirapé word with the diminutive suffix i, that is, kuanoí, designates the coendou which I shall mention under item 12.

(8) kereroá -- rice rat (Calomys longicaudatus). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering s Fig. 21.

(9) anuchá -- mouse that lives in tree trunks and not on the ground. Not depicted by R. von Ihering.

(10) anochaó -- mouse that builds a straw nest. Not depicted by R. von Ihering. The suffix o is augmentative.

(11) Vuavedeí -- serelepe [Tr., a kind of chipmunk or ground squirrel] (Sciurus spec.). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 23.

(12) kuanoí -- porcupine (Coendu spec.). Eaten by the men.

(13) ampereá -- cavy (Cavia aperea). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering s Fig. 25.

(14) ankuchí, akutí -- agouti (Dasyprocta spec.). Eaten.

[171] (15) kanoanó -- paca (Coelogenys paca). Eaten. It is interesting to note that the Tapirapé are not familiar with the Tupi word paca. Many white hunters regard the meat of this animal as the best in the world.

[117:96] (16) angkampíyvuana -- capybara (Hydrochoerus capybara). Eaten by grown men. According to Karl von den Steinen, (1, 174) the meat of the capybara tastes like "machine oil."

(17) ypiravuira -- white porpoise (Inia geoffroyensis). Not eaten. This fresh-water variety is not depicted by R. von Ihering. Joaquim Branco (XVI, 213) gives pirayaguara as the name of the white Amazon porpoise, adding that this means "dog-fish" (cf. also Stradelli, 132 and 603). The Tapirapé word, however, means "bird-fish."

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(18) auvaná -- agouara (Canis jubatus). Not eaten.

The Tapirapé were not familiar with the wild dog depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 40.

(19) koandji -- coati (Nasua narica). Eaten.

(20) eirana -- tayra (Tayra barbara). Eaten by the men.

(21) mykura. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the zorrilho [Tr., a conepate] depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 45. It is known, however, that mycura or mucura is the name given in the Amazon to marsupials of the Didelphys genus called gambá in the south of the country (cf. Stradelli 568, R. von Ihering 9). The Tapirapé were not familiar with the opossum (Didelphys aurita) represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 1. The Tapirapé do not eat the animal they call mykura.

(22) chauatanangka -- giant river otter (Pteronura brasiliensis). Not eaten.

(23) chauvuanohó -- jaguar (Felis onza). Eaten by the men. This Tapirapé word covers both the spotted and the black jaguars. In Tapirapé, chauvuana means "dog" (Canis familiaris), ho being the augmentative suffix.

[117:97]

(24) chauvuápinima -- spotted jaguar.

(25) chauangpytyngó -- cougar (Felis concolor). Eaten by the men.

(26) manangganchaí -- wild cat (Felis spec.). Eaten by the men.

(27) tampiira -- tapir (Tapirus americanus). Eaten by the men.

(28) chinguá -- catêto or caitetu [Tr., a wild pig] (Dicotyles tayassu). Eaten. The Yekuaná do not eat the tongue, heart, or brains of this animal, which is their favorite game (Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 335-336). Among the Tapirapé, however, I found persons who greatly appreciated the brains (cf. Baldus 7, 95).

(29) tanchahó -- white-lipped peccary (Dicotyles albirostris). Eaten.

(30) opokú -- marsh deer (Dorcelaphus dichotomus). Eaten by men who do not have small children.

(31) ochinga -- savanna deer (Dorcelaphus bezoarcticus). Eaten by the men. I found its meat very dry.

(32) mianá -- brocket (Mazama americana). Eaten.

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[117:98]

(33) anakuahó -- brocket (Mazama simplicicornis). Eaten. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book.

The Tapirapé were not familiar with the hairy saki or fox-tailed monkey (Pithecia monachus) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 66.

(34) antamanĩ -- saki (species?) Eaten by the men.

(35) yaĩ -- ring-necked titi (Callicebus torquatus). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 71).

(36) kaĩ -- capuchin monkey (Cebus spec.) Eaten. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book. I ate its meat often and found it good either boiled or roasted.

(37) kai-ió -- howling monkey (Allouatta spec.). Eaten by the men. (kaĩ: cf. No. 36.)

(38) kokykoky - spider monkey (Ateles spec.) Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 76. [Ed., end of Vol. 117.]

[118:117] BIRDS

(39) vuyrá, uyrá -- bird in general. Many kinds of birds are eaten only by the men. The Tapirapé Kamaira listed 97 bird names for my companion F.C. Kegel.

(40) vuyranchampokáinia -- domestic chicken. Eaten.

(41) chanoó -- rhea (Rhea americana). Eaten by the men.

(42) oró -- capueira partridge (Odontophorus spec.). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 79.

(43) muitú -- curassow (Crax spec.). The Tapirapé distinguish the sexes, calling the male muitunoó because it is larger than the female, which is spotted in contrast to the male and hence called muitupinima. Eaten.

[118:118]

(44) inomõ -- tinamou (Crypturus spec.). Eaten.

(45) changkú -- guan (Penelope spec.). Eaten. The guan is relatively abundant on the Araguaia, easy to hunt, and the favorite dish of the Tapirapé.

(46) tepangkuá -- tinamou (Crypturus noctivagus). Eaten.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the doves depicted by R. von Ihering in Figs. 85 and 86.

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(b) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the white-faced tree-duck (Dendrocygna viduata) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 87.

(c) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the horned screamer (Palamedea cornuta) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 88.

(47) uyrahõ -- jabiru (Mycteria mycteria). Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé name means literally "large bird." I found its meat strongly redolent of fish.

(48) mauaní -- American stork (Euxenura maguari). Eaten. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw the bird depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 91, which therefore belongs to the Ciconidae and not to the Ardeidae family.

(49) vuaná -- roseate spoonbill (Ajaja ajaja). Eaten.

(50) akakõ -- wood rail (species?) The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw Aramides saracura in R. von Ihering's Fig. 99 and asserted that the men eat this bird of the Rallidae family.

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(51) karakaraka -- tapicurú [Tr., an ibis]. Eaten by the men. The Tapirapé thought that this bird of the Ibididae family, which is not depicted in R. von Ihering's book, resembles the wood rail in Fig. 99, although it has a longer beak. I liked its meat. My companion, Mr. Kegel, found it very "oily."

(52) anangkura - seriema (Microdactylus cristatus). Eaten by the men. When I recorded this Tapirapé word, its similarity to saracura [Tr., Portuguese for No. 50] led me to think that a confusion had been made between the two wading birds depicted in R. von Ihering's book one beside the other. But the Tapirapé removed my doubts, and in any case I found in Kissenberth's (2, 59) short Tapirapé vocabulary the word arãkorí with the German translation Strausfsart, that is, "kind of ostrich," which can only be the seriema since this author (ibid.) gives the same Tapirapé word for "rhea," with a slight difference in spelling, as I listed under No. 41 above.

(53) vuangká -- biguá-tinga [Tr., a darter] (Plotus anhinga). Eaten.

(54) yrevú pevõ -- common or black vulture (Catharista atratus brasiliensis). Not eaten.

(55) yrevú chingú -- king vulture (Gypagus papa). Not eaten.

(56) yrevú ampaá -- red-headed vulture (Cathartes aura). Not eaten. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book.

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(57) tampiikyvanchinga -- caracara (Milvago chimachima or similar species). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 104.

(58) tamyngó -- carancho [Tr., a hawk] (Polyborus tharus or similar species). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 105.

(59) pypypypyó -- harpy eagle (Thrasaetus harpyia). Eaten by the men.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the burrowing owl depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 107.

(60) urukureá -- striped owl (species?). Eaten by grown men. The name given by the Tapirapé was known to the sixteenth century Tupi of Bahia.

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(61) vuantori(n)iá -- hoatzin (Opisthocomus cristatus). Only old people eat this bird after removing its skin, which is also done by the few neo-Brazilians who do not scorn its flesh, for the hoatzin is also called catingueiro [stinker] by the frontiersmen owing to its penetrating odor. The Tapirapé use the word ikanchíng, "stinking," in referring to it. This bird abounds on the banks of the Tapirapé and middle Araguaia, and it is easy to hunt because it is clumsy and slow. These Indians kill it to feather their arrows with its plumes. Not mentioned in R. von Ihering's book.

(62) ypekú -- woodpecker in general. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé use this name not only for the climbing birds of the Picidae family, but also the bird of the Dendrocolaptidae family depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 132.

(63) chryvá -- motmot (Momotus spec.). Eaten by adults.

(64) tatauantí -- kingfisher (Ceryle spec.). Eaten by grown men.

(65) vuainomy -- hummingbird in general. Eaten. R. von Ihering's Figs. 112, 114-116.

(66) yvychangó -- taperá [Tr., a swallow]. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw Chaetura cinereiventris in R. von Ihering's Fig. 117.

(67) urutauí -- potoo (Nyctibius spec.). Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw the ringed nighthawk depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 118, a bird belonging to a different genus but to the same Caprimulgideae family.

(68) tuichinga -- parakeet. Eaten by the men. The Tapirapé gave this name, which means "white tuí [parakeet]" when they

136 262 saw the Pyrrhura vittata in R. von Ihering's Fig. 119. They were not familiar with the parakeet (Psittacula passerina) depicted in Fig. 123.

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(69) arana -- scarlet macaw (Ara spec.). Eaten by grown men.

(70) kaníné -- blue-and-yellow macaw (Ara ararauna). Eaten by grown men. Among the Tapirapé, I several times ate the tough flesh of this bird which does not become tender even when boiled for a long time.

(71) anchoró -- parrot (Amazona spec.). Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave me this word when they saw the Amazona aestiva in R. von Ihering's Fig. 121.

(72) tokynó -- toucan (Rhamphastus spec.). Eaten.

(73) pyichíva -- a kind of "small toucan," smaller than tokynó. Eaten.

(74) anú -- common ani (Crotophaga ani). Eaten by men and boys. R. von Ihering's Fig. 125.

(75) anachychyryó -- quiriru [Tr., guira cuckoo] (Octopteryx guira). Eaten by men and boys.

(76) pytauvuyó -- bem-te-vi [Tr., tyrant-flycatcher family] (Pitangus sulphuratus). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 127.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the cagassebinho [Tr., a small tyrant bird] represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 128.

(b) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the ant shrike (Thamnophilus caerulescens), a bird of the Formicariideae family depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 129.

(c) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the lavandeira (Fluvicola albiventris) represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 130.

(d) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the spine-tail (Synallaxis spixi) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 131.

(e) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the oven-bird (Furnarius rufus) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 134.

(77) aviá -- thrush (Turdus spec.). But the Tapirapé were not familiar with the dusky thrush (Turdus amaurochalinus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 135.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the yellow sugarbird (Callospiza flava) in R. Ihering's Fig. 139.

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(78) ancoíchinghó -- oriole (Xanthomus jamacai). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 141.

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262 (79) angkaé -- jay (Uroleuca cyanoleuca or Cyanocorax spec.?). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 142.

(80) champohú -- japu [Tr., oriole family] (Ostinops decumanus). Eaten by grown men. A large bird of the Icteridae family. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book.

## REPTILES

(81) changkané -- alligator in general. Eaten by the men. I ate meat from the tail of a grown alligator on the Araguaia, and found it pleasantly tender and so characteristic that it did not recall either fish or the flesh of any mammal.

(82) chauvatí-pevoú -- cágado [Tr., a semi-aquatic, fresh-water turtle]. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw Hydrispis hilarii in R. von Ihering's Fig. 147. They eat the flesh and the eggs.

(83) chauvatió -- turtle. Eaten. This word, which means "large turtle," was given on seeing the tartaruga do mar [literally, "sea turtle"] (Talassochelis carreta) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 149. It is probable, however, that the word referred to the tartaruga da Amazônia (Podocnemis expansa).

(a) I did not get the Tapirapé word for the tracajá [Tr., a semi-aquatic, fresh-water turtle] (Podocnemis cayennensis) which is not depicted in R. von Ihering's book, but I saw the inhabitants of Tampiitáua eat one of those small chelonians which they had caught when it climbed the sandy river bank in order to lay eggs. The entire animal was roasted in the embers with its eggs alongside.

(84) chauvatí-été -- jaboti [Tr., a fruit-eating tortoise] (Testudo tabulata). Eaten. I found its flesh very flabby when I ate it on the Tapirapé river bank.

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(85) chauvachí-amperanchí -- matamata (Chelys fimbriata). Eaten by the men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 151.

(86) When they saw the limbless lizard (Amphisbaena alba) represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 153, the Tapirapé merely said maiá or máia, their word for snakes in general. They said that they do not eat this animal.

(87) tané -- small lizard. Not eaten. The Tapirapé gave this name for Hemidactyeus mabuia in R. von Ihering's Fig. 154, as well

136 as to Diploglossus fasciatus in Fig. 155.

262 (88) amereva -- mabuia agilis. Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 157.

(a) The Tapirapé were unfamiliar with the teioid (Microblepharus maximiliani) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 158.

(89) chichuputereva -- teju (Tupinambis teguixin). Not eaten.

(90) anemy -- iguana (Iguana tuberculata). Eaten by grown men.

(91) kamechorânia. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the papavento [Tr., lizard of iguana family] (Anolis punctatus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 161. They said that they do not eat it.

(92) kovianá -- truira-peva [Tr., small lizard of iguana family (Hoplocercus spinosus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 164.

(93) maichiningó -- rattlesnake (Crotalus terrificus). Not eaten.

[118:124]

(94) maiayva -- jararaca [Tr., pit viper] (Lachesis lanceolatus). Not eaten.

(95) okumaní. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the "false coral" (Oxyrhopus trigeminus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 181 and the "true coral" (Micrurus corallinus) in Fig. 183 of the same author. Not eaten.

(96) urukukú -- bushmaster (Lachesis mutus). Not eaten.

(97) maioó -- anaconda (Eunectes murinus). Not eaten. The Tapirapé word means literally "large snake." It is the largest snake in the world. R. von Ihering's Fig. 185.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the harmless cobra-nova (Drymobius bifossatus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 186.

(98) machukyry. The Tapirapé gave this term when they saw the tree snake (Chironius) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 187, and said that they do not eat this animal.

## AMPHIBIANS

(99) tayra. The Tapirapé gave this word, which is used by sons to designate their fathers, when they saw the tadpoles represented in R. von Ihering's Fig. 191, the butterfly larva in Fig. 464, and the butterfly chrysalid in Fig. 465. They said that they eat the tadpoles.

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(100) choí -- frog. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw Nototrema fissipes in R. von Ihering's Fig. 192.

(101) kororó -- toad (Bufo marinus). Not eaten.

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(102) chyioó -- horned frog (Ceratophrys spec.). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 196.

(103) vuavá -- frog. Eaten by grown men. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw Leptodactylus caliginosus in R. von Ihering's Fig. 197.

(104) mantereva. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the frog (Dendrobates tinctorius) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 198. They added that they do not eat this batrachian.

(105) kurtúa -- small tree toad (Hyla spec.). Eaten by the men.

(106) choipapevó -- frog (Phyllomedusa spec.). Eaten by the men. [Ed., end of Vol. 118.]

[119:79] FISH

(107) xpirá -- fish in general. My traveling companion, Reverend F.C.Kegel, gathered 54 Tapirapé names for fish.

(108) chavevuyra -- fresh-water ray in general. Eaten.

(109) pirampokó -- literally, "long fish." This is what the Tapirapé call the barracuda (Sphyraena barracuda) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 224, asserting that they eat this marine fish, which also goes into fresh waters according to what I was told by Dr. Antenor Leitão de Carvalho of the National Museum in Rio de Janeiro.

(110) ampakochingó. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the look-down (Selene vomer) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 225, and they added that they eat this animal. No doubt they confused it with another fish, for Dr. Leitão de Carvalho told me that this marine fish does not go into fresh waters, which do, however, contain similar species.

(111) chauevychanché. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the flounder (Achirus lineatus) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 227, adding that they eat this fish, which goes into fresh waters, according to Dr. Leitão de Carvalho. R. von Ihering himself (158)

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asserts that there are flounders which are "perfectly adapted to fresh water and found as far as the upper Amazon and Mato Grosso." The Tapirapé word seems to be made up of chavevuyra, "ray" (cf. No. 108) and chancé, "father's sister" (as said by the men), thus meaning "ray's paternal aunt." This hypothesis becomes more reasonable when we consider that both fishes have a thoroughly flattened body and both live at the bottom of the water with their white side facing down and the side where the eyes are located facing up. It is also appropriate to recall that the Kaingang word for the centipede means, literally, "snake's father-in-law" (Baldus 11, 157).

(112) mairampeyá. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the swellfish (Spheroides spengleri) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 234, and [119-80] they added that they eat this marine fish. According to the same author (ibid., 158), there are swellfish adapted to fresh water in the Amazon and in Mato Grosso.

(113) moó. The Tapirape gave this word when they saw the moray eel (Lycodontis moringa) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 248, and said that, among them, the men eat this animal. They probably confused this marine fish with the snake eel (Symbranchus marmoratus) which looks very much like the moray eel and lives in fresh water.

(114) purangké -- electric eel (Electrophorus electricus). Eaten by the men.

(115) chechoó -- piracuru [Pr., or pirarucu, a giant Amazon fish] (Arapaima gigas). Eaten by the men.

(116) chechó. This small fish, highly prized by the Tapirapé, is probably the jeju (Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus). In Chapter 5, I alluded to the possibility that this Tapirapé word may be part of the name of the village Chechotíua. As for the relationship between chechó and chechoó, that is, "big chechó," one should mention what Stradelli (467) noted about those two scaled fresh-water fish of such divergent size. According to this author, the fishermen of the lower Amazon say that the jeju is the best bait for catching pirarucu with the hook. Would this indicate a magical relationship?

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the catfish (Paulicea lütkni) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 259.

(117) crovi - arubim (Pseudoplatystoma corruscans). Eaten.

136 (118) tauvanuí. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw
262 the river catfish (Pseudopimelodus zungaro) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 261, and stated that they eat this fish.

(119) tocoropy. This is what the Tapirapé called the spotted fresh-water catfish (Pimelodus clarias) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 262, stating that they eat this fish.

(120) chaniú -- small catfish (Pimelodus). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 263.

(121) itaiaí -- cambeva [Tr., a catfish] (Pygidium brasiliensis). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 264.

(122) chaniaubó -- fresh-water catfish (Pimelodella brasiliensis). Cf. No. 120, chaniú. Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 265.

(123) atavachipeva -- mailed catfish (Loricaria spec.). Eaten.

(124) moró -- mailed catfish (Plecostumus spec.). Eaten.

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(125) amoatá -- armored catfish (Callichthys spec.). Eaten. According to Plínio Ayrosa (4, 148) "the meaning of this name is probably to be found in the variant camboatá, from kaíbo-atá, 'one that walks through the forest,' because these fish, which are supplied with richly vascular hairlike appendages serving for respiratory purposes, can move about freely on land when they intend to move from one waterway to another." It is proper, however, to raise the possibility of a relationship between the Tapirapé words amoatá and amatíua, since the latter, meaning "mustache," may allude to the fish's barbs. In any case, the Tapirapé catch and value the tamboatá, and they have a dance that deals with it.

(126) amoatá. The Tapirapé gave this name to the cuiícuiú (Doras marmoratus) depicted in R. von Ihering's Fig. 271, and asserted that they eat it. This fish, distinguished from the amoatá by its augmentative suffix, resembles it in that it also has barbs and also moves about on land.

(127) anampá -- fresh-water eel (Carapus fasciatus). Eaten by the men.

(128) antanghopaná -- pirá-tamanduá [Tr., pirá is the Tupi word for "fish," and tamanduá for "anteater"] (Sternarchus curvirostris). Eaten.

(129) aknú -- acará [Tr., a fresh-water cichlid] (Geophagus brasiliensis). Eaten.

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(130) changkonã -- jacundá [Tr., a cichloid fish] (Cremicichla spec.). Eaten.

(131) tukumaré -- tucumaré (Cichla spec.). Eaten. This fish, reaching half a meter in length, is among those most highly valued by the Tapirapé and is killed by them with bow and arrow. Not depicted by R. von Ihering.

(132) vuananaõ -- corumbatá (Prochilodus spec.). Eaten.

(133) vuananaí. The Tapirapé gave this diminutive form of the word listed under No. 132 when they saw the chimboré (Anostomus kneri) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 279, next to his Fig. 278 which depicts the corumbatá [No. 132]. Indeed, head excluded, there are many similarities between these two fish as represented here, Fig. 278 being slightly larger than the other. The Tapirapé asserted that they eat vuananaí.

(134) ipiúna -- piava [Tr., a small fresh-water fish] (Leporinus spec.). Eaten.

(135) ipirápechova -- lambari-guaçu [Tr., lambari is a Tupi word for "minnow"; guaçu is a Tupi augmentative suffix]. Eaten. The Tapirapé gave this word, which literally signifies "flat yellow fish," when they saw Tetragonopterus rutilus in R. von Ihering's Fig. 282.

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(136) pekakuhama -- lambari-mirim [Tr., mirim is a Tupi diminutive suffix] (Characidium fasciatum). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 283.

(137) aikyngapeva -- dog-fish or saincanga (Acestrorhamphus hepsetus). Eaten.

(138) tanayra -- trafra [Tr., lungfish?] (Hoplias malabaricus). Eaten.

(139) ipirãniõnõ -- piranha in general (Pygocentrus and Serrassalmus genera). Eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 288.

## MOLLUSKS

(140) iry -- shellfish in general.

(141) champoroõ. This word was given by the Tapirapé when they saw Planorbis peregrinus in R. von Ihering's Fig. 316. Not eaten.

136 262 (142) tatyŭ -- Strophocheilus oblongus. Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 321.

## CRUSTACEANS

(143) machiy -- fresh-water shrimp (Bithynis spec.). Eaten.

(144) vuananõ -- fresh-water crab in general, literally, "large crab." Eaten.

(145) vuapema. This word, which means literally "flat crab," was given when the Tapirapé saw the guaiŭ das pedras (Panopaeus herbstii) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 356. They asserted that they eat this crab.

## ARACHNOIDS

136 262 (146) china. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the scorpion (Tytius bahiensis) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 362, and asserted that they do not eat it.

(147) chanõ -- spider in general. Not eaten. The Tapirapé are familiar with several of the spiders depicted in R. von Ihering's book, without [119:83] identifying them, however, with specific names. They call the spider web chanõini, ini being also the word for "hammock."

(148) tantevoga -- tick in general. Not eaten (except for those taken directly from the human body). The Tapirapé made no distinctions among the ticks depicted by R. von Ihering.

## MYRIAPODS

(149) amoévaŭ -- millipede (Leptodesmus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 390.

(150) amoŭ -- millipede (Rhinocricus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 391.

(151) chapanŭ -- centipede (Scolopendra). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 393.

## INSECTS

(152) tokorí -- leaping insect in general. Not eaten.

(153) tokoró ambipém -- esperança (an orthopteran). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 397.

(154) tokoró. The Tapirapé gave this name when they saw the lantern fly (Fulgora lanternaria) in R. von Ihering's Fig. 430. I was unable to determine whether they establish a relationship between this homopteron and the insects mentioned under Nos. 152 and 153, or whether a confusion is involved. They asserted that they do not eat this insect.

(155) kyngeyma -- twig insect. Phasmida. Not eaten. The Tapirapé word is probably made up of kynga, "bone," and yma, a negative suffix. This would be quite significant considering the appearance of this insect, which looks like a stick when motionless. R. von Ihering's Fig. 398.

(156) tiraná -- praying mantis (Stagmatoptera predicatoria). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 399.

(157) pykapykáua -- cricket (Gryllus spec.). Not eaten. The Tapirapé word [119:84] is related to the generic term for "butterfly," that is, pykápyká (cf. No. 170). R. von Ihering's Fig. 400.

(158) ygechuchauana -- mole cricket (Gryllotalpa spec.). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 401.

(159) anavé, anaué, araué -- cockroach (Blatella germanica L.). Not eaten. In Chapter 7 I described the important role played by this insect in the life of the Tapirapé.

(160) kupí -- termite in general. Not eaten.

(161) chichinó -- dragonfly. The Tapirapé gave this name not only to the cavalo-de-cão [Tr., spider wasp] (Aeschnidae) in Fig. 412, but also to the neuropteran in Fig. 409. They used the name chichina for the ichneumonidan in Fig. 511 and the vespid (Synoeca) in Fig. 529. The four insects mentioned are represented with open wings, and this may have led the Indians to find similarities and to give terms distinguished from one another by the augmentative suffix. They asserted that they do not eat these four insects.

(162) ímpeímpeí. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word on seeing pictures of insects as diverse as the following ones: psocid (Atropos), Fig. 413; thysanopteran, Fig. 415; aquatic bug (Belostoma),

136 Fig. 422; notonectid, Fig. 423; bedbug (Acanthia lectularia),
•262 Fig. 424; cercopid, Fig. 425; aphid, rose louse (Aphis rosae), Fig. 428; cicada (Zammara tympanum), Fig. 429; buprestidan (Conognatha), Fig. 450; meloid (Lytta), Fig. 451; brenthid (Brenthis), Fig. 452; curculionid (Heilipus), Fig. 453; curculionid (Heilipus), Fig. 453; curculionid (Entimus), Fig. 454; Cerambycidae, Figs. 455 (Lophnocercus), 456 and 457; coccinellid (Neda), Fig. 458; staphylinid (Paederus), Fig. 459; hydrophilid, Fig. 462. None of them are eaten.

(163) kyva -- head louse (Pediculus capitis). These parasites
[515] are eaten when picked from beloved persons. In fact, since this insect is always related to a particular person, I heard its Tapirapé name only in connection with the possessive, that is, chekyva, "my louse," anenekyva, "your louse," ikyva, "his or her louse."

(164) inimákyrynga -- hammock louse (inî means "hammock"), probably the body louse (Pediculus vestimenti). It is larger than the [119:85] head louse and assailed me painfully, while I never harbored any of the innumerable head lice of the Tapirapé in spite of the fact that I offered them many opportunities for transmigration. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua ate the hammock louse when they caught it in flagrante. According to Gabriel Soares de Sousa (325), this insect also existed among the Tupinambá.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the ephemeris in Fig. 410.

(165) mechuã. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word when they saw pictures of the following Hemiptera: reduviid, the blood-sucking conenose bug (Triatoma megistus) in Fig. 417; pyrrhocorid (Dysdercus ruficollis) in Fig. 418; coreid in Fig. 419; Pentatomidae in Figs. 420 and 421. None of them are eaten.

(166) ypehaga. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word when they saw pictures of the following Coleoptera: passalid (Neleus), Fig. 439; lucanid (Leptinopterus), Fig. 440; cetonian (Gymnetes), Fig. 442; Melolonthidae (Macrodactylus), Fig. 443; rutelian (Pelidnota), Fig. 444; carabid (Galerita), Fig. 445; cicindelid (Tetracha), Fig. 446; erotylid (Cypherotylus), Fig. 447. None of these beetles are eaten.

(167) byrema -- dynastid (Coelosis) and Scarabaeid (Phanacus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Figs. 441 and 449.

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(168) anerechinga -- Lymexilonidae (Atractocerus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Fig. 448.

(169) takuereré, takuarereka - firefly in general; takú means "hot." Not eaten.

(170) pykápyká. The Tapirapé gave this generic name to all the Lepidoptera, butterflies as well as moths, not differentiating among families and species. They also gave the same name when they saw the Membracidae in Figs. 426 and 427 and the trichopteran in Fig. 463. As already mentioned under No. 99, they call larvae and chrysalids tayra. In contrast to other native peoples (cf. Thurnwald 106), the Tapirapé are familiar with butterfly metamorphosis. They do not eat these insects at any stage of their life cycle.

(171) if -- small nocturnal blood-sucking mosquito, perhaps a variety of birigui [Tr., a small blood-sucking sand fly] (Phlebotomus).

(a) I did not obtain from the Tapirapé the name for the mosquito pólvora [Tr., a small blood-sucking sand fly] (Culicoides spec.).

(172) ipió, ipioeté -- gnat (Simulium spec.). It is eaten when caught in flagrante.

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(173) ipiochinga -- lambe-olhos [Tr., literally "graze-eye"; a stingless honeybee (Trigona duckei). Eaten when caught in flagrante. This bee, incidentally the smallest in the world, is not depicted by R. von Ihering.

(174) tanchió, tanchiú -- muriçoca mosquito (Anopheles spec.). Eaten when caught in flagrante.

(175) merú. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word when they saw the pictures of the stable fly (Stomoxys calcitrans) in Fig. 494, the Stratiomyiidae (Tachina melanopyga and Hermetia illucens) in Figs. 497 and 498, and the blowfly (Cochlionvia macellaria) in Fig. 499. Not eaten..

(176) mutuka -- motuca fly [horse fly] (Chrysops and Erephopsis). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Figs. 495 and 496.

(177) iora -- flea (Pulex irritans or Ctenocephalus canis?).

(178) tongá -- chigoe (Tunga penetrans).

136 (179) chauanakaõ. The Tapirapé gave this word when they saw the mutillid depicted in Fig. 518 and known as the "squeak-
262 ing ant" [Tr., in English, "velvet ant"] owing to the sound it emits when caught, and also as "little jaguar" or "jaguar louse" owing to its pattern. A bold etymologist might perhaps interpret the Tapirapé word as "dog song" or even "jaguar song," taking into account not only the sound and the spots, but also the terms mentioned under No. 23 and the fact that kaõ is the name of a specific song in Tapirapé and corresponds to the Guarani term guahũ which means "the barking of dogs" (Recalde 1, 68). There might even be a connection with the large stinger possessed by the female of the species, which causes sufficient pain to draw howls of despair from its victim. The Tapirapé do not eat this insect.

(180) taiyva -- fire ant (Solenopsis geminata). Not in R. von Ihering's book.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the carpenter ant (Prenolepis) in Fig. 519.

(181) mamangao -- bumblebee (Bombus spec.). The Tapirapé asserted that they eat the honey of this large bee that is described as "worthless" by R. von Ihering (256). They call all kinds of
[237] honey and bee eĩ or eirá, and they eat the honey of 20 different bees. My companion F.C. Kegel gathered 29 Tapirapé names for bees.

[119:87]

(182) kaueauá -- mandaçaia [Tr., a stingless honeybee]
[237] (Melipona spec.). They eat the honey of this bee, which incidentally is also regarded as delicious by the Whites. R. von Ihering's Fig. 533.

(183) tateĩ -- jatai (Trigona spec.). They eat the tasty honey
[237] of this small bee. Not depicted in R. von Ihering's book. I dealt with another Trigona species, the graze-eye, under No. 173.

(184) anchova. The Tapirapé gave this name to a small black bee which gets entangled in the hair and which, according to them, does not yield honey. It may be the irapuã [Tr., a small stingless bee] (Trigona ruficrus), whose honey is actually sparse and "worthless" in R. von Ihering's words (256). Not depicted in his book.

(185) káua -- wasp in general. The larvae are eaten roasted in their nest cells and then removed from their cubicles with a twig

136 or by knocking them against the hand. Both men and women eat
262 all wasp larvae. They regard them as special delicacies and usually eat them mixed with manioc flour.

(186) yvyraantana -- tree-living wasp (species?). With the Tapirapé, I ate its white larvae which are two centimeters long. Their taste, extremely floury and sweetish in the unsmoked parts, was not unpleasant. It came from the almost liquid substance of the larva and not from its skin. Several of the larvae were still moving because they had not been as close to the fire as the others. Living or dead, however, they were eaten indiscriminately. [Ed., end of Vol. 119.]

[120:51] We may draw the following conclusions from the preceding list. [Ed., a paragraph giving the first conclusion is omitted.]

171 2. With the exception of the spider monkey (No. 38), there is
262 no animal eaten by the Karajá and not by the Tapirapé, but there are numerous mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibians, fishes, and crustaceans that are eaten by the latter and not by the former.

3. With the exception of the bat (No. 1), which "a few men eat" among the Cherente, and of the teju (No. 89) which "some people eat" among these Indians and which "nowadays some people eat, but no one ate in the old days" among the Kaingang of the Ivaí, there is no animal eaten by these two tribes and not by the Tapirapé. The animals eaten by the latter and not by the Cherente are: the tayra (No. 20), the roseate spoonbill (No. 49), the darter (No. 53), the harpy eagle (No. 59), the owl (No. 60), the motmot (No. 63), the kingfisher (No. 64), the hummingbird (No. 65), the potoo (No. 67), the frog (No. 100), and the crustaceans (Nos. 143 and 144). The following animals are eaten by the Tapirapé and not by the Kaingang: the great anteater (No. 3), the small anteater (No. 4), the porcupine (No. 12), the wild cat (No. 26), the darter (No. 53), the kingfisher (No. 64), the potoo (No. 67), the ani (No. 74), the bem-te-vi (No. 76), the alligator (No. 81), the cágado (No. 82), the horned frog (No. 102), and the crab (No. 144).

[120:52]

4. We see, therefore, that of the four tribes in question, it is the Tapirapé who eat the greatest variety of animals, while the opposite applies to the Karajá.

171
262

5. Just as these four tribes differ among themselves as far as language is concerned, they also differ as far as their concept of the edible is concerned.

6. The majority of the animals eaten by the Tapirapé and not by the other three tribes are regarded, among these Indians, as exclusively male food.

7. While among the Tapirapé there are numerous mammals and birds, various reptiles, amphibians, and fish which are eaten exclusively by the men, the only male foods among the Karajá are the paca (No. 15), the coati (No. 19), the tapir (No. 27), and the spider monkey (No. 38). As for the paca, which is regarded as excellent meat by many white hunters and which is valued by the Tapirapé and Cherente of both sexes, it is well to recall that among the ancient Kaingang this rodent was eaten only by individuals who were regarded as less vulnerable to supernatural evil forces. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

8. Among the Cherente, also, the number of animals eaten exclusively by the men is small. They are: the bat (No. 1), the howling monkey (No. 37), the jabiru (No. 47), the alligator (No. 81), the teju (No. 89), the iguana (No. 90), and the electric eel (No. 114). Among these animals, the bat is not eaten by any of the other tribes in question; the howling monkey, which Cherente women do not eat "because it looks like people," is also eaten only by the men among the Tapirapé, while among the Kaingang it is eaten only by "some people" and among the Karajá by no one; the jabiru and electric eel are, among the Tapirapé, exclusively male food, while the Karajá do not eat them and the Kaingang are not familiar with them; the alligator, of which Cherente men eat the tail, is eaten among the Tapirapé only by the men while no one eats it among the Karajá and Kaingang; the teju, although its flesh is so tasty to many Whites, is not eaten by either the Tapirapé or the Karajá, and it is eaten by only a few present-day Kaingang; the iguana, which is highly prized by the Karajá, is eaten only by men among the Tapirapé and is unknown to the Kaingang. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[120:53]

9. [Ed., the first sentence is omitted.] There is no animal restricted to the women among the Tapirapé, Karajá, or Cherente. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

171 262 784 10. [Ed., the first two sentences are omitted.] Whenever I told the Tapirapé that among other tribes the woman would become ill or even die if she were to eat of the animals whose flesh is forbidden to her, I was told that it would not harm a Tapirapé woman to eat the animals whose flesh, as a rule, is eaten only by men. According to Kamairahó, a woman will not eat of such flesh of her own accord. This means that in this case the abstentions are not connected with the supernatural. Actually, the mammals, birds, reptiles, and fish regarded as most delicious, not only by the Tapirapé but by most other Indians and also by the Whites, are all eaten by the women of this Tupi tribe, while as a rule the animals they do not eat are those that are not prized by us either. Although it may be hazardous to look for a relationship [562] between the concept of the edible and the social status of the sexes, it is appropriate to mention: (a) among the Chamakoko the woman plays a predominant role (Baldus 1, 64); (b) Tapirapé culture, in its essential traits, reveals a male preponderance; (c) important aspects of Kaingang culture disclose an equality between the sexes.

171 262 11. As far as the concept of the edible is concerned, age has less importance than sex among the Tapirapé and Cherente, while it has very little importance among the Kaingang and none among the Karajá. When listing the animals eaten exclusively by males, the Tapirapé mentioned for the most part that only "men" eat them, specifying in two cases (the common ani, No. 74, and the guira cuckoo, No. 75) that "men and boys" eat them, and stating about the rest that "men do, boys don't." According to this, the animals eaten only by "grown men" are: the small anteater (No. 4), the tapiti (No. 6), the serelepe (No. 11), the capybara (No. 16), the jabiru (No. 47), the owl (No. 60), the woodpecker (No. 62), the kingfisher (No. 64), the swallow (No. 66), the potoo (No. 67), the macaws and parrots (Nos. 69-71), the oriole (No. 78), the jay (No. 79), the japu (No. 80), the iguana (No. 90), the frog (No. 100), and the horned frog (No. 102). Concerning the hoatzin (No. 61), the Tapirapé stated that only the old people eat it, and concerning the motmot (No. 63), they said that this bird is eaten exclusively by adults. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

12. The animals not eaten by any Tapirapé are: the bat (No. 1), the white porpoise (No. 17), the wild dog (No. 18), the river

171 otter (No. 22), the [120:54] spider monkey (No. 38), the vultures
262 (Nos. 54-56), the hawk (No. 58), the small lizard (No. 87), Mabuia agilis (No. 88), the teju (No. 89), the papavento (No. 91), the truira-peva (No. 92), the snakes (Nos. 93-98), the toad (No. 101), the mollusks (Nos. 140-142), the arachnoids (Nos. 146-148) (except for the ticks removed from the human body), the myriapods (Nos. 149-151), and the insects (Nos. 152-186) (except for those caught in flagrante sucking human blood and for certain larvae and honey). Most of the animals that are not eaten by the Tapirapé are known to the Karajá, Cherente, and Kaingang and are not eaten by these three tribes either, except for the bat which is eaten by "some men" among the Cherente, the spider monkey which is eaten by Karajá men, and the teju which is eaten by "some men" among the Cherente and by a few present-day Kaingang.

13. Just as I was told that it would not harm a Tapirapé woman to eat of the animals whose flesh is usually eaten only by the men (cf. item 10 above), I also heard that those animals not eaten by any Tapirapé would not harm anyone who should happen to eat them. There are, however, certain animals eaten exclusively by
[753] the men, namely, the tapir (No. 27), the marsh deer (No. 30), the rhea (No. 41), and the alligator (No. 81), which, if eaten by the father of a small child, would cause the latter to fall ill and die. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the subsequent paragraph, No. 14, are omitted.]

262 Concerning animal foods, the following observations are also in order.

The Tapirapé do not consume the raw blood of animals, for they regard it as bad.

In spite of the distance between Tampiitaua and the river, and
226 in spite of the fact that the life of the Tapirapé as forest dwellers
262 and farmers does not allow fish to play as important a role in their
[171] diet as in that of the Karajá water-dwellers, this animal is of greater importance to the Tapirapé than any other. From early childhood, they are constantly looking for small fish in the stream near the vil-
[787] lage. They dream that there is abundant fish at certain spots, and

since the information provided by such dreams is readily accepted, they organize collective fishing trips. Fish constitutes their main source of animal fat and calcium. The calcium comes from the bones, [120:55] crumbled into a strongly spiced sauce, their favorite breakfast food. This is a cold dish, but the flesh of the fish is eaten on the previous day, good and hot, and invariably accompanied by manioc flour. I caused general amazement when I ate small roasted fish for the first time in Tampiitaua, and did so without manioc flour. My friend Vuanomanchi said that fish without flour is bad, gesticulated and spat as though he were smelling bad odor, and wanted to get up and fetch some of his own flour. A woman who was eating seated by my side immediately offered me hers. Of all the pictures in the zoological book that I showed them, it was always those of fish that aroused the greatest interest. The majority of the masked dances I witnessed dealt with fish, and there is an unmasked dance in which most of the text of the song consists of the word ypirá. It was this generic term for fish that I also heard almost invariably when I asked for the cause of a disease. This did not mean, however, that eating fish had been harmful to the sick person, but that a fish bone had been shot into his body as a magic projectile by an evil sorcerer. They also say that all the spirits of the hills and of the waters eat fish, and do not mention any other food for these spirits. Furthermore, as already stated at the beginning of this chapter, fish, along with manioc, is the only food included in the Tapirapé description of the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven that lies above our visible one. They do not fail to add that in this case "very fat fish" are involved. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Concerning head lice, I wish to mention in passing the fact that I never found any on my own body during my stays among various tribes, in spite of the fact that much lousy hair came in contact with mine and that I did not take any special preventive measures. The same proved to be the case among other Whites who stayed with South American Indians. I also know of a blond young man on whose head lice of the Krabo [Craho] Indians settled without biting.

262 [122:168] Fortunately, the Tapirapé is also saved by a more varied diet. Manioc flour is usually eaten along with other foods. To give an idea of the variety available at a specific time of the year, I shall list the dishes that were offered to me on the afternoon of June 21, 1935, when I reached Tampiitaua for the first time: two varieties of bananas, warmed and cold; warm and cold peanuts; raw and roasted peanut flour; peanut, maize, and manioc cauí; roasted calabash seeds; boiled and ember-roasted squash, yams, and cará; large boiled green beans; warm manioc flour; small boiled fish; warm manioc soup with small unripe peppers and chicken meat; manioc soup with barbecued fish; the raw and roasted seeds of tucum [Tr., Bactris setosa]; and sugar cane for sucking. Since I did not want to offend anyone, I ate large quanti-
123 ties of each of these delicious dishes in all the village houses that afternoon. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

During my stay in Tampiitaua, I shared largely in the Tapirapé diet and got along well on this almost exclusively vegetarian basis. My digestive apparatus had never functioned as well as it did at the time, and my companion Kegel noticed that after a few weeks of Indian food my face had filled out. In this respect I stood in contrast to our camarada Daniel. This poor frontiersman, who showed his "civilized" status by eating his daily share of rice, occasionally tempered by a piece of game, with punctilious regularity, visibly wasted away. This probably was caused also by the cultural shocks he suffered incessantly, which, as far as food was concerned, were of the same order as those suffered by the Tapirapé when Reverend Kegel opened a can of wieners. A child saw those snake-like forms coming out of the can, ran home, and soon the whole village was there. Each person smelled the can and then spat emphatically to leave no doubt as to the disgust he felt or thought it proper to feel. True, this did not prevent gluttonous Kamairahó from trying a small piece, although with a certain reluctance, from liking it, and asking for more.

Unfortunately, the abundance and variety of foods which I found
262 in Tampiitaua in the months of June to August, 1935, disappeared
178 later. As I wrote in a report to the director of the Indian [122:169] Service, "in 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little cará, or manioc cake.

262 The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts,
178 for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such a change in the food situation affects the tribal
[574] behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality. It is true that this may also have resulted in
177 part from contact with the White neighbors who have settled on
291 the Tapirapé river over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer, or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their bodies are undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. Thus, instead of satisfying the appetite of their Indian visitors, they are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural rather than physical, one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitaua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them wear complete dresses. It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actual-
262 ly experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their
177 new neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the
648 number of inhabitants of their village has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following were not lacking, however: "Now the Tapirapé eat only small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., a large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs. These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the dry spell, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna, as well as the human beings in the region, have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the frontiersmen, by settling permanently on all the habitable spots along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitaua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers" (Baldus 12).

171 264 [122:170] In their manner of eating the Tapirapé retain many similarities with the ancient Tupinambá. As was the case among the latter, the Tampiitaua family usually eats together from the same container, which stands in the middle, with the father lying in the hammock and the wife and children squatting on the ground (cf. Gabriel Soares de Sousa 366 and 375; Vicente de Salvador 35). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

These present-day Tupi, like the ancient coastal ones, do not drink while they eat (cf. Vicente de Salvador 33; Soares de Sousa 375; Anchieta 2, 330; Cardim 165; Léry 127). Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé eat "all the time, night and day, at any hour or moment" (Cardim 164), and what Simão de Vasconcellos (p. LXXXV) wrote about those Indians may be applied to these: "Eating time comes whenever nature demands it, as with wild animals; and nature demands it so often, that they eat during the day, and during the night if they must." It so happened that at midnight, when everyone was asleep, my hammock neighbor Kamairahó suddenly awoke because he was hungry. He got up, awakening his wife and children. The woman prepared fish, and finally they all began to eat and to take cauí.

The habit of tossing manioc flour into the mouth is a cultural trait that the Tapirapé share not only with the ancient coastal Tupi (cf. Léry 118-119; Thevet I, 303; Cardim 166; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. LXXXV), but also with the peasants who live near the city of São Paulo. The only difference is that around this modern metropolis the flour is propelled into the mouth with a spoon, while among the Indians this is done directly with the fingers.

262 252 Boiled food is eaten or drunk by the Tapirapé as hot as they can stand it. In this respect they can stand more than I, for example. If the food is still too hot even for them, they cool it off by blowing upon it or, if it is liquid, by stirring it with a gourd.

[192] [122:171] In Tapirapé, aó means "I eat," and ayó "I drink water," the o sounding almost like a u.

312 To obtain clear, fresh water, the Tapirapé dig a hole so close to still water or to the river that the liquid penetrates through the dividing wall of earth. The use of this filtering process shows that what Anchieta (II, 330) wrote about the Indians he knew cannot be applied to these: "... they hardly distinguish bad water from good, and are satisfied with any kind." In this respect, the inhabitants of

844 poles. A large pot full of water is placed nearby to wash the mother and child. If the confinement is difficult, a woman presses the mother's belly until the child comes out. The baby is received in the arms of another woman who waits beneath the mother. The umbilical cord is severed with a cane shiver, and the afterbirth is buried. Both father and mother abstain from any food for one day. Both stay in their nets "until the loss of blood 846 ceases, that is, often for several days." There are no food absten- [843] tions for the future parents prior to the birth. For about two years 262 after the birth of the child, the parents give up peanuts and 784 bananas. In addition, the father frequently abstains from those animal foods that are never eaten by the woman, especially tapir, marsh deer, rhea, and alligator, until the child is almost six years [756] old. Only if he is a shaman may he eat of everything. The wife of a shaman, however, does not share this privilege.

The Tapirapé believe that the child will die if these absten- [761] tions are not observed. They say that in this case death would not be caused by an evil sorcerer, as they usually believe, but by the food that should not be consumed and that turns evil when it is eaten. And they add that in such cases the Whites have many medicines that might save the child, while the Tapirapé do not have any, and so among them the child would be lost. [123:54] When I offered them deer meat, which is coveted by all Tampiitaua men (perhaps because it is a type of game that, although abundant, is seldom killed without firearms), it was not accepted by the fathers of one-year-old children. Even Urukumy who, as a shaman, could have eaten the meat, was careful to pass it on to someone else after courteously accepting it from me.

The abstention from bananas and peanuts is impressive when we consider the important role played by these foods in the Tapirapé [165] diet. It is possible that the high mortality among children during the first two years of life may have led to such onerous rules. [755] Actually, these Indians assert that their Karajá neighbors and the Whites eat of anything when their child is ill, while Tapirapé parents, in such cases, subsist exclusively on mahioc flour and maize and manioc cauí, even when the child is older than six.

171 The behavior of Indian parents toward the newborn recalls to 946 some extent a custom of the colonists of São Bonifácio, in the state of Santa Catarina, who come for the most part from Westphalia.

171
173 Catarina, Xokleng [Shokleng] or Aveikoma [Aweikoma], studied
551 by Henry (50). [Ed., end of Vol. 124.]

[127:231] CHILDHOOD

171 Father Fernão Cardim (310) wrote of the Tupinambá: "There
855 *is nothing parents love more than* their own children, and he who does something for the children can obtain anything from the parents." Roughly, this sentence could be applied to nearly all Brazilian tribes and to the Tapirapé among them. This love is
855 manifested in the understanding with which the adults treat the children. An Indian father would never answer his child's question with: "This is grownup stuff you can't understand," thus destroying, in the fashion of certain White fathers, the trust with which the child seeks out his most learned friend. The Indian father does not speak to the child with an air of superiority, and consequently there is no chasm between them, such as frequently separates children from adults among us.

In fact, a Tapirapé will show patience toward a child even before he reaches the age of asking for explanations. I shall never forget the attitude of Vuanomanchí when a small child seated in his lap urinated on his bare legs. No fuss! This worthy family man did not even get up. He took a piece of straw from the ground and pushed down the liquid with it. He neither scrubbed nor washed himself. He uttered no word and made no motion that might disturb the child.

[127:232] Nor shall I forget the behavior of Maeyma during the illness of his little girl. Several women were weeping around the girl's hammock, and Maeyma was the only man who was crying. Seated in his hammock, he covered his face with his hands and sobbed. He seemed to have lost weight during the short period of
[262] his child's illness. As befits a mindful father, he ate nothing during
[755] this time except for a little maize cauí and manioc flour. On the following day, when the girl seemed to have improved, Maeyma, lying in the hammock held her like something breakable, and when he moved his hands he did so gingerly.

784 In the Tapirapé tribe, as in many others, the intimate and con-
855 tinuous connection between child and parents is acknowledged and

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



with so few people holding the status positions of aboriginal Tapirapé society much specialized knowledge will be lost. This is true of shamanism, as explained above, and it is true of the weaving of baskets for which Tapirapé men were justly famous before 1940. In 1953, only two men of the tribe knew the art of basket making. In aboriginal times, it was a technique which men learned after adolescence (Tapirapé boys were not expected to learn the manly arts), and with the death of so many older men and the disintegration of Tapirapé society, few young men were able to study. Both of the young men who did learn produced baskets which in 1940 would have been considered distinctly inferior and few of the young men in 1953 showed an inclination to learn the art. Like many other aspects of the culture, Tapirapé basketry will probably be a "lost art" within a generation. 177 177 285 [868] [883]

Before 1940, one of the striking aspects of Tapirapé culture recorded by both Baldus and myself was the complex set of rules governing food taboos. According to aboriginal Tapirapé culture, women and children are forbidden to eat venison as well as many other specific meats. Nowadays the Tapirapé frequently have beef, which they receive by trade from the Brazilian around the Indian post. As might be suspected, beef is equated with venison and it is taboo to Tapirapé women. Likewise, Tapirapé men who are the fathers of small children may eat neither venison nor beef. One Tapirapé male explained that "Even when we were hungry our women would not eat beef." But in view of their experience with other cultures (i. e., Carajá and Brazilian), such taboos are growing weaker. Hidden from their husbands, several Tapirapé women tested beef for the first time when offered it by the wife of the Indian officer, and several females have taken to eating it (and even venison) at the Indian Post pleading that their secret be kept from their husbands. And one Tapirapé male, the father of an infant, argued while eating venison that the taboo was not a logical one. Food taboos are still kept but 177 262 [439] [784]

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



177 the possibility of comparison, of observing other forms
262 of behavior which were formerly closed to them, now stimulates change in Tapirapé culture.

177 Numerous other modifications in the Tapirapé way of life might be reported. In 1953, a few Tapirapé col-
[454] lected money which they kept as they formerly kept
[436] red parrot feathers in a bamboo container, but they have only vague ideas of its value. Two men own rifles but
[411] they have little idea of how to keep them in order. Men
[291] wear trousers when they visit the Indian Post, but they might at any time calmly remove them in the presence of the missionaries, and women have learned quickly to put on a wrap-around skirt when Brazilian men approach. These and a series of other changes might be quickly noted as having occurred between 1940 and 1953.

177 Still, Tapirapé culture has remained remarkably stable
178 in face of the violent disruption of Tapirapé society during this last decade. Tapirapé culture has been modified by borrowing and by loss of trait and pattern due to the reduction of population and the disorganization of the society. Tapirapé society, with fewer people and new influences, has now changed more than Tapirapé culture. Certainly society and culture are intimately related phenomena but the history of the Tapirapé during the last thirteen years indicates the value of distinguishing between social change on the one hand and culture change on the other. For a period the Tapirapé lived as members of a distinct society, but their culture persisted, and with this knowledge they have been able to recreate, at least temporarily, their organized social unit.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



241 and planting, which begins after the first light rains of October, is done
462 individually and principally by the men. Cotton and peanuts, however,
[423] are women's crops. The women plant these in their husband's garden plots and harvest them themselves. While a new garden plot is cleared each year, a particular garden plot is generally used for two years and then abandoned. A man plants such crop as maize, beans, and peppers on the plot the first year and as they are harvested, he replants the plot with manioc. Maize is harvested from the end of December through February, the season of heaviest rains; while other crops are harvested at the end of the rains in May and June.

[241] Large gardens with many different crops guarantee to the Tapi-
262 rapé a variety and abundance of garden stuff, but meat and fish are
22 definitely luxuries. People in the village could not remember a time when there had been real hunger among them, but they were frequently hungry for meat and fish. This lack in the diet is supplied by frequent trips to the near-by Tapirapé River and the grass plains that border it where fish and game, principally wild pork (*Tagassu pecari*), deer, peccary (*Tagassu tajacu*), water fowl, and tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*) are found in abundance. During the dry season these plains abound in piqui (*Caryocar villosum*), palm nuts especially andirobu (*Carapa guyanensis*), used for body oil — and other wild fruits.

556 Among the Tapirapé wealth is not reckoned in terms of basic sub-
435 sistance, for these goods are so easy to obtain as to be considered with little regard. The possessions that lend real distinction of wealth are such luxury articles as the breast and tail feathers of the red parrot (*Ara chloroptera?*), beads, and pieces of hardware acquired through contact with white men or trading with other Indians. These goods are accordingly the most valued media of exchange in the community. Other goods used for a medium of exchange were urucú (*Bixa orellana*), tobacco, extra hammocks, decorated gourds, string for binding feathers to arrows, and cane arrow shafts.

361 The houses of a Tapirapé village form a circle around a great central ceremonial men's house. There are nine of these large thatch dwellings with rounded roofs in the modern Tapirapé village; four to eight simple
591 families (father, mother, and children) share a house. Each simple family
592 has a section of the unpartitioned house where they lead a domestic life separate from the others. Residence is matrilocal and the women of such a household are ideally related by kinship; yet each large household has

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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555 622 756 725 [766] west "where the earth ends and the water begins" and where the sun returns to sleep after its travels across the sky. In Maratawa shamans have an inexhaustible supply of tobacco, many red parrot feathers, much manioc, knives, bananas, meat, and all the other necessities and luxuries of life. Frequently a shaman is buried with a pipe filled with tobacco in his mouth, so that he may have smoke to drive out tongue on the trip to Maratawa; and sometimes food is buried with the body so he may eat, for the journey to Maratawa is long.

556 756 Aside from these non-material considerations, there is one very real factor which insures social respect to the Tapirapé shaman. Shamans are in general the wealthiest men among the Tapirapé. Although they may at times receive meat or honey for their cures or as presents for bringing the spirits of children to parents, payments to them are usually in those luxury goods that are the marks of wealth. It was readily observed that the beads and hardware which I gave as presents to the Tapirapé soon passed into the hands of shamans as payments for cures.

756 Payments to the shamans for curing the ill depend upon the seriousness of the illness and upon what the patient or his family has to offer. Frequently a shaman names his fee when his cure has been successful, asking for specific objects, for he knows full well what each family owns. Unsuccessful cures are never paid. For example, for the treatment of his sister's son and of his daughter, who were both sick at once, Kamairabo, a shaman himself, called three shamans and paid each the price that he asked. He paid one, Panteri, a machete and two strings of beads; to another, Urukuma, he gave an axe, a pocket knife, a pair of scissors, and five tail feathers of a red parrot; he gave only four strings of beads to Kamairai, who was considered a shaman of less power than the other two. Another young man with few possessions gave five arrows to a shaman who successfully treated his wife; still another paid the breast feathers from his parrot and four string of [262] beads to a shaman. When Tazwaniuma killed a *paca*, the meat of [224] which is highly prized by the Tapirapé, he gave some to his companion of the hunt and divided the rest between two shamans who had treated his small daughter successfully. Neither shaman had to ask for any specific gift or payment. People often complain to others about the [677] high price they had to pay to a shaman, but generally they pay what is

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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756 on the contrary, they were described as "good wives", and one of them was remembered as small and particularly attractive.

756 Certain people regardless of sex are early recognized as future
828 shamans because of their natural inclination to dream. Several infor-
[736] mants, for example, told me that a young boy, an orphan, and therefore badly cared for, would certainly be a powerful shaman. He turned and talked in his sleep and had been known to cry during a nightmare. He remembered few of his dreams but did tell of seeing the spirit of his mother, and described an evil spirit which he met during a dream. One of the present powerful shamans is said to have been such a youngster with a predilection for dreaming. Such youngsters are nervous and sensitive; yet no distinct personality traits were observed among adult
756 shamans. Shamans are frequently emaciated and thin, attributable
[828] perhaps to their constant use of tobacco and the resulting nausea, and one shaman, now dead, was described by informants as a nervous ascetic interested only in the supernatural world.

276 Persons lacking this predilection for dreaming, but with aspirations
756 to shamanism, may solicit dreams. Each year during the days of the
787 dry season all young men who aspire to shamanism, even those who have shown potentialities during boyhood, gather each evening in the central plaza of the village to seek dreams. A novice sits upon the ground near a *pantó*, his mentor, and swallows smoke from his mentor's pipe until violent vomiting occurs. When the novices are too ill to hold the pipe, the shaman holds it for them, forcing them to continue "eating smoke". Generally the neophites fall backwards unconscious and ill from the smoke; during this state they may dream. In any case, when they regain their senses, the pipe is again placed in their mouth until they fall backwards ill and unconscious once more. The process may be repeated several times over a period of two or three hours. Later, when the novice retires to his hammock for the night, he may expect a dream.

756 Such sessions occur each night during the few weeks before the Thunder ceremony and a serious novice should attend all sessions.
[839] During this period he refrains from sexual intercourse because it will hinder his dreaming; he also refrains from bathing and so becomes
[838] grimy. He must not eat of those animals which "walk at night", such
[862] as the jaboti tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) and the monkey, because he must be friendly with all creatures he may meet in his nocturnal dream travels. He should eat manioc flour, yams, pepper, and such bland

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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meats as jacu, cuati (*Nasua* sp.), peccary, mutum (*Crax* sp.), and chicken; of other foods he must eat sparingly or not at all. The novices are "tired" and "thin"; many do not continue after the first few nights because they "are lazy" or because "they are afraid". Campukwi, my informant, did not continue because he did not like the dirt, the nausea from tobacco, the lack of food, and the sexual continence. 756 [262]

Other novices, more successful and more persistent, do dream. At first they see smoky forms of ghosts and sometimes forest demons; they as yet do not know how to talk with such spirits. Usually, the first season or two during which a young man seeks dreams, he may expect mild dreams. After several seasons the novice may see dangerous forest demons in his unconscious states and he may talk with ghosts. Traditionally, young Tapirapé shamans become wild and uncontrollable when they have their first dangerous dreams. They are reported sometimes to stand up suddenly from their induced unconscious state and run wildly through the village, sometimes killing chickens, dogs, and parrots, or breaking pottery. Although no novices "ran" in this way during the 1940 training period, an informant described the state of a young shaman who "ran" several years ago. "He jumped up." He shouted and ran through the village. He carried a club in his hand (usually weapons are placed well out of reach). He killed two chickens and broke through the side of a house. He killed his brother's dog. All the women and children ran from the village, afraid. Finally, Maruni grabbed him but he was strong and he hit Maruni with a club and blood ran down Maruni's face. Many men came and held him and Urukum (his master) blew smoke over him", thus bringing him back to his senses. He had seen dangerous spirits and "was afraid", informants told me. This reaction is common for those who show potentialities toward shamanism. 756 757

The mere fact that young shaman has several dangerous dreams does not make him a proved shaman. He must take part in the "fight" against the beings of Thunder, and by the side of his master he may attempt cures. If successful, he may be called now and again by people for cures. With a reputation for several cures and with continual dreaming, during which he has supernatural encounters, he builds up his reputation as a shaman over a period of many years. Pantori and Urukum were about fifty years old when I visited them; informants gave no indication that their power was expected to decline with old age. 756 [266]

128 [Ed., p. 86 and all but the last two lines of p. 87 are not translated.]

[87] In the pages that follow I wish to discuss a social institution
121 of the Tapirapé, the like of which I have not yet found [88] either among the other tribes I have visited or in the literature. I call it "eating groups." [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

The social significance of this organization into "eating groups"
264 derives from their purpose, which is as follows. Sometimes it happens
924 that the produce of the hunt or of the harvest, which among these Indians may be eaten by either sex and also by the children (for exam-
[262] ple, wild pig, curassow, guan, turtle, honey, etc.), is too sizable for the hunter's family and not sizable enough to be shared justly and advantageously with the entire population of the village. In such a case, to avoid a less equitable act, the distribution is made among the mem-
574 bers of the eating group to which the hunter belongs.
976

At the time of my stay among the Tapirapé, they were divided
264 into seven eating groups [89]. They say that in the old days the groups
551 were more numerous. The names of the existing groups are Txankanẽpéra [Tr., the Portuguese x equals English sh], Pananiviũna, Maniitiviũéra, Kãũanõ', Tãũapéra, Ampirampé, Avãinki'. Whenever I asked for an explanation of their meaning, I was merely given the word tãtãupãũã. Undoubtedly, however, some of the group names are related to the names of animals and plants, Txankanẽpéra with txankanõ (alligator), Maniitiviũéra with mandiivũã (a variety of manioc), Ãvãinki' with vũãiki tã (a variety of manioc). This may be
[77] a vestige of totemic ideas, although they are not manifested in the behavior of the group members. For example, the attitude of the Txankanẽpéra group members toward the alligator is no different from that of the members of other groups. It is true that at the common
551 feasts each person is called by the name of the group and also is what
476 the name represents. Thus, for example, a member of the
264 Txankanẽpéra group will say, "Txe Txankanẽpéra," which means both "I am called Txankanẽpéra" and "I am Txankanẽpéra," and says to his group-fellow, male or female, "Anõ Txankanẽpéra ('You are called Txankanẽpéra,' or 'You are Txankanẽpéra')."

192 Tãtãupãũã designates both the common feast of a group and the
574 institution of eating groups in general. When I asked the Tapirapé what
976 they called themselves as a community, I got the answer "Ampirãũã"
264 (a word that means "man" in the Tupí of the Amazon) and the statement
[10]

264 [92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of
574 various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets.
476 These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kãũanõĩ, owing to
their small numbers, had joined the Ãwãinkĩ to form a single group.
All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group.
[262] There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce
and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of karã [Tr.,
a kind of yam], peanut kãũĩ, etc. Before that, there was a great
431 distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom
574 he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such
[622] as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of
this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better
[177] use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay
264 the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted to-
476 gether, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they
574 pleased. Kamairahõ, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk
[554] of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother.
123 We called each other "Txankanépéra," and Ampitãnya, his little
adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Ané Txankané-
[597] péra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other
groups also called me "Txankanépéra," and I called them by the name
of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

264 [93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that
574 there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots
and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The
535 plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the
[776] good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kãũihõ and
vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness,
132 the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season
with its "good shadows," summer.

574 They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they
776 also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tãtãupãnã of an
224 eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Ãwãinkĩ had killed
264 with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting
476 the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group.
574 In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts
[462]

4/6/ bananas. If he has no bananas left at home, the man goes to the garden to get a new supply. He returns staggering under an enormous load, for he brings as much as he can carry. And although by this [147] time he is already tired enough to lie down in the hammock again, he may fulfill his duties as a dancer and singer throughout the night, duties that demand of a single man the rested legs and lungs of five strong males. [Ed., the remainder of p. 101, pp. 102-194, and the first paragraph on p. 105 are omitted.]

[105] On the other hand, it is true that there are great differences among the various tribes as far as industriousness is concerned. The Tapirapé may be pointed out as being especially "diligent." At the [262] time of my stay among them, they had an abundance of food, and in spite of this they worked very hard in their gardens and gave themselves up with no less zeal and perseverance to their dances and songs. In this tribe, which is still distant from our civilization, the introduction of iron tools that began dozens of years ago through their eastern neighbors, the Karajá, and the lack of war-like activities or bent had an effect directly opposite to that generated [by the same factors] in the Indians civilized by us, that is to say, deprived of their cultural independence. These two factors did not hinder the vital force or impair the creative urge of the Indians, but in fact guaranteed their subsistence and increased their well-being. If, in spite of this, symptoms of degeneration are apparent among the Tapirapé, [106] the causes must be sought elsewhere. This, however, is not the proper context to discuss them. [Ed., all but the last sentence of the subsequent paragraph is omitted.]

177 182

When watching a collective task among the Indians, such as the apatxirá of the Tapirapé, one has the impression that the joy with which it is done increases their strength.

476 461

As I watched the men, most of them endowed with the physique [147] of our adolescents, conquering piece after piece of the huge forest around them, I observed none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness and tediousness which characterize so much of the collective work among us. Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side.

Those who needed rest sat on the felled trunks. They sat very close together as they have the habit of doing. They talked, and some of [226] them smoked a pipe. Suddenly there would be a lot of shouting, they would all scatter with a show of joy as the moan of live timber was heard, [107] and a green giant would lean slowly and crash with a

476

476 thundering noise, dragging along in its fall its weaker companions.

Every once in a while, a voice was heard behind the trees. One [222] could not see who it was, but the call sounded very close. Immediately, the boys rushed to the spot where the voice came from. Soon they returned with their arms full of bananas. They ran jubilantly toward us and distributed them.

These bananas reached a length of 30 centimeters and a middle [197] circumference of 15 to 20 centimeters. The men brought them in [482] hampers close to the working area, but never came out of the woods into the garden with their load.

The skin of the bananas was black, and their flesh was already 252 brownish and too soft. This is the condition in which the Tapirapé 262 like them best. The fruits are gathered when green and buried at the [222] spot where they grew. The Karajá do the same thing. In the sun- [171] heated ground, the bananas reach the desired state of rottenness more quickly than if they were kept at home. Then, too, they are warm when taken out of the ground, and this endears them further to the Indians.

They are not peeled in order to be eaten. The tough skin is 264 opened a little at one of the tips, the tip is placed between the lips, and the skin slowly emptied by squeezing it with the fingers so that the pulp gradually enters the mouth. Kamairahó ate one banana after another. As for myself, I found them nauseating.

[108] The sun was already quite low when we left. We forged 264 ahead at a rapid pace, one behind the other on the narrow trail. We 476 were not far from the village when the path opened onto a small, 462 cleared, triangular space. The women sat in the corners of this space 574 and watched us in silence. The women and girls had split into three groups which tallied with the work groups of their husbands and fathers. They had placed pots of food in the area in the same arrangement. [262] There were banana kãuĩ, peanut kãni, cottonseed kãuĩ, toasted karã, and many other good things. Each group ate only from the pots placed for it at a specific spot. There were smaller quantities for the Tãnãvé, because they were fewer. I was invited from all sides, and since I [123] was very hungry I did not spare the other two groups. Only when I was beginning to be satiated did I put down, with a great show of surprise, the pot of banana soup of the Anantxã from which I had just partaken, and declared that I was a Tãnãvé. This fact, however, did not seem to be of great importance to my hosts.

162 What strikes us in the above table is, on the one hand, the small number of children in relation to adults (18 individuals through 15 years of age and 41 over 15 years of age), and, on the other hand, [165] the brevity of the life span (only ten individuals were over 30). Only one man and one woman were slightly over 40.

According to the reports that I received in October, 1947, from [115] Mr. Valentim Gomes, the man in charge of the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres, and from Father M. H. Lelong at Conceição do Araguaia, the numerical ratios listed above underwent modifications [726] caused by the Kaiapó [Cayapo] attack on Tampiitáua at the end of August, in the course of which three women were killed and two women and one boy were abducted. Of the 59 individuals examined, therefore, there remained 31 males and 22 females.

[847] Aside from illness, the custom of killing newborn children under certain circumstances contributes to the decimation of the tribe.

178 Of the changes in Tapirapé culture which occurred since my first visit 12 years ago, I wish to mention primarily the scarcity of 262 vegetable foods. The literature on these peaceful and industrious 241 Tupi Indians contains numerous references to their large plots. I may add that in the quantity and variety of their garden produce they outstripped not only the neighboring tribes but also the frontier people. In 1935, in the months of June to August, I found the village provided abundantly with the most delicious bananas, five varieties of manioc and numerous other tubers, beans, peanuts, and maize. In 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little cará [Tr., a variety of yam], or manioc cake. The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts, for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such [574] a change in the food situation affects the tribal behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality.

It is true that this may also have resulted in part from contact 177 with the neighboring Whites who have settled on the Tapirapé River [648] over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their 177 body is undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. 291 Thus, instead of satisfying the appetites of their Indian visitors, they

177 are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural
291 rather than physical one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitáua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them are completely clothed.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actually
177 experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their new
262 neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the number
[161] of Tampiitáua inhabitants has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following [139] were not lacking, however. "Now the Tapirapé only eat small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs."

These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the
[261] dry season, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna as well as the human beings in the region have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the
[136] frontiersmen, by settling permanently in all the habitable places along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at
[361] certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitáua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers.

When I ascended the length of the Tapirapé River in a canoe in
311 1935, its banks were uninhabited. There was a single inhabitant at the river mouth, and he manned, so to speak, the most advanced
648 post of our civilization. In July, 1947, there were eight houses in Pôrto Velho, which stands more or less at the middle point of the navigable stretch, that is, 15 or 18 leagues from the mouth, and nearly all of their occupants came from the state of Pará and had lived previously at various spots on the Araguaia.

Their settlement, and with it the occupation of the Indian lands, began about five years ago and presents aspects characteristic of the processes that were repeated, with certain variations, throughout the colonization of Brazil. Their leader is a farmer by the name of Lucio

648 [141] The superiority complex, a characteristic product of ethnocentrism, is not lacking among the new inhabitants of the Tapirapé River. These people, who are called caboclo [backwoodsmen] by the city dwellers of Rio and São Paulo, in turn call the Indians by this term, thus following the custom of the north Brazilians. To us, caboclo is the man who goes barefoot. To those shoeless frontiersmen, however, caboclo is the man who does not even bother to wear pants. Although pants and shoes delimit the cultural distance that separates them from the Indians on the one hand and from us on the other hand, there is one fact that marks them as members of our society and of no other. These poor conquerors of the unknown are not exempt from taxes. They have to pay them in heads of cattle.

Concerning this, one should mention the historic settlement of São José, an aggregation of about 30 houses, swarming with disease and misery, located at one of the most beautiful spots on the Araguaia. The inhabitants pay taxes of various sorts and say that the government does nothing for them. They pay a school tax, for example, but they have no school. Our companion, Dr. Haroldo Cândido de Oliveira, was the first doctor to visit them in 20 years. When the launch of the Indian Service goes by, these forlorn inhabitants of Goiás get a few medicines.

What would contribute to the frontiersman's feeling of superiority over the Indian, however, aside from the pants and the taxes, the taxes which enable him to belong to the capitalist world? Rifles are already found among the Karajá. And the Indians of the Araguaia are better fed, wash more often, and, as disclosed by the medical examination, suffer less from malaria and enjoy better general health than the so-called "civilized people" around them, who are for the most part, incidentally, Negroes and mulattoes. As an ethnocentric man, however, the frontiersman regards everything that differs from his own culture as inferior. The cultural differences between him and the Indian extend so thoroughly to every aspect of life, moreover, that they almost conceal the similarities caused by the identical geographical environment and by the fact that both groups belong to the same human species. Such tasty Indian dishes as the peanut, [262] maize, and manioc soups, masticated by the women to saccharify [252] them with the saliva, are, to the frontiersman, "filthy stuff" from which he turns in disgust. Tapirapé houses, covered with palm and

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



756 to hold him, he may run wild through the village destroying property and
796 endangering people. To bring him back, smoke must be blown over him
821 by a shaman. While he is unconscious, he dreams and travels, sometimes
776 visiting the house of Thunder.
[781]

"I smoked much and then I smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun and it came
787 toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They came and they left. I saw
756 Thunder. It was small and came (to the house) in a small canoe. It was Thunder's
821 child (a *topã*). It wore a small headdress of parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug.
772 I reached to pull out the lip plug but it left." [The shaman did not conquer the *topã*
776 and he was shot down by an arrow while he was unconscious] . . . "all was dark.
I saw many suns. I travelled singing as I walked. I spent three days walking. I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Kanawana. He was big and his body was covered with much hair. He had many red parrot feathers. There were many *topã* and many souls of shamans. I did not talk but came back." [If he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have stayed (died), but he was properly treated with tobacco smoke and returned to consciousness.]

775 Through shamans and legends of culture heroes, the Tapirape know, too, of the multitude of "spirits" (*anchunga*) which populate the unseen world. These are of two general types: true spirits, disembodied souls of deceased Tapirape;[19] and demons or malevolent beings of many classes.
[787] Shamans are accustomed to seeing true spirits in their dreams. These gen-
[756] erally inhabit abandoned village sites, where they re-live their earthly lives. When they die—the second death—they become frogs, deer, *pacu* and doves. Thus the toad is the spirit of a chief; the dove and *jacu* are spirits
[825] of men.[20] These ghosts cannot harm shamans who are accustomed to see-
[756] ing them, but sometimes the spirits attack and strike down defenseless laymen.[21] They also cluster around a man's bier to carry off the soul as soon as the body is buried.

There are infinite numbers of "spirits" of the individualized demoniac
776 class. Of these, some are "pets" which are not very dangerous, and which
[794] are represented by men in the mask dance cult.[22] Other species are very dangerous, but these are no longer seen by the layman. Formerly, these
773 were numerous, and killed many Tapirape, but Ware, a culture hero and
776 powerful shaman, fought them and killed many. A man now points to the

[19] Speaking of Tupinamba, Métraux makes these same two categories of "supernatural
[171] beings" (*ayguan, aguin, ingange* and *anhanga*), *ibid.*, p. 51.

[20] Animals which have, or are, spirits can be grouped together. These are tabu to some age
825 and sex groups, in a complicated dietary system.
[262]

[21] Dogs can see spirits. When a dog howls, Tapirape say, "He sees *anchunga* but we can't."

[22] At one time women may have been frightened by these "dangerous" spirits, but certainly at present everything in the men's cults is known to women, and they do not even pretend to be frightened.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara S06



abnormalities. Since there is a low incidence of twins and since in several known cases "abnormal" children have been allowed to live, infanticide has had little or no effect upon Tenetehara population trends. The Tenetehara tell of one or two formulas thought to produce abortion. The long taboos imposed on both parents during the pregnancy of the mother and during the early infancy of the child are a source of irritation and discomfort which would seem to tend to discourage large families. But, in general, there is little planned effort among the Tenetehara to limit family size. Men seem proud of several children; women are eager to bear children and they will leave a husband whom they believe to be sterile.

Te 847 [845] Te [843] Te 842 168 [586]

In contrast, the Tapirapé value small families. They take specific steps to limit their families and have explicit ideas as to maximum family size. Not only do the Tapirapé bury twins at birth as do the Tenetehara (and for similar reasons) but they believe that a woman should not have more than three live children. (5) In addition, the three children of a woman should not be of the same sex. In other words, if a woman has two living daughters and her third child is also a girl, it is usually buried at birth. Similarly, if she has two male children and her third is a male, infanticide is in order. Furthermore, all men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers to her child. More than two co-fathers leads to complications. All co-fathers are expected to observe taboos on sexual relations and on the eating of certain meats during the pregnancy of the woman and the early infancy of the child. If there are three, four, or more co—fathers one of them is certain to break these taboos thus endangering the health of the infant; consequently the woman is urged to bury the child. (6)

Ta 168 842 847 [845] Ta 168 851 847 [843]

On an overt level, the Tapirapé justify these checks on population by saying, "We do not want thin children" or "They would be hungry". They enlarge upon such statements by adding that it is difficult for a father to supply a large family with meat from hunting. In aboriginal times, manioc was plentiful and no one lacked the tubers with which to manufacture flour but meat was especially scarce during the rainy season when the forest is partially flooded and the paths to the savanna country are impassable. In addition, a complex set of food taboos make the job of supplying meat for a family more difficult. Children before adolescence are allowed to eat only specific meats and women are prohibited others. When a Tapirapé says "I am hungry" he generally means by implication:

Ta 168 842 Ta 262

(5) Baldus (1948) vol. CXXIII, p. 55, was told the same regarding the limitation of number of children of the Tapirapé family, but the contrary in relation to twins. According to information given to him by these Indians, the Tapirapé appreciate twins and, therefore, husband and wife eat twin or double bananas, i. e., with two fruits in the same peel.

Ta 114

(6) Genealogies indicated that these rules are adhered to almost without exception. In 1939, during my residence in a Tapirapé village, one woman hesitated in allowing her third male child to be buried. Less than a month after its birth, she appeared one day without the infant and announced that he had died of a cold. Another woman whose child had four fathers allowed the child to live only to have it die of an intestinal disorder. The villagers took a definite «I - told - you - so» attitude.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara SO 6



Ta 262 Te 262 168 Ta 168 183 262

"hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is (and was in the past) just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size. Population control among the Tapirapé seems no to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

Ta 161 168 182 [165]

This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new disease for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Te 161 168 182 [165]

Te Ta 596 591 612

Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapé, on the other hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial moieties limited to men. Each moiety was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the Tapirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's moieties and age grades and the "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic prodution and distribuition. The masked dances with impersonation of

Ta 616 561

Ta 476 264 574 616 [796] [535]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



## CULTURE

### SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

137 The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive 133 132 rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

**Farming.**—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their 241 villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their [484] large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, cará (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

[221] Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also 241 it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work 616 festival (apačirú). When communally prepared, the large clearings are 476 afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, gener- [423] ally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apačirú, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaô) at the end 241 of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as [462] the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, cará, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout [422] the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clear- [361] ings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

262 Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is 252 the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupi* groups, however, the

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



601 **Kinship.**—Kinship is more important in furthering solidarity among
[182] the *Tapirapé* than either the moieties or the feast groups. *Tapirapé* kin-
[611] ship is bilateral, its chief principle being that all cousins, whether cross- or parallel-cousins, no matter how distant, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of people calling each other siblings are also called siblings. Mother's sisters are called mother, and father's brothers, father. Mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, a man's brothers' children are considered his sons and daughters, and a woman's sisters' children are her children. Children of a man's sisters or a woman's brothers are given special terms.

[621] The wide inclusiveness of kinship affiliation makes it possible for an
[178] individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers—and in former days many people in other villages—by terms of close relationship.

554 An older man of some prestige gathers around him by adoption as many
581 "daughters" or as many of his wife's "daughters" as possible. By the
597 marriage of these "daughters," he attracts a group of younger men within
592 his household who contribute constantly to his larder through the hunt and garden activities. At present, only three of the nine houses in the village were formed in this way, but reduced numbers, we were told, forced various combinations of relatives to share a household.

## LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth.**—Although aware that pregnancy is brought about by sexual intercourse, the *Tapirapé* believe that conception takes place when a shaman, serving as intermediary, brings a "child spirit" to the woman. Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, and various fish and insects are supposed to contain child spirits.

843 When the woman is certain that she is pregnant, she tells her husband. They both paint their bodies with genipa and cover their hair with urucú. During the first few days of pregnancy, no restraints are imposed upon the child's parents, but as birth approaches, all sexual contact must cease.
[851] All men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers of the future child, together with the real father.

844 At childbirth the woman is assisted by her mother and sister and by two male relatives. The husband retires to his hammock and is forbidden to partake of any liquid refreshment.

847 Infanticide is practiced because it is considered bad to have more than three children, or two children of the same sex. The fourth child, or third of the same sex, of one mother is buried in a hole dug inside the residence for the afterbirth.

852 On the day after birth, a male child has his lower lip perforated. Until
304 the child is weaned, the parents must refrain from sexual relations and
851 must not eat salt, sugar, honey, or the meat of various animals and forest
262 fowls. Both boys and girls also are restricted in their meat diet. A son

252 case, the addition is made before the juice begins to boil. The
262 fruit that supplies this juice reaches 35 centimeters in length, 30
824 in circumference, and has a thick, hard shell. Its Tapirapé name is koruanchoa, choa (or chòva) referring to the color yellow. The neo-Brazilians in the area know this fruit by the name croá which, according to the Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa, 5th edition, is synonymous with cruá, crauá, and melão-caboclo (Sicana odorifera Naud.) [Tr., the cassabanana]. In Stradelli's Nheêngatú vocabulary (435), curúua is "a kind of squash covered with protuberances." [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

249 Kamairahó's small sugar-cane plantation lay close to
●263 Tampiitáua in 1935. No other member of the tribe owned a plan-
114 tation of Saccharum officinarum L., and in 1947 I did not see any.
[177] The sugar cane was used exclusively for sucking and was a recent
[171] import. Krause (2, 242) refutes Ehrenreich's statement that the Karajá planted sugar cane on sandbars, and says that what he saw was manioc and maize. He writes in reference to those Indians: "... I saw no sugar cane. If they had possessed it, they probably would not have been so eager for my sugar... " This conclusion is wrong. The fact that they sucked on sugar cane never kept the Tapirapé from asking for my rapadura [Tr., raw brown sugar in lumps].

252 These Indians make beiju (meijú or mãjú in their language),
262 sometimes with the tapioca extracted from manioc mash, as already mentioned, [114:199] and at other times with peanut or maize flour. According to Ayrosa (1, 54), the word "mbeiú or mbeyú of the Tupi-Guaraní" is "equivalent to 'coil,' 'roll,' 'fold,' etc." The same author (ibid., 51-54) lists several varieties of this cake, which has been described by various authors. The Tapirapé beijú is similar in shape to the so-called beiju-açú, which is a large, thin disk roasted in a shallow earthen pan. It is not everyday food. During my stays in Tampiitáua, I saw it only once. This was on June 29, 1935, at the time of a festival of "masks." They placed a large pan full of these disks of manioc-mash tapioca, made by Anampí, the wife of Tanupanchoa, in the middle of the takana. This important man offered it to several of the people
171 present and apportioned it himself. I, too, got my share and liked
252 it. Hans Staden (q 2) mentions similar Tupinambá cakes made in the
262 same fashion with the same material and writes their name as byyw.
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since the information provided by such dreams is readily accepted, they organize collective fishing trips. Fish constitutes their main source of animal fat and calcium. The calcium comes from the bones, [120:55] crumbled into a strongly spiced sauce, their favorite breakfast food. This is a cold dish, but the flesh of the fish is eaten on the previous day, good and hot, and invariably accompanied by manioc flour. I caused general amazement when I ate small roasted fish for the first time in Tampiitaua, and did so without manioc flour. My friend Vuanomanchi said that fish without flour is bad, gesticulated and spat as though he were smelling bad odor, and wanted to get up and fetch some of his own flour. A woman who was eating seated by my side immediately offered me hers. Of all the pictures in the zoological book that I showed them, it was always those of fish that aroused the greatest interest. The majority of the masked dances I witnessed dealt with fish, and there is an unmasked dance in which most of the text of the song consists of the word ypirá. It was this generic term for fish that I also heard almost invariably when I asked for the cause of a disease. This did not mean, however, that eating fish had been harmful to the sick person, but that a fish bone had been shot into his body as a magic projectile by an evil sorcerer. They also say that all the spirits of the hills and of the waters eat fish, and do not mention any other food for these spirits. Furthermore, as already stated at the beginning of this chapter, fish, along with manioc, is the only food included in the Tapirapé description of the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven that lies above our visible one. They do not fail to add that in this case "very fat fish" are involved. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Concerning head lice, I wish to mention in passing the fact that I never found any on my own body during my stays among various tribes, in spite of the fact that much lousy hair came in contact with mine and that I did not take any special preventive measures. The same proved to be the case among other Whites who stayed with South American Indians. I also know of a blond young man on whose head lice of the Krabo [Craho] Indians settled without biting.

•263 The pepper used by the Tapirapé and called by them ykaynia or ikeynia is apparently the bush red-pepper (Capsicum frutescens, Willd.). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph on this page and at the top of p. 56 is omitted.]

[120:56] The Tapirapé are immensely fond of raw brown sugar and our salt, and eat them as soon as they get them, that is, without waiting to use them as ingredients. To my knowledge, they [171] do not replace salt with substances extracted from vegetable ashes as do the Nahuquá (Von den Steinen 2, 100), Mehinaku (ibid., 106), Kamayurá (Meyer 1, 61), and other Brazilian tribes (Staden 9, 3; Martius 2, 497). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the first sentence of the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

The Tapirapé, too, are great geophagists. They have no salt 261 and suffer from worms and intestinal disorders. A wattle-and-daub house built by my companion Frederico C. Kegel alongside the village lost the clay from its walls, for the inhabitants of Tampiitaua kept breaking off small pieces all day long which they savored as though they were candy. [Ed., the remainder of p. 56, p. 57 which concludes the section in Vol. 120, and all the section in Vol. 121, pp. 79-82, are omitted.]

[122:167] If we look at the Tapirapé diet from the standpoint 146 of nutritive values, we may repeat the observation of Josué de Castro (66) about the Amazon diet in general: "It strikes one immediately as inadequate in the extreme paucity or even absence of some of the protective foods: meat, milk, cheese, butter, eggs, green vegetables, and fruits." "The amount of vitamins of the B complex contained in manioc, which is the staple food, is much smaller than that contained in cereals, rice, and wheat, the husks of which are saturated with these elements. In addition, what small quantities exist are practically destroyed in the process of preparing the flour" (ibid., 89). Also worthy of note are the following words by the same author: "... maize protein is quite incomplete, for it lacks several active acids essential to growth and organic equilibrium. Manioc, too, is very poor in proteins, poorer even than maize and qualitatively inferior to it. The Amazon dweller is saved by the fact that he does not eat pure flour as the Mexican eats maize and maize alone for days on end" (ibid., 73). In any case, various opinions were cited at the beginning of this chapter about the nutritive values of manioc flour.

262 824 "long banana." It is probably a variety of the banana da terra (Musa paradisiaca L., normalis subspec.). During my first stay with the Tapirapé, they ate it every day in large quantities. I, too, never tired of devouring the huge and extremely tasty fruits, with the result that my body acquired the same proportions as those of a horse that feeds on grass alone for months at a stretch. 252 The [114:190] Tapirapé gather these bananas when green and hang them inside the house until they become yellow and ripe. Then they expose them to the sun until they are black outside and turning brownish inside. To achieve this, they place them on wooden frameworks that are erected at the place where the bananas grew, or at some other place regarded as adequate. The Karajá, [171] who also cultivate these large bananas, bury them too, and so did the Péua (Takunhapeba) of the lower Xingu visited by Von den Steinen (1, 275). The Tapirapé like to eat these fruits when they are not only rotting, but also warm from the immediate action of the sun or from the sand warmed by its rays. They do not peel 264 them, but open the hard skin a little at one of the tips, put the tip between their lips, and slowly empty the skin by squeezing it with their fingers so that the soft and brownish pulp gradually penetrates into their mouths. In this respect I did not agree with the taste of the Indians, for I found these bananas a revolting thing when rotten and preferred to eat them while still yellow on the outside and pinkish-yellow on the inside, when they were already quite juicy.

262 824 (2) The white flesh of one of the larger bananas was not dry either, and its sweet flavor was reminiscent of candy permeated with the scent used by a cheap barber, while its skin was pinkish-green. The Tapirapé name for this fruit is tatampiringó. Its length is equal to its circumference, that is to say, about 15 centimeters. My camarada called it "purple banana," asserting that among "civilized people" it reaches twice that circumference. It is probably Musa paradisiaca L., sapientum subspec., rubra var.

(3) The banana 15 centimeters long and ten centimeters in circumference, whose white and soft flesh had a mild flavor and whose green skin did not turn yellow, was probably the "[illegible]" [252] banana. The Tapirapé hang it inside the house and call it inanchanyuí.

(4) The banana called abíbakíngamaé by the Tapirapé is yellow both inside and out and similar in shape and flavor to the tatah' banana, although a little smaller and drier.

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264 [122:170] In their manner of eating the Tapirapé retain many similarities with the ancient Tupinambá. As was the case among the latter, the Tamptitaua family usually eats together from the same container, which stands in the middle, with the father lying in the hammock and the wife and children squatting on the ground (cf. Gabriel Soares de Sousa 366 and 375; Vicente de Salvador 33). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

These present-day Tupi, like the ancient coastal ones, do not drink while they eat (cf. Vicente de Salvador 33; Soares de Sousa 375; Anchieta 2, 330; Cardim 165; Léry 127). Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé eat "all the time, night and day, at any hour or moment" (Cardim 164), and what Simão de Vasconcellos (p. LXXXV) wrote about those Indians may be applied to these: "Eating time comes whenever nature demands it, as with wild animals; and nature demands it so often, that they eat during the day, and during the night if they must." It so happened that at midnight, when everyone was asleep, my hammock neighbor Kamaiabó suddenly awoke because he was hungry. He got up, awakening his wife and children. The woman prepared fish, and finally they all began to eat and to take cauí.

The habit of tossing manioc flour into the mouth is a cultural trait that the Tapirapé share not only with the ancient coastal Tupi (cf. Léry 118-119; Thevet I, 303; Cardim 166; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. LXXXV), but also with the peasants who live near the city of São Paulo. The only difference is that around this modern metropolis the flour is propelled into the mouth with a spoon, while among the Indians this is done directly with the fingers.

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252 Boiled food is eaten or drunk by the Tapirapé as hot as they can stand it. In this respect they can stand more than I, for example. If the food is still too hot even for them, they cool it off by blowing upon it or, if it is liquid, by stirring it with a gourd.

[192] [122:171] In Tapirapé, aõ means "I eat," and ayõ "I drink water," the o sounding almost like a u.

312 To obtain clear, fresh water, the Tapirapé dig a hole so close to still water or to the river that the liquid penetrates through the dividing wall of earth. The use of this filtering process shows that what Anchieta (II, 330) wrote about the Indians he knew cannot be applied to these: "... they hardly distinguish bad water from good, and are satisfied with any kind." In this respect, the inhabitants of

128 [Ed., p. 86 and all but the last two lines of p. 87 are not translated.]

[87] In the pages that follow I wish to discuss a social institution
121 of the Tapirapé, the like of which I have not yet found [88] either among the other tribes I have visited or in the literature. I call it "eating groups." [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

• 264 The social significance of this organization into "eating groups"
224 derives from their purpose, which is as follows. Sometimes it happens that the produce of the hunt or of the harvest, which among these Indians may be eaten by either sex and also by the children (for exam-
[262] ple, wild pig, curassow, guan, turtle, honey, etc.), is too sizable for the hunter's family and not sizable enough to be shared justly and advantageously with the entire population of the village. In such a case, to avoid a less equitable act, the distribution is made among the mem-
574 bers of the eating group to which the hunter belongs.
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264 At the time of my stay among the Tapirapé, they were divided
557 into seven eating groups [89]. They say that in the old days the groups were more numerous. The names of the existing groups are Txankanépéra [Tr., the Portuguese x equals English sh], Pananivũína, Maniitivuéra, Kãũanõí, Tãũapéra, Ampirampé, Avãinki'. Whenever I asked for an explanation of their meaning, I was merely given the word tãtĩupãũa. Undoubtedly, however, some of the group names are related to the names of animals and plants, Txankanépéra with txankané (alligator), Maniitivuéra with mandiivũã (a variety of manioc), Ãvãinki' with vũãiki'ã (a variety of manioc). This may be
[791] a vestige of totemic ideas, although they are not manifested in the behavior of the group members. For example, the attitude of the Txankanépéra group members toward the alligator is no different from that of the members of other groups. It is true that at the common
557 feasts each person is called by the name of the group and also is what
976 the name represents. Thus, for example, a member of the
264 Txankanépéra group will say, "Txe Txankanépéra," which means both "I am called Txankanépéra" and "I am Txankanépéra," and says to his group-fellow, male or female, "Ané Txankanépéra ('You are called Txankanépéra,' or 'You are Txankanépéra')."

192 Tãtĩupãũa designates both the common feast of a group and the
574 institution of eating groups in general. When I asked the Tapirapé what
976 they called themselves as a community, I got the answer "Ampĩũa"
264 (a word that means "man" in the Tupí of the Amazon) and the statement
[10a]

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574 that all participants in the tãtfupũã [90] are called this. Nothing
264 could point up the importance of the institution more effectively than
[101] this observation. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The word tãtã is used both by the Tapirapé and by the Karajá
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824 [Caraja] to designate cultivated bananas in general. It also means "fire" in their language, as in all Tupí-Guaraní tongues, and it differs
[194] from these only in its nasalization, an element which is peculiar to the Tapirapé language as a whole.

[192] The word upũã means "everything eaten."

The word tãtfupũã may mean that the fire went out, or that everything that was near the fire was eaten.

264 Every individual belongs to the same eating group through life.
976 Sons belong to their father's group, daughters to their mother's.
574 The eating groups are not important to marriage; some of the
[611] men belong to the same group as their wives, while others belong to a different group.

[91] The principal chief, Kamairahó, was a Txankanépéra, while
123 the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ', was a Panamĩvũãna. As I lived in
[622] Kamairahó's household and belonged, in a way, to his family, I also became a Txankanépéra, and they explained to me that as a consequence my own relatives, although absent, had also become Txankanépéra.

264 Within their group, all members regard one another as brothers
976 and sisters.
574 Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life,
[608] namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group companions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond oc-
[621] casionally bringing together the inhabitants of different houses from birth to death.

264 At certain times the entire population of the village gathers to-
574 gether for the tãtfupũã, which at such times is not really a feast
621 carried out to meet the obligations imposed by the consumption-group organization, but a veritable banquet.

On July 3, the time of the kãuihó, or "bad kãuĩ" (literally, "big kãuĩ" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the
[252] chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kãuĩ, which formerly was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was warm and so good that I ate my fill.

264 [92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of
579 various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets.
476 These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kaumanõ, owing to their small numbers, had joined the Awaiki' to form a single group. All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group.
[562] There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of kará [Tr., a kind of yam], peanut kanã, etc. Before that, there was a great
531 distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom
579 he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such
[622] as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better
[779] use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay
264 the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted to-
476 gether, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they
579 pleased. Kamairahõ, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk
[554] of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother.
123 We called each other "Txankanõpéra," and Ampitúnya, his little adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Anõ Txankanõ-
[597] péra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other groups also called me "Txankanõpéra," and I called them by the name of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

264 [93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that
579 there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The
535 plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the
[776] good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kanihõ and vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness,
132 the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season with its "good shadows," summer.

579 They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they
776 also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tatiupãã of an
264 eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Awaiki' had killed
476 with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting
579 the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group.
[962] In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts

264 476 574 [224] such as the head and legs, which they gave to those members of their family who did not belong to the same eating group.

The feasting had already begun before the sun was up. In the [345] [362] [352] takána, the large dance house, which is essentially a men's house and thus as a rule not visited by women, the Ãvãinkí of both sexes sat [94] on straw mats stretched for the purpose around large pots containing the roasted pig. The animal was cut up in such a way that the pieces could easily be held in the hand.

When I appeared, they all graciously invited me to help myself. [123] I declined, stating that I was a Txankanépéra, and in view of this they did not insist further.

Naturally, members of other eating groups may ask the feast participants for a piece. Custom, however, demands that they withdraw after receiving what they requested. Only members of the same group may sit in the circle surrounding the pots. As a rule, however, a member of another group does not come to the people who are feasting and ask for a piece.

123 264 476 574 In any case, I did not want to carry my pride in being a Txankanépéra too far, and therefore I accepted the invitation of a special friend, Vuãnomantxí, whose wife had prepared the bulk of the food for the Ãvãinkí and thus earned the pig's head for her family. While she sat with her group-fellows in the takána, her husband and son, and a few other persons who were not relatives but who belonged to the family, so to speak, because they were the only other occupants of the small hut, lay across their hammocks and chewed contentedly. When I came in, Vuãnomantxí tore from the pig's head the piece that he considered the best and offered it to me. I began to chew on it, and this required much fortitude because the meat was very tough. [96] When my chin began to hurt badly and I was certain that I had swallowed enough of those awful bites, I craved a bonus and asked for the brains. My friend smiled--he always had a friendly smile for me, thoroughly joyous and relaxed--and gave me to understand that my tastes were not inferior to those of the most illustrious Tapirapé. Then, with his athletic strength, he broke open the skull, handed me the bulk of the brains, and stuffed the rest into his mouth.

264 476 Before the sun was up, only the pig's bones remained in Vuãnomantxí house and in the takána.

[574] [611] Aside from the tatãupãã, there is another institution which also involves eating in hereditary groups. It is called apatxiré. Its purpose,

264 476 however, is totally different from that of the tãtãpãũã. It is not a group organization for consumption, but for production. For this reason, also, the feasts in specific groups associated with this institution are merely accessory.

The social significance of apatxirã resides in the possibility of sharing a collective task in such a way that no member of the tribe will [461] feel discredited by an unfair assignment. This is done by turning work into a festive occasion and a sports competition.

"When there is a lot of water everywhere in the rainy season, the [776] ãũvanaĩ 'shadows' live in the takãna. Their headdress and breechcloth [291] are of muriti leaves, but their headdress does not have any macaw [535] feathers. [96] They dance through the entire rainy season. At that time, there are no other 'shadows' (aũtxĩna) but them. Unlike other 'shadows,' these do not live in the hills or in the waters, but only in the takãna. They do not sing, but only grunt in a low voice. During [261] the moons of the great rains, the belly does not get as full as during the dry season. But the ãũvanaĩ have to eat. Then they go to the gardens and 'steal.' They take what they stole to the takãna, where they eat it. In the apatxirã, we prepare the gardens where they seek their food. They 'steal' only from those gardens that are prepared for them alone. The ãũvanaĩ are not evil. All Tapirapé men are ãũvanaĩ.

Such is, in summary, the information I received when I asked the purpose of the common gardens prepared in the apatxirã.

For the apatxirã, all Tapirapé men are divided into three work-groups called vuĩrã. The word vuĩrã means "bird," and the name of [551] each group designates a mythical bird which is represented not only by the group as a whole but by each of its individual members. They are called Tãnãvé, Anantxã, and Vuirantxinió.

The Tãnãvé group was the smallest one at the time of my visit, [624] but it included the individuals of highest social status: the principal chief, Kamaiabó; the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ´; the chief and most [123] eminent sorcerer--medicine man, Urukumĩ´; and myself. (Naturally, Kamaiabó stated immediately that I would be a Tãnãvé like himself.)

[97] Each of the three work groups has two leaders called ãmaĩva. 264 The ãmaĩva of the Tãnãvé were Vũãtanamĩ´ and Urukumĩ´. (Although 622 Kamaiabó was also a Tãnãvé, he seemed to be the head of all three 476 groups in his capacity as principal chief. He is also the only one whose 651 private plot is prepared by the village inhabitants as a collective endeavor, while the private plots of other tribal members are prepared

264 476 only by their respective owners. I do not know, however, whether [622] the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the prepara- [651] tion of the principal chief's garden.)

The ãntaiva of the Anantxã were the chief Tanupantxóa and [624] Vuĩraĩ, and those of the Vuirantxinió were the chief Kamairã and the sorcerer--medicine man Maninohó.

476 In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three 857 groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were called Vuanankóra, Vuirantxína, and Vuĩrantxinoĩ. The last one is now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tãnãvé or Anantxã belong [611] to the first one, and the sons of the Vuirantxinió to the second one. The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were Vuirantxinió. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work- [881] group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution, [242] for "the women and girls stay home when the men do collective work."

[98] They say that each apatxirũ group has its specific ornament 301 for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I 476 was not with the Tapirapé. The Tãnãvé wear three large red macaw 535 feathers hanging from the head onto the back. The Anantxã also wear 237 three large macaw feathers in the same fashion, but two are from the blue and yellow macaw and only the middle one is red; in addition, they wear on their arms the white breast fluff of the king vulture. The Vuirantxinió are not differentiated from the Tãnãvé. The Vuanankóra wear smaller red feathers from the tail of the macaw, hanging from the head onto the back. The Vuirantxína are similarly adorned and also wear macaw fluff on their arms.

Concerning the word apatxirũ, Curt Nimuendajú wrote me as fol- 192 lows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word apatxirũ is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is omitted.]

476 [99] On July 30, Kamairahó invited me to go with him to the [123] apatxirũ. On the previous day, Chief Tanupantxóa had already begun the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working

476 thundering noise, dragging along in its fall its weaker companions.

Every once in a while, a voice was heard behind the trees. One [222] could not see who it was, but the call sounded very close. Immediately, the boys rushed to the spot where the voice came from. Soon they returned with their arms full of bananas. They ran jubilantly toward us and distributed them.

These bananas reached a length of 30 centimeters and a middle [192] circumference of 15 to 20 centimeters. The men brought them in [482] hampers close to the working area, but never came out of the woods into the garden with their load.

The skin of the bananas was black, and their flesh was already 252 brownish and too soft. This is the condition in which the Tapirapé 262 like them best. The fruits are gathered when green and buried at the [222] spot where they grew. The Karajá do the same thing. In the sun- [171] heated ground, the bananas reach the desired state of rottenness more quickly than if they were kept at home. Then, too, they are warm when taken out of the ground, and this endears them further to the Indians.

They are not peeled in order to be eaten. The tough skin is 264 opened a little at one of the tips, the tip is placed between the lips, and the skin slowly emptied by squeezing it with the fingers so that the pulp gradually enters the mouth. Kamairahó ate one banana after another. As for myself, I found them nauseating.

[108] The sun was already quite low when we left. We forged 264 ahead at a rapid pace, one behind the other on the narrow trail. We 476 were not far from the village when the path opened onto a small, 462 cleared, triangular space. The women sat in the corners of this space 574 and watched us in silence. The women and girls had split into three groups which tallied with the work groups of their husbands and fathers. They had placed pots of food in the area in the same arrangement. [262] There were banana kauí, peanut kaui, cottonseed kauí, toasted karí, and many other good things. Each group ate only from the pots placed for it at a specific spot. There were smaller quantities for the Tãnãvé, because they were fewer. I was invited from all sides, and since I [123] was very hungry I did not spare the other two groups. Only when I was beginning to be satiated did I put down, with a great show of surprise, the pot of banana soup of the Anaxxí from which I had just partaken, and declared that I was a Tãnãvé. This fact, however, did not seem to be of great importance to my hosts.

264 462 476 The pots were soon emptied. Then the women and girls came, picked them up, and took them home. The men followed. The Anantxí walked first, with the Vuirantxinió behind them and the Tãnãvé last. They kept this order, and sent me back to the rear when [129] I stepped--not unintentionally--in the midst of the Vuirantxinió.

[109] As soon as the village was in sight, things began to move. 595 The men ran straight to the takána and paired up for the dance. The women and girls showed no interest in this and for the most part had already gone to their huts.

The dancing pairs stood in a dense cluster in front of the entrance. In each pair, as was customary, one of the men held his arm across the other's shoulders, while his companion held his arm across the other's hips. Both held a club, bush knife, or bow in the other hand. In the midst of the group stood the leading pair, Tamupantxóa and Vuiraí, the ãntaĩva of the Anantxí. The Anantxí had now mixed with the Vuirantxinió. Of the Tãnãvé, only Kamairahó, Urukumĩ', and I had come. We stayed nearby as onlookers.

First, the men danced for a while on the same spot. As usual, they pawed the ground, all at the same time and always with the same foot, alternating from right to left, keeping their knees slightly bent and the middle part of the body slightly bent forward. Then the leading pair gradually moved away from the spot. They danced with small steps out of the takána. The others followed in the same fashion. They all moved, one pair after the other, slowly, toward the house of Vuãtanamĩ', singing with sounds and shouts rather than words.

When they reached the house of the second leader, the procession broke up. They did not scatter, however, but remained close to-
526 gether. [110] The race began. It is called ãhéui, which means "I
883 run." The adolescents, who were in their initiation year and hence had their faces and bodies completely blackened with genipap, ran two at a time in a straight line across the dance plaza to the back of Kamairahó's house. Actually, there was no spot to be reached first by the winner, and there was no applause from the spectators. It might almost be said that there was no winner. As a rule, indeed, the [156] desire to be singled out or to single out someone is not manifested by these Indians and is probably even regarded by them as a danger to the harmony of the community. These races seemed to be merely runs to be made as fast as possible across the plaza to convince the boys themselves of their own ability. As soon as the two runners reached

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



Ta 262 Te 262 168 "hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is (and was in the past) just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size. Ta 168 183 262 Population control among the Tapirapé seems ne to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

Ta 161 168 182 [165] This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new disease for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid Te 161 168 182 [165] population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Te Ta 596 591 612 Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapé, on the other Ta 616 561 hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial moieties limited to men. Each moiety was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the Ta 470 264 574 611 [796] [535] Tapirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's moieties and age grades and the "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic production and distribution. The masked dances with impersonation of

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara S06



forest spirits performed by the men during the dry season were a function of the men's moieties. The "Feast Groups" met at intervals during the dry seasons at their traditional stations in the central plaza for ceremonial meals. At such times, as Herbert Baldus has shown, these "Feast Groups" functioned as a mechanism for food distribution in a season when more food was available than a family would normally consume. (7) The "Feast Groups" sometimes formed to collect honey and to hunt. The age grades of the men's moieties also frequently acted together economically; they organized work parties for clearing of large garden sites and they went out on large cooperative hunts after herds of wild pigs.

In aboriginal Tapirapé society ceremonial life and many important cooperative subsistence acticities were based upon this balanced set of associations. A Tapirapé village in order to assure adequate representation in the various age grades of the men's moieties as well as in the "Feast Groups" by necessity had to consist of about 200 people or more. A small village of fifty to a hundred people, for example, would not have provided sufficient number of males of the proper ages to allow the age graded moieties to carry out their ceremonials nor to organize their cooperative subsistence activities. Tapirapé village organization was therefore not conducive to a process of "splitting off" of groups from one village to form another. The size of Tapirapé villages was limited by their tecnological equipment within their tropical forest environment yet the social structure made the formation of numerous small villages difficult. In contrast, the less formalized social structure of the Tenetehara allowed for villages of varying size within the limits of their ecological adjustment. Extended family groups easily might break off from a larger village to form a new settlement fully able to carry out the cooperative economic activities and even ceremonials of the society. This process is constantly occurring in contemporary Tenetehara society. When tensions arise between extended families, one group simply splits off from the parent village to join another or to form a separate village without serious effects on the ceremonial or economic system. Tenetehara social structure offered a favorable condition for an expanding population after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected population.

Tapirapé social structure seems also to have been more vulnerable to disorganization in face of a rapid change in population size. Rapid depopulation after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected the normal functioning of their highly segmented and balanced social structure. By 1940, the lack of men had thrown the system of reciprocal and competitive activities of the men's age-graded moieties out of balance. There were not enough men of the "older" age-grade of either moiety nor of the young men "warrior" age-grade of one moiety to form functioning units to reciprocate in cooperative garden clearing and to participate in group hunts. Several of the "Feast Groups" had been disbanded for lack of numbers

(7) Baldus (1937) p. 98 ff.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



**Weapons.**—Bows have a circular cross section and average about 6 feet (2 m.) in length. The arrows are of cane about 5 feet (1.5 m.) long with heads of bone, hardwood, and the spur from the sting ray (*Potamotrygon histrix*). They have brilliant feathers, sometimes the red and blue feathers of the red macaw. Clubs are made of several polished hardwoods and are sometimes decorated near the handles with woven strands of cane fibers. 411

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Three distinct social groupings are basic in *Tapirapé* social organization: men's ceremonial moieties, feast societies, and the kinship groups. 561

**Ceremonial moieties.**—All *Tapirapé* men belong to one of the patrilineal ceremonial moieties. Each of these moieties is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths (those up to 15 years of age); two groups of men of warrior age (15 to 40 years); and two groups of older men (40 to 60 years). Each group bears the name of a bird, the word "wirã" (bird) being the generic name for the group. These age groups (Baldus, 1937, p. 96, calls them "work groups") function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites at the cooperative work festival; parallel groups also dance against each other in various ceremonials and reciprocally feast each other. Each moiety owns half of the men's house, and its portion is subdivided into sections owned by the three age grades. The warrior age group of each moiety has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and communal work, and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. As a man becomes elderly, he entirely drops out of the "bird" groups and is no longer affiliated, as he cannot take part in their economic and ceremonial activities. At present, the *Tapirapé* are so reduced in number that, lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's age grade in order to retain the necessary balance for ceremonials. 616 [345] [423]

**Feast groups.**—Both men and women are divided into eight feasting groups called tiãupawã (literally, "fire all to eat") Men belong to their fathers' feast group and women to their mothers'. Feast groups are not only nonexogamic, but people prefer to marry within their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry the names of the mythological heads of the original eight households of the first *Tapirapé* village. They unite at various times throughout the year for ceremonial meals. The feasts take place at traditional spots in the village plaza, at times when there is an abundance of honey, maize, or meat from the hunt. Each member brings his contribution. Baldus (1937, p. 88) calls these "eating groups," and emphasizes that they are consumers' groups providing a means of distributing food when more is available than a family can eat. Today only six groups meet for feasts, two being extinct for lack of members. 574 264 [582]

171 According to Karl von den Steinen (2, 539), the Kamayurá voice
192 a nasalized meiũ, that is to say, almost meniũ (meyu and menyu
252 in his spelling). The same author (ibid., Fig. 54) reproduces a
262 spade decorated with geometric designs that was used by these Indians to turn the cakes over. In Tampiitáua I did not see any special implement for this purpose, and in Wagley's collection at the [Brazilian] National Museum there is nothing like it either. [Ed., the last two sentences concluding the section in Vol. 114 are omitted.]

[115:255] To the Tapirapé, the most important vegetable
262 dish is unquestionably cauí.' [Ed., five sentences are omitted.]
171 In sixteenth century references, the intoxicating drinks of the
192 Tupinambá appear as Kaa.wy and Kawi in the spelling of the German Hans Staden (e 2, f 3), Cahouin in Thevet (1, 121), and Caou-in in De Léry (125). The nasalized i indicated by the two
194 Frenchmen, and later pointed out in various Tupi languages by authors coming from different countries, does not exist either in Tapirapé or in Kamayurá, but in both these languages the u in kauí is nasalized, and the i is the tonic syllable (cf. Von den Steinen 2, 213). Furthermore, neither the [115:256] Tapirapé
[273] nor the Kamayurá make intoxicating beverages. The Tapirapé
● 272 designate with the word kauí their peanut, maize, manioc, cotton-
192 seed, squash, and banana soups, and even straight drinking water
171 (ỹ-kauí), while the Kamayurá use this term for the simple refreshing drink made of water and crumbled beiju (ibid.). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The kauí of the Tapirapé is not always made exclusively from
272 one of the plants mentioned above. There are mixtures, such as crushed maize with chewed peanuts or with chewed cottonseed. No other plant aside from those listed are used, however, and no such soups are made, for example, with caiá or yams. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 256 and the first paragraph on p. 257 are omitted.]

[115:257] None of the [early] authors mentions expressly the
[114] three kinds of cauí that are made by the Tapirapé with cotton seeds,
[252] peanuts, and squash. As I have already mentioned, the cotton seeds are chewed with crushed maize. The resulting drink has a yellowish-green appearance and little flavor. It is true that the
171 Tupinambá of Bahia also found those seeds nutritious, but they pre-
252 pared them in a different fashion. Gabriel Soares de Sousa (235)

171 252 writes: "The natives eat these cotton seeds crushed and then boiled into a mush which they call mingau."

At the time of my stays among the Tapirapé, the monovi-
272 kauí was the kind most frequently used and the one I myself took most often. I confess that I liked this drink so much and developed such nostalgia for it that in 1947, when I again met the people whose hammocks had hung beside mine 12 years earlier, the first wish I expressed was this, "Monovi-kauí." It is worth noting
114 that Gabriel Soares de Sousa (203), in describing the use of the
171 peanut among the Tupinambá, does not mention it in connection
272 with the preparation of a liquid. The same applies to squash, incidentally, of which, according to the sixteenth century Portuguese author (ibid., 201), "there are ten or 12 varieties" called gerumús by the Tupinambá of Bahia. The Tapirapé drink made
272 with crumbled squash is called kuruá-kauí. Kuruá may not be
[137] one of the "varieties" of "gerumús" known in Bahia, but like them, in any case, it belongs to the edible Cucurbitaceae.

The vegetable substances used in preparing the various kinds
[462] of Tapirapé kauí are crumbled or mashed by the women in three different ways, namely, between the hands, in the mortar, and between the teeth. Squash and bananas go between the hands; maize and manioc, the latter previously soaked in water and then sun-dried, go into the mortar; while maize, manioc, peanuts, and cotton seeds are chewed. In the Tapirapé language, amatykú
[192] means "I chew," and andjahák, "I pound." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 257, p. 258, and the first paragraph on p. 259 are omitted.]

[115:259] The custom of turning a food into mush by chewing
252 it is used by the Tapirapé not only to make cauí, but for the two
[757] following purposes: they chew peanuts to make a paste with which they anoint their bodies when they have been made ill by spoiled
[895] manioc, and they chew certain foods and give the mush to nursing children. These children are also given true cauí. It is to be supposed that observing the already considerable saccharification that takes place in chewing led the Indians to apply this procedure to the preparation of their favorite food. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 259 and p. 260, which concludes the section in Vol. 115, are omitted.]

272 [116:55] Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have three stages in the preparation of their masticated-fermented drink: (1) they

272 boil the substance to be masticated, (2) they chew it and thus add to it the ferment contained in the saliva, (3) they once more heat the liquid mixed with the chewed mass (cf. Staden q 4, Léry 124, Claude d'Abbeville 302). [Ed., the remainder of p. 55 and the first two paragraphs on p. 56 are omitted.]

[116:56] The Tapirapé heat the liquid mixed with the masti-
171 cated mass over the embers. In this connection, it is well to quote
272 Georg Wilhelm Freyreiss (102), who visited Espírito Santo in the first quarter of the nineteenth century and stated that "the Indians of the coast prepare cauí from manioc roots which are boiled and then chewed by the women, spit into a large pot, and covered with water. They leave it there to ferment. Also, probably to accelerate the fermenting process, they place the pan near the fire" (the italics are ours, and the original text of this sentence reads "... auch wohl um die Gährung zu befördern den Topf in die Nähe des Feuers setzt"). The German author adds that this drink is taken, as a rule, before 24 hours have elapsed. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Drinks whose fermentation is fostered by chewing may be
272 divided into intoxicating and non-intoxicating ones. The cauí of the Tapirapé belongs in the second category, for it is taken, like the one mentioned by Freyreiss, before 24 hours have elapsed from the time of mastication. [Ed., the last three lines on p. 56, pp. 57-58, and the first paragraph on p. 59 are omitted.]

[116:59] The fermented drinks are taken by the Tapirapé either warm or unheated. For example, on the morning following my arrival in Tampiitáua in 1947, when my little friend Ampitánia fulfilled my wish by serving me monoví-kauí, I took it in the manner most agreeable to the Tapirapé and to myself, that is to say, good
123] and hot. Ampitánia demonstrated her affection by filling up a truly gigantic pot during the night. She must have pounded and masticated a great deal. From the bubbling liquid she took out a goodly portion with a large gourd, stirred it with a smaller gourd to cool it off a little, and then placed the large gourd before me, putting into one of my hands the smaller gourd as a dish and in the other hand another gourd, still smaller, to serve as a spoon. Sitting in the girl's net, I voraciously swallowed the hot soup, sweetish and nutritious, half floury and half grainy, filling my "dish" over and over again from the large gourd until I had emptied it completely.

272 Cold cauí, however, is also enjoyed by these Indians. I often saw one of them wake up in the middle of the night and, while everyone slept, take a gourdful of cauí that still stood in a pot removed from the fire several hours earlier. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

To the Tapirapé, the chewed and fermented drink represents not only the high point of festive banquets, but also the pièce de résistance of everyday meals, and its importance is well illustrated 773] by the fact that the flood myth ends with the following words: "When the flood ended, (the survivors) came out from under the earth, and there was cauí and many Tapirapé." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 59, p. 60, and the first two paragraphs on p. 61 are omitted.]

[116:61] To summarize, we may say that the elements of the 171 cauí complex we have studied reveal a close cultural relationship 272 between the Tapirapé and the Tupinambá (1) in the name of the drink, (2) in the important role played by manioc and maize in its preparation, (3) in the above-mentioned three stages in the preparation of the drink, which is fermented by the saliva produced in chewing, (4) in the important role played in the diet by the various kinds of cauí prepared in this fashion. When set off against these similarities, the fact mentioned by certain sixteenth century authors that the Tupinambá, in contrast to the Tapirapé, got drunk on certain occasions is of little importance.

Unquestionably less close than this cultural relationship is that relating the Tapirapé, as far as the cauí complex is concerned, to the Tupi of the upper Xingu basin. The inhabitants of Tampiitáua hold in common with the Kamayurá the name of a non-intoxicating drink, but the manufacture and function of these drinks are entirely different.

Although it would be sufficient to eliminate two consonants [182] from the Karajá word kaluxí to transform it into the word kauí, I dare not build any hypotheses around possible connections between these two words. In any case, kaluxí is to the Karajá not only what cafèzinho [Tr., the frequent demitasse] is to the people of São Paulo, but also what kauí is to the Tapirapé, that is to say, an important aliment. There is also a similarity in the preparation of these drinks among the Karajá and the Tapirapé. It is true, however, that the former often omit the mastication. The fact that the various kaluxí I tasted were less thick than the maize, manioc, peanut, and cotton-seed kauí I tried, and different in their composition, does not

171 necessarily mean that Karajá women are unfamiliar with the
272 recipes for these Tapirapé drinks. They might have come to know them through the girls from the Tupi tribe who were abducted by the Karajá at various times and under various circumstances. [Ed., end of Vol. 116.]

[117:91] The Tapirapé do not eat meat raw or rare, but
252 roasted in the embers or broiled, while smaller fish are boiled in a pot. Fish are often tossed whole into the embers, that is, without being gutted. They are left there until they are charred on the outside. This manner of preparing them lends them a delicious flavor. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

"I boil" is avún in Tapirapé, "I roast," aihyn, and "I broil,"
[192] amakaé. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

When studying the widespread distribution of the barbecue in
171 South America, Nordenskiöld (6, 135-137 and Map 15) distin-
252 guished two types, namely: (1) a quadrangular platform of sticks supported by four or, rarely, three stakes, and (2) three sticks set up, like stacked rifles, with a grille laid out between them horizontally. He lists (ibid., 136) the Tapirapé among those having the first type on the basis of the information provided by Krause (2). This author (ibid., 122, 407, 409, Plate 29, and Fig. 269 a-c) found several subspecies of that type with three or four supports, one of the supports being a tree. The stakes were not forked like those of the Tupinambá barbecue of the same type (Staden k 4, [117:92] l 3, m 1, m 2, t 11; Léry 135; Claude d'Abbeville 294), which is apparently identical to those of the Karajá and Javahé seen by Krause (2, 251 and Plate 61). As far as the barbecue is concerned, however, the Tapirapé seem to differ even more from those tribes, since they also possess, as is shown in Photograph 33, the second type distinguished by Nordenskiöld and not mentioned by him as existing among the Tupinambá, Karajá, or Javahé. On the other hand, the same pyramid-shaped barbecue was found among the northern Kayapó (Krause 2, 387 and Plate 25) and the tribes of the upper Xingu basin visited by Von den Steinen (2, 236 and Fig. 30). To summarize, we may say that the inhabitants of Tamplitíus use both types of barbecue described by Nordenskiöld, while their neighbors, the Xingu Indians and the Tupinambá, are listed by the same author among the representatives having one type only.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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were tearing a hut out of a tree for food. These talked with Ikanancowi and invited him to return to their village, which was situated upon the lake. In the village he saw *periquitos* (Psittacidae) and many *sucó* (*Ramphidus* sp.), birds which they keep as pets. The *anciinga* had several pots of *kasi* (1) and invited Ikanancowi to eat with them. He refused for he saw that their *kasi* was made from human blood. Ikanancowi watched one spirit drink of the *kasi* and saw him vomit blood immediately afterwards; the shaman saw a second spirit drink from another pot and immediately spurt blood from his anus. He saw the *mungi anká* vomit up their entrails and throw them upon the ground, but he soon saw that this was only a trick; they would not die, for they had more intestines. After this visit the *mungi anká* called Ikanancowi father and he called them his sons; he visited them in his dreams frequently and he had *mungi anká* near him always. When Ikanancowi danced and sang in the annual shamanistic ceremony against Thunder (see page 54), he painted his chest and chin red with urucu, representing the *kasi* of blood which dripped from the mouths of the *mungi anká* after they vomit and he called these spirits to his aid in his songs. Other shamans have had familiar spirits but none have had such dangerous spirits as the *mungi anká*; "people were very much afraid of Ikanancowi, for these *anciinga* are very dangerous".

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In another dream told to me a shaman met the forest spirits called *ovipa*. These have long hair wound in a mass on top of their heads and they carry one arrow for the bows with which they kill men. The *ovipa* were afraid of the shaman, but when he shouted, "No, I am a shaman", they did not harm him. Instead they gave him food and helped him return through the deep forest to the village. Another shaman had *anciinga* and *ovipa* as his familiars. These forest demons have protruding eyes and sharp pointed chins. They kill Tapirapé by grabbing them from behind as they walk unsuspectingly through the forest, clapping their hands over the victim's mouth and driving their pointed chins into the back of his neck. A man caught by one of these *anciinga* dies gurgling and groaning, unable to speak; so, although found alive he may never explain what happened to him. A shaman with such dangerous familiars as these protects the laity by keeping his spirits under control.

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(1) *Kasi* is a thick soup-like drink prepared most usually from maize, sometimes from several kinds of meat. It is never alcoholic among the Tapirapé. [272]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



to avenge him, is generally not murdered (16). A strong shaman makes no effort to have a strong family group about him for protection. Informants could not remember that murdered shamans had ever been avenged by their familiar spirits, although one man made the point that shamans were murdered only by persons under the influence of great anger or grief, for people normally are afraid of the familiars of shamans. Special rites are observed by anyone who has murdered a shaman, to protect him and the rest of the tribe against possible danger. On the day following the murder the *mardetxendetra* must retire to his hammock and have eat of a white clay, *lat ñiga*, and drink until he vomits of a brew made of boiling a man's leg ornament in water. Vomiting cleanses his body "of the blood of the shaman". The killer must paint his entire body black with *genipe* (*Genipa americana*) and put red urucu paint in his hair; he should also scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dog fish, just as he did in the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult. Then, each year at the annual ceremony during the harvests in May and June, all who have killed shamans must drink of kauiú (17) until they vomit, so cleansing themselves of the shaman's blood for the period until the next harvest.

## DUTIES OF THE SHAMAN

Among the Tapirapé tobacco is a sacred plant necessary for curing and for all shamanistic activities; yet, while it is found widely near Tapirapé village and near their gardens, it is not strictly a cultivated plant. People know where a patch of tobacco grows and go there to pick it. Occasionally they transplant tobacco nearer to their houses or to their gardens but for the most part the patches seed themselves. When an

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(17) A brew made of a few grains of maize and much water. It is believed to be poisonous.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

## RELIGION

*Tapirapé* religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, anhanga (spirit or shadow).

The anhanga likewise, human spirits or ghosts (ala or anhanga among the *Tapiramba*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kurwá frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called anhanga, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Wará, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many anhanga, among whom were the awakú anká, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mumpiankú were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, *bottom, right*).

**Rites.**—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (anhanga) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest ceremonial (kuá) and the ceremony of kawi (a soupline beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans

171 According to Karl von den Steinen (2, 539), the Kamayurá voice
192 a nasalized meiú, that is to say, almost memiú (meyu and menyu
252 in his spelling). The same author (ibid., Fig. 54) reproduces a
262 spade decorated with geometric designs that was used by these Indians to turn the cakes over. In Tampiitsúna I did not see any special implement for this purpose, and in Wagley's collection at the [Brazilian] National Museum there is nothing like it either. [Ed., the last two sentences concluding the section in Vol. 114 are omitted.]

[115:256] To the Tapirapé, the most important vegetable
262 dish is unquestionably cauí.[1] [Ed., five sentences are omitted.]
171 In sixteenth century references, the intoxicating drinks of the
192 Tupinambá appear as Kaa.wy and Kawi in the spelling of the German Hans Staden (e 2, f 3), Cahouin in Thevet (1, 121), and Caou-in in De Léry (129). The nasalized i indicated by the two
194 Frenchmen, and later pointed out in various Tupi languages by authors coming from different countries, does not exist either in Tapirapé or in Kamayurá, but in both these languages the u in kauí is nasalized, and the i is the tonic syllable (cf. Von den Steinen 2, 213). Furthermore, neither the [115:256] Tapirapé
[272] nor the Kamayurá make intoxicating beverages. The Tapirapé
272 designate with the word kauí their peanut, maize, manioc, cotton-
192 seed, squash, and banana soups, and even straight drinking water
171 (ỹ-kauí), while the Kamayurá use this term for the simple refreshing drink made of water and crumbled beiju (ibid.). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The kauí of the Tapirapé is not always made exclusively from
272 one of the plants mentioned above. There are mixtures, such as crushed maize with chewed peanuts or with chewed cottonseed. No other plant aside from those listed are used, however, and no such soups are made, for example, with carí or yams. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 256 and the first paragraph on p. 257 are omitted.]

[115:257] None of the [early] authors mentions expressly the
[114] three kinds of cauí that are made by the Tapirapé with cotton seeds,
[252] peanuts, and squash. As I have already mentioned, the cotton seeds are chewed with crushed maize. The resulting drink has a yellowish-green appearance and little flavor. It is true that the
171 Tupinambá of Bahia also found those seeds nutritious, but they pre-
252 pared them in a different fashion. Gabriel Soares de Sousa (235)

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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276 756 by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

423 249 The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

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Rites.—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people 796 are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (anhanga) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest [241] ceremonial (kuã) and the ceremony of kawí (a soupline beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

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13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
[P. 404] SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Champukwi on the Trip to Pero de Pedra.

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of my life, a feeling that was shared, I believe, by Valentim Gomes and by Champukwi.

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Champukwi adjusted to Pero de Pedra with amazing rapidity. His short visit as a youth to the mission station undoubtedly contributed to his quick adaptation although, to be sure, there were minor problems and incidents. The Brazilians of Pero de Pedra were accustomed to Indians, for nearby there was a village of semi-civilized Carajá Indians who frequently visited and traded in the settlement. Yet, Champukwi was a bit of a curiosity—the town people had seen only one other Tapirapé. The local Brazilians invited him into their homes and offered him coffee and sweets. Both Valentim Gomes and I watched over his movements with all the anxiety of overprotective parents for fear that he might be exposed to a respiratory infection (he did not contract any) or that the hospitality of the local Brazilians might persuade him to drink cachaça (sugar cane aguardiente). Alcoholic beverages were unknown to the Tapirapé who are unlike most South American groups in this respect.

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312 Tampiitaua could teach a lesson to the "civilized" frontiersmen, whom I never observed to use any filtering process in any of the Brazilian states I visited, but who merely drew water from river, pond, or swamp. It is true that when they have fresh, clear water available from small streams such as the one that flowed by the 1935 village, the Tapirapé omit the filtering. They seldom keep water longer than a few hours, and they leave it in gourds, usually small, that they also use as a rule to fetch the water.

•276 The only narcotic used by the Tapirapé is tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum L.). They call it petyma. The small species they smoke grows in the forest without being cultivated. Only exceptionally [198] do they transplant a few specimens close to their gardens. They dry the leaves of this Solanacea in the sun, and then store them in [185] the large braided cylinders (orokoroa) that are worn on the head in certain masked dances. They do not allow the tobacco to ferment. Before putting it into the pipe, they crumble the leaves by rubbing them between their hands.

In 1935 they had two kinds of pipe (petyaua), that is, clay pipes, and pipes made of the fruit of the jequitibá [Tr., any tree of the Cariniana genus]. In 1947, the clay pipes had vanished. The [71] Karajá and Kayapó also use pipes made of the fruit of the jequitibá 276 (Krause II, 260 and 388). These two tribes and the Tapirapé do not chew tobacco and do not take snuff, nor do they smoke cigars or cigarettes like the numerous Tupi tribes mentioned by Métraux (II, 116), among them the Tupinambá, Asuré, and Turuna, and to which we may add the Kamayurá (cf. Meyer I, 61). This how-ever, does not mean that my Tampiitaua friends did not pounce avidly on the butt of every cigarette I threw upon the ground, and smoke it until they burned their mouth and fingers. The Karajá are also crazy about smoking, and kuy', that is, tobacco, is what they ask for most often from the traveler. While among them both women and men smoke the pipe, [122:172] only the men smoke among the Tapirapé. Speaking of the Tupinambá, Léry (190) states that he did not see the women use "Petun smoke."

The Tapirapé transfer the smoke from mouth to stomach, and then expel it noisily in a rapid sequence of belches. I did not see them expel it through the nostrils, as reported by Léry (190) and

171 Yves d'Evreux (110) for the Tupinambá, and by Koch-Grünberg
2% (1, I, 128) for the Kâua of the upper Aiari. They could not inhale the smoke as I did. Every time they tried, they began to cough violently. My smoke-swallowing demonstration, when I released the smoke only after having talked and drunk some water, aroused respectful admiration, but no one dared to emulate me. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, two purposes for smoking tobacco can be clearly distinguished: one that is simply recreative and one
[158] that is medicinal. As a medicine, the smoke is blown over painful areas of the body or over the entire body of the patient. A Bakairi told Karl von den Steinen (II, 347) that on the upper Xingu there are two varieties of tobacco, the one smoked for pleasure being much milder than the medicinal one.

To summarize, we may say that the Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá in the term they use to designate tobacco, in their manner of swallowing smoke, and in the fact that among them only the men smoke. They differ from these Indians, from the Xingu Indians, and from other Tupi tribes in not smoking cigars. The inhabitants of Tampitaua resemble the northern Karajá and Kayapó in their use of the jequitibá-fruit pipe; they differ from those tribes in their words for tobacco and pipe, and from the Karajá in the fact that only the men smoke in Tampitaua. [Ed., end of Vol. 122.]

[122:12] Chapter 11

## The Life Cycle of the Individual

### Birth

192 In Tapirapé, ada means "I fall" and "I am born" [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the remainder of the paragraph are omitted.]

[122] I did not have the opportunity to witness a birth among the
[105] Tapirapé, and I can only relay the information given to me by
4% Reverend Kegel and by the Indians. Childbirth takes place inside the house. While the future father remains in his hammock, the women assist the woman in labor, who is either lying in another hammock with her legs drawn up or supported by horizontal wooden

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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Fig. 3

[illegible]

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A young dancer, in a ceremonial attire, as he enters the village circle during the dry season of the Thunder Ceremony. He is accompanied by two young men ready to catch him if he should fall.

4. Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 3

[illegible]

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4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Fig. 4

Outro jovem tapirapé em cerimônia, usando o penugem ornamental de urubuja. Também está dando por engole fumaça de tabaco, o produtor a um estado de transe. Como o de fig. 3, este antes de dançar a segunda vez do círculo.

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Another young tapirapé dancer, wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill too from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. Like the other of fig. 3 he fell before reaching second lineup in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940), 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 12

Os dois moços empolgam bastões de tabaco, preparando-se para a festa final da cerimônia do Trovão, em que livram o povo do perigo. A população da aldeia ainda não se reuniu. Cada homem tem o cachimbo na mão, e o jovem, à direita, está empolgando bastões de cachimbo.

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The two shamans conditioning tobacco smoke in preparation for the final phase of the Thunder ceremony when they rid the people of danger. The village population has not yet gathered. Each man holds his pipe in his hand and the young man on the right is gripping smoke from his pipe.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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the Jaguar of the Skies". When this shaman dies, it is thought that many terrestrial jaguars, sent by the Jaguar of the Skies, will haunt the confines of the village. I was told, too, that when the powerful shaman Wanzanam died the "sun was large and red with the blood of the shaman"; it was "hot" and "angry" because a shaman had died. 821 756 787 [825]

## SORCERY

The Tapirapé tell of great battles between strong shamans, each supported by his own retinue of powers. During my stay with the Tapirapé there were rumors of a possible combat between Urukumu and Pantori, the two strongest shamans. Many people believed that it would be caused by the death of a warm personal friend of Pantori through the suspected sorcery by Urukumu. One man even described how the thought that the combat would take place. "Pantori will smoke much tobacco (10) and then he will go to his hammock to sleep. He will go [in his dream] in his "canoe" to the top of a high mountain. From there he will look about until he sees [the soul of] Urukumu. From there Pantori will throw his ankangitéwa (11); will wrap itself around [the soul of] Urukumu, carrying him off into the sky". Now the various familiar powers of both shamans hasten to their aid; it was at this point that the narrator, visualizing the possible battle of powers, listed the powers that would come to the aid of each shaman. A shaman whose soul has thus been captured by another falls prey to chills and fevers and soon dies, with his last breath whispering in song that he leaves the earth and possibly even telling graphically the name of the shaman who caused his death. Both shamans involved in the rumored combat denied knowledge or intention to wage it. 754 787 756 [276]

As might be expected, the same methods said to be used by shamans against one another may also be used against the laymen. Shamans are believed to steal souls that are wandering in dream journeys. The shaman may send his ankangitéwa to strike the soul of his victim over

(10) See page 72 for the use of tobacco in curing, as stimulant, to induce dreams, and for shamanistic ceremonies.

(11) The ankangitéwa is a ceremonial headdress made of three or four long tail feathers of a parrot and worn by the Tapirapé down the back and to the short "pig tail" haircut (See Fig. 1 on page 61). [256 295]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



to avenge him, is generally not murdered (16). A strong shaman makes no effort to have a strong family group about him for protection. Informants could not remember that murdered shamans had ever been avenged by their familiar spirits, although one man made the point that shamans were murdered only by persons under the influence of great anger or grief, for people normally are afraid of the familiars of shamans. Special rites are observed by anyone who has murdered a shaman, to protect him and the rest of the tribe against possible danger. On the day following the murder the *maránzandaníra* must retire to his hammock and have eat of a white clay, *lai ziuga*, and drink until he vomits of a brew made of boiling a man's leg ornament in water. Vomiting cleanses his body "of the blood of the shaman". The killer must paint his entire body black with *genipa* (*Genipa americana*) and put red urucu paint in his hair; he should also scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dog fish, just as he did in the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult. Then, each year at the annual ceremony during the harvests in May and June, all who have killed shamans must drink of kauiá (17) until they vomit, so cleansing themselves of the shaman's blood for the period until the next harvest.

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4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



individual discovers a new patch of tobacco, he hastily builds a low fence around it to inform others that it belongs to him. This native tobacco is smoked by laymen in short tubular pipes made of wood or clay and by shamans in long clay pipes, sometimes 30 centimeters long.

Tobacco is used for leisure-time smoking for pleasure: but its principal uses among the Tapirapé are as a stimulant and as a medicine. Each night after a long day's work or while traveling or hunting, Tapirapé men blow smoke over their tired legs, arms, and backs and sometimes men can be seen fumigating their tired wives or companions. They accompany the fumigation of their bodies with massage, rubbing their arms and legs toward the extremities. Tiredness and soreness are considered extraneous substances acquired during the day through exercise and it is believed they may be massaged and fumigated from the body.

Treatment of the sick is the shaman's most common duty and the use of tobacco is always a necessary prelude and accompaniment to this. Unless the illness is serious enough to warrant immediate treatment, shamans always cure in the late evening. A shaman comes to his patient, and squats near the patient's hammock, his first act is always to light his pipe. When the patient has a fever or has fallen unconscious from the sight of a ghost, the principal method of treatment is by massage. The shaman blows smoke over the entire body of the patient; then he blows smoke over his own hands, spits into them, and massages the patient slowly and firmly, always toward the extremities of the body. He shows that he is removing a foreign substance by a quick movement of his hands as he reaches the end of an arm or leg.

The most frequent method of curing, however, is by the extraction of a malignant object (18) by sucking. The shaman squats alongside the hammock of his patient and begins to "eat smoke" — swallow large gulps of tobacco smoke from his pipe. He forces the smoke with great intakes of breath deep down into his stomach; soon he becomes intoxicated and unconscious; he vomits violently and smoke spews from his stomach. He groans and clears his throat in the manner of a person gagging with nausea but unable to vomit. By sucking back what he vomits he accumulates saliva in his mouth (19).

(18) Pebbles, worms, arrows which are injected into body by sorcery.

(19) It hardly need be said that patient do not eat before curing in the morning, but prefer to cure with an empty stomach.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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veral weeks on the Araguaya. Frequently shamans, through their 756
dreams, learn and then tell the Tapirapé where large bands of wild 787
pigs can be found and advise them how to approach the band (21). [224]

The cleansing of food may be accomplished by the shaman by 276
touching it or by blowing smoke or his breath over it. Several times each 756
year these rites are performed over the first fruits of harvests to insure 796
their safety before the people taste the crop. In December the first ears 271
of the new maize are picked and presented to a strong shaman who then gives them to his wife to cook. At sundown of the day on which this is done the shaman walks to the central plaza followed by his wife, who carries the cooked maize and places it in a pile before him, ready for the ceremonies that will follow. In 1939, Pantori was the shaman who initiated this ceremony and he was joined by five other proved shamans. The people of the village gathered about this group of shamans who sat in a circle facing the maize. One by one the shamans took deep draughts from their burning pipes and blew the smoke over the maize. Then, one by one again, each pinched off a few grains from an ear and ate them. When the last had tasted the new maize, the ceremony was ended. The youngsters of the village then fell upon the pile of maize; the crop had been tasted by the shamans and found free from danger for the people. The next day maize was eaten in all houses.

A similar ceremony is performed in August or September with [222]
the first wild honey of the season, and again about January or February when new corn is ground to make the thick beverage kaui. I did not hear of such "tasting of first fruits" by shamans for other garden crops and informants were unable to remember any one occasion when shamans had found new maize or honey too dangerous for consumption by the people.

Again, each year in the first months of the rainy season when the 756
new crop of maize is threatened by the first heavy rains and electrical 787
storms, Tapirapé shamans assist "light" against Thunder and his ac-

(21) Many such prophecies are found wanting, and several times I heard people speak of a shaman's prophecy as a "lie". Often prophecies are only made known to people after events have proved them true.

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756 on the contrary, they were described as "good wives", and one of them was remembered as small and particularly attractive.

756 Certain people regardless of sex are early recognized as future
828 shamans because of their natural inclination to dream. Several informants, for example, told me that a young boy, an orphan, and therefore
(934) badly cared for, would certainly be a powerful shaman. He turned and talked in his sleep and had been known to cry during a nightmare. He remembered few of his dreams but did tell of seeing the spirit of his mother, and described an evil spirit which he met during a dream. One of the present powerful shamans is said to have been such a youngster with a predilection for dreaming. Such youngsters are nervous and sensitive; yet no distinct personality traits were observed among adult
756 shamans. Shamans are frequently emaciated and thin, attributable
(028) perhaps to their constant use of tobacco and the resulting nausea, and one shaman, now dead, was described by informants as a nervous ascetic interested only in the supernatural world.

276 Persons lacking this predilection for dreaming, but with aspirations
756 to shamanism, may solicit dreams. Each year during the days of the
787 dry season all young men who aspire to shamanism, even those who have shown potentialities during boyhood, gather each evening in the central plaza of the village to seek dreams. A novice sits upon the ground near a pool, his mentor, and swallows smoke from his mentor's pipe until violent vomiting occurs. When the novices are too ill to hold the pipe, the shaman holds it for them, forcing them to continue "eating smoke". Generally the neophytes fall backwards unconscious and ill from the smoke; during this state they may dream. In any case, when they regain their senses, the pipe is again placed in their mouth until they fall backwards ill and unconscious once more. The process may be repeated several times over a period of two or three hours. Later, when the novice retires to his hammock for the night, he may expect a dream.

756 Such sessions occur each night during the few weeks before the
Thunder ceremony and a serious novice should attend all sessions.
(932) During this period he refrains from sexual intercourse because it will hinder his dreaming; he also refrains from bathing and so becomes
(936) greasy. He must not eat of those animals which "walk at night", such
(944) as the jaguar carnivore (*Felinae felidae*) and the monkey, because he must be friendly with all creatures be they seen in his nocturnal dream travels. He should not consume flour, yucca, pepper, and such bland

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In January 1940 this ceremony was announced without warning 276
by Pantsri, one of the two powerful shamans of the village. One morn- 533
ing very early while it was still night, he woke up, lighted his pipe 796
and began to swallow tobacco smoke as he would when performing a cure. Then he began to sing, accompanied by his wife who sang in a higher counterpuntal key. His song called Thunder to come to the village and announced that he would see tapi and panié-dinovera the next day. He sang that "many Tapirapé would die" (29). By daybreak he had finished his song and all those who had waked to hear were asleep again. The village knew that Pantsri had begun the ceremony by challenging Thunder and by noon on that day Urukuma, another powerful shaman, took up the song — swallowing smoke, vomiting, and singing accompanied by his wife. After an hour or more, Urukuma relaxed into his hammock and the song was taken up first by one and then by another shaman or novice to shamanism; until sunset this singing continued.

At sunset shamans and novices came one by one to the dance ground in front of the ceremonial house and repeated the performances of swallowing smoke until intoxicated. In turn, then, each of these stood up with his wife, the two facing each other and about five feet apart, and sang together. By nightfall this cycle of singing in the plaza was ended. Thunder had been called and his creatures would appear in the village on the next day.

For the three following days during which the ceremonies con- 796
tinued, sunset always marked a distinct change in the activities. There seemed always to be two distinct phases of the ceremony — one for the daylight hours and the other for the twilight.

Early on the morning of the second day of the ceremonies that I witnessed, preparations were made for the daytime activities. In each of the nine dwellings a door was broken through each side wall at the point nearest to the neighboring house. Paths were then swept between the houses, leading from one of these new doors to another and so forming a circular path about the village and passing through each house. The inhabitants of the largest of the dwellings (*A* on the ac-

(29) To "die" in this ceremony is to fall in a trance from the effect of the night's activities. During this trance the soul leaves the body and travels to the house of Thunder.

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796 accompanying map of the village. (Fig. 13), which was to the southwest, moved their belongings back against the wall, clearing the house floor of their cooking hearths and taking down their hammocks. This house was to be the central point of the ceremonies to come.

276 796 About midday Pantsiri, in his house, began again to sing and gulp smoke from his pipe. After he had become ill and intoxicated, he came with his wife out of one of the new side doors of his house, "eating smoke" as he came. From this door the couple moved in a clockwise direction along the circular path until they came to the center of the next house. There they stopped, faced each other, and sang, Pantsiri punctuating his song with deep draughts from his pipe and vomiting. At each house they repeated this performance. When they reached their (530) own house again, Pantsiri took up two ceremonial cattles decorated with parrot feathers and the couple continued on a second round of the village houses. After making this circuit four times they stopped in their own house, where Pantsiri relaxed into his hammock. The cattles were left in the southwest house on the last circuit.

276 Urukumu and his wife then made four similar trips about the new 796 circular path. After he had finished, a young shaman took up the 796 ceremony, but he was not able to complete even one round without help. After singing in several houses he began to stagger as he walked and stumbled blindly into house posts; he was noticeably in a state of trance. Young men led him from house to house. Suddenly he (547) shrieked, his body stiffened, and he fell to the ground. His muscles quivered for a few moments and then his body became rigid. He had lost his battle. He had sung rapi and been shot by their arrows, for he did not have the strength of Pantsiri or Urukumu. Several young men immediately raised him up on their shoulders and carried him through the remaining houses of the circuit, depositing him finally in the southwestern house. One of the powerful shamans was then called, and he massaged and blew smoke over the prostrate young shaman's body until life again appeared in it.

Throughout the remainder of the afternoon aspiranty to shamanism and several other leaders took up the ceremony of calling Thunder by traveling the ceremonial circuit of the village. At one time there were three men moving with their Wrens over this circular route. Some never reached a trance state because "they did not know how to eat smoke" or because "rapi did not hear their songs". Several curious

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"new rapé" and were struck down as the young shaman had been 177
earlier that day. One shaman novice, staggering blindly and vomiting 276
violently, tried to break away from the young men who were partially 786
supporting him. When they caught him, he fell immediately to the 796
ground. Finally, toward sundown, Pawari took up his song again.
He still was "stronger than rapé" and was able to perform his song
without falling into a trance.

At sundown men began to gather in the house which had been 276
cleared. Some twenty men came to take part in this phase of the 533
ceremonies. The bulk of the village population was gathered inside the 796
house, crouched close against the walls, or outside looking through
the doors.

The two powerful shamans, Urukumu and Pawari, stood in the
middle of the floor facing each other. They lighted their long pipes
and began to swallow smoke. At the back of the room were two young
men with the ceremonial rattles that the shamans had used earlier.
These young men were in positions of particular danger, for their
rattles attracted the special attention of Thunder's creatures. In front
of them Iturwamari, a young man noted for his singing, stood on a
bench and began to sing the songs of Thunder; they played accom-
paniment for his songs on the rattles. A young boy sat behind them and [537]
beat time to the song with a hollow trunk of bamboo. Now and again
young men standing against the walls took up a chorus with the solo
singer. The shamans kept going to the young men with the rattles,
offering them smoke to swallow from their pipes until they were uncon-
sciously on their feet. At times they were able to stay on their feet only
when they were held up. They then began walking back and forth in
the front of the house, shaking the rattles towards the cool shamanesque
challenging rapé and pawiri-throwers to come.

Shamans were offered their pipes to their novices and to laymen. 276
The two shamans also were begun walking back and forth the length 796
of the house, first alone and then each taking a novice with him.
One by one men joined the shamans as they moved up and down the
house. By now all were thoroughly intoxicated and the atmosphere
grew tense. All sprawled out under until it finally engulfed them as
they moved vomiting and reeling about. Everyone took up a gruesome [533]
chant of "Hew, hew!" Some carried mirrors and red parrot feathers [343]
as weapons against the rapé. The two chief shamans carried machetes

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276 and at each end of the house they would stop, the group behind them,
796 and motion threateningly toward the road, defying *tapi* and *pawlé*-
sowers to come. During all this time the singing continued with its
(539) accompaniment of rattles and the hollow bamboo tube, except for
intervals when some performer collapsed.

276 Suddenly Paranti stopped his marching back and forth, retired a
796 few steps, and pointed to the corner of the house. It was explained to
796 me that he had seen *pawlé*-sowers sent by Thunder. He rushed to
the far end of the house and pointed again; he saw a *tapi*. He moved
backwards in fright; then appeared to threaten, point, run in fright,
and finally retreat, completely confused by numerous enemies.

Suddenly one young shaman broke away from the group and ran through the circle of the houses like a hunted animal, dodging about and staring with glazed eyes. He fell to the ground, rolling on his side and groaning. His body twitched and then became rigid. His wife, who had been standing among the spectators, rushed to his aid and dragged him out of the path of the group. She propped him up in a sitting position against her legs. Several others fell in this manner, struck down by the beings of Thunder and were dragged to the side-lines where someone blew smoke over them and massaged them. With this treatment he soon regained consciousness, yet they remained reclining upon the ground because they were "weak from the fight".

276 Finally, as it grew dark outside, Paranti, still leading those men
796 who had not been struck down, pointed directly over his head. Urukumu looked where Paranti had pointed, put his hands over the back of his neck, and ran quickly from side to side, dodging. "There are many *pawlé*-sowers and many *tapi* in the house", each of the Indians told me. At this point all the men who were participating in the ceremony fell suddenly to the ground; only Paranti and Urukumu were strong enough to stand before the forces of Thunder. The wives of the fallen men came to their aid and other men fumigated and massaged them.

One by one they came "to life". It was explained that "we die and tobacco brings back life. Without tobacco Thunder would kill us".

796 All men who had participated in the ceremony now returned to
(539) their own houses by way of the circuit path, stopping for a moment at
each house to perform again the ceremonial singing. Two young boys
brought this phase of the ceremony to an end by picking up the

4/6/ bananas. If he has no bananas left at home, the man goes to the garden to get a new supply. He returns staggering under an enormous load, for he brings as much as he can carry. And although by this [147] time he is already tired enough to lie down in the hammock again, he may fulfill his duties as a dancer and singer throughout the night, duties that demand of a single man the rested legs and lungs of five strong males. [Ed., the remainder of p. 101, pp. 102-104, and the first paragraph on p. 105 are omitted.]

[105] On the other hand, it is true that there are great differences among the various tribes as far as industriousness is concerned. The Tapirapé may be pointed out as being especially "diligent." At the [262] time of my stay among them, they had an abundance of food, and in spite of this they worked very hard in their gardens and gave themselves up with no less zeal and perseverance to their dances and songs. 177 In this tribe, which is still distant from our civilization, the introduction of iron tools that began dozens of years ago through their eastern 182 neighbors, the Karajá, and the lack of war-like activities or hunt had an effect directly opposite to that generated [by the same factors] in the Indians civilized by us, that is to say, deprived of their cultural independence. These two factors did not hinder the vital force or impair the creative urge of the Indians, but in fact guaranteed their subsistence and increased their well-being. If, in spite of this, symptoms of degeneration are apparent among the Tapirapé, [106] the causes must be sought elsewhere. This, however, is not the proper context to discuss them. [Ed., all but the last sentence of the subsequent paragraph is omitted.]

When watching a collective task among the Indians, such as the 47% 961 apetirí of the Tapirapé, one has the impression that the joy with which it is done increases their strength.

As I watched the men, most of them endowed with the physique [197] of our adolescents, conquering piece after piece of the huge forest around them, I observed none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness and tediousness which characterize so much of the collective work among us. Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side.

Those who needed rest sat on the felled trunks. They sat very close together as they have the habit of doing. They talked, and some of [198] them smoked a pipe. Suddenly there would be a lot of shouting, they 47% would all scatter with a show of joy as the moan of live timber was heard, [197] and a green giant would lean slowly and crash with a

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Plate 16.—Regional ceremonies and house construction. Top, left: Youth in preparation for puberty ceremony. The large, heavy discs of macaw feathers will be supported by the lock of hair wrapped in cotton cord. Top, right: Dancers wearing dangerous ceremonial headdress during Thunder ceremony. He is intoxicated by tobacco and is a brave man. Bottom, left: Construction of man's house. Bottom, right: Dancers masks representing the "Crying Spirit," one of many forest spirits who are said to come to stay for a time in the man's ceremonial house. (Courtesy Charles Wagley.)

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those for group singing during the harvest ceremonies and the ceremony 533
of kawi (p. 176); those for the masked dancers during the dry season;
and a very large number of songs specifically for the "Big Sing"
(manikahó) during the latter part of the rainy season. During this
period (approximately March through April), singing takes place
throughout each night from sundown to sunrise. On these occasions, [66]
the singing leader and the men of one of the moieties introduce the verse
of each song and the refrain is then taken up by the men of the other
moiety and the women of the tribe. Women sing in a higher key than the
men and, generally, a phrase behind the men. The songs of the masked
dancers, each representing a supernatural being, differ stylistically from
those used on other occasions in being sung in a falsetto tone, in a manner [171]
similar to that of the neighboring *Carajá*. Many such songs have been [177]
admittedly learned from the *Carajá*.

Dancing.—Both men and women dance as they sing. In general, the 535
*Tapirapé* dance bending slightly forward, stamping out the time of the
music with one foot. Dancing differs greatly, however, according to the
occasion. During the harvest ceremonies, men dance in a line, side by [241]
side, each man's wife dancing directly behind him. During the group
singing of the "Big Sing," the men dance in moiety groups facing each
other, and women dance behind the moiety group of their husbands. On
one occasion during this time, men dance with women, side by side, with
a curious skipping step.

Games.—Men's moieties run foot races against each other after the 526
communal work festival (p. 168); they race in a straight line across the
village plaza. Wrestling takes place at one wet-season ceremony, and,
now and again, throughout the year as sport. The *Tapirapé* explain,
however, that the *Carajá* are better wrestlers and that it is more properly [171]
a *Carajá* sport. In wrestling, opponents stand face to face, grasping each
other about the neck, and attempt to force or to trip the other to the
ground. During one festival, men, one from each moiety at a time,
compete by throwing blunt-headed spears at each other. Gambling games [525]
are unknown.

Stimulants.—Native tobacco, though used for leisure-time smoking, is 276
principally a stimulant and medicine. A *Tapirapé* will not travel without 755
a supply of tobacco to blow smoke over his tired body at the end of the
day, in order to take out soreness and tiredness. Tobacco is necessary
to shamans in all their activities. They blow tobacco smoke over the
patient in curing (p. 177), and, to induce dreams and a trance, they
swallow large gulps of smoke until they become intoxicated and nauseated.
When people have seen ghosts, shamans fumigate them with tobacco [751]
smoke, in order to drive away the ghost's influence. Shamans fumigate 276
new maize, the first honey of the season and, sometimes, fresh meat to 756
drive out possible supernatural danger. This native tobacco is smoked [789]

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276 756 by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

423 249 The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

272 [273] No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

## RELIGION

771 *Tapirapé* religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, anãngá (spirit or shadow).

775 The anãngá ikerwera, human spirits or ghosts (aña or anãngá among the *Tupinambá*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

[825] Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A [752] pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

776 In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called anãngá, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Wará, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many anãngá, among whom were the awakó anãngá, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mumpiankó were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the [535] *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, [532] *bottom, right*).

**Rites.**—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people 796 are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (anãngá) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest [241] ceremonial (kaô) and the ceremony of kawi (a soupllike beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

241 756 In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans

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are called upon to fight Thunder. This, the important *Tapirapé* ceremony, 241 756
lasts for 4 days, and is the high point of shamanistic activity.

Kanawaua, the Thunder, lives on distant Maratawa surrounded by 776
the souls of dead shamans and by the tupã (probably equivalent to the *Tupinambá* word, "tupan"), small anthropomorphic beings whose bodies are covered with white hair.

The tupã travel through space in their canoes (half gourds), the sounds [821]
of which produces the noise of the storm. The arrows which the tupã shoot cause lightning. During the ceremony, the shamans, completely [761]
intoxicated by the tobacco and stimulated by the increasing dancing and singing, fall into a trance (pl. 19, *top, right*) during which they travel 276
to Thunder's house in order to fight him. Thunder sets the tupã against [756]
the shamans, who, wounded by the arrows of "Thunder's creatures," fall into unconsciousness.

## SHAMANISM

The *Tapirapé* can visualize the supernatural world through the reports 756
of the dreams of their shamans, whose power grows in proportion to 787
their ability to dream. A dream is a voyage, during which the soul frees [774]
itself of the body and travels through space. In these dreams the shamans travel to regions which are entirely unknown to the living, and in general are inhabited by spirits. With their powers, the shamans succeed in taming some of the spirits, who then become their familiar spirits. The power and prestige of the shaman (pantã) depend on the number of his familiar spirits.

The *Tapirapé* speak of battles between shamans wherein each calls out 754
his familiar spirits against the other while dreaming. More often, a 756
shaman sets his familiar spirits upon laymen and kills them. A shaman may also kill his victim during a dream by throwing a malignant object, usually a piece of bone or a worm, into his body.

The victims of sorcery appeal to friendly shamans, who attempt to 754
cure them by extracting the malignant object by suction, massage, and [755]
blowing tobacco. When many deaths occur simultaneously and the 683
*Tapirapé* suspect a certain shaman of having caused them, they do not hesitate to kill him. One man recalled that during his lifetime 10 shamans suspected of sorcery had been killed. He himself had killed a shaman whom he suspected of having killed his brother. In spite of the constant 755
suspicion surrounding them, the shamans do not employ mechanical tech- 276
niques or sympathetic magic in sorcery.

The shamans make great use of tobacco, which is essential for healing and dreaming. They smoke it in large tubular clay pipes. Cures usually take place at dusk. The shaman squats by the patient's hammock and smokes for a long time, becoming intoxicated and blowing the smoke from the pipe over the patient's body. He then massages the patient,

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755 [276] rubbing toward the extremities of his body. If he fails to extract the malignant object in this fashion, he sucks it out, swallows it, then vomits it up.

At one time, during an epidemic of fever, a shaman used a different method. He prepared a mixture of honey and water, and, after much smoking, spewed it out over the patients and on the houses where there were sick people.

756 [275] [189] Besides healing, the shamans must protect the people against dangerous spirits (*anhangs*); they call forth "children's spirits" without which there can be no conception; they prevent wild animals from harming the *Tapirapé* during great hunting or fishing expeditions; and they increase the [187] number of peccaries in the woods. It is also believed that they divine the future in their dreams.

The prestige of shamans is such among the *Tapirapé* that almost all leaders of communities as well as of ceremonial moiety groups and household heads are shamans. As shamans receive payment for successful cures, they accumulate many possessions which they redistribute at a yearly ceremonial. Liberality is essential to prestige in this society where avarice is particularly despised.

## MYTHOLOGY

773 *Tapirapé* myths fall into two categories: legends telling of the deeds of ancestral heroes, and tales of animals. In the latter, the tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) is noted for his shrewdness in his dealings with the [191] other animals of the jungle. These stories follow the general *Tupí* pattern.

Among the various *Tapirapé* heroes are Apõwenonu and Petura. The former descended from heaven and lived with the *Tapirapé*. He taught them to plant and harvest cotton, manioc, and maize. When he was old, Apõwenonu returned to heaven and changed himself into a star.

Petura stole fire from the buzzards and brought light to the *Tapirapé*, who until then had not seen day. It is also told of Petura that he stole hatchets and knives from the emu and gave them to the *Tapirapé*.

Txawanamã is famous for a series of songs which tell of his adventures among the mythical ampúawa, enemies of the *Tapirapé*, who made him die a lingering death. Wanõina, a great shaman, had his whole house, including his family and belongings, transported to heaven by Kanawana, the Thunder. Waré was another shaman who killed many dangerous forest spirits.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 Baldus, 1935, 1937; Bigarre, 1916, 1917; Métraux, 1927; Wagley, 1940 a, 1940 b, 1943 b.

304 equipped with a row of embedded teeth, their points sticking out
413 of the outer, convex side of the piece. The opposite side[1] is com-
[237] pletely covered with a thick black layer of beeswax. The teeth are those of the so-called "dog-fish," alkyngapeva in Tapirapé, a scaly fresh-water fish of the Characinidae family, Hydrocyon subfamily, whose colloquial name alludes to its dog-like dentition (cf. Rodolfo von Ihering, 160). The 17 teeth of the scarifier I acquired in Tampinésu (Photo. 23) jut out three to six centimeters. This piece is eight centimeters long and measures five and a half centimeters at its broadest part.

304 According to information obtained from the Tapirapé, the
881 girls are tattooed during the rainy season following their first menstruation. The operation is carried out at nightfall, between January and March, when there is tall maize, plentiful game crowded together by the rising waters, and much merrymaking as a result of all this. The Indians tattoo their chin and cheeks (Fig. 1). The cheek tattoo reaches below the ear, so that a small part of it is covered by the hair. The crossing vertical
304 and horizontal incisions look like a fine-meshed net. This
824 design is called kohova. The wounds are first rubbed with a kaauna leaf (káa, "plant"; una, "black, dark blue"). This leaf, previously squeezed into a turtle shell (chauvatí-ampekuera) full of water, is wet with its own juice mixed in
[398] water. It is the juice of kaauna that yields the indelible dark-blue tone of the tattooing. The leaf is held close to the wound for some time. Then, the Indians blow crushed cotton leaves

•[278]

Fig. 1

with a pipe (amynichóha(u)va) onto the wounds. It may be that they do this to alleviate the pain, for the girls cry a great deal [107:115] throughout the operation, and the tattooed parts become terribly swollen (ivuvuzá). As at
302 the time of their first menstruation, the girls have so much urucú
891 in their hair that their coiffure, mixed with the greasy substance, looks like a sort of cap. They are not, however, painted with

[1] [of the scarification tool.—Analyst]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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to avenge him, is generally not murdered (16). A strong shaman makes no effort to have a strong family group about him for protection. Informants could not remember that murdered shamans had ever been avenged by their familiar spirits, although one man made the point that shamans were murdered only by persons under the influence of great anger or grief, for people normally are afraid of the familiars of shamans. Special rites are observed by anyone who has murdered a shaman, to protect him and the rest of the tribe against possible danger. On the day following the murder the *maráitawakwáwa* must retire to his hammock and have eat of a white clay, *kui ziuga*, and drink until by vomits of a brew made of boiling a man's leg ornament in water. Vomiting cleanses his body "of the blood of the shaman". The killer must paint his entire body black with *genipa* (*Genipa americana*) and put red urucu paint in his hair; he should also scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dog fish, just as he did in the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult. Then, each year at the annual ceremony during the harvests in May and June, all who have killed shamans must drink of kwaá (17) until they vomit, so cleansing themselves of the shaman's blood for the period until the next harvest.

## DUTIES OF THE SHAMAN

Among the Tapirapé tobacco is a sacred plant necessary for curing and for all shamanistic activities; yet, while it is found widely near Tapirapé villages and near their gardens, it is not strictly a cultivated plant. People know where a patch of tobacco grows and go there to pick it. Occasionally they transplant tobacco nearer to their houses or to their gardens but for the most part the patches seed themselves. When an

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(16) When I left the Tapirapé in May, 1940, a grudge existed between two men of high status because of the murder of a shaman. Kamaiurá disliked, avoided, and criticized Kanaiá because he had killed Kaulówaí, Kamaiurá's wife's father. The antagonism was never great. When they met they treated each other formally and coldly. Other Tapirapé told me that Kamaiurá's wife continually gossiped about the behavior of Kanaiá's wife, "because her husband had killed Kamaiurá's father".

(17) A brew made of a few grains of maize and much water. It is believed to be poisonous.

4c Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



individual discovers a new patch of tobacco, he hastily builds a low fence around it to inform others that it belongs to him. This native tobacco is smoked by laymen in short tubular pipes made of wood or clay and by shamans in long clay pipes, sometimes 30 centimeters long. 276 [442]

Tobacco is used for leisure-time smoking for pleasure; but the principal uses among the Tapirapé are as a stimulant and as a medicine. Each night after a long day's work or while traveling or hunting, Tapirapé men blow smoke over their tired legs, arms, and backs and sometimes even can be seen fumigating their tired wives or companions. They accompany the fumigation of their bodies with massage, rubbing their arms and legs toward the extremities. Tiredness and aimlessness are considered consumerous substances acquired during the day through exercise and it is believed they may be massaged and fumigated from the body. [753 827]

Treatment of the sick is the shaman's most common duty and the use of tobacco is always a necessary prelude and accompaniment to this. Unless the illness is serious enough to warrant immediate treatment, sickness always cure in the late evening. A shaman comes to his patient, and squats near the patient's hammock, his first act is always to light his pipe. When the patient has a fever or has fallen unconscious from the sight of a ghost, the principal method of treatment is by massage. The shaman blows smoke over the entire body of the patient; then he blows smoke over his own hands, spits into them, and massages the patient slowly and firmly, always toward the extremities of the body. He shows that he is removing a foreign substance by a quick movement of his hands as he reaches the end of an arm or leg. 755 [276]

The more frequent method of curing, however, is by the extraction of a malignant object (18) by sucking. The shaman squats alongside the hammock of his patient and begins to "eat smoke" — swallow large gulps of tobacco smoke from his pipe. He forces the smoke with great intakes of breath deep down into his stomach; soon he becomes intoxicated and nauseated; he vomits violently and smoke spews from his stomach. He groans and clears his throat in the manner of a person gagging with nausea but unable to vomit. By sucking back what he vomits he accumulates saliva in his mouth (19).

(18) Pebbles, worms, arrows which are injected into body by sorcery. [754]
(19) It hardly need be said that pajé do not eat before curing in this manner, but prefer to cure with an empty stomach.

29] folding the strip in half, the men fold a small part of it obliquely, and then fold the strip once more so that the triangle is placed exactly over it. The strip is not folded stiffly, since owing to its natural toughness it has a tendency to unfold. As a result of this tendency, the tip folded in this fashion remains securely held in the knot along with the other tip.

As a rule, a man will prepare a new sheath as he gets up in the morning. The prepuce is pushed through the funnel in such a way that it projects beyond the smaller opening and is tied all around like the end of a sausage, remaining erect. Thus, the funnel is worn upside-down, that is to say, with the smaller opening on top and the larger rim facing toward the front (cf. Photos. 8, 63, and 68).

As may be seen in these photographs, the yellow color of the inner-bark strip stands out clearly against the skin. In view of [832] this, a desire to attract the attention of the opposite sex may be involved in the use of the sheath. At the same time, it is also [834] possible that the men assign to the sheath the same purpose that, [171] according to Krause (2, 204), the Karajá assign to their penis cord, that is to say, that of concealing the glans from the eyes of women. There is no doubt, however, that both sheath and cord serve as 75] protection against crustaceans and insects, such as ticks, for example. We have known cases where these parasites fastened their proboscis [105:85] right at the opening of the urethra. The [825] Tapirapé make no distinctions among these various kinds of little creatures and call them all tantevoga. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Small boys do not protect their member. Just as the Karajá 291 adolescents do not use the penis cord until their hair is cut for the [881] [171] initiation, Tapirapé youths first use the sheath at the time of the haircut.

The importance of the penis sheath to the Tapirapé is perhaps [524] made evident by the fact that even the dolls made for fun were supplied with such sheaths (Photo. 77). [Ed., the last half of p. 85, p. 86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted.]

[105:87] The waist cord is called anchekuakuán or [283] chikoanghohâua in Tapirapé. It is made of cotton threads twisted [462] by the women on their thighs, but it is used solely by the men. The latter wear it so that it lies a good distance below the navel

295 belonged to the headdress called angkynghetaouhé, [108:134]
292 that is to say, the same term written ankungirfau by Wagley with
[114] the addition of the augmentative suffix ho. Strips one to one and a half centimeters wide, taken from a leaf stem of the muriti palm, are folded across in such a way that one tip projects three or four centimeters beyond the other (cf. Fig. 18). The jutting ends
[283] of all the strips lie on the same side when the folded ends are strung on a cord that is twisted clockwise and made up of four threads of vegetable fiber twisted counter-clockwise. The semicircular position of this cord forces the strips into a radiating pattern. In the particular specimen being discussed (Photo. 15), the folded ends are so tightly packed side by side and even on top of each other that the periphery of the semicircle they form measures 27 centimeters. To keep them in this position, the cord is tied with knots at the tips of the semicircle to prevent it from slipping. At a distance of 13 or 15 centimeters from the folded ends, the
[283] strips are entwined with string twisted counter-clockwise and made up of two threads of cotton spun clockwise. These strings lie parallel to each other, close together, and they are dyed a dark brown color. The entwined band takes up from seven and a half to nine centimeters of the longer strip sections, which vary in length from 28 to 30 centimeters. On the side of the shorter section, the entwined band is coated with light-grey clay. The strips are held by this band in such a way that their tips lie a few millimeters apart. This, along with the already-mentioned crowding of the folded ends, produces the semicircular shape reminiscent of the
[774] form that the Tapirapé attribute to certain anchinga, that is to say, "shadows" or spirits, and by which they represent them. The periphery of the frame measures 135 centimeters, and its total width is 70 centimeters. The entwined band consists of 112 strings divided into units of four. These units are due to the fact that two pairs of strings are twined alternately around the strips, and that these pairs twine alternately around each other after their common entwining of each strip. This mutual and alternate penetration of both pairs of strings, with each pair always consisting of the same two strings, is due to the fact that the strings of one pair cross each other when they are entwined by the strings of the other pair. An irregularity arises when the strings of one pair cross twice between two regular crossing points of the strings of the other pair. Both

532 of wood, plaited and woven material found by Von den Steinen
[171] (2, Figs. 94-118) among the Xingu tribes.

The cylindrical masks of the Tapirapé are also adorned with feathers (Photo. 72). In the daytime dances of these Indians, some
301 of the male participants wear one or several red macaw tail feathers vertically on the occiput (Photo. 3). On such occasions they also wore the ear ornament (Photo. 21), which I acquired in Tampitiba and which I shall now describe. Two strings, twisted
[283] counter-clockwise and consisting of two threads spun clockwise, are tied to a cotton cord twisted clockwise and consisting of two strings twisted counter-clockwise and made up in turn of two threads spun clockwise. The first two strings mentioned are each folded in the middle and placed on the rope in such a way that on one side there is a loop, and on the other the two free-swinging ends. These ends are slipped through the loop and stretched to make a knot. Each end, after being slipped through a perforated palm nut,
[237] is attached to three or four tail feathers of the green cropendola (Ostinops viridis), which are yellow with black spots and up to nine centimeters long. The feathers are tied by the lower, denuded part of the stem, which is folded up at the tip for the purpose. When the cord is worn across the forehead and tied on the occiput, the
[136] feathers fall over the ears. All the threads are dyed with genipap. [Ed., the last two lines of p. 136 and the first paragraph of p. 137 are omitted.]

[108:137] According to Reverend Kegel, the Tapirapé adoles-
301 cent at the initiation ceremony wears around his neck two cotton
181 strips, three centimeters wide, which hang down in front to below the knees and in the back to below the calves. These strips end in tassels, and under the tassel is a palm-nut shell, its opening facing downward, surrounded with small breast feathers of the red macaw. On each arm the boy wears a cotton cord from which hang five of these shells with the same little red feathers.

To summarize: the Tapirapé feather ornaments are not only
171 distinct from those of the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó visited by
301 Krause (2, passim), from those of the inhabitants of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen 2, 328), the Bororo (Colbacchini and Albisetti, passim), the Tupi tribe of the Urubu ((Lopes 2, passim), and the Tupinambá (Métraux 2, 130-148), but also much less numerous and varied than the featherwork in any of these tribes.

[392] size of the houses also varies, of course, with the number of their occupants. The ground plan of the village (Fig. 9) shows this numerical distribution, listed in Chapter 5, as it stood at the time of my visit.

[392] Since I did not witness the construction of houses (*awuya-ham*, "to build a house"), the following description of the procedure is based on what my companion, Mr. Kegel, observed on a previous visit. In August, during the day, the men cut down tree trunks of [393] varying thickness in the forest, as well as leaves of the so-called "wild banana" (*Heliconia* spec.) and of the palm called *macaba* by the frontiersmen of the Araguaia. These provide the beams, poles, and thatch for the houses. The Indians carry these materials to the site of the future village in the late afternoon, thus [392] avoiding the daytime heat which would cause the "banana" leaves to curl in transit and the bearers to tire unduly.

The construction work begins around four or five in the afternoon. First, the framework of beams is erected. The vertical shafts are laid out in three parallel rows, both outer rows being of the same height and the middle one being higher. Thus, in house *a* (Fig. 10), the outer shafts are about 1.60 meters high while the inner ones are about 3.80 meters high, and this represents a general average for all the houses except the *takana*. In house *a*, the outer rows stand about 2.75 meters from the inner one, and the intervals between the shafts in each row (marked with circles in Fig. 9) are one meter, 2.40 meters, 2.90 meters, 2.25 meters, 3.50 meters, and 1.30 meters, respectively. Since these intervals are the same in all three lines, seven other rows of shafts result, which stand perpendicular to the others and divide the house into rectangular quadrilaterals. This division, which is [392] socially important because it reflects the distribution of the occupants [110:194] into couples and nuclear families, is emphasized further by crossbeams that form the sides of the quadrilaterals and [393] are tied with *embira* cord [Tr., bast fiber yielded by a tree] at a height of 1.60 meters when they do not rest on the forked tips of the outer vertical shafts (cf. Fig. 10 and Photos. 3 and 46). In addition, the inner vertical shafts are connected to one another with several poles (marked with circles in Fig. 10) at a height varying from 3.20 to 3.80 meters.

572 not far from the door, and every quarter of an hour a pair of dancers, singing in loud voices and hammering the ground with their feet, pass before the opening. The other occupants of the house also have trouble getting an uninterrupted night's sleep. After midnight it rains increasingly cold. Then the Indian takes a piece of burning wood from the fire beside his net, breaks it into embers by striking it against the ground, and lays the pieces directly under his hammock. A small boy is asleep, curled up on a net that is already too small for him. He has no mother to make him a new one. His long thea-bone trimbeta hangs down into thin air. Suddenly the boy moans; the mosquitoes and the cold have awakened him. He gets up, heavy with sleep, squats by the nearly burned-out embers of his small fire, and blows until the flame revives. Then he sits in his hammock once more, rubs the soles of his feet together to remove the light grey dust of the floor, and swings while sighing once in a while, "Aby, tanchiá (Ai, mosquito!)." When daylight breaks dimly into the house, everyone awakens. The women get up first, blow on the fire, [942] place the pots upon it, fetch cotton and spindle, sit beside their [283] still prone spouses, and spin for a while. Then they set the spindle aside to fetch a few bananas for their husbands and themselves, stir the pots while the men get up, and thus, gradually, all the occupants of the house start moving.

[110:200] When they are in the village and there are no festivities underway, both sexes usually spend not only most of the night, but most of the day at home. For a while before and after sundown, however, they sit in the space fronting their house, which is called takupé, or in the plaza in front of the takana. At the [945] time of my visit, the men's house served as permanent dwelling only for the few initiates and for one or two bachelors. Other men would go in only to "have a chat" or to dance a little, and never stayed there for hours on end as do Bororo married men in their men's house. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 110, pp. 200-202, and the first page, p. 105, of the section in Vol. 111, as well as the first paragraph on p. 106, are omitted. Vol. 110, pp. 200-202, and Vol. 111, p. 105, contain data on Tupinambá houses.]

[111:106] These data show a certain similarity between 711 Tupinambá villages and Tampitaua in the arrangement of the 361

T 105 /404 cont./
C [149] center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand
C [139] each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the
C [139] Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, arrows, stone lip-plugs,
C [139] food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé, opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the
C [139] Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The
C [139] Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago; since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and 263 appear here./

C 162 3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the
T [140] Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys
T 304 from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than
T 302 /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black incised tattooing on the chin and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).

C 439 In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the
C 136 Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near
T 303 the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (kîwaî; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The
T 283 spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ in any way from those of the Karajá.

T 411 The club (Iwîrî, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and depressions.

[TEXT Continues on P. 339]

/405 cont./

304 ←
309 →

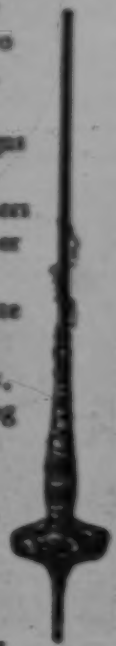
Ill. 262 a, b.
Tattooing of the Tapirapé women.

Ill. 263.
Painting of a Tapirapé girl.

415 531 171 The whole-gourd vessel (xiiñ; Pl. 69, Ill. 2) bears carved designs similar to those of the Karajá; everything is very crudely executed, however. Of the two half-gourd vessels (xiñoñ; Pl. 69, Ills. 3, 4), one is provided with a tassel made of red cotton threads; their designs are reminiscent of the Karajá carved designs, whereas the designs on the others are completely foreign and carved rather crudely and clumsily.

532 The doll (dioho, Ill. 266) of white earth, of rhomboid shape, represents a Tapirapé /406/ maiden. A roll of wax, which is led from one corner down along the two adjacent edges, serves as hair. A parting and arm cuffs (red painting between two rolls) have been put on it. Moreover, the doll wears two ear-rods. In the center and at the four corners there are small holes that are connected with the center by means of one line to the sides and two lines to the top and bottom. The whole figure is five centimeters high and wide and three centimeters thick. It was made by a Tapirapé boy. Of

[533] →
[411] →



Ill. 264.
Spindle.

Ill. 265.
Club.
Tapirapé.

101 [16] The Tapirapé Indians live in central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a left tributary of the Araguaia located in the extreme south of the state of Pará. They speak a dialect of Tupi-Guarani, the most widespread aboriginal tongue in Brazil. In spite of a great decline in their population, they still possess a rich cultural tradition which is peculiar to them and which distinguishes them [173] from other tribes. Their customs and traditions are transmitted orally with great care from generation to generation. One of the most 881 interesting among them is the ceremony in which the youth assumes the status of a grown man. This change in status is marked by nearly all peoples. Among us, when a young man reaches the age of 21, he can vote, marry, sign documents, etc.; among many primitive groups, the youth proves that he has become an adult by undergoing torture or achieving success in the hunt.

Among the Tapirapé, this tradition is observed with a festival [302] of song and dance called "hair-tying," for henceforth the young man will wear his hair tied at the back of the neck in adult fashion. For 858 several years before the ceremony, the boy keeps his body painted [302] black with genipap, wears his hair cropped close to the head--"like a monkey," in the words of the Tapirapé-- is subjected to food restrictions, and has his arms and legs scarified until they bleed so he [304] will "grow strong." When he reaches 14 or 15 years of age, his [856] family decides that the time has come for him to become an adult.

881 At the close of the rainy season, the time of harvesting and [221] time of plenty for the tribe, the "hair-tying" ceremony is carried out. For months beforehand, the youth allows his hair to grow until it comes [302] down to his shoulders. Meanwhile, mother and aunts weave threads [462] (cords) to adorn him, while father and uncles collect feathers with [283] which they make elaborate ornaments. All Tapirapé youths become [237] adults through this rite; the sons of important men, however, and [554] those who were "favorite sons" (the Tapirapé elect certain children to preferential treatment) are much more richly attired than the others. The ceremony is costly to the family, and much time is needed beforehand to gather the necessary materials--macaw tail feathers, short [237] feathers of the blue macaw and parrot, breast fluff of wild ducks, cotton threads for the ornaments, and beads. All these items are [556] [435] valuable to the Tapirapé, who gauge their own wealth in these terms.

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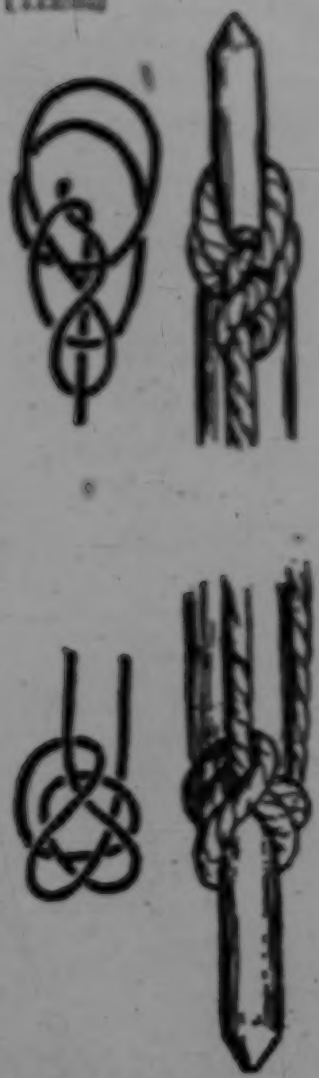

Fig. 13. Knots holding the bow cord.

/411 cont./

411 painted with red lacquer from the top to the center. The end winding consists of a fine white thread; it carries a crossed thread and extends to the notch. The attachment winding between shaft and point is made of embira and consists of two parts which are connected by spiral winding. Thus, this arrow shows nothing that would be foreign to the Karajá. The other arrow is entirely different (Ill. 27b). The long-tapered cane point, 30 centimeters long, is set onto a round wooden stem 49 centimeters long and is simply wound with embira at the point of attachment. The wooden stem, in turn, is set into the cane shaft, which is 75 centimeters long. Its attachment winding of black embira extends almost to the upper feather-winding. The feathering is done in the same way as in the case of the other arrow. The upper winding consists of black cotton thread, to which is joined a black embira winding that extends up to half the intermediate space of the very long feathering. In it are wrapped little red feathers. The notch winding consists of white thread and carries three parallel, widely crossed threads.

105 When we sum up everything, we find that the Tapirapé are a people who, like the Karajá and Savajé, live beside lakes on the campo during the rainy season, come to the river during the dry season in order to fish there, but, in contrast to the former, seek out different places one after the other, in other words, migrate within a definite area. They plant manioc and maize, work cotton into hammocks and ornaments, are familiar with pottery, the working of stones into axes and lip plugs, carry bows, arrows, and clubs, and like to decorate their objects with carvings. In many things their culture seems to be very close to that of the Karajá, along with them they probably belong to the same ethnographic province, which is distinctly separate from that of the Xingu region; they differ essentially from them, however, in their small stature, their foreign language, and an ignorance of navigation. /Page 412 is blank. The "Appendix," pp. 413-482, has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a topī). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus Panterí vanquished the topī), but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panterí had not defeated the topī, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow). I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the
[821] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topī and many souls of shamans near
[775] [756] him. I did not talk but returned fast.' He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and
292 again a rare layman, wore the ankungitána, and people marveled
781 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panterí grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a panché-iũnwera. Urukumũ picked up the ankungitána. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him."

825 I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized
[292] most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (ibid., Note 30) says in
[238] this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red
[821] feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told
[753] me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not
292 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated
● 285 by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. ibid., Fig. 1).
114 The figures in Wagley's work (ibid., Figs. 1-9) do not provide any details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the feathers. The frame (Photo. 15) that I acquired in Tampiitúna

285 belonged to the headdress called angkynghetanohó, [108:134]
292 that is to say, the same term written ankungitána by Wagley with
[114] the addition of the augmentative suffix ho. Strips one to one and a half centimeters wide, taken from a leaf stem of the muriti palm, are folded across in such a way that one tip projects three or four centimeters beyond the other (cf. Fig. 19). The jutting ends
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292 pairs are joined into a knot after having been twined once around
285 every strip. Their starting point at the other end of the band was also a knot, so that the band displays 28 knots at each end. The strings are cut three or four centimeters beyond the knot, except for the strings involved in the four outermost knots on each side. These strings extend about 30 [108:135] centimeters beyond the knots on one side, and slightly over 11 centimeters on the other side. These strings are twisted into a cord in groups of four, while the other strings are not joined in any way along the three or four centimeters that extend beyond the knots. The strips, when they retain their natural curvature, leave an empty space within their folded ends. The large tail feathers of the red macaw are inserted in this opening to complete the impressive ornament. They are kept in an internode of thick cane when not in use.
292 The frame specimen described and reproduced above was the only one I found in Tampiitáua. It was in Maninohó's possession. I
[114] have not found any reference in the literature to such objects among the Karajá, the Kayapó, or any other Indians. Nor do I know whether
[171] anything like the Tapirapé head "edifice" reproduced by Wagley is to be found in any other tribe.

292 Reverend Kegel described to me the circular occipital head-
881 dress he saw at the initiation ceremony as a wooden disk about 15 centimeters in diameter and two centimeters thick, blackened with
237 genipap, and bearing three concentric circles of feathers laid out in a radiating pattern. The inner circle consisted of scalloped, dark-green duck feathers, the middle one of white jabiru feathers, and the outer one of red macaw tail feathers. The hair of the boy who was being initiated was gathered into a pigtail and drawn through a hole in the center of the disk. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 135 and the first paragraph of p. 136 are omitted.]

[108:136] I saw a large semicircular wooden disk with small
532 holes in the center hanging from the wall of the men's house in Tampiitáua. The Tapirapé showed me that those holes were meant for the eyes and that the disk, when covered with a mosaic of feathers and a crown of macaw feathers, was used as a dance mask (Photo. 70). Unfortunately, however, I did not have an opportunity
171 to find out the specific function of this mask, which is as distinct
532 from other Tapirapé masks as it is from those of the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 20) and which bears no resemblance to the masks

1:Baldus--176 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Taplrapé SP22

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Photo. 15

Framework of headdress without the feathers.

Photo. 16

Crown of jaguar teeth.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



with so few people holding the status positions of aboriginal Tapirapé society much specialized knowledge will be lost. This is true of shamanism, as explained above, and it is true of the weaving of baskets for which Tapirapé men were justly famous before 1940. In 1953, only two men of the tribe knew the art of basket making. In aboriginal times, it was a technique which men learned after adolescence (Tapirapé boys were not expected to learn the manly arts), and with the death of so many older men and the disintegration of Tapirapé society, few young men were able to study. Both of the young men who did learn produced baskets which in 1940 would have been considered distinctly inferior and few of the young men in 1953 showed an inclination to learn the art. Like many other aspects of the culture, Tapirapé basketry will probably be a "lost art" within a generation.

Before 1940, one of the striking aspects of Tapirapé culture recorded by both Baldus and myself was the complex set of rules governing food taboos. According to aboriginal Tapirapé culture, women and children are forbidden to eat venison as well as many other specific meats. Nowadays the Tapirapé frequently have beef, which they receive by trade from the Brazilian around the Indian post. As might be suspected, beef is equated with venison and it is taboo to Tapirapé women. Likewise, Tapirapé men who are the fathers of small children may eat neither venison nor beef. One Tapirapé male explained that "Even when we were hungry our women would not eat beef." But in view of their experience with other cultures (i. e., Carajá and Brazilian), such taboos are growing weaker. Hidden from their husbands, several Tapirapé women tested beef for the first time when offered it by the wife of the Indian officer, and several females have taken to eating it (and even venison) at the Indian Post pleading that their secret be kept from their husbands. And one Tapirapé male, the father of an infant, argued while eating venison that the taboo was not a logical one. Food taboos are still kept but

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531
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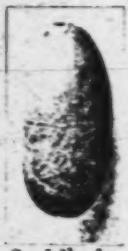
1. Comb.



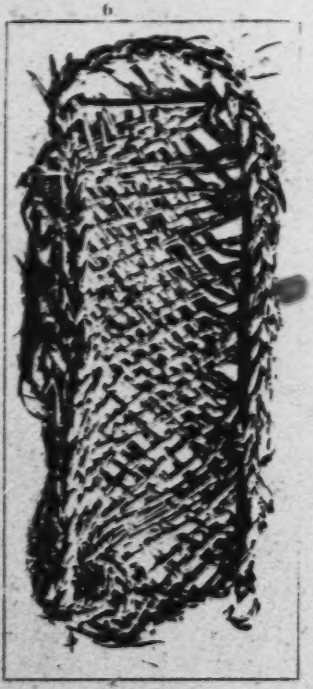
2. Whole-gourd vessel.

3 4

Half-gourd vessels.

285
482

6



5. Back-basket.

7.

8.

6-8. Rectangular transport bags.

9. Elastic transport bag.

/409 cont./

482 The back baskets are similar in construction to those of the
285 Karajá, but considerably smaller. One back-basket is plaited
[171] out of two palm fronds, like those of the Karajá; /410/ the ribs form the two longitudinal poles, the interwoven inner part of the fronds the bottom, the outer part the open-work edge. Their dimensions are 87 centimeters in length, 26 centimeters in width, 14 centimeters in height. Carrying bands are absent. The other back basket (Pl. 69, Ill. 5), by contrast, is made of only one frond in that the rib is broken twice and in this way forms the two longitudinal poles and the bottom cross-pole. To strengthen the longitudinal poles, two separate poles are tied on. The bottom plaiting and the lateral rods are /Ills. 269 and 270 appear here/ made considerably more neatly than in the previous one. It is only 68 centimeters long, 25 centimeters wide, and 15 centimeters high.

The bags are all made out of one palm frond in such a way that the rib forms the lower cross-edge, above which the bag, plaited out of pinnae, is built up (Pl. 69, Ills. 6-8). It is rectangular in shape throughout and is made with a simple one-up-one-down plaiting. Where carrying bands are present, they are fastened to the long side or the transverse side. /411/ Only one bag (Pl. 69, Ill. 9) is different in shape; its upper edge is drawn together tightly, so that only a small round opening remains, below which the bag bulges out in all directions. The measurements of the bag are: 10-16 centimeters high, 15-37 centimeters long.

301 Concerning other finds, there are still to be mentioned: a tassel of red cotton yarn that corresponds exactly to a cut-off,
411 youth's neck-tassel from the Karajá. And then two arrows. One of these (Ill. 270a) has a flat wooden point 43 centimeters long, with barbs cut out on two sides and double-edged sharpness. The taquara shaft is 110 centimeters long and bears in back the two-part feathering, the twist of which makes a quarter turn and which is fastened only at the upper and lower end by winding. The upper winding consists of black cotton; into it little red feathers are tied toward the inside. The space between the feathers is

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



592 from many villages in the one village, many combinations of relatives now form residential groups.

### DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Both sexes are nude. Men tie the prepuce over the glans penis with a palm fiber. Both men and women pull out pubic, axillary, and all facial
302 hair. Even eyebrows are considered ugly. Men wear cotton string ligatures around their legs, just below the knee. Men, and sometimes women,
301 wear large cotton wrist bands crocheted directly on to their arms. Young boys and girls sometimes wear similar ornaments on their ankles; these ornaments are painted with a thick coat of red urucú dye and have round cuffs, often 2 to 3 inches (5 to 7.5 cm.) wide. Necklaces of beads given by Neo-Brazilians are highly valued and used almost to excess. Men
[302] paint their feet and the calves of their legs red with urucú; both men and women trace a multitude of patterns on their body with black genipa dye.

304 Men have their lower lip pierced and wear a small wooden lip plug. Two years or so after women have begun sexual life, patterns in the form of a three-quarter moon are made on their faces by scarification with a paca
[386] (*Cuniculus paca*) tooth knife. Charcoal and plant juices are rubbed into the wounds to leave dark blue designs.

### TRANSPORTATION

[501] The *Tapirapé* do not have canoes. All cargoes are carried by the men
482 in a carrying knapsack made from buriti-palm fibers strapped to their backs.

### MANUFACTURES

286 **Weaving.**—Hammocks are made by women from native cotton spun on
462 wooden spindles. The technique used is the simple twine weaving used by the *Tupinambá* and other *Tupí* groups.

323 **Ceramics.**—At present, the art of ceramics is declining. Pottery is
462 usually for cooking, and is made by women. Sometimes it bears incised
531 geometrical decorations.

531 **Gourds.**—Gourds are decorated with geometric incisions.

**Basketry.**—The most highly developed basketry techniques among the
285 *Tapirapé* are woven and twilled. Two types of baskets are flexible and nonflexible ones; both are of buriti fiber. They generally have a quadrangular base and a narrow, round top, and are used mostly to store manioc or maize flour. Flat, round baskets are used as cotton containers
[531] or flour sifters. They are usually ornamented with motifs originating in the weave itself; frequently the finished basket is smeared with black genipa and odd strands are scraped off, giving a negative decorative effect.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few 177
months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of [197]
Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and [191]
verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these 114
youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals 123
we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," [621]
the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses [361]
arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were [592]
each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the per- [551]
sonal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Maria-
pawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let 114
alone pronounce. [122]

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study [197]
intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the wide-
spread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least
passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms
of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed
explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which [241]
manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops
were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poison- [462]
ous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I [252]
watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture [323]
their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm- [285]
thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building [462]
was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly [345]
became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and [291]
the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude [834]
women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never
to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also [302]
to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed
their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on
their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many [126]
other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes
and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather 123
pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our
antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversa-
tions that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales
of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

**Champukwi of the Village of the Tapin.**

Champukwi sketched for me the stories of Petura, the Tapirapé ancestral hero who stole fire from the King Vulture, daylight from the night owl, *genipa* (used for dye) from the monkeys, and other items for the Tapirapé. However, he persuaded Maeumi, an elder famous for his knowledge of mythology, to relate the details although he himself helped considerably to clarify for me the meaning of native phrases and to make the stories told by Maeumi more fully understandable. Champukwi also forewarned me of events that I might want to witness, events that without his warning I might have missed. Such were the wrestling matches which took place upon the return of a hunting party between those men who went on the hunt and those who remained at home. He told me of a particularly handsome basket a man had made, which I might want to add to my collection for the Brazilian National Museum. He came to tell me that a young woman in a neighboring house was in labor, thus enabling me to get a photograph of the newborn infant being washed in the stream, and he urged the men to celebrate for my benefit a ceremony which might easily have been omitted. Champukwi was no longer merely an informant. He became a participant in ethnographic research although, of course, he never thought of it in these terms. He seemed somehow to understand the anthropologist's task in studying his culture, and in the process he gained considerable objectivity about his own way of life.

Yet it must be said that Champukwi did not seem to discredit the norms, institutions, and beliefs of his own people. Although he saw Valentim and me walk safely down the path through the forest late at night, he steadfastly refused to do the same; for the path was a favorite haunt of the lonely ghosts of deceased Tapirapé who might harm the living. He reasoned that the *tori* were probably immune to this danger. When he was ill, he took the pills we urged upon him but he also called in the shaman. His curiosity about airplanes, automobiles, and "gigantic canoes" (passenger boats) which he saw pictured in the magazines we had brought with us, was great; but he boasted that the Tapirapé could walk farther and faster than any *tori* or even the Caraja (who are a canoe people). In fact, his interest in, and enthusiasm for, certain Tapirapé activities seemed to be heightened by our presence. Almost all Tapirapé ceremonials involve choral singing and Champukwi was a singing leader of one of the sections of the men's societies. He was always pleased when

171 if they had cut the rope higher up, the woman would have come
826 out beautiful, and then all Indians would be white and beautiful" (Lehmann-Nitsche 6, 195, 196). As we can see, "white" and "beautiful" are clearly equated in this myth.

826 Just as most Tapirapé do not fit their own ideal of beauty with regard to skin color, they do not fit it either with regard to stature, for while most of them are small, they like large men.

They also like a body where none of the parts provided by nature are missing, except for the hair, which is cut on specific
[302] occasions, and the body hair, which is carefully plucked. For this reason, namely, for esthetic motives, Chief Kamairahó would not allow one of his incisors to be removed, although it was quite loose and the source of frequent complaints on his part.

291 Like most Brazilian Indians who do not yet live in close and continuous contact with the Whites, the Tapirapé, both men
[171] and women, go altogether naked. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] And like most Indians in this country, the Tapirapé always go barefoot. The men merely wear the penis sheath and sometimes the waist cord.

When I asked the Tapirapé for the name of their penis
171 sheath, someone first told me the word nohó. This is the name
192 given to the penis in Karajá, but those Indians do not use a sheath. They tie the prepuce just over the glans with a cotton cord that they call noodakán (Krause 2, 204). Later I heard among the Tapirapé the word cherakuichivohúua to designate "my penis sheath," from cherakui, "my penis," and húua, which is related to the word for "leaf." [Ed., the first paragraph of p. 84 is omitted.]

291 [105:84] The penis sheath of the Tapirapé is made of a
● [287] strip of inner bark, from one and a half to two centimeters wide, taken from the stalk of the central leaf of a palm called pinavó by these Indians and simply "palm tree" by the non-Indian population of the Araguaia. As a rule, each man possesses a number of these strips, hung in bundles and rolls on the walls of his hut.

To make the sheath, the strip is folded so that its tips nearly join. Then the tips are slipped together into the resulting knot.
[531] This produces a funnel with oblique walls, sometimes adorned with a few burns made with lightly applied live coals (Photo. 20). A special device prevents the funnel from opening too easily: before

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●291 folding the strip in half, the men fold a small part of it obliquely, and then fold the strip once more so that the triangle is placed exactly over it. The strip is not folded stiffly, since owing to its natural toughness it has a tendency to unfold. As a result of this tendency, the tip folded in this fashion remains securely held in the knot along with the other tip.

As a rule, a man will prepare a new sheath as he gets up in the morning. The prepuce is pushed through the funnel in such a way that it projects beyond the smaller opening and is tied all around like the end of a sausage, remaining erect. Thus, the funnel is worn upside-down, that is to say, with the smaller opening on top and the larger rim facing toward the front (cf. Photos. 5, 63, and 68).

As may be seen in these photographs, the yellow color of the inner-bark strip stands out clearly against the skin. In view of [832] this, a desire to attract the attention of the opposite sex may be involved in the use of the sheath. At the same time, it is also [834] possible that the men assign to the sheath the same purpose that, [171] according to Krause (2, 204), the Karajá assign to their penis cord, that is to say, that of concealing the glans from the eyes of women. There is no doubt, however, that both sheath and cord serve as 751 protection against crustaceans and insects, such as ticks, for example. We have known cases where these parasites fastened their proboscis [105:85] right at the opening of the urethra. The [825] Tapirapé make no distinctions among these various kinds of little creatures and call them all tantevoga. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Small boys do not protect their member. Just as the Karajá 291 [881] adolescents do not use the penis cord until their hair is cut for the [171] initiation. Tapirapé youths first use the sheath at the time of the haircut.

The importance of the penis sheath to the Tapirapé is perhaps [524] made evident by the fact that even the dolls made for fun were supplied with such sheaths (Photo. 77). [Ed., the last half of p. 85, p. 86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted.]

[105:87] The waist cord is called anchekuakuán or [283] chikoanjkohána in Tapirapé. It is made of cotton threads twisted [462] by the women on their thighs, but it is used solely by the men. The latter wear it so that it lies a good distance below the navel

291 (cf. Photos. 5, 25, 69). This may corroborate the conjecture of
[114] the evolutionist Von den Steinen (2, 192) that the waist cord for-
[174] merly had the function of the penis sheath. Among present-day
Tapirapé this cord may be regarded, along with the tembetá, as
[482] a prerogative of the males. It is rarely used to carry [105:88]
[412] things. Occasionally they will hang a comb from it, or in recent
times a pair of scissors as well.

Dr. Charles Wagley told me that in 1939 he found straps for
114 carrying children that were worn by the Tapirapé women over the
854 shoulder and across the chest. In 1937, Dominican missionaries
177 had gone up the Tapirapé River with large quantities of fabrics.
The straps were made of those fabrics. It is interesting to note
that in 1935 there were no such objects in existence. It is inter-
esting because it would have been possible to carry the children
in small hammocks. Furthermore, I had given away many pieces
of cloth which could have been used as straps for carrying children.
Such straps not only are used by the neighboring Kayapó (Krause,
[171] 2, 394) but are also a typical cultural trait of the Tupí Indians.
[Ed., two sentences are omitted.] It is worth noting, however,
that straps for carrying children are not used by the eastern neigh-
bors of the Tapirapé, that is to say, the Karajá (Krause 2, 276
and Plates 12, 37, and 42).

In the case of the Tapirapé, it was apparently the numerous
pieces of fabric brought by the Dominicans in 1937 that played a
decisive role in the introduction of straps for carrying children. In
291 1935, all the fabrics and cloth articles coming from our factories
177 had a merely decorative function among those Indians. The men
[562] alone used them, since most adornments are prerogatives of their
[301] sex and such impressive ornaments as those made of feathers and
claws are worn only by them. Kamairahó, the most important
chief, liked best of all to wear a red dress which his wife had re-
ceived as a gift. Thus, the aim the giver had in mind, probably
inspired by catechizing hopes, was missed entirely for the lady
remained altogether naked while her husband was covered down to
177 the knees and below. It is worth noting, however, that in the even-
29 ing, when Kamairahó retired, he would undress and carefully fold
513 the garment. Thus, at an hour when every protection against the
mosquitoes and the cold would have seemed to me exceedingly

177
291 welcome, this important man lay in his small hammock without
[513] the slightest intention of hiding his skin, which was occasionally illuminated by the wavering flames.

[105:89] The same was true with regard to all other clothing of similar provenience. Kamairahó also possessed a large piece of fabric which he used as a sort of cloak, but only during the day and not as frequently as the dress. Vuatanamy, another influential leader, wrapped himself during the hottest hours of the day in a heavy poncho, which was of such good quality that I tried to find out the name of the person who had given out such presents (cf. Photo. 58). Then the evil tongues told me that this Gaucho gar-
[191] ment had belonged to a missionary, who lost it unwittingly with the full cooperation of Vuatanamy. The former owner may derive some consolation from the fact that his unintended beneficiary continued to sleep naked through mosquito bites and cold spells.

The shirts, vests, and trousers that I gave to some of the young men were also restricted to daytime use. The enthusiasm for this kind of ornament lasted only a few days. Then the law of the least effort prevailed, and the pieces were put away in a corner of the house. Incidentally, of all my gifts, the vests were the least valued. Their new owners noted signs of wear with obvious displeasure, and perhaps also felt that since the vests had no sleeves they were mere fragments of jackets and thus scorned by the Whites.

The aim of these Indians, however, was to be esteemed by the
648 Whites by conforming to their behavior. I do not mean to say that
177 this was the aim of every Tapirapé. There were some, however, who made it quite clear. There was, for example, Kamairá, the tallest and sturdiest man in Tampiitáua and a leader on certain occasions. Kamairá sometimes liked to use a rather dirty rag as a
[191] loincloth. This was the only loincloth I saw in the tribe, and its use was probably inspired by a desire to reach the ideal proclaimed by some missionary with highly modest sentiments.

177 Such propensities for adaptation, however, did not preclude
291 the use of ornaments furnished by us, even when such objects had
301 never appeared on our own bodies. Thus, Vuatanamy wore a multicolored cap (cf. Photo. 68); Kamanané, the song leader, liked to wear a piece of brightly colored cloth on his head; the
177 red and black cardboard wrapper of my soap contributed to the
301 mosaic of bird feathers that adorned a dance mask; and beads were

302 set forth by ethnocentric Europeans. Among the precautionary
789 measures taken by the killer of the Tapirapé shaman, listed by Wagley (4, 16-17 [Tr., in English at 4, 72]), there is also painting the entire body with genipap and the hair with urucú. According to the same author (ibid., 11 [Tr., in English at 4, 67]), a certain Tapirapé medicine man painted his chest and chin with urucú to represent the cauí of blood that drools from the mouth of forest spirits. [Ed., the remainder of p. 127, p. 128, and all but the last paragraph of p. 129 are omitted.]

000 [108:129] Krause (2, 214) writes that the Karajá, when they paint their bodies, usually reserve the color red for men and adolescent boys, and the black for boys and young girls. He adds (ibid.), "Only once did I see a woman painted wholly with red." I wish [108:130] to note in this connection, however, that as far as our trading fabrics are concerned, the Karajá in 1935 left the red ones exclusively to the women, while the men dressed in those of other colors, such as white or green. They might already have learned from the Whites that men do not wear red. A person like the [291] Tapirapé Kamairahó, who had had less contact with so-called civilized people than the Karajá, hid his charms at that time under a woman's dress which had originally been red and which might be said to have remained red in spite of daily wear for weeks on end.

In view of the facts noted by Krause (ibid., 386) about the
101 northern Kayapó and by Von den Steinen (2, 184-188) about the
171 Indians of the upper Xingu basin, it may be said in summary that
302 the Tapirapé are quite sharply differentiated from their neighbors in facial and body painting, although certain similarities exist with the Karajá in torso painting, and with the Kayapó and Xingu Indians in the red "stockings." It is worth noting that such "stockings" were also used by the Tupinambá.

According to what I saw, the Tapirapé stick soft plumage
301 (aviá, aviá) chiefly on the arms and legs of children. The girl
237 Ampitánia was often adorned in this way. Grownups, however, also use white down glued on the arm when wearing a certain [881] mask (Photo. 70). At the initiation ceremony, the adolescent has white down glued on the forehead, arms, torso, and thighs, with the exception of the buttocks. The glue is a resin (ykyryva in

262 The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts,
178 for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such a change in the food situation affects the tribal
[574] behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality. It is true that this may also have resulted in
177 part from contact with the White neighbors who have settled on
291 the Tapirapé river over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer, or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their bodies are undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. Thus, instead of satisfying the appetite of their Indian visitors, they are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural rather than physical, one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitaua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them wear complete dresses. It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actual-
262 ly experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their
177 new neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the
648 number of inhabitants of their village has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following were not lacking, however: "Now the Tapirapé eat only small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., a large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs. These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the dry spell, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna, as well as the human beings in the region, have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the frontiersmen, by settling permanently on all the habitable spots along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitaua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers" (Baldus 12).

1:Baldus--177 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

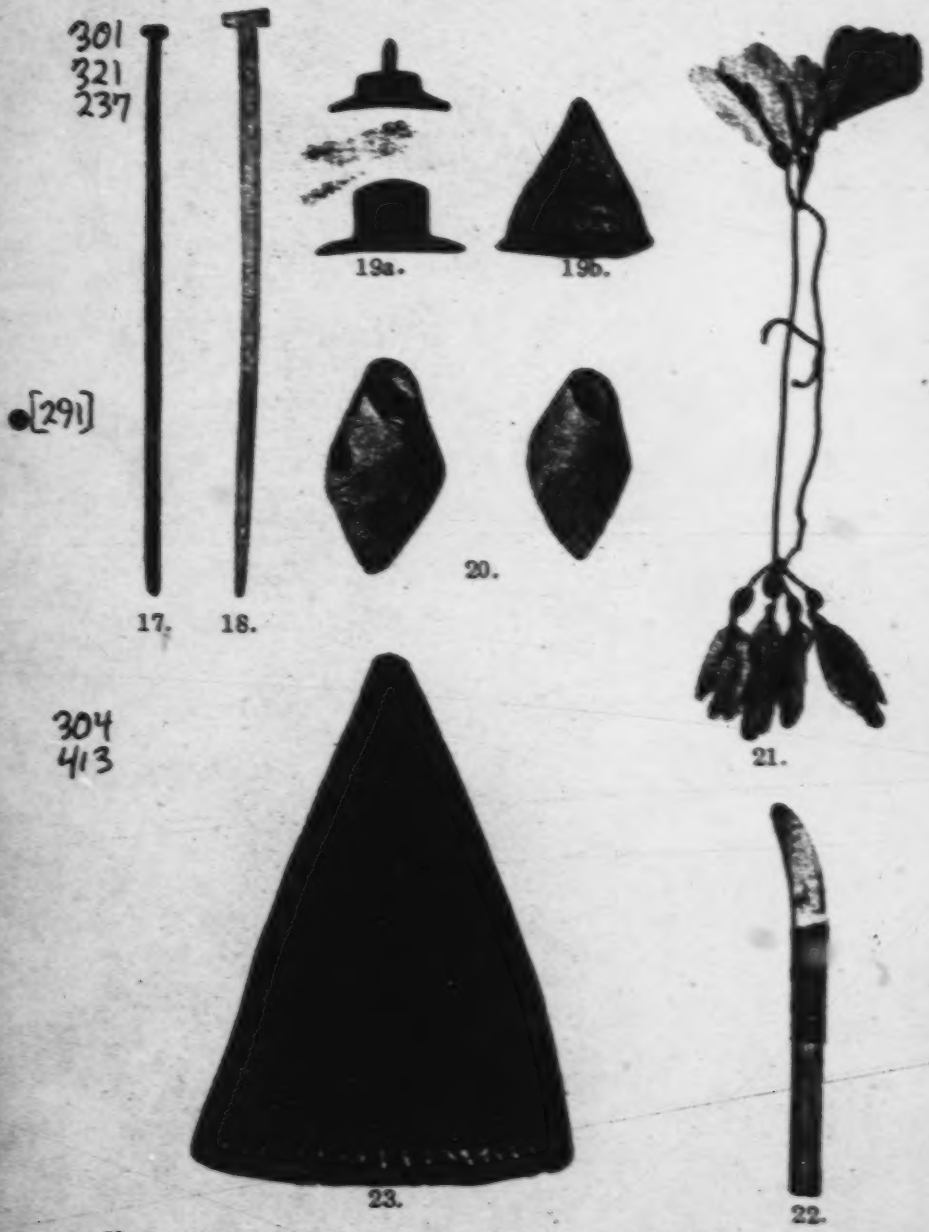


Photo. 17. Tembetá of deer bone. -- 18. Tembetá of wild-pig bone. -- 19a. Wooden tembetá. -- 19b. Raw material for wooden tembetá. -- 20, Penis sheaths. -- 21. Ear ornament. -- 22. Small tattooing knife. -- 23. Scarifier.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953).1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



the possibility of comparison, of observing other forms of behavior which were formerly closed to them, now stimulates change in Tapirapé culture.

Numerous other modifications in the Tapirapé way of life might be reported. In 1953, a few Tapirapé collected money which they kept as they formerly kept red parrot feathers in a bamboo container, but they have only vague ideas of its value. Two men own rifles but they have little idea of how to keep them in order. Men wear trousers when they visit the Indian Post, but they might at any time calmly remove them in the presence of the missionaries, and women have learned quickly to put on a wrap-around skirt when Brazilian men approach. These and a series of other changes might be quickly noted as having occurred between 1940 and 1953.

Still, Tapirapé culture has remained remarkably stable in face of the violent disruption of Tapirapé society during this last decade. Tapirapé culture has been modified by borrowing and by loss of trait and pattern due to the reduction of population and the disorganization of the society. Tapirapé society, with fewer people and new influences, has now changed more than Tapirapé culture. Certainly society and culture are intimately related phenomena but the history of the Tapirapé during the last thirteen years indicates the value of distinguishing between social change on the one hand and culture change on the other. For a period the Tapirapé lived as members of a distinct society, but their culture persisted, and with this knowledge they have been able to recreate, at least temporarily, their organized social unit.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 2

Um jovem pagé, em estado de transe, quando realizava o circuito da aldeia durante a sessão diurna da cerimônia do Trovão. Está acompanhado por dois jovens prontos aampará-lo, se êle cair.

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A young shaman, in a tranced state, as he makes the village circuit during the day session of the Thunder Ceremony. He is accompanied by two young men ready to catch him if he should fall.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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786
796

Fig. 3

Jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Está doente por engulir fumaça de tabaco e próximo a um estado de transe. Caiu antes de alcançar a segunda casa do circuito.

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Young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. He fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

177
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756
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786
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Fig. 4

Outro jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Também está doente por engulir fumaça de tabaco, e próximo a um estado de transe. Como o da fig. 3, caiu antes de alcançar a segunda casa do circuito.

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Another young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill too from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. Like the other of fig. 3 he fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 5

Kamairai (Veja Apêndice), um jovem pagé, vacilando na metade do circuito da aldeia.

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Kamairai (see Appendix), a young shaman, staggering half way around the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 7

O poderoso pagé Urukumá era seguido por numerosos jovens quando fez o circuito pela aldeia, usando o ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Como decoração, usou um pedaço de fazenda vermelha, que lhe fôra presenteado pelo etnólogo.

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The powerful shaman, Urukumu, was followed by numerous young men when he made the village circuit wearing the ceremonial headdress. He wore a piece of red cotton cloth given him by the ethnologist as decoration.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 9

Sempre que um pagé caia inconciente, os jovens que o acompanhavam lhe removiam ràpidamente o ornamento da cabeça e o levantavam nos ombros para carregá-lo através do circuito da aldeia. Nessa ocasião, a espôsa de Kamairaho estava preocupada com êle e veio apalpar-lhe a face.

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Whenever a shaman fell unconscious, the young men accompanying him quickly removed the headdress and raised him upon their shoulders to carry him through the village circle. On this occasion, Kamairaho's wife was worried about him and came to feel of his face.

264 476 however, is totally different from that of the tãtáupáũã. It is not a group organization for consumption, but for production. For this reason, also, the feasts in specific groups associated with this institution are merely accessory.

The social significance of apatxirú resides in the possibility of sharing a collective task in such a way that no member of the tribe will [461] feel discredited by an unfair assignment. This is done by turning work into a festive occasion and a sports competition.

"When there is a lot of water everywhere in the rainy season, the [776] ãũvanaí 'shadows' live in the takána. Their headdress and breechcloth [291] are of muriti leaves, but their headdress does not have any macaw [535] feathers. [96] They dance through the entire rainy season. At that time, there are no other 'shadows' (antxína) but them. Unlike other 'shadows,' these do not live in the hills or in the waters, but only in the takána. They do not sing, but only grunt in a low voice. During [261] the moons of the great rains, the belly does not get as full as during the dry season. But the ãũvanaí have to eat. Then they go to the gardens and 'steal.' They take what they stole to the takána, where they eat it. In the apatxirú, we prepare the gardens where they seek their food. They 'steal' only from those gardens that are prepared for them alone. The ãũvanaí are not evil. All Tapirapé men are ãũvanaí.

Such is, in summary, the information I received when I asked the purpose of the common gardens prepared in the apatxirú.

For the apatxirú, all Tapirapé men are divided into three work-groups called vuĩra. The word vuĩra means "bird," and the name of [551] each group designates a mythical bird which is represented not only by the group as a whole but by each of its individual members. They are called Tãnãvé, Anantxá, and Vuirantxinió.

The Tãnãvé group was the smallest one at the time of my visit, [624] but it included the individuals of highest social status: the principal chief, Kamairahó; the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ´; the chief and most [123] eminent sorcerer--medicine man, Urukumĩ´; and myself. (Naturally, Kamairahó stated immediately that I would be a Tãnãvé like himself.)

[97] Each of the three work groups has two leaders called ãntaĩva. 264 The ãntaĩva of the Tãnãvé were Vũãtanamĩ´ and Urukumĩ´. (Although 622 Kamairahó was also a Tãnãvé, he seemed to be the head of all three 476 groups in his capacity as principal chief. He is also the only one whose 651 private plot is prepared by the village inhabitants as a collective endeavor, while the private plots of other tribal members are prepared

162 What strikes us in the above table is, on the one hand, the small number of children in relation to adults (18 individuals through 15 years of age and 41 over 15 years of age), and, on the other hand, [165] the brevity of the life span (only ten individuals were over 30). Only one man and one woman were slightly over 40.

According to the reports that I received in October, 1947, from [115] Mr. Valentim Gomes, the man in charge of the Indian post Heloísa Alberto Torres, and from Father M. H. Lelong at Conceição do Araguaia, the numerical ratios listed above underwent modifications [726] caused by the Kaiapó [Cayapo] attack on Tampiitáua at the end of August, in the course of which three women were killed and two women and one boy were abducted. Of the 59 individuals examined, therefore, there remained 31 males and 22 females.

[847] Aside from illness, the custom of killing newborn children under certain circumstances contributes to the decimation of the tribe.

Of the changes in Tapirapé culture which occurred since my first 178 visit 12 years ago, I wish to mention primarily the scarcity of 262 vegetable foods. The literature on these peaceful and industrious 241 Tupi Indians contains numerous references to their large plots. I may add that in the quantity and variety of their garden produce they outstripped not only the neighboring tribes but also the frontier people. In 1935, in the months of June to August, I found the village provided abundantly with the most delicious bananas, five varieties of manioc and numerous other tubers, beans, peanuts, and maize. In 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little cará [Tr., a variety of yam], or manioc cake. The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts, for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such [574] a change in the food situation affects the tribal behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality.

It is true that this may also have resulted in part from contact 177 with the neighboring Whites who have settled on the Tapirapé River [648] over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their 177 body is undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. 291 Thus, instead of satisfying the appetites of their Indian visitors, they

are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural rather than physical one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitáua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them are completely clothed.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actually experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their new neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the number of Tampiitáua inhabitants has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following [139] were not lacking, however. "Now the Tapirapé only eat small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs."

These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the dry season, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna as well as the human beings in the region have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the frontiersmen, by settling permanently in all the habitable places along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitáua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers.

When I ascended the length of the Tapirapé River in a canoe in 1935, its banks were uninhabited. There was a single inhabitant at the river mouth, and he manned, so to speak, the most advanced post of our civilization. In July, 1947, there were eight houses in Pôrto Velho, which stands more or less at the middle point of the navigable stretch, that is, 15 or 18 leagues from the mouth, and nearly all of their occupants came from the state of Pará and had lived previously at various spots on the Araguaia.

Their settlement, and with it the occupation of the Indian lands, began about five years ago and presents aspects characteristic of the processes that were repeated, with certain variations, throughout the colonization of Brazil. Their leader is a farmer by the name of Lucio

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



592 from many villages in the one village, many combinations of relatives now form residential groups.

### DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Both sexes are nude. Men tie the prepuce over the glans penis with a palm fiber. Both men and women pull out pubic, axillary, and all facial
302 hair. Even eyebrows are considered ugly. Men wear cotton string ligatures around their legs, just below the knee. Men, and sometimes women,
301 wear large cotton wrist bands crocheted directly on to their arms. Young boys and girls sometimes wear similar ornaments on their ankles; these ornaments are painted with a thick coat of red urucú dye and have round cuffs, often 2 to 3 inches (5 to 7.5 cm.) wide. Necklaces of beads given by Neo-Brazilians are highly valued and used almost to excess. Men
[302] paint their feet and the calves of their legs red with urucú; both men and women trace a multitude of patterns on their body with black genipa dye.

304 Men have their lower lip pierced and wear a small wooden lip plug. Two years or so after women have begun sexual life, patterns in the form of a three-quarter moon are made on their faces by scarification with a paca
[386] (*Cuniculus paca*) tooth knife. Charcoal and plant juices are rubbed into the wounds to leave dark blue designs.

### TRANSPORTATION

[501] The *Tapirapé* do not have canoes. All cargoes are carried by the men
482 in a carrying knapsack made from buriti-palm fibers strapped to their backs.

### MANUFACTURES

286 **Weaving.**—Hammocks are made by women from native cotton spun on
462 wooden spindles. The technique used is the simple twine weaving used by the *Tupinamba* and other *Tupí* groups.

323 **Ceramics.**—At present, the art of ceramics is declining. Pottery is
462 usually for cooking, and is made by women. Sometimes it bears incised
531 geometrical decorations.

531 **Gourds.**—Gourds are decorated with geometric incisions.

**Basketry.**—The most highly developed basketry techniques among the
285 *Tapirapé* are woven and twilled. Two types of baskets are flexible and nonflexible ones; both are of buriti fiber. They generally have a quadrangular base and a narrow, round top, and are used mostly to store manioc or maize flour. Flat, round baskets are used as cotton containers
[53] or flour sifters. They are usually ornamented with motifs originating in the weave itself; frequently the finished basket is smeared with black genipa and odd strands are scraped off, giving a negative decorative effect.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
[P. 397]
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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# 14

## Champukwi of the Village of the Tapirs

Charles Wagley

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few 177
months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of [197]
Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and [191]
verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these 114
youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals 123
we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," [621]
the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses [361]
arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were [592]
each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the per- [551]
sonal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Maria-
pawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let 114
alone pronounce. [122]

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study [197]
intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the wide-
spread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least
passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms
of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed
explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which [241]
manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops
were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poison- [462]
ous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I [252]
watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture [323]
their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm- [285]
thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building [462]
was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly [345]
became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and [291]
the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude [834]
women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never
to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also [302]
to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed
their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on
their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many [126]
other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes
and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather 123
pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our
antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversa-
tions that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales
of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

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Champukwi on the Trip to Furo de Pedra.

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of my life, a feeling that was shared, I believe, by Valentim Gomes and by Champukwi.

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Champukwi adjusted to Furo de Pedra with amazing rapidity. His short visit as a youth to the mission station undoubtedly contributed to his quick adaptation although, to be sure, there were minor problems and incidents. The Brazilians of Furo de Pedra were accustomed to Indians, for nearby there was a village of semi-civilized Caraja Indians who frequently visited and traded in the settlement. Yet, Champukwi was a bit of a curiosity—the townspeople had seen only one other Tapirapé. The local Brazilians invited him into their homes and offered him coffee and sweets. Both Valentim Gomes and I watched over his movements with all the anxiety of overprotective parents for fear that he might be exposed to a respiratory infection (he did not contract any) or that the hospitality of the local Brazilians might persuade him to drink *cachaça* (sugar cane *aguardiente*). Alcoholic beverages were unknown to the Tapirapé who are unlike most South American groups in this respect.

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[273]

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



in this respect. According to Champukwi's own report, he tried *cachaça* only once in Furo de Pedra and (quite normally) found it distasteful and unpleasant. Yet there were moments that were awkward at the time however humorous they seem in retrospect. One day when I bought several dozen oranges in the street, Champukwi calmly removed the trousers that had been provided for him and made a sack to carry home the oranges by tying up the legs. In Furo de Pedra, he often went nude in the house we had rented for our stay. Even the Brazilian woman who came to prepare our meals became more or less accustomed to his nakedness, but sometimes he forgot to dress before sallying forth into the street. The rural Brazilian diet, derived in large measure from native Indian foods, seemed to please Champukwi, but he could not be comfortable eating at the table. He preferred during meals to sit across the room on a low stool.

Champukwi's reaction to this rural form of Brazilian civilization was not childlike in any way. He in turn became an ethnologist. He wanted to see the gardens that provided the food for so many people (Furo de Pedra had hardly more than 400 people at that time). He was fascinated by the sewing machines with which he saw the women working. He attended the Catholic ceremonies held in the little chapel. He saw pairs of men and women dance face to face in semblance of an intimate embrace. About these and other strange customs he had many questions. But like the inquisitive anthropologist who had come to live in his village, his own curiosity sometimes became obtrusive. He peered into the homes of people and sometimes entered uninvited. And he followed the Brazilian women to their rather isolated bathing spot in the Araguaia River to discover if there were any anatomical differences between these women and those in his village. He even made sexual advances to Brazilian women, actions which, if he had known, were very dangerous in view of the jealous zeal with which Brazilian males protect the honor of their wives and daughters. On the whole, however, Champukwi became quite a favorite of the local Brazilians during his two week visit to Furo de Pedra. His Portuguese improved while he visited in their homes, and he collected simple presents, such as fish hooks, bottles, tin cans, and the like, to take home with him. Even during this short period away from the village, my work with him continued. He told me of antagonisms, gossip, and schisms in the

The glue is a resin (ykyryva in
301 Tapirapé) used by both sexes to anoint the body and hair. Once
237 crushed, it is mixed with peanut oil (chany). [Ed., the last two
[314] paragraphs of p. 130 and all but the last paragraph of p. 131 are
[381] omitted.]

[108:131] Larger feather ornaments are used by the Tapirapé, as a rule, only on festive occasions. The Tapirapé Kanchovaní, however, when I invited him to come with me to the Araguaia, showed me the large red macaw feathers that he intended to wear on his head upon reaching the Karajá villages. These are the
[171] feathers prized most highly both in his own tribe and among the shore dwellers of the big river. I never saw any Tapirapé use them aside from such occasions. [Ed., the remainder of p. 131 and the first half of p. 132 are omitted.]

[108:132] The circular feather headdress is of the greatest
292 importance to the Tapirapé. Referring to its use in the Thunder
796 ceremony, Wagley writes (4, 33-34 [Tr., in English at 4, 89-90]): "... each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate
[776] headdress--the ankungitána. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer. Without exception all who
292 wore the ankungitána, even Panterí and Urukumú, showed genuine
781 fear and fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder. Before a man could put the headdress on, a shaman waved it slowly before
[756] his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific 'heat.' When Urukumú wore the ankungitána, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circuit of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid, and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panterí. Panterí likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the
787 headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song, and when he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of
776 Thunder. Later, Panterí [108:133] related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: 'I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They

787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a topī). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus Panterí vanquished the topī), but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panterí had not defeated the topī, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow). I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the
[821] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topī and many souls of shamans near
[775] [756] him. I did not talk but returned fast." He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and
292 again a rare layman, wore the ankungitána, and people marveled
781 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panterí grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a panché-iúnwera. Urukumú picked up the ankungitána. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him."

825 I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of
[292] the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (ibid., Note 30) says in
[237] this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red
[821] feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told
[753] me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not
292 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated
285 by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. ibid., Fig. 1).
114 The figures in Wagley's work (ibid., Figs. 1-9) do not provide any details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the feathers. The frame (Photo. 15) that I acquired in Tampiitáua

285 belonged to the headdress called angkynghetanohó, [108:134]
292 that is to say, the same term written ankungitána by Wagley with
[114] the addition of the augmentative suffix ho. Strips one to one and a half centimeters wide, taken from a leaf stem of the muriti palm, are folded across in such a way that one tip projects three or four centimeters beyond the other (cf. Fig. 19). The jutting ends
[283] of all the strips lie on the same side when the folded ends are strung on a cord that is twisted clockwise and made up of four threads of vegetable fiber twisted counter-clockwise. The semicircular position of this cord forces the strips into a radiating pattern. In the particular specimen being discussed (Photo. 15), the folded ends are so tightly packed side by side and even on top of each other that the periphery of the semicircle they form measures 27 centimeters. To keep them in this position, the cord is tied with knots at the tips of the semicircle to prevent it from slipping. At a distance of 13 or 15 centimeters from the folded ends, the
[283] strips are entwined with string twisted counter-clockwise and made up of two threads of cotton spun clockwise. These strings lie parallel to each other, close together, and they are dyed a dark brown color. The entwined band takes up from seven and a half to nine centimeters of the longer strip sections, which vary in length from 28 to 30 centimeters. On the side of the shorter section, the entwined band is coated with light-grey clay. The strips are held by this band in such a way that their tips lie a few millimeters apart. This, along with the already-mentioned crowding of the folded ends, produces the semicircular shape reminiscent of the
[774] form that the Tapirapé attribute to certain anchinga, that is to say, "shadows" or spirits, and by which they represent them. The periphery of the frame measures 135 centimeters, and its total width is 70 centimeters. The entwined band consists of 112 strings divided into units of four. These units are due to the fact that two pairs of strings are twined alternately around the strips, and that these pairs twine alternately around each other after their common entwining of each strip. This mutual and alternate penetration of both pairs of strings, with each pair always consisting of the same two strings, is due to the fact that the strings of one pair cross each other when they are entwined by the strings of the other pair. An irregularity arises when the strings of one pair cross twice between two regular crossing points of the strings of the other pair. Both

292 pairs are joined into a knot after having been twined once around
285 every strip. Their starting point at the other end of the band was also a knot, so that the band displays 28 knots at each end. The strings are cut three or four centimeters beyond the knot, except for the strings involved in the four outermost knots on each side. These strings extend about 30 [108:135] centimeters beyond the knots on one side, and slightly over 11 centimeters on the other side. These strings are twisted into a cord in groups of four, while the other strings are not joined in any way along the three or four centimeters that extend beyond the knots. The strips, when they retain their natural curvature, leave an empty space within their folded ends. The large tail feathers of the red macaw are inserted in this opening to complete the impressive ornament. They are kept in an internode of thick cane when not in use.
292 The frame specimen described and reproduced above was the only one I found in Tampiitáua. It was in Maninohó's possession. I
[114] have not found any reference in the literature to such objects among the Karajá, the Kayapó, or any other Indians. Nor do I know whether
[171] anything like the Tapirapé head "edifice" reproduced by Wagley is to be found in any other tribe.

Reverend Kegel described to me the circular occipital head-
292 dress he saw at the initiation ceremony as a wooden disk about 15
881 centimeters in diameter and two centimeters thick, blackened with
237 genipap, and bearing three concentric circles of feathers laid out in a radiating pattern. The inner circle consisted of scalloped, dark-green duck feathers, the middle one of white jabiru feathers, and the outer one of red macaw tail feathers. The hair of the boy who was being initiated was gathered into a pigtail and drawn through a hole in the center of the disk. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 135 and the first paragraph of p. 136 are omitted.]

[108:136] I saw a large semicircular wooden disk with small
532 holes in the center hanging from the wall of the men's house in Tampiitáua. The Tapirapé showed me that those holes were meant for the eyes and that the disk, when covered with a mosaic of feathers and a crown of macaw feathers, was used as a dance mask (Photo. 70). Unfortunately, however, I did not have an opportunity
171 to find out the specific function of this mask, which is as distinct
532 from other Tapirapé masks as it is from those of the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 20) and which bears no resemblance to the masks

171 This scarcity may be one of the consequences of the great epi-
301 demics, since the dead are buried with all their feather ornaments.
[182] In addition, the Tapirapé, as cultivators and forest Indians, have
[764] fewer opportunities to obtain the raw materials for these ornaments than the more game-oriented tribes who live close to rivers and to other areas rich in bird life.

415 Like the ancient Tupinambá (Léry 159), the Tapirapé keep the large macaw feathers in internodes of thick cane (vuanantú). [Ed., the last sentence on p. 137, which concludes the section in Vol. 108, is omitted.]

237 [109:75] I found a single specimen of a crown of jaguar claws in Tampiitáua (Photo. 16). It belonged to Maninohó, who used
● 292 it only for certain daytime dances (Photo. 4). Its name was simply chauvuanohó pyampé, "jaguar claw." It consisted of a wooden ring that reached one centimeter in width and 20 centimeters in diameter, wrapped in cotton thread blackened with genipap and charcoal. Not only does this thread keep the ring closed, but it also holds 14 jaguar claws, all of which are set pointing in the same direction. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

301 The use of flowers as a head ornament is unusual among South American Indians. I observed it only once in Tampiitáua. Iravuy, a married man 26 years old, returned once from the forest with a bunch of flowers in his hand. On entering the village, he met Ampitánia on the path and gave her the flowers. This girl, who was four or five years old, immediately tied them to her hair. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

304 Male Tapirapé have pierced ears. I was told that among them it is the mother who [109:76] makes these perforations in the early hours of the day following the birth of her child. She does this with the bone needle used in the manufacture of the cotton ornaments called tamankuré. Small pieces of tucum wood [Tr., Bactris setosa) or thin cane are placed in the holes, and for initiates
301 881 these pieces may reach two centimeters in length. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

171 To summarize, it may be said that as far as ear ornaments and their attendant cultural traits are concerned, the Tapirapé differ
301 considerably not only from all their neighbors about whom anything is known in this connection, but from the ancient Tupinambá as well.

1:Baldus--171 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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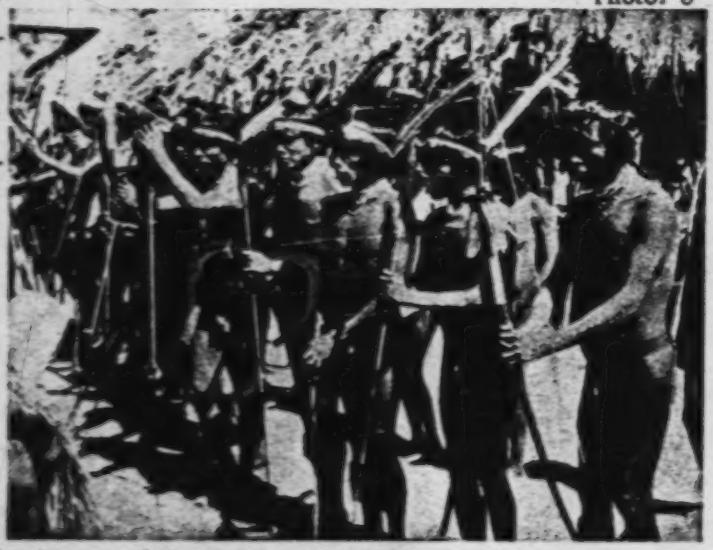
Photo. 5



The dancers of Photo. 4, with Pancheavi (No. 75) and Manupauvynghoi (No. 13) to the right of Inamoreo (No. 23).

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Photo. 6

Manavangkó (No. 87) with a bone tembetá. Auayauí (No. 93) is on his left.

1:Baldus--176 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 15

Framework of headdress without the feathers.



Photo. 16

Crown of jaguar teeth.

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Plate 27.

Tapirapé Dance of Men and Women.

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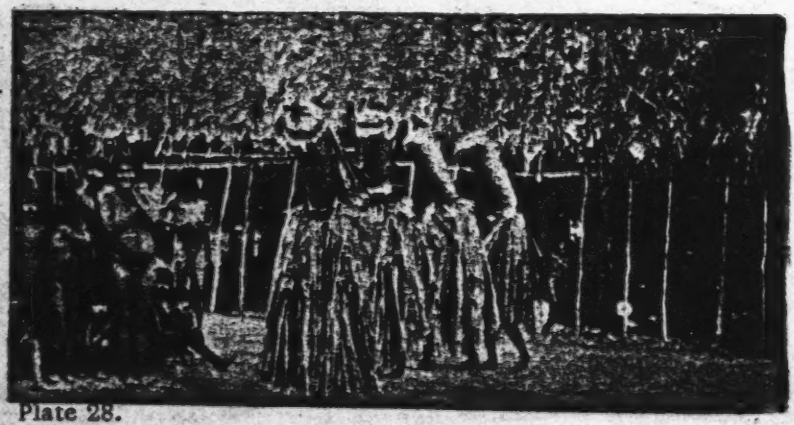

Plate 28.

Tapirapé Masked Dance.

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Plate 31.

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Tapirapé Woman
Pounding Urucú.

Plate 32.

Tapirapé Masked Dancer.

881 On the eve of the ritual, the preparations begin. The youth's
[302] body is painted black with genipap. On his face, a black line is drawn under the mouth and a circle under the eyes, which are elongated with a line at the corners. The father or uncles put the last
[346] touches on a large diadem. At dawn on the day of the ceremony, the youth is led to the large ceremonial house built in the center of the Tapirapé village, and his hair is set to support the large
[292] [237] ankungitana (diadem) made of numerous macaw, parrot, and duck feathers fastened to a base of muriti palm and hard wood and weighing about five kilograms. The hair is trimmed and tied into a roll
[302] on the nape of the neck with a cord at least five meters long, to provide a base for the fastening of the large diadem. The lower lip
[301] is adorned with a ceremonial quartz tembetá [Tr., cylindrical plug].

The ceremony itself begins late in the morning. For 24 hours
[535] the youth dances continually, surrounded by his fellow tribesmen and accompanied by the songs and dances of men and women. He dances ill at ease, for he is soon tired by the weight and discomfort of the
773 ornaments. Tapirapé tradition explains this ritual as a test of en-
881 durance for the young men. According to one legend, a Tapirapé ancestor called Xavanamu and his son Makanci were captured by an enemy tribe. Xavanamu was eaten, and his son was forced to dance under the weight of a large diadem and the numerous ornaments that covered his body. At the end of a long day of dancing, Makanci, who had retained his strength, managed to flee and disappeared into the woods followed closely by his foes. He vanished on reaching a large hollow trunk. Nowadays, Tapirapé youths wear ornaments similar to those left behind by their ancestor.

In 1941, when we witnessed the "hair-tying" of the youth
881 Kancinampiô, several Tapirapé predicted that he would cry "for he would become very tired during the night," but the boy stood up valiantly to the test. It is in another way, however, that men recall their initiation. One of them said, "When I danced, I was more beautiful than at any other time." It is true that at no other time of life does the individual get so much attention and make such a show with such rich ornaments. And this during adolescence!

Thus, the Tapirapé turn this ceremony into an opportunity for fun, which their men recall more or less in the same manner as our youths recall their first ball.

11: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1945 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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[Facing p. 16]

Tapirapé Indian in the Coming-of-age Dance.

REVISTA DO MUSEU NACIONAL — ANO I N. 3 — ABRIL, 1945

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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PLATE 19.—Tapirapé ceremonies and house construction. *Top, left:* Youth in preparation for puberty ceremony. The large, heavy diadem of macaw feathers will be supported by the lock of hair wrapped in cotton cord. *Top, right:* Shaman wearing dangerous ceremonial headdress during Thunder ceremony. He is intoxicated by tobacco and in a trance state. *Bottom, left:* Construction of men's house. *Bottom, right:* Dance masks representing the "Crying Spirit," one of many forest spirits who are said to come to stay for a time in the men's ceremonial house. (Courtesy Charles Wagley.)

[p. 170 A]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



A son

and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite 554
child, being given special attention and education and being highly decor- 858
ated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life.

**Puberty.**—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over 882
the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body [302]
is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip [301]
plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong.

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied [302]
at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation 881
for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the [292]
main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, *top, left*). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance.

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced [302]
with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are [582]
usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of women.

**Marriage.**—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and 621
people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antag- [578]
onism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable [582]
intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage mar- [574]
riage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people.

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at 582
least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule.

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage [161]
rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there [182]
are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are [178]
also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where [591]
his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 1

*Ankungitána* — Ornamento de cabeça para a cerimônia do Trovão

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*Ankungitána* — Headdress for the Thunder Ceremony

[p. 42 is blank]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



the Jaguar of the Skies". When this shaman dies, it is thought that many terrestrial jaguars, sent by the Jaguar of the Skies, will haunt the confines of the village. I was told, too, that when the powerful shaman Wantanam died the "sun was large and red with the blood of the shaman"; it was "hot" and "angry" because a shaman had died. 821 756 787 [825]

## SORCERY

The Tapirapé tell of great battles between strong shamans, each supported by his own retinue of powers. During my stay with the Tapirapé there were rumors of a possible combat between Urukumu and Panteri, the two strongest shamans. Many people believed that it would be caused by the death of a warm personal friend of Panteri through the suspected sorcery by Urukumu. One man even described how the thought that the combat would take place. "Panteri will smoke much tobaco (10) and then he will go to his hammock to sleep. He will go [in his dream] in his "canoe" to the top of a high mountain. From there he will look about until he sees [the soul of] Urukumu. From there Panteri will throw his *ankungitána* (11); will wrap itself around [the soul of] Urukumu, carrying him off into the sky". Now the various familiar powers of both shamans hasten to their aid; it was at this point that the narrator, visualizing the possible battle of powers, listed the powers that would come to the aid of each shaman. A shaman whose soul has thus been captured by another falls prey to chills and fevers and soon dies, with his last breath whispering in song that he leaves the earth and possibly even telling gaspingly the name of the shaman who caused his death. Both shamans involved in the rumored combat denied knowledge or intention to wage it. 754 787 756 [276]

As might be expected, the same methods said to be used by shamans againts one another may also be used against the layman. Shamans are believed to steal souls that are wandering in dream journeys. The shaman may send his *ankungitána* to strike the soul of his victim over

(10) See page 72 for the use of tobacco in cures, as stimulants, to induce dreams, and for shamanistic ceremonies.

(11) The *ankungitána* is a ceremonial headdress made of three or four long tail feathers of a parrot and worn by the Tapirapé down the back tied to the short "pig tail" hairdress (See Fig. 1 on page 41). [756 293]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



"saw *topi*" and were struck down as the young shaman had been 147
earlier that day. One shaman novice, staggering blindly and vomiting 276
violently, tried to break away from the young men who were partially 786
supporting him. When they caught him, he fell immediately to the 796
ground. Finally, toward sundown, Panteri took up his song again. He still was "stronger than *topi*" and was able to perform his song without falling into a trance.

At sundown men began to gather in the house which had been 276
cleared. Some twenty men came to take part in this phase of the 533
ceremonies. The bulk of the village population was gathered inside the 796
house, crouched close against the walls, or outside looking through the doors.

The two powerful shamans, Urukumu and Panteri, stood in the middle of the floor facing each other. They lighted their long pipes and began to swallow smoke. At the back of the room were two young men with the ceremonial rattles that the shamans had used earlier. These young men were in positions of particular danger, for their rattles attracted the special attention of Thunder's creatures. In front of them Ikoriwantori, a young man noted for his singing, stood on a bench and began to sing the songs of Thunder; they played accompaniment for his songs on the rattles. A young boy sat behind them and [534] beat time to the song with a hollow trunk of bamboo. Now and again young men standing against the walls took up a chorus with the solo singer. The shamans kept going to the young men with the rattles, offering them smoke to swallow from their pipes until they were unsteady on their feet. At times they were able to stay on their feet only when they were held up. They then began walking back and forth to the front of the house, shaking the rattles towards the roof threateningly, challenging *topi* and *pančé-iúnwera* to come.

Shamans now offered their pipes to their novices and to laymen. 276
The two shamans also soon began walking back and forth the length 796
of the house, first alone and then each taking a novice with him. One by one men joined the shamans as they moved up and down the house. By now all were thoroughly intoxicated and the atmosphere grew tense. All spewed out smoke until it fairly engulfed them as they moved vomiting and reeling about. Everyone took up a grunting [533] chant of "Hew, hew!" Some carried mirrors and red parrot feathers [293] as weapons against the *topi*. The two chief shamans carried machetes

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



ceremonial rattles which had fallen to the ground and running with them around the whole circuit of the village. 796

The third and fourth days of the ceremony followed closely the pattern of this day, but there were some important variations. On the last two days a new danger was added, accounting for more violent seizures that occurred then. During these days each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate headdress — the *ankungitanu*. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer (30). Without exception all who wore the headdress, even Panteri and Urukumu, fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder and genuine fear was shown by all those who wore it. 293 796 786

Before a man could put the headdress on his head, a shaman waved it slowly before his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific "heat." When Urukumu wore the *ankungitana*, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circle of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panteri. Panteri likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song and when he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Panteri related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: "I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a *topi*). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus he would have vanquished the *topi*) but it left the house. Then all was dark. (He had not defeated the *topi* and it had consequently shot him with his arrow) I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days and I climbed a large mountain on the 787 796

(30) Red parrot feathers are "hot like fire", say the Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house. [821] [825] [753]

133 and our camarada [Tr., guide or hired hand], as well as several
487 Indians, and we set out again after a brief rest.

Two hours later we crossed another body of water surrounded by trees. Since Reverend Kegel was taken with leg cramps and also had to vomit several times because he had drunk water too quickly, we stayed there for about two hours.

Then we set out again in a long file, one behind the other. The sun burned down, but fortunately there was a breeze from time to
[484] time. To make their return journey easier, the Indians set fire to all the grass they found. Suddenly, in an unburned patch of grassland, we saw a pair of spotted jaguars engaged in amorous play. My camarada Daniel shot at them with his gun. Both animals ran away, one of them bleeding. Daniel with the gun and two Indians with bow
[231] and club vainly ran after them. The two Tapirapé dogs who were with us behaved in rather sorry fashion. One of them jumped about a little and barked, while the other did not even find courage for that.

Two hours later we reached Lake Tucunaré, where we found
[136] numerous mosquitoes. It took us three or four hours to go from there to Porto Salvação, along an old Indian trail on very hard and hot ground.

[97:53] It took us, therefore, 13 or 14 hours to return from the village to the river, and this was more or less the time we spent walking on the way out.

## Names of the River and its Tributaries

[Ed., one paragraph omitted.]

103 The Tapirapé Indians call the Tapirapé River aviohy (or aviuhy),
which means "fluff water," hy being "water." They are very fond of
[301] the fluff of the jabiru, duck, and vulture for body ornamentation, and
[237] they find it chiefly on this river. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 97, pp. 53-54, is omitted.]

291 (cf. Photos. 5, 25, 69). This may corroborate the conjecture of
[114] the evolutionist Von den Steinen (2, 192) that the waist cord for-
[174] merly had the function of the penis sheath. Among present-day
Tapirapé this cord may be regarded, along with the tembetá, as
[482] a prerogative of the males. It is rarely used to carry [105:88]
[412] things. Occasionally they will hang a comb from it, or in recent
times a pair of scissors as well.

Dr. Charles Wagley told me that in 1939 he found straps for
114 carrying children that were worn by the Tapirapé women over the
854 shoulder and across the chest. In 1937, Dominican missionaries
177 had gone up the Tapirapé River with large quantities of fabrics.
The straps were made of those fabrics. It is interesting to note
that in 1935 there were no such objects in existence. It is inter-
esting because it would have been possible to carry the children
in small hammocks. Furthermore, I had given away many pieces
of cloth which could have been used as straps for carrying children.
[171] Such straps not only are used by the neighboring Kayapó (Krause,
2, 394) but are also a typical cultural trait of the Tupí Indians.
[Ed., two sentences are omitted.] It is worth noting, however,
that straps for carrying children are not used by the eastern neigh-
bors of the Tapirapé, that is to say, the Karajá (Krause 2, 276
and Plates 12, 37, and 42).

In the case of the Tapirapé, it was apparently the numerous
pieces of fabric brought by the Dominicans in 1937 that played a
decisive role in the introduction of straps for carrying children. In
291 1935, all the fabrics and cloth articles coming from our factories
177 had a merely decorative function among those Indians. The men
[562] alone used them, since most adornments are prerogatives of their
[301] sex and such impressive ornaments as those made of feathers and
claws are worn only by them. Kamairahó, the most important
chief, liked best of all to wear a red dress which his wife had re-
ceived as a gift. Thus, the aim the giver had in mind, probably
inspired by catechizing hopes, was missed entirely for the lady
remained altogether naked while her husband was covered down to
177 the knees and below. It is worth noting, however, that in the even-
29 ing, when Kamairahó retired, he would undress and carefully fold
513 the garment. Thus, at an hour when every protection against the
mosquitoes and the cold would have seemed to me exceedingly

177
291 welcome, this important man lay in his small hammock without
[573] the slightest intention of hiding his skin, which was occasionally illuminated by the wavering flames.

[105:89] The same was true with regard to all other clothing of similar provenience. Kamairahó also possessed a large piece of fabric which he used as a sort of cloak, but only during the day and not as frequently as the dress. Vuatanamy, another influential leader, wrapped himself during the hottest hours of the day in a heavy poncho, which was of such good quality that I tried to find out the name of the person who had given out such presents (cf. Photo. 58). Then the evil tongues told me that this Gaucho gar-
[797] ment had belonged to a missionary, who lost it unwittingly with the full cooperation of Vuatanamy. The former owner may derive some consolation from the fact that his unintended beneficiary continued to sleep naked through mosquito bites and cold spells.

The shirts, vests, and trousers that I gave to some of the young men were also restricted to daytime use. The enthusiasm for this kind of ornament lasted only a few days. Then the law of the least effort prevailed, and the pieces were put away in a corner of the house. Incidentally, of all my gifts, the vests were the least valued. Their new owners noted signs of wear with obvious displeasure, and perhaps also felt that since the vests had no sleeves they were mere fragments of jackets and thus scorned by the Whites.

The aim of these Indians, however, was to be esteemed by the
648 Whites by conforming to their behavior. I do not mean to say that
177 this was the aim of every Tapirapé. There were some, however, who made it quite clear. There was, for example, Kamairá, the tallest and sturdiest man in Tampiitáua and a leader on certain occasions. Kamairá sometimes liked to use a rather dirty rag as a loincloth. This was the only loincloth I saw in the tribe, and its
[797] use was probably inspired by a desire to reach the ideal proclaimed by some missionary with highly modest sentiments.

Such propensities for adaptation, however, did not preclude
177 the use of ornaments furnished by us, even when such objects had
291 never appeared on our own bodies. Thus, Vuatanamy wore a
● 301 multicolored cap (cf. Photo. 68); Kamanané, the song leader, liked to wear a piece of brightly colored cloth on his head; the
177 red and black cardboard wrapper of my soap contributed to the
301 mosaic of bird feathers that adorned a dance mask; and beads were

177 301 the favorite ornament of both sexes, of adults as well as children (cf. Photos. 3, 4, 5, 8, and many others).

The Tapirapé showed the same love for those beads as did the 301 Karajá, wanting always the smallest and whitest ones (cf. Photo. [171] 2) and showing intense dislike for those of other colors and those made of clear [105:90] glass. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the beads I saw were used merely as necklaces. It is true that these Indians are also very fond of deck- [855] ing out their children in these ornaments, and the larger the number of beads at the neck of a girl, the more beautiful she seems in everyone's eyes. People often borrow beads from each other to enhance this sort of beauty, and not only do married couples use their beads in turn, but this is also done between parents and children and between friends belonging to different families.

Beads were the object of the only theft between two Tapirapé [674] committed during my stay at Tampiitáua. When Maeynã was deserted by his wife and hung his hammock next to that of Taipá, a matronly widow, she appeared on the following morning with beads around her neck. [Ed., the last sentence, which concludes the section in Vol. 105, is omitted; there is no section in Vol. 106.]

[107:107] Tapirapé of both sexes usually wear their hair cut 302 straight across the forehead just above the eyes, so that it cannot fall across the face (Photos. 3 and 28). They do allow it to grow on the sides and in the back, however. Some of the men, women, and children sometimes part their hair anywhere on the forehead, thus partly baring it (Photos. 59, 61, and 63). The hair reaches shoulder length in the back, and this occurs more frequently among the women than among the men (Photos. 4, 67, and 69). The latter sometimes hold it with a strip of inner bark tied around the head (Photos. 4 and 5) or gather it into a pigtail (Photos. 1, 4, and 7), while the women and children always wear it loose. The hair 171 of some boys seems to have been cut at several lengths (Photos. 2 302 and 8), as described by Krause (2, 209 and Fig. 37) for Karajá boys. It may be said that, as a rule, there are many similarities between Tapirapé and Karajá hair styles. In both tribes also, the hair of boys [856] is cut all over to half a centimeter when they are about ten years old, except for a narrow strip of hair three centimeters long that surrounds the head like a crown (cf. Krause, ibid. and Plate 43, Fig. 2).

302 set forth by ethnocentric Europeans. Among the precautionary
789 measures taken by the killer of the Tapirapé shaman, listed by Wagley (4, 16-17 [Tr., in English at 4, 72]), there is also painting the entire body with genipap and the hair with urucú. According to the same author (ibid., 11 [Tr., in English at 4, 67]), a certain Tapirapé medicine man painted his chest and chin with urucú to represent the cauí of blood that drools from the mouth of forest spirits. [Ed., the remainder of p. 127, p. 128, and all but the last paragraph of p. 129 are omitted.]

000 [108:129] Krause (2, 214) writes that the Karajá, when they paint their bodies, usually reserve the color red for men and adolescent boys, and the black for boys and young girls. He adds (ibid.), "Only once did I see a woman painted wholly with red." I wish [108:130] to note in this connection, however, that as far as our trading fabrics are concerned, the Karajá in 1935 left the red ones exclusively to the women, while the men dressed in those of other colors, such as white or green. They might already have learned from the Whites that men do not wear red. A person like the
[291] Tapirapé Kamaiahó, who had had less contact with so-called civilized people than the Karajá, hid his charms at that time under a woman's dress which had originally been red and which might be said to have remained red in spite of daily wear for weeks on end.

In view of the facts noted by Krause (ibid., 386) about the
101 northern Kayapó and by Von den Steinen (2, 184-188) about the
171 Indians of the upper Xingu basin, it may be said in summary that
302 the Tapirapé are quite sharply differentiated from their neighbors in facial and body painting, although certain similarities exist with the Karajá in torso painting, and with the Kayapó and Xingu Indians in the red "stockings." It is worth noting that such "stockings" were also used by the Tupinambá.

● 301 According to what I saw, the Tapirapé stick soft plumage
237 (aviá, aviá) chiefly on the arms and legs of children. The girl Ampirúnia was often adorned in this way. Grownups, however, also use white down glued on the arm when wearing a certain
[281] mask (Photo. 76). At the initiation ceremony, the adolescent has white down glued on the forehead, arms, torso, and thighs, with the exception of the buttocks. The glue is a resin (ykyryva in

301 The glue is a resin (ykyryva in
237 Tapirapé) used by both sexes to anoint the body and hair. Once
[314] crushed, it is mixed with peanut oil (chany). [Ed., the last two
[311] paragraphs of p. 130 and all but the last paragraph of p. 131 are
omitted.]

[108:131] Larger feather ornaments are used by the Tapirapé, as a rule, only on festive occasions. The Tapirapé Kanchovaní, however, when I invited him to come with me to the Araguaia, showed me the large red macaw feathers that he intended to wear on his head upon reaching the Karajá villages. These are the
[171] feathers prized most highly both in his own tribe and among the shore dwellers of the big river. I never saw any Tapirapé use them aside from such occasions. [Ed., the remainder of p. 131 and the first half of p. 132 are omitted.]

[108:132] The circular feather headdress is of the greatest
292 importance to the Tapirapé. Referring to its use in the Thunder
796 ceremony, Wagley writes (4, 33-34 [Tr., in English at 4, 89-90]): "... each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate
[796] headdress--the ankungitána. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer. Without exception all who
292 wore the ankungitána, even Panterí and Urukumú, showed genuine
781 fear and fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder. Before a man could put the headdress on, a shaman waved it slowly before
[756] his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific 'heat.' When Urukumú wore the ankungitána, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circuit of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid, and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panterí. Panterí likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the
787 headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song, and when
796 he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Panterí [108:133] related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: 'I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They

532 [171] of wood, plaited and woven material found by Von den Steinen (2, Figs. 94-118) among the Xingu tribes.

The cylindrical masks of the Tapirapé are also adorned with feathers (Photo. 72). In the daytime dances of these Indians, some 301 of the male participants wear one or several red macaw tail feathers vertically on the occiput (Photo. 5). On such occasions they also wore the ear ornament (Photo. 21), which I acquired in Tampiitáua and which I shall now describe. Two strings, twisted [283] counter-clockwise and consisting of two threads spun clockwise, are tied to a cotton cord twisted clockwise and consisting of two strings twisted counter-clockwise and made up in turn of two threads spun clockwise. The first two strings mentioned are each folded in the middle and placed on the rope in such a way that on one side there is a loop, and on the other the two free-swinging ends. These ends are slipped through the loop and stretched to make a knot. Each end, after being slipped through a perforated palm nut, [237] is attached to three or four tail feathers of the green oropendola (Ostinops viridis), which are yellow with black spots and up to nine centimeters long. The feathers are tied by the lower, denuded part of the stem, which is folded up at the tip for the purpose. When the cord is worn across the forehead and tied on the occiput, the [386] feathers fall over the ears. All the threads are dyed with genipap. [Ed., the last two lines of p. 136 and the first paragraph of p. 137 are omitted.]

[108:137] According to Reverend Kegel, the Tapirapé adoles- 301 cent at the initiation ceremony wears around his neck two cotton 881 strips, three centimeters wide, which hang down in front to below the knees and in the back to below the calves. These strips end in tassels, and under the tassel is a palm-nut shell, its opening facing downward, surrounded with small breast feathers of the red macaw. On each arm the boy wears a cotton cord from which hang five of these shells with the same little red feathers.

To summarize: the Tapirapé feather ornaments are not only 171 distinct from those of the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó visited by 301 Krause (2, passim), from those of the inhabitants of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen 2, 328), the Bororo (Colbacchini and Albisetti, passim), the Tupí tribe of the Urubu (Lopes 2, passim), and the Tupinambá (Métraux 2, 130-148), but also much less numerous and varied than the featherwork in any of these tribes.

171 This scarcity may be one of the consequences of the great epi-
301 demics, since the dead are buried with all their feather ornaments.
[182] In addition, the Tapirapé, as cultivators and forest Indians, have
[764] fewer opportunities to obtain the raw materials for these ornaments than the more game-oriented tribes who live close to rivers and to other areas rich in bird life.

415 Like the ancient Tupinambá (Léry 159), the Tapirapé keep the large macaw feathers in internodes of thick cane (vuanantú). [Ed., the last sentence on p. 137, which concludes the section in Vol. 108, is omitted.]

237 [109:75] I found a single specimen of a crown of jaguar claws
292 in Tampiitáua (Photo. 16). It belonged to Maninohó, who used it only for certain daytime dances (Photo. 4). Its name was simply chauvuanohó pyampé, "jaguar claw." It consisted of a wooden ring that reached one centimeter in width and 20 centimeters in diameter, wrapped in cotton thread blackened with genipap and charcoal. Not only does this thread keep the ring closed, but it also holds 14 jaguar claws, all of which are set pointing in the same direction. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

301 The use of flowers as a head ornament is unusual among South American Indians. I observed it only once in Tampiitáua. Iravuy, a married man 26 years old, returned once from the forest with a bunch of flowers in his hand. On entering the village, he met Ampitánia on the path and gave her the flowers. This girl, who was four or five years old, immediately tied them to her hair. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

304 Male Tapirapé have pierced ears. I was told that among them it is the mother who [109:76] makes these perforations in the early hours of the day following the birth of her child. She does this with the bone needle used in the manufacture of the cotton ornaments called tamankuré. Small pieces of tucum wood [Tr., Bactris setosa) or thin cane are placed in the holes, and for initiates
301 these pieces may reach two centimeters in length. [Ed., the re-
881 mainder of the paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

171 To summarize, it may be said that as far as ear ornaments and their attendant cultural traits are concerned, the Tapirapé differ
301 considerably not only from all their neighbors about whom anything is known in this connection, but from the ancient Tupinambá as well.

304 Like the ear perforation, that of the lower lip is restricted to members of the male sex among the inhabitants of Tampiitáua. According to them, it is also made by the mother with a bone [412] needle on the morning following the birth of her child. The Tapirapé do not have a generic name for the objects inserted into 301 the artificial lip opening, which vary with the age of the wearer. 237 When they want to refer to a lip ornament without specifying [192] which one, they merely say emekuana (emeguana, temekuana), or emekuaní if a small boy is concerned. Emé means "lower lip" (cheremé, "my lower lip"), kuana means "hole," and i is a diminutive (kuaní, "little hole"). The opening in a child's lip is indeed much smaller than in that of an adult such as Kamairá (Photo. 57). They insert a bone there until the time when the boy who is about to be initiated has his hair cut, and this bone grows along with its wearer (Photos. 3, 6, 25, 28, 61). Thus, a boy who was about five years old wore a wild-pig bone nine and a half centimeters long and from two to four millimeters wide, with a crosspiece about eight millimeters wide (Photo. 18). A boy of eight or ten had a deer bone 25 centimeters long and three to five [109:77] in diameter, with a crosspiece one centimeter wide (Photo. 17). Rhea bones were also used as boys' lip ornaments. The bone is introduced from the inside, so that the crosspiece remains inside the mouth to secure the ornament.

[302] When a boy's hair is cut, a year before his initiation cere- [881] mony, the deer bone is replaced with the wooden plug worn by the men (Photo. 19a). Some of those plugs contain the embedded tooth of a tapiti (Sylvilagus minensis, tampichí in Tapirapé) (Photo. 55). The plug with a tooth shown in Photograph 19a is about eight to ten millimeters in diameter and six millimeters along its full length, or in other words, four millimeters in the wooden section and two millimeters in the projecting part of the tooth. The piece that secures the plug is two centimeters wide. [824] The plugs are made with the pointed excrescences found on the trunks of a tree called tanchimoyva in Tapirapé. The one reproduced here (Photo. 19b) is 25 millimeters long and from 15 to 25 millimeters wide.

301 At the initiation ceremony, however, and only on that great 324 day, the boy wears an ornament that would qualify for the Tupi [881] name tembetá, from tembé, "lower lip," and itá, "stone." This

301 word is usually given to all the hard, stiff objects worn by Brazilian
324 Indians in the artificial lower-lip hole, except for the botoque which differs from the tembetá in shape and size (cf. Baldus and Willems 33-34 and 218). [Fig. 7 appears here.] It is true that the Tapirapé
[192] are unfamiliar with this word and speak only of itachinga, "white stone," when they point at this quartz ornament. I was told by
[135] them that the raw material is found "in large quantities" in a stream they call Tochypiá, which flows several days' journey northwest of Tampiitáua, near Moytáua, the Tapirapé village abandoned in 1932. The specimen I saw (Fig. 7) measured nine and a half centimeters along its full length and four and a half centimeters around the slender part, while the thick part was ten and a half centimeters all around and three and a half centimeters in diameter. It was the only specimen extant in Tampiitáua, and Kamairahó, in whose possession it was, did not want to let me have it at any price. This shows the importance of this ornament in the life of the tribe. Since the tembetá was no longer complete, I asked the Indian Kanió to show me how it was worn. It became

Fig. 7. Ceremonial quartz tembetá.

evident that the thicker part remains outside the mouth, for Kanió coated the other end with wax and introduced it into the lip hole (Photo. 2).

In Chapter 4 I mentioned the notices of João Manuel de Menezes,
171 Aristides de Souza Spinola, Fritz Krause, and Wilhelm Kissenberth
301 concerning the existence of Tapirapé tembetá among the [109:78] Karajá. The specimen acquired by Kissenberth (2, 72 and Fig. 15) from these Indians, which he reproduces in its actual size, has almost the same length as the fragment I saw in Tampiitáua, that is to say, 8.6 centimeters, and it too is incomplete. The difference, however, lies in the fact that the broadened, convex, plug-shaped end is missing, rather than the securing piece. The latter has the shape of a T, that is to say, it is a crosspiece like those on the

171 bone ornaments mentioned above. Its width is 27 millimeters.
301 The thin part of the tembetá is 14 millimeters wide at the point where it begins to swell to form the crosspiece.

Ehrenreich (1, 10-11 and Fig. 2a), in his monograph on the Karajá, reproduces a complete specimen and makes the following remarks: "The most precious lip ornament, which is only worn on festive occasions and which is carefully kept at other times wrapped in cotton, is a long and heavy tembetá (manutere) of rosy hyalite or quartz whose T-shaped tip is introduced into the lower lip, while the conical plug hangs underneath. The largest of the four specimens in the collection is 17.5 centimeters long. The [439] Karajá do not make these lip stones but trade for them from the Tapirapé. The elevations on the left bank of the river (Araguaia), such as the Caiapó Range, abound in this material."

The specimen reproduced by Krause (2, Fig. 62) resembles the one just mentioned. The author notes in this connection (ibid., 223-224): "Unmarried men alone use these tembetás, which they wear only at special festivities. When they marry, they present them to a young kinsman. The stone tembetá is very thick, and [304] requires previous enlargement of the lip opening. To achieve this, the Indians wear increasingly thick wooden tembetá. I saw a single specimen of a stone tembetá among the northern band. I was unable to acquire it. It was only long after leaving their village that I heard of a specimen extant among the southern band. [439] These tembetás are not made by the Karajá but by the Tapirapé, from whom the Karajá of the northern band trade for them. The people of the southern band, in turn, purchase them from the latter. They say that the current price is a dugout, an axe, a pot, and a bush knife, in short, it is very high..." [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 78 and the first two paragraphs on p. 79 are omitted.]

[109:79] The same author [Métraux] states (2, 167-168): "Among the present-day Tupi-Guarani, the Tapirapé alone have tembetás comparable in shape and material to those of the Tupinambá." [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

To summarize, the manufacture of quartz tembetá is a Tapirapé culture trait. We know of no such trait among other present-day Tupi cultures or among tribes neighboring the Tapirapé, with the exception of the northern Kayapó. Their stone tembetá,

171 however, differ from those of the Tapirapé in lacking a "plug."
301 I know of no such "plugs" on the stone lip cylinders of the ancient Tupinambá. Those found on the São Paulo coast and in the vicinity of Bahia, reproduced by H. von Ihering (apud Wegner 3, 34, Fig. 5), do not have any. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 79, p. 80, and the first two paragraphs on p. 81 are omitted.]

[109:81] To summarize, it may be said that among the Tapirapé, just as among the Tupinambá, Karajá, and Kayapó, the tembetá is an exclusively male ornament that varies in its shape and material according to the age of the wearer. The Tapirapé differ from the Tupinambá in that adults do not have the coin-shaped stone tembetá mentioned by Léry. As far as material, shape, and size are concerned, the differences between the Tapirapé, Karajá, and Kayapó tembetá are, on the whole, greater than the resemblances. The Central Tupi differ from the Tapirapé in not having any lip ornaments.

The arm and leg ornaments made of cotton dyed with urucú are a striking link between the Tapirapé and Karajá cultures. They are everyday ornaments worn by both sexes. Among the Karajá, according to [109:82] Krause (2, 226), they are "the distinctive badge of unmarried men, therefore used from earliest childhood until marriage, and in widowhood." The same author (ibid.) adds, however, that these bands may also be used by married men "if their wives are pleased with them."

Among the Tapirapé, I saw married men wearing the cotton ornaments called tamankurá in their language. This name covers three different kinds, namely, the bracelet, the garter, and the
[462] ankle band. They are all made by the women with the crochet
[412] needle (chuúnia, chu meaning "thorn"), which was originally made
[439] of bone and today, as a result of White imports, may also be of metal. Among the Karajá, this is also woman's work (cf. ibid.).

The bracelets (dexí in Karajá) are cylinders with reinforced, outcurving edges. Each of the two bracelets that had been worn by a Tapirapé man and are reproduced in Photograph 14b is 14 centimeters long, 19 centimeters in circumference at the upper end, and 17 at the lower end, while the upper edge is four centimeters wide and the lower one two and a half centimeters wide. The initial phase of their manufacture is shown in Photograph 11.

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301 I saw few of them in Tampiitáua, and those extant were worn exclusively by youths who had already been initiated (Photos. 10 and 70). Among the Karajá, however, these objects are also worn on the forearms of young girls and children (Krause, ibid., Plates 16, 18, 45, Fig. 3).

The garters (deobuté in Karajá, according to Krause, ibid.) are strips with reinforced edges and tassels hanging down the front. Indian women close them with crochet stitches directly on the leg, that is to say, just below the knee. Each of the garters in the pair reproduced in Photograph 14a, which had been used by a Tapirapé man, is two and a half centimeters wide and 25 centimeters in circumference, while the tassels are 12 centimeters long. A pair of garters belonging to a little girl had the same width, and its tassels were 20 centimeters long. Among the Tapirapé, the garters are worn by girls before puberty (Photos. 3 and 9), by boys (Photos. 28, 53, 61, and 69) and by adult males (Photos. 7, 8, 25, 26, 28, 61, and 68). The same applies to the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plates 11, 15, 16, 36, 38, 43, and 45). According to Krause (ibid., 226 and Plate 44), they frequently tie up the tassels in the back to prevent them from being an encumbrance while running and on long walks. Sometimes, among the Tapirapé, these tassels are merely cut off (Photo. 39).

Only a few little girls in Tampiitáua wore tamankurá at the ankles while I was there (Photos. 3, 9, 12). This ornament is a cylinder with a reinforced and outcurving lower edge and fringes as long as the tamankurá itself hanging from the upper edge. One specimen was 12 centimeters long, 19 centimeters in circumference at the upper end and 16 at the lower end, while the lower edge was four centimeters wide. I was told that certain social and spiritual leaders such as Kamairahó, Vuatanamy, and Urukumy had also worn similar ornaments before puberty. Among the Karajá, I saw boys as well as girls with bands at the ankles. These were distinct, however, from the corresponding tamankurá of Tapirapé girls in that they did not have an outcurving edge (cf. Krause 2, Fig. 44 and Plates 16 and 45). Their Karajá name is walaú (ibid., 226).

[109:83] According to Krause (ibid., 227), the Karajá begin to use leg bands right after birth, and cut them off and replace

171 301 them as they become too tight. The same is done by the Tapirapé. I even found in Tampiitáua a forked stick which was used as a frame to make tamankurá for the ankles of children yet to be born (Photo. 13). This fork holds one unfinished tamankurá and a finished one which is four centimeters long with an edge two centimeters wide. [Ed., the remainder of p. 83, pp. 84-86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted. Pages 84, 85, 86, and 87 contain comparative data from the Tupinambá and other tribes on wrist and leg ornaments.]

[109:87] To summarize: one of the chief resemblances between the Tapirapé, Karajá, and Javahé cultures resides in the tamankurá complex, and differences among the three cultures in this area are insignificant. Kayapó culture, as described by Krause, differs from these cultures in [109:88] the absence of this complex, which left only a few traces upon it. According to the data mentioned above, certain elements of the complex distinguish the culture of the Tapirapé from that of other Tupi Indians, as well as from that of the Xingu Indians, while other elements reveal similarities among all these cultures. Although such similarities do not prove that this complex or any part of it originated among the Tupi Indians, they do not permit the formulation of the opposite hypothesis either. It is probable that the garter should be regarded as a trait of cultural relationship between the Tapirapé, the northern Tupinambá, and other Tupi Indians. Among certain Tupi tribes (Tapirapé, Yuruna), the cotton leg ornaments differ from those of certain Gê tribes in that they are made with a crochet needle instead of being woven. It will be the task of future research to determine whether this is the case among so many tribes in both families that it may serve as a general differentiating factor between the Tupi and the Gê peoples. [Ed., end of Vol. 109.]

[110:191] Chapter 7

## The Village and the Houses

[96] 35 At the time of my visit, Tampiitaua was located in the center of a large clearing. Around each house (avuyra in Tapirapé)

855 respected by the latter through abstentions to which they submit
[784] for the child's sake over a long period of time, and not only when the child is sick. The period of physical contact also lasts longer
853 than among us. Although the statement of Father Vicente de
[114] Salvador (37), according to which certain Tupinambá mothers
[171] nursed their children "seven or eight years" is exaggerated, we may assume that the same thing occurred among those Tupi as we observed among the Tapirapé and numerous other Brazilian tribes, that is to say, a child who already plays and runs about with other children without adult supervision and who still nurses at his mother's
[171] breast. According to Lipkind (2, 187), Karajá children sleep with
513 their mother until they stop nursing. In Tampiitaua, I found one boy and one girl, each a year old, two girls of three years, and one girl of four years who slept with both parents in the same net in 1935, and two girls of one year who did so in 1947. In 1935, I found one girl of a few months, one girl of less than a year, one girl a little over a year, and one boy of three who slept with their mother, and in 1947 I found one boy of one year, one boy of two, and one boy of four who did the same. I found one girl and one boy of four and one girl of six who slept with their father in 1935 (the mother slept in an adjoining hammock with a smaller child) and one boy of two who did so in 1947. In that same year, a girl of about 10 slept with her father, a man of 35, while his wife, about seven months pregnant, who was not the girl s mother, slept in the next hammock. And in 1935, a boy of six slept with his mother's older sister while the mother slept in another house with her husband, who was not the boy's father.

The Tapirapé adorn the children with special care. I showed
301 in Chapter 6 (Photo. 13) how even before the birth they make
854 tamankurá for a child's ankles. When he is born, they proceed to adorn him with the traditional ornaments of the tribe, [127:233] and in addition they hang beads obtained from the Whites around his
[422] neck. Like everything else they may give him, these beads are acknowledged henceforth as the child's property. A museum collector may sometimes have difficulty obtaining an object owned exclusively by a child not yet old enough to understand his wish.

854 I was moved when I saw a Tapirapé mother attempt to protect her weeks-old baby against the strong noon sun while crossing the village plaza. She held it close against her abdomen and ran bent

1:Baldus--170 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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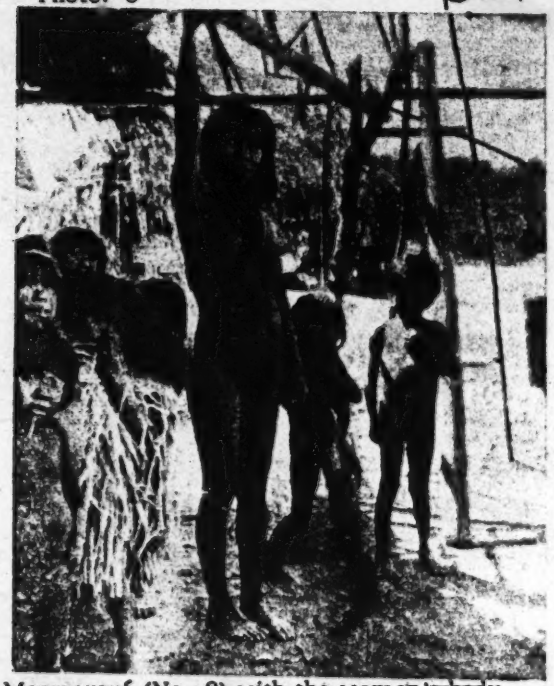
Photo. 3



Mareromyó (No. 2) with the women's body painting, boys with tembetá and girls with tamankurá.

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Photo. 4

Maninonó (No. 111), Kaunevanvynhó (No. 3), Techipy (No. 51), Inamoreo (No. 23). The woman is Tora-Maneaia (No. 100).

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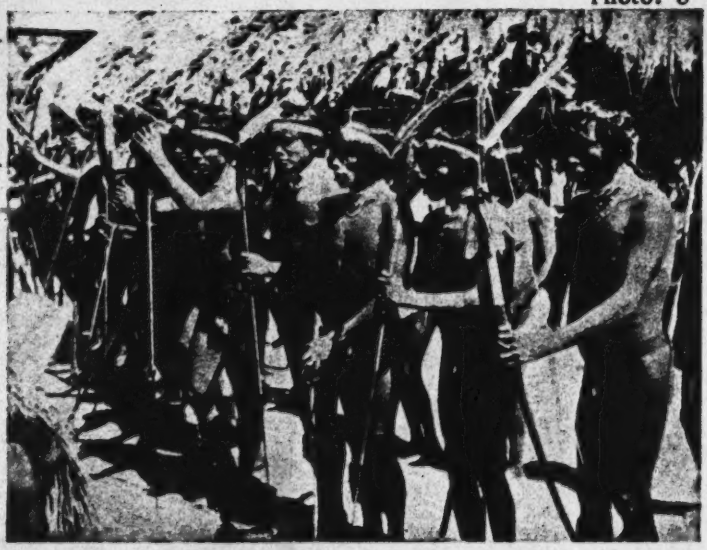
Photo. 5



The dancers of Photo. 4, with Pancheaví (No. 75) and Manupauvynghoi (No. 13) to the right of Inamoreo (No. 23).

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Photo. 6

Manavangkó (No. 87) with a bone tembetá. Auayauí (No. 93) is on his left.

1:Baldus--172 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Photo. 7

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Woman painting her husband. The structure in the background is a summer dwelling. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

Photo. 8

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Woman anointing her husband's foot with urucú. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

1:Baldus--173 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 9

Kanuana (No. 6), painted with urucu, with girl's tamankurá at the ankles.

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Photo. 10

Tamankurá on the forearms of a youth.

1:Baldus--174 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 11

The initial phase in the making of tamankurá (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

Photo. 12

Putting the tamankurá on the girl's ankle. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

1:Baldus--175 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 14a

Garter tamankurá.

Photo. 13

Tamankurá for a child as yet unborn.

Photo. 14b

Forearm tamankurá.

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17.



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19a.

19b.

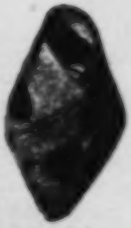

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Photo. 17. Tembetá of deer bone. -- 18. Tembetá of wild-pig bone. -- 19a. Wooden tembetá. -- 19b. Raw material for wooden tembetá. -- 20. Penis sheaths. -- 21. Ear ornament. -- 22. Small tattooing knife. -- 23. Scarifier.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Taplirape SP22



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Fig. 2

Um jovem pajé, em estado de transe, quando realizava o circuito da aldeia durante a sexta-feira da cerimônia do Trovão. Está acompanhado por dois jovens prontos a segurá-lo, se ele cair.

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A young shaman, in a trance state, as he makes the village circuit during the day session of the Thunder Ceremony. He is accompanied by two young men ready to catch him if he should fall.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Fig. 4

Outro jovem novição no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Também está doente por engolir fumaça de tabaco, e pertence a um estado de transe. Como o do fig. 3, cair antes de alcançar a segunda casa do círculo.

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Another young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill too from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. Like the other of fig. 3 he fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

only by their respective owners. I do not know, however, whether the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the preparation of the principal chief's garden.)

The ãntaiva of the Anantxú were the chief Tampantxóa and Vuiraí, and those of the Vuirantxinió were the chief Kamairá and the sorcerer--medicine man Manoobó.

In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were called Vuanankóra, Vuirantxíha, and Vuirantxinoí. The last one is now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tãnãvé or Anantxú belong to the first one, and the sons of the Vuirantxinió to the second one. The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were Vuirantxinió. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work-group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution, for "the women and girls stay home when the men do collective work."

[ 98] They say that each apatxirú group has its specific ornament for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I was not with the Tapirapé. The Tãnãvé wear three large red macaw feathers hanging from the head onto the back. The Anantxú also wear three large macaw feathers in the same fashion, but two are from the blue and yellow macaw and only the middle one is red; in addition, they wear on their arms the white breast fluff of the king vulture. The Vuirantxinió are not differentiated from the Tãnãvé. The Vuanankóra wear smaller red feathers from the tail of the macaw, hanging from the head onto the back. The Vuirantxíha are similarly adorned and also wear macaw fluff on their arms.

Concerning the word apatxirú, Curt Nimuendajú wrote me as follows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word apatxirú is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is omitted.]

[ 99] On July 30, Kamairahó invited me to go with him to the apatxirú. On the previous day, Chief Tampantxóa had already begun the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working

6:Baldus--13 E-5 (1935,1947)1948 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Plate 1

Fig. 1. Young Tapirapé woman with body painting characteristic of women.

Fig. 2. Tapirapé young man with frizzy hair, forearm ornaments, and body painting.

/409 cont./

482 485 [171] The back baskets are similar in construction to those of the Karajá, but considerably smaller. One back-basket is plaited out of two palm fronds, like those of the Karajá; /410/ the ribs form the two longitudinal poles, the interwoven inner part of the fronds the bottom, the outer part the open-work edge. Their dimensions are 87 centimeters in length, 26 centimeters in width, 14 centimeters in height. Carrying bands are absent. The other back basket (Pl. 69, Ill. 5), by contrast, is made of only one frond in that the rib is broken twice and in this way forms the two longitudinal poles and the bottom cross-pole. To strengthen the longitudinal poles, two separate poles are tied on. The bottom plaiting and the lateral rods are /Ills. 269 and 270 appear here/ made considerably more neatly than in the previous one. It is only 68 centimeters long, 25 centimeters wide, and 15 centimeters high.

The bags are all made out of one palm frond in such a way that the rib forms the lower cross-edge, above which the bag, plaited out of pinnae, is built up (Pl. 69, Ills. 6-8). It is rectangular in shape throughout and is made with a simple one-up-one-down plaiting. Where carrying bands are present, they are fastened to the long side or the transverse side. /411/ Only one bag (Pl. 69, Ill. 9) is different in shape; its upper edge is drawn together tightly, so that only a small round opening remains, below which the bag bulges out in all directions. The measurements of the bag are: 10-16 centimeters high, 15-37 centimeters long.

301 411 Concerning other finds, there are still to be mentioned: a tassel of red cotton yarn that corresponds exactly to a cut-off, youth's neck-tassel from the Karajá. And then two arrows. One of these (Ill. 270a) has a flat wooden point 43 centimeters long with barbs cut out on two sides and double-edged sharpness. The taquara shaft is 110 centimeters long and bears in back the two-part feathering, the twist of which makes a quarter turn and which is fastened only at the upper and lower end by winding. The upper winding consists of black cotton; into it little red feathers are tied toward the inside. The space between the feathers is

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Plate 2

Fig. 3. Tapirapé youth with another type of body painting.

Fig. 4. Young Tapirapé woman with body painting characteristic of women.

Fig. 5. Tapirapé man named Iñavay, with body painting.

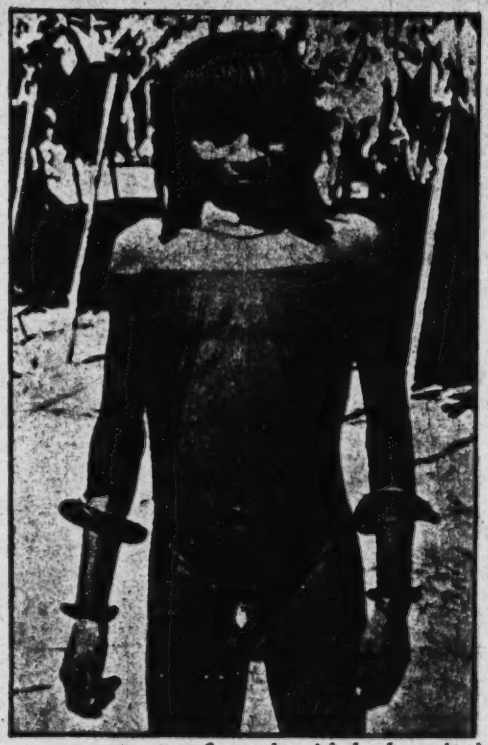

Fig. 6. Tapirapé youth with body painting and forearm ornaments.

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Plate 4

Fig. 7. Tapirapé girl with the ornaments characteristic of immature girls.

Fig. 8. Tapirapé youth.

881 On the eve of the ritual, the preparations begin. The youth's
[302] body is painted black with genipap. On his face, a black line is drawn under the mouth and a circle under the eyes, which are elongated with a line at the corners. The father or uncles put the last
[346] touches on a large diadem. At dawn on the day of the ceremony, the youth is led to the large ceremonial house built in the center of the Tapirapé village, and his hair is set to support the large
[292] [237] ankungitana (diadem) made of numerous macaw, parrot, and duck feathers fastened to a base of muriti palm and hard wood and weighing about five kilograms. The hair is trimmed and tied into a roll
[302] on the nape of the neck with a cord at least five meters long, to provide a base for the fastening of the large diadem. The lower lip
[301] is adorned with a ceremonial quartz tembetá [Tr., cylindrical plug].

The ceremony itself begins late in the morning. For 24 hours
[535] the youth dances continually, surrounded by his fellow tribesmen and accompanied by the songs and dances of men and women. He dances ill at ease, for he is soon tired by the weight and discomfort of the
773 ornaments. Tapirapé tradition explains this ritual as a test of en-
881 durance for the young men. According to one legend, a Tapirapé ancestor called Xavanamu and his son Makanci were captured by an enemy tribe. Xavanamu was eaten, and his son was forced to dance under the weight of a large diadem and the numerous ornaments that covered his body. At the end of a long day of dancing, Makanci, who had retained his strength, managed to flee and disappeared into the woods followed closely by his foes. He vanished on reaching a large hollow trunk. Nowadays, Tapirapé youths wear ornaments similar to those left behind by their ancestor.

In 1941, when we witnessed the "hair-tying" of the youth
881 Kancinampiô, several Tapirapé predicted that he would cry "for he would become very tired during the night," but the boy stood up valiantly to the test. It is in another way, however, that men recall their initiation. One of them said, "When I danced, I was more beautiful than at any other time." It is true that at no other time of life does the individual get so much attention and make such a show with such rich ornaments. And this during adolescence!

Thus, the Tapirapé turn this ceremony into an opportunity for fun, which their men recall more or less in the same manner as our youths recall their first ball.

11: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1945 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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[Facing p. 16]

Tapirapé Indian in the Coming-of-age Dance.

[illegible] — [illegible] — [illegible]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



592 from many villages in the one village, many combinations of relatives now form residential groups.

### DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Both sexes are nude. Men tie the prepuce over the glans penis with a palm fiber. Both men and women pull out pubic, axillary, and all facial
302 hair. Even eyebrows are considered ugly. Men wear cotton string ligatures around their legs, just below the knee. Men, and sometimes women,
301 wear large cotton wrist bands crocheted directly on to their arms. Young boys and girls sometimes wear similar ornaments on their ankles; these ornaments are painted with a thick coat of red urucú dye and have round cuffs, often 2 to 3 inches (5 to 7.5 cm.) wide. Necklaces of beads given by Neo-Brazilians are highly valued and used almost to excess. Men
[302] paint their feet and the calves of their legs red with urucú; both men and women trace a multitude of patterns on their body with black genipa dye.

304 Men have their lower lip pierced and wear a small wooden lip plug. Two years or so after women have begun sexual life, patterns in the form of a three-quarter moon are made on their faces by scarification with a paca
[386] (*Cuniculus paca*) tooth knife. Charcoal and plant juices are rubbed into the wounds to leave dark blue designs.

### TRANSPORTATION

[501] The *Tapirapé* do not have canoes. All cargoes are carried by the men
482 in a carrying knapsack made from buriti-palm fibers strapped to their backs.

### MANUFACTURES

286 **Weaving.**—Hammocks are made by women from native cotton spun on
462 wooden spindles. The technique used is the simple twine weaving used by the *Tupinamba* and other *Tupí* groups.

323 **Ceramics.**—At present, the art of ceramics is declining. Pottery is
462 usually for cooking, and is made by women. Sometimes it bears incised
531 geometrical decorations.

531 **Gourds.**—Gourds are decorated with geometric incisions.

**Basketry.**—The most highly developed basketry techniques among the
285 *Tapirapé* are woven and twilled. Two types of baskets are flexible and nonflexible ones; both are of buriti fiber. They generally have a quadrangular base and a narrow, round top, and are used mostly to store manioc or maize flour. Flat, round baskets are used as cotton containers
[53] or flour sifters. They are usually ornamented with motifs originating in the weave itself; frequently the finished basket is smeared with black genipa and odd strands are scraped off, giving a negative decorative effect.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



A son

and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite 554 child, being given special attention and education and being highly decor- 858 ated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life.

**Puberty.**—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over 882 the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body [302] is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip [301] plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong.

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied [302] at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation 881 for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers [292] set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, *top, left*). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance.

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual [302] relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of [582] women.

**Marriage.**—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and 621 people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antag- [578] onism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable [582] intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage mar- [574] riage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people.

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at 582 least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule.

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage [161] rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there [182] are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are [178] also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where [591] his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
[P. 397]
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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# 14

# Champukwi of the Village of the Tapirs

Charles Wagley

123 the subject of conversation when listening to a strange language.)
[199] Then, of course, our presence was materially valuable—for the salt, knives, needles, beads, mirrors, and other presents we brought were greatly appreciated. However, within a very short time some of these people began to emerge as individuals. Awanchowa, a small boy of about 6, followed me about and literally haunted our little house, staring at our large bag of salt which he ate with the same relish children in other cultures eat sweets. Then there was Tanui, a woman of middle age (whose hair was cropped short indicating that a near relative had recently died) who often brought us presents of food.
123 Gradually most of the villagers emerged as distinctive personalities
115 and among them was Champukwi. I cannot remember when I first came to know him as an individual, but his name begins to appear regularly in my field notebooks about one month after our arrival. Soon, he became my best informant, and after a time, an inseparable companion.

115 In 1939 Champukwi must have been about 25 years of age. He
[141] was tall for a Tapirapé male, measuring perhaps about 5 feet 6 inches, strongly built but lean, and weighing, I should judge, about
[302] 150 lbs. Like all Tapirapé men he wore his hair in bangs across his forehead with a braided pigtail tied at the back of his neck. He was somewhat of a dandy, for his feet and the calves of his legs
[301] were painted bright red every evening with *rucu*. From time to time he painted an intricate design on his body, and he wore crocheted
[554] disc-like wrist ornaments of cotton string dyed red. He was obviously a man of some prestige among men of his age, for youths and younger men treated him with deference, always finding a seat for him on the bench that was built against one wall of our house.
[797] I soon learned that he, too, had spent a short period at a mission
[191] station several years earlier and that he knew a few words of Portuguese. He was married and had a daughter about 2 years of age. His wife, hardly attractive according to my American tastes, appeared to be somewhat older than he, and was pregnant when we first met.

115 Champukwi seemed more patient than other Tapirapé with my at-
22 tempts to use his language and to seek information. He would repeat
[126] a word, a phrase, or a sentence several times so that I might write it down phonetically. He resorted to his meager Portuguese and even to mimicry to explain what was meant. His patience was of course

**Charles Wagley**

He was always pleased when
115 we came to listen, particularly if we made the motions of joining in.
123 He was an excellent wrestler in Tapirapé style, in which each op-
[526] ponent takes a firm grip on the pigtail of the other and attempts to throw him to the ground by tripping. Our wrestling match was brief although I was much taller than he; and his match with Valentim Gomes, who outweighed him by more than forty pounds, was
[186] a draw. Unlike so many who get a glimpse at a seemingly "superior" cultural world, Champukwi never became dissatisfied with his own way of life.

122 In June of 1940, my period of residence among the Tapirapé
123 Indians ended. The waters on the savanna which had to be crossed
[101] afoot to get to the Tapirapé River where our canoe was moored had not completely receded. Many Tapirapé friends, among them Champukwi, offered to carry our baggage, made lighter after a final dis-
122 tribution of gifts, down to the river. The night before our departure
123 a festival with the usual songfest was held to celebrate the final phase
881 of a ceremony during which a youth, this time the nephew of Kamiraho, became a man. Some Brazilian tribes make this occasion
[171] an ordeal by such means as applying a frame of stinging wasps to
[301] the body of the novice, but it is characteristic of the Tapirapé that
[302] the "ordeal" consists only of decorating the youth with a headdress of magnificent red macaw feathers, painting his body elaborately, and making him the center of dancing and singing—although the youth must himself dance continuously for a day and a night. Cham-
122 pukwi led the singing most of the night, but at dawn he came to
123 our house to supervise the packing of our belongings into the basket-like cases made of palm which are used for carrying loads of any kind. He divided the baggage among the younger men. Even some of the older household leaders decided to accompany us but they, of course, did not carry anything. Our trip was slow because everyone was tired after the all-night festival and because of the water through
[501] which we had to wade. At one point, rafts had to be made to trans-
[481] port our baggage across a still-swollen stream. Since the Tapirapé do not swim—or, like Champukwi, they swim but poorly—it was the job of the *tori* to swim and push the rafts. I had the honor of swimming across the stream, pushing the respected chieftain, Kamiraho. (How he got back, I shall never know.) After a day and a half, we reached the landing on the Tapirapé River, and the next

171 if they had cut the rope higher up, the woman would have come
826 out beautiful, and then all Indians would be white and beautiful" (Lehmann-Nitsche 6, 195, 196). As we can see, "white" and "beautiful" are clearly equated in this myth.

826 Just as most Tapirapé do not fit their own ideal of beauty with regard to skin color, they do not fit it either with regard to stature, for while most of them are small, they like large men.

They also like a body where none of the parts peovided by nature are mining, except for the hair, which is cut on specific [302] occasions, and the body hair, which is carefully plucked. For this reason, namely, for esthetic motives, Chief Kamairabó would not allow one of his incisors to be removed, although it was quite loose and the source of frequent complaints on his part.

Like most Brazilian Indians who do not yet live in close 291 and continuous contact with the Whites, the Tapirapé, both men [171] and women, go altogether naked. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] And like most Indians in this country, the Tapirapé always go barefoot. The men merely wear the penis sheath and sometimes the waist cord.

When I asked the Tapirapé for the name of their penis 171 sheath, someone first told me the word nobó. This is the name 192 given to the penis in Karajá, but those Indians do not use a sheath. They tie the prepuce just over the glans with a cotton cord that they call noodakín (Krause 2, 204). Later I heard among the Tapirapé the word cherakuichivohúa to designate "my penis sheath," from cherakui, "my penis," and húa, which is related to the word for "leaf." [Ed., the first paragraph of p. 84 is omitted.]

[105:84] The penis sheath of the Tapirapé is made of a 291 strip of inner bark, from one and a half to two centimeters wide, [287] taken from the stalk of the central leaf of a palm called pinavó by these Indians and simply "palm tree" by the non-Indian population of the Araguaia. As a rule, each man possesses a number of these strips, hung in bundles and rolls on the walls of his hut.

To make the sheath, the strip is folded so that its tips nearly join. Then the tips are slipped together into the resulting knot. [531] This produces a funnel with oblique walls, sometimes adorned with a few burns made with lightly applied live coals (Photo. 20). A special device prevents the funnel from opening too easily: before

177 301 the favorite ornament of both sexes, of adults as well as children (cf. Photos. 3, 4, 5, 8, and many others).

The Tapirapé showed the same love for those beads as did the 301 Karajá, wanting always the smallest and whitest ones (cf. Photo. [171] 2) and showing intense dislike for those of other colors and those made of clear [105:90] glass. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the beads I saw were used merely as necklaces. It is true that these Indians are also very fond of deck- [855] ing out their children in these ornaments, and the larger the number of beads at the neck of a girl, the more beautiful she seems in everyone's eyes. People often borrow beads from each other to enhance this sort of beauty, and not only do married couples use their beads in turn, but this is also done between parents and children and between friends belonging to different families.

Beads were the object of the only theft between two Tapirapé [674] committed during my stay at Tampiitsua. When Maeyma was deserted by his wife and hung his hammock next to that of Taipá, a matronly widow, she appeared on the following morning with beads around her neck. [Ed., the last sentence, which concludes the section in Vol. 105, is omitted; there is no section in Vol. 106.]

[107:107] Tapirapé of both sexes usually wear their hair cut • 302 straight across the forehead just above the eyes, so that it cannot fall across the face (Photos. 3 and 28). They do allow it to grow on the sides and in the back, however. Some of the men, women, and children sometimes part their hair anywhere on the forehead, thus partly baring it (Photos. 59, 61, and 63). The hair reaches shoulder length in the back, and this occurs more frequently among the women than among the men (Photos. 4, 67, and 69). The latter sometimes hold it with a strip of inner bark tied around the head (Photos. 4 and 5) or gather it into a pigtail (Photos. 1, 4, and 7), while the women and children always wear it loose. The hair 171 of some boys seems to have been cut at several lengths (Photos. 2 302 and 8), as described by Krause (2, 209 and Fig. 37) for Karajá boys. It may be said that, as a rule, there are many similarities between Tapirapé and Karajá hair styles. In both tribes also, the hair of boys [852] is cut all over to half a centimeter when they are about ten years old, except for a narrow strip of hair three centimeters long that surrounds the head like a crown (cf. Krause, ibid. and Plate 43, Fig. 2).

171 Another occasion to cut the hair short is the death of a close
302 relative, when not only the males (cf. Photos. 51 and 52) but the
765 opposite sex as well (Photo. 64) are compelled to undergo this procedure. This custom is quite widespread in South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

302 Among the Tapirapé at the present time, the hair is cut with
[177] scissors received from the Whites. [Ed., the remainder of p. 107
[412] is omitted, which includes the beginning of the sentence finished at the top of p. 108.]

[107:108] . . .in 1614, Father Claude d'Abbeville (267)
302 wrote of the hair of the Tupinambá of Maranhão: "[Ed., two
171 sentences are omitted.] They [the women] are quite meticulous
515 about combing their hair and do not fail to wash it and rub it with oil and Roucou every morning" [translated from French]. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

Some Tapirapé comb their hair with great care, although they do not wash it as frequently as the Tupinambá women observed by Father Claude, or massage it as often with oil and urucú. They
[314] would no doubt anoint it more frequently if it were not for the scarcity of the raw material, a palm nut that grows only at certain times of year. This scarcity impelled an honest matron to steal from us our only bottle of oil, which we had brought to remedy the lack of fat in the diet. Instead of lining our stomachs, the entire liter of nutritious liquid ended up on the good woman's head. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 108 is omitted.]

302 [107:109] The Tapirapé also put urucú in their hair, but only
[881] on special occasions. They apply it to boys on the festive day of
[764] initiation, to girls on the day when their first menstruation ends, and to the dead. It may have religious significance, but I cannot tell.

515 Aside from hair combing, delousing is a gesture of love. The
593 bugs caught end their existence between the teeth of the catcher, who thus swallows the blood of his or her beloved. This tender duty is performed on a mutual basis by parents and children and by loving spouses. Girls show the greatest enthusiasm for this type of quest. It does happen, however, that an old man still delouses an already married son (cf. Photo. 55).

826 Not only do they avoid losing the blood stolen by lice and
261 mosquitoes by eating the culprits caught in the act, but they also

261 826 swallow the hair plucked from their own body. Indeed, like most
302 South American Indians, the Tapirapé have the custom of carefully plucking all the hair from their faces and bodies. They refer to this procedure as ekopaé. They remove body hair by covering it first with hot ashes and then plucking it out with their fingers. They likewise pluck out their whiskers exclusively with the fingers. [443] To remove eyebrows and eyelashes, however, they use a special instrument consisting simply of the caryopsis of a certain grass plant [Tr., identified in a later, omitted passage as the fruit of Streptogyne crinita Beauv., according to F.C. Hoehne (3)] which is equipped with teeth forming hooks at acute angles. The Indian holds this pod between the right thumb and index finger, while holding the eyebrow or eyelashes of the person he is about to beautify with the corresponding fingers of the left hand. Then he places the little hooks against the stretched hair, pushing down. A few hairs are invariably caught in this natural implement and removed along with it. [Ed., the last half of p. 109, which includes a detailed description of the use of Streptogyne crinita *Beauv. as an instrument for depilation, pp. 110-113, and the first* two lines of p. 114 are omitted.]

304 [88] [107:114] The Tapirapé apply scarification to men only. They first do this at the time when the boy who is to be initiated is given a haircut, that is to say, one year before the initiation ceremony. The procedure is repeated several times until marriage, and not infrequently it is carried out even after that. The Indians make vertical scratches on the skin of the arm between the shoulder and the elbow, and on the front part of the leg both on the thigh and between the knee and foot. The procedure is carried out by a mature man. Immediately afterward, the patient steps into the water to wash. It is extremely rare for inflammation [827] to result. The aim of the procedure is to "give strength." According to Wagley (4, 17), the killer of a sorcerer--medicine man, in 751 order to protect himself and the rest of his tribe against any possible 114 danger, must, among other precautionary measures, "scratch his 304 chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dogfish, just as he did in the course of the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult" [Tr., given in English in 4, 72]. I obtained no such information while I was in Tampiitíua.

304 413 [192] The scarifying tool has the same name as the scratches it makes, namely, chainiíua. It is a triangular gourd fragment

304 equipped with a row of embedded teeth, their points sticking out
413 of the outer, convex side of the piece. The opposite side[1] is com-
[237] pletely covered with a thick black layer of beeswax. The[A] teeth are those of the so-called "dog-fish," alkyngapeva in Tapirapé, a scaly fresh-water fish of the Characinidae family, Hydrocyon subfamily, whose colloquial name alludes to its dog-like dentition (cf. Rodolfo von Ihering, 165). The 17 teeth of the scarifier I acquired in Tampiitsúa (Photo. 23) jut out three to six centimeters. This piece is eight centimeters long and measures five and a half centimeters at its broadest part.

304 According to information obtained from the Tapirapé, the
881 girls are tattooed during the rainy season following their first menstruation. The operation is carried out at nightfall, between January and March, when there is tall maize, plentiful game crowded together by the rising waters, and much merrymaking as a result of all this. The Indians tattoo their chin and cheeks (Fig. 1). The cheek tattoo reaches below the ear, so that a small part of it is covered by the hair. The crossing vertical
304 and horizontal incisions look like a fine-meshed net. This
824 design is called kohova. The wounds are first rubbed with a kaauna leaf (káa, "plant"; una, "black, dark blue"). This leaf, previously squeezed into a turtle shell (chauvatí-ampekuera) full of water, is wet with its own juice mixed in
[386] water. It is the juice of kaauna that yields the indelible dark-blue tone of the tattooing. The leaf is held close to the wound for some time. Then, the Indians blow crushed cotton leaves
[278] with a pipe (amynichó-ha(u)va) onto the wounds. It may be that they do this to alleviate the pain, for the girls cry a great deal [107:115] throughout the operation, and the tattooed parts become terribly swollen (ivuvurá). As at

Fig. 1

302 the time of their first menstruation, the girls have so much urucú
891 in their hair that their coiffure, mixed with the greasy substance, looks like a sort of cap. They are not, however, painted with

[1] [of the scarification tool.—Analyst]

302 genipap. They have given up for keeps the tamankuré or cotton
881 ornaments they wore in childhood. Some of them change names,
[553] if they did not already do so at the time of their first menstruation. They eat nothing but green-maize cauí [a soup]. Both men and women sing the kaó, a kind of national anthem. When the whole ceremony is over, the girl is painted with the genipap stripes characteristic of women.

304 The tattooing is done by certain mature men. They need not
412 be sorcerer--medicine men, but some of them are, like Urukumy for example (Photo. 53). The aim of the tattooing is to differentiate the women from the girls. The small knife used to make the incisions (Photo. 22) is called voamé. It consists of a fragment of
[297] rodent incisor embedded in a small piece of thin cane wrapped in a narrow strip of philodendron inner bark. This strip strengthens
[344] the small rod, which was previously covered with resin to provide a better hold. The tooth fragment in the knife reproduced here (Photo. 22) consists of that part of a paca (kanoanó) incisor nearest to
[237] the gum, and thus not of its cutting section. The edge was created by scraping the fragment with a knife. Sometimes the fragment is also taken from the tooth of an agouti (akutí, ankuchí), another rodent that, like the paca, belongs to the Caviidae family.

304 Krause (2, 404) writes of Tapirapé tattooing: "Tattooing exists
114 among married women; they cut vertical lines in their chins, and a line that goes down obliquely from either side of the mouth." As we can see, this does not quite agree with the tattooing I observed. And the drawings published by Krause (ibid., Fig. 262), although they disagree with the description above by the same author in showing several oblique lines originating at the corners of the lips, rather than just one, still do not resemble the crossed horizontal and vertical lines that I saw on the faces of Tapirapé women. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 115, pp. 116-119 which include several pages of comparative data on scarification, and all but the last paragraph on p. 120 are omitted.]

107:120] To summarize, we may say that the special character
304 of female tattooing differentiates the Tapirapé from all neighboring
171 tribes about which anything is known in this connection. The data
[114] of Herrmann Meyer about the Aravine and their tattooing, which are given in Chapter 4 of this work, are not sufficient to be taken into account in studying this topic. It should be pointed out further

It should be pointed out further
304 171 882 that tattooing as a badge of the marriageable girl is found in South America not only in such widely separated regions as Guiana and Paraguay, but also among tribes belonging to such distinct linguistic families as the Karaib [Carib] and the Tupí. [Ed., end of Vol. 107.]

302 386 [108:121] Body painting is widely used among the Tapirapé. In this respect, however, there are differences dictated by sex, age, and the particular individual involved. The colors used are: black, obtained from the juice of the genipap (chenipáua in Tapirapé), the fruit of a tree of the Rubiaceae family (Genipa americana, Lin.); and red extracted from the pulp of urucú, the fruit of a shrub of the Bixaceae family (Bixa orellana, Lin.). [192] The Tapirapé, too, call it urukú, lending the vowel a sound that lies between u and a closed o. The manufacture of the paste derived from this fruit is not as simple as the obtention of genipap juice and will be described in Chapter 10 [Tr., apparently not published].

The genipap is simply chewed, as Staden (v. 3) related of the [171] Tupinambá, and the juice is left in a gourd. Among the Tapirapé, [462] both men and women do this work, allowing the juice to run directly from their mouths into the container. The liquid is clear, like water, and turns black upon drying. The juice can only be used as a dye when the fruit is almost ripe, at the time when it stops growing, for the staining quality vanishes when the rind turns brownish and the pulp grows soft. This dye, according to Staden 302 (ibid.) and [108:122] Soares de Sousa (215), lasts for nine days on the skin and cannot be washed off before then. I must say, however, that on my skin it did not endure more than two or three days.

Among the women, body painting with genipap was so widespread that the absence of this painting gave me almost the same feeling as I get when I see a "civilized" lady in a negligee at the wrong hour. The design uniformly used by all members of the female sex, with the exception of children and old women, is completely different from the [Fig. 2 appears here] various types of body painting displayed by the men. It is called ioképaí, while [192] kuantiana is the generic term for all designs, including those on plaited objects, gourds, etc. Straight lines stretch down obliquely from between the breasts to the belly and thighs. The latter are

● 302 covered, in addition, with a number of irregular lines, and so is the leg from the knee to the ankle, and sometimes the arm and forearm as well (Photos. 3, 4, 7, 8, 48, 67). The woman is not [841] painted during menstruation. [108:123] As soon as the blood stops flowing, however, the characteristic lines on the belly and thighs are renewed. Photograph 67 shows a girl of about 13 who has not yet menstruated, but who nevertheless wears the women's painting. [513] This is because she shares her sleeping hammock with a 20-year-old boy.

The chief genipap paintings used by the men are, with slight

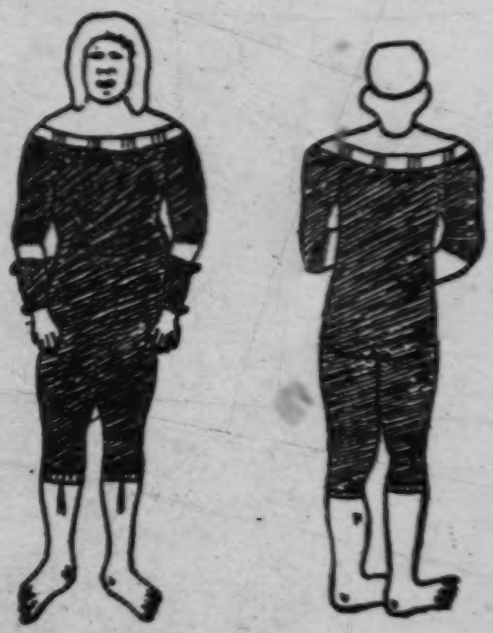

Fig. 2. Vuangkané male body painting.

[825] variations, (1) vuangkané (Fig. 2), the name of a water bird, [Fig. 3 appears here] possibly a kingfisher (Ceryle spec.); (2) ipihaufua (Fig. 3), the name of a fish; (3) chankoaka (Fig. 4), the name of an anchinga, a spirit seen by a sorcerer--medicine man; (4) [101] kananchahó (Fig. 5), the name by which the northern Kayapó are known (cf. Ch. 4). It is doubtful that the name of this latter painting alludes to its origin. Krause (2, 386) found nothing similar [171] among the Kayapó. [Ed., the last sentence on p. 123 and the first paragraph of p. 124 are omitted.]

302 [108:124] [Fig. 4 appears here.] I have sometimes seen Tapirapé men whose painting merely consisted of a series of handprints scattered all over the body. They called this vaipapé, a word [192] which may be derived from vaitepe, "many," and pa, "hand."

The Tapirapé often blacken their hands with genipap or outline their mouths with it. In the vuangkané painting (Fig. 2), the man also has a black border around the mouth. This decora- [171] tion is also used by the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Fig. 48a). [108: 125] The genipap design on the inside of a man's thigh (Fig. 6) [584] was drawn by his lover at the outset of their relationship. They call it anampaí and maintain that it is a "fish." They also draw

Fig. 3. Ipihauáua male body painting.

it on the arms.

While the above-mentioned male paintings are worn by the 302 men from their initiation up to the time when they no longer 881 participate in daytime dances, boys have their entire bodies blackened with genipap for a whole year preceding the day of their

302 initiation. [Fig. 5 appears here.] I noted the same custom
881 among the Karajá. According to Reverend Kegel's observations,
[171] the Tapirapé boy who is about to be initiated bears a genipap design on the day of the ceremony, which consists of two parallel lines with dots between them, stretching from the corners of the mouth to the ears, from the root of the nose to its tip, from the chin cavity to the Adam's apple, from the shoulder to the elbow on the front and back surface of each arm, and from each side of the chest in duplicate down to a little above the knees, with a matching design on [108:126] the back. The tips of these last

Fig. 4. Chankoaka male body painting.

eight pairs of parallel lines with dots between them are connected by two bands of the same design, one running across the shoulders and the other around the thighs.

On this occasion, the urucú paste was applied not only to the boy's hair, but also to his cotton bracelets and knee bands, as well
302 as to the lower part of his legs and to his feet. Such red "stockings"

302 are a characteristic decoration of the men (Photo. 68). I never saw a Tapirapé woman painted with urucú. [Fig. 6 appears here.] Only a few girls sometimes wore urucú designs on their bodies, for example, Kanuana, a pampered eight-year-old girl (Photo. 9).
[531] The girls' cotton ornaments are also dyed with this staining ma-
[881] terial, which also serves, incidentally, to plaster a girl's hair on the day when her first menstruation ends.
[462] As a rule, the women paint not only other members of the female sex, but also their sons, lovers, and husbands. I once saw a man painting a little girl, however.

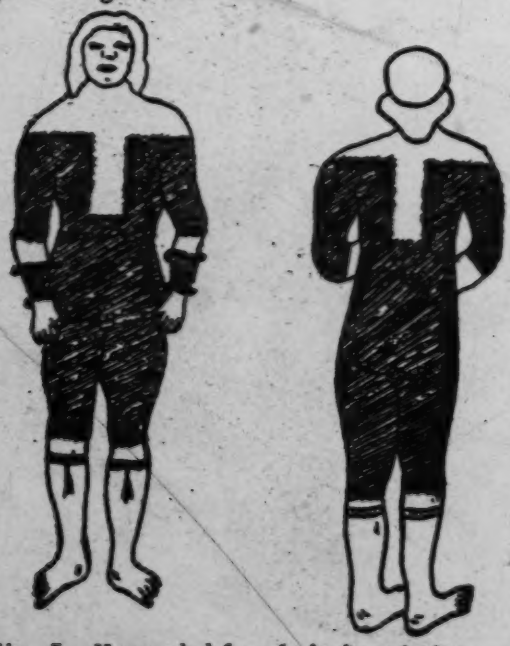

Fig. 5. Kananchahó male body painting.

Genipap paintings, as well as those done with urucú, are applied simply with the hands, that is to say, without any implement (Photo. 7 and 8).

There are authors who regard the application of urucú on the
114 skin as a protection against the rays of the sun and against insect
302 bites. Experiments proved that one of the properties of urucú is its
751 failure to absorb solar heat in any but very modest amounts. The feet and lower part of the legs, that is to say, the places where

114 urucú "stockings" are often applied, are one of the body parts
●302 most frequently exposed to the attack of various troublesome in-
751 sects. The following objections, however, are in order: (1) as
body paint, although widespread in South America, urucú is used
[171] to cover the entire body only in a very few tribes and is usually
applied only to certain skin areas; (2) among the tribes with which
we are familiar, this staining material is not used every day, but
only on certain occasions; (3) on such occasions, the Indians do
not paint all members of the tribe with urucú, but only certain
persons; (4) there are [108:127] tribes who prefer to blacken the

Fig. 6. Design on a man's thigh.

skin with genipap juice rather than anoint it with the oily urucú, although they possess both staining materials in abundance. Such a preference would not be explained by the following sentence in Gabriel Soares de Sousa (215) about genipap: "This dye has the property of drying the yaws pustules of the Indians, and of anyone who uses it as a salve."

The supposition that body painting originally had a magical
302 purpose, which was forgotten by many tribes in the course of time,
789 would seem to me more adequate than any rationalistic explanation
[114] set forth by ethnocentric Europeans.

302 set forth by ethnocentric Europeans. Among the precautionary
789 measures taken by the killer of the Tapirapé shaman, listed by Wagley (4, 16-17 [Tr., in English at 4, 72]), there is also painting the entire body with genipap and the hair with urucú. According to the same author (ibid., 11 [Tr., in English at 4, 67]), a certain Tapirapé medicine man painted his chest and chin with urucú to represent the cauí of blood that drools from the mouth of forest spirits. [Ed., the remainder of p. 127, p. 128, and all but the last paragraph of p. 129 are omitted.]

000 [108:129] Krause (2, 214) writes that the Karajá, when they paint their bodies, usually reserve the color red for men and adolescent boys, and the black for boys and young girls. He adds (ibid.), "Only once did I see a woman painted wholly with red." I wish [108:130] to note in this connection, however, that as far as our trading fabrics are concerned, the Karajá in 1935 left the red ones exclusively to the women, while the men dressed in those of other colors, such as white or green. They might already have learned from the Whites that men do not wear red. A person like the
[291] Tapirapé Kamairahó, who had had less contact with so-called civilized people than the Karajá, hid his charms at that time under a woman's dress which had originally been red and which might be said to have remained red in spite of daily wear for weeks on end.

In view of the facts noted by Krause (ibid., 386) about the
101 northern Kayapó and by Von den Steinen (2, 184-188) about the
171 Indians of the upper Xingu basin, it may be said in summary that
302 the Tapirapé are quite sharply differentiated from their neighbors in facial and body painting, although certain similarities exist with the Karajá in torso painting, and with the Kayapó and Xingu Indians in the red "stockings." It is worth noting that such "stockings" were also used by the Tupinambá.

According to what I saw, the Tapirapé stick soft plumage
301 (avió, aviú) chiefly on the arms and legs of children. The girl
237 Ampitánia was often adorned in this way. Grownups, however, also use white down glued on the arm when wearing a certain
[881] mask (Photo. 70). At the initiation ceremony, the adolescent has white down glued on the forehead, arms, torso, and thighs, with the exception of the buttocks. The glue is a resin (ykyryva in

304 Like the ear perforation, that of the lower lip is restricted to members of the male sex among the inhabitants of Tampiitáua. [412] According to them, it is also made by the mother with a bone needle on the morning following the birth of her child. The 301 Tapirapé do not have a generic name for the objects inserted into the artificial lip opening, which vary with the age of the wearer. 237 When they want to refer to a lip ornament without specifying [192] which one, they merely say emekuana (emeguana, temekuana), or emekuaní if a small boy is concerned. Emé means "lower lip" (cheremé, "my lower lip"), kuana means "hole," and i is a diminutive (kuaní, "little hole"). The opening in a child's lip is indeed much smaller than in that of an adult such as Kamairá (Photo. 57). They insert a bone there until the time when the boy who is about to be initiated has his hair cut, and this bone grows along with its wearer (Photos. 3, 6, 25, 28, 61). Thus, a boy who was about five years old wore a wild-pig bone nine and a half centimeters long and from two to four millimeters wide, with a crosspiece about eight millimeters wide (Photo. 18). A boy of eight or ten had a deer bone 25 centimeters long and three to five [109:77] in diameter, with a crosspiece one centimeter wide (Photo. 17). Rhea bones were also used as boys' lip ornaments. The bone is introduced from the inside, so that the crosspiece remains inside the mouth to secure the ornament.

[302] When a boy's hair is cut, a year before his initiation cere- [881] mony, the deer bone is replaced with the wooden plug worn by the men (Photo. 19a). Some of those plugs contain the embedded tooth of a tapiti (Sylvilagus minensis, tampichí in Tapirapé) (Photo. 55). The plug with a tooth shown in Photograph 19a is about eight to ten millimeters in diameter and six millimeters along its full length, or in other words, four millimeters in the wooden section and two millimeters in the projecting part of the tooth. The piece that secures the plug is two centimeters wide. [824] The plugs are made with the pointed excrescences found on the trunks of a tree called tanchimoyva in Tapirapé. The one reproduced here (Photo. 19b) is 25 millimeters long and from 15 to 25 millimeters wide.

301 At the initiation ceremony, however, and only on that great 324 day, the boy wears an ornament that would qualify for the Tupi [881] name tembetá, from tembé, "lower lip," and itá, "stone." This

1:Baldus--170 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 4

Maninonó (No. 111), Kaunevanvynhó (No. 3), Techipy (No. 51), Inamoreo (No. 23). The woman is Tora-Maneaia (No. 100).

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Photo. 3

Mareromyó (No. 2) with the women's body painting, boys with tembetá and girls with tamankurá.

1:Baldus--171 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 5

The dancers of Photo. 4, with Pancheavi (No. 75) and Manupauvynghoi (No. 13) to the right of Inamoreo (No. 23).

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Photo. 6

Manavangkó (No. 87) with a bone tembetá. Auayauí (No. 93) is on his left.

1:Baldus--172 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Photo. 7

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Woman painting her husband. The structure in the background is a summer dwelling. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

Photo. 8

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Woman anointing her husband's foot with urucú. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

1:Baldus--173 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapuiapé SP22

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Photo. 10

Tamankurá on the forearm of a youth.

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Photo. 9

Kanuana (No. 6), painted with urucu, with girl's tamankurá at the ankles.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 5

Kamaiurá (Veja Apêndice), um jovem pajé, vestindo-se na metade do círculo da aldeia.

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Kamaiurá (see Appendix), a young shaman, stepping half way around the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



went to the small brook to drink water after dark. She said that the ghost approached and struck her. A man walking in his garden after dark saw the ghost of a known person, some years dead. "It was white and his eyes had fallen out. He still had some flesh and he had sweat in his hair" (6). Yet another man also met a ghost which was "white with big holes instead of eyes". Ghosts of individuals who have been dead many years "have no flesh; they have only bones". The ghosts that appear to the living follow the pattern of the gradual disintegration of the body. 775

Ghosts gather around a new grave to carry away the soul at time of burial; so they are especially dangerous to people at the time of funerals. When a Tapirapé dies, men carry machetes and mirrors to the wake for protection against the ghosts. If ghosts see their reflections in mirrors, they are frightened away. 775 764

The principal encounters of the Tapirapé with ghosts are in dreams. Dreamers sometimes visit them in their villages and at times learn from them new ceremonial songs which they hear in the traditional Tapirapé ceremonials that the ghosts continue to carry on after they have left the village of the living. 775 767

After an indeterminate period the ghosts themselves die and their spirits then become changed into animals. The spirit of the dead ghost of a dove. Among the other animals into which spirits of dead ghosts become changed are frogs, deer, paca (*Coniculus paca*). 775 925 [illegible]

Besides the ghosts there are an infinite number and many different species of *anitinga* of the demonic class, all generally living at a great distance deep in the forest. It is fortunate that their dwellings are so distant, for these creatures are very dangerous, killing Tapirapé whenever possible. In legendary times these demonic beings were more numerous than at present and killed many Tapirapé, but Wará, a powerful shaman and legendary hero, engaged in a constant warfare of wits with them and succeeded in killing many of them. He destroyed the dangerous *awakó anká* by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed far behind them as they walked through the forest. He also killed the *mangi anká*, the beings that clubbed men to death and drank their blood. 776 [973]

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(6) The Tapirapé paint the hair of a corpse with a thick coat of urucú in preparation for burial. [302 764]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



were tossing a hut out of a tree for food. These talked with Ikanancowi 756
and invited him to return to their village, which was situated upon the 776
lake. In the village he saw *periquitos* (Psittacidae) and many *socó* 787
(*Ibanoides* sp.), birds which they keep as pets. The *anéinga* had several
pots of *kasi* (1) and invited Ikanancowi to eat with them. He refused
for he saw that their *kasi* was made from human blood. Ikanancowi
watched one spirit drink of the *kasi* and saw him vomit blood immediately
afterwards; the shaman saw a second spirit drink from another pot and
immediately spurt blood from his anus. He saw the *munpi anká* vomit
up their entrails and throw them upon the ground, but he soon saw that
this was only a trick; they would not die, for they had more intestines.
After this visit the *munpi anká* called Ikanancowi father and he called
them his sons; he visited them in his dreams frequently and he had
*munpi anká* near him always. When Ikanancowi danced and sang in [302
the second shamanistic ceremony against Thunder (see page 84), he 796]
painted his chest and chin red with urucu, representing the *kasi* of blood
which dripped from the mouths of the *munpi anká* after they vomit and he
called these spirits to his aid in his songs. Other shamans have had fami-
liar spirits but none have had such dangerous spirits as the *munpi anká*:
"people were very much afraid of Ikanancowi, for these *anéinga* are
very dangerous".

In another dream told to me a shaman met the forest spirits called *orêya*. These have long hair wound in a mass on top of their heads and they carry one arrow for the bows with which they kill men. The *orêya* were about to shoot the shaman, but when he shouted, "No, I am a shaman", they did not harm him. Instead they gave him food and helped him return through the deep forest to the village. Another shaman had *anéinga* and *orêya* as his familiars. These forest demons have protruding eyes and sharp pointed chins. They kill Tapirapé by grabbing them from behind as they walk unsuspectingly through the forest, clapping their hands over the victim's mouth and driving their pointed chins into the back of his neck. A man caught by one of these *anéinga* dies gurgling and staring, unable to speak; so, although found alive he may never explain what happened to him. A shaman with such dangerous familiars as these protects the laity by keeping his spirits under control.

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(1) *Kasi* is a thick soup-like drink prepared most usually from maize, [272]
sometimes from several kinds of manioc. It is never alcoholic among the Tapirapé.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



683 to avenge him, is generally not murdered (16). A strong shaman makes
[593] an effort to have a strong family group about him for protection. Infor-
[256] mants could not remember that murdered shamans had ever been avenged by their familiar spirits, although one man made the point that shamans were murdered only by persons under the influence of great anger or grief, for people normally are afraid of the familiars of shamans.
683 Special rites are observed by anyone who has murdered a shaman, to
783 protect him and the rest of the tribe against possible danger. On the day following the murder the *maréntzunkanéra* must retire to his hammock and here eat of a white clay, *iwi čingu*, and drink until he vomits of a
[827] brew made of boiling a man's leg ornament in water. Vomiting cleanses
[302] his body "of the blood of the shaman". The killer must paint his entire body black with *genipa* (*Genipa americana*) and put red urucu paint in his hair; he should also scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back
[581] with teeth of the dog fish, just as he did in the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult. Then, each year at the annual ceremony during the harvests in May and June, all who have killed shamans must drink of kauiõ (17) until they vomit, so cleansing themselves of the shaman's blood for the period until the next harvest.

## DUTIES OF THE SHAMAN

276 Among the Tapirapé tobacco is a sacred plant necessary for curing and for all shamanistic activities; yet, while it is found widely near Tapirapé village and near their gardens, it is not strictly a cultivated plant. People know where a patch of tobacco grows and go there to pick it. Occasionally they transplant tobacco nearer to their houses or to their gardens but for the most part the patches seed themselves. When an

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[578 (16) When I left the Tapirapé in May, 1940, a grudge existed between two
621] men of high status because of the murder of a shaman. Kamaiuba disliked, avoided, and criticized Kamaiá because he had killed Kanãwaui. Kamaiuba's wife's father. The antagonism was never overt. When they met they treated each other formally and calmly. Other Tapirapé told me that Kamaiuba's wife continually gossiped about the behavior of Kamaiá's wife, "because her husband had killed Kamaiuba's father".

[272 (17) A brew made of a few grains of maize and much water. It is believed
-279] to be poisonous.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



*Case of Ipewangi*

756 781 796 Ipewangi, a young man of about twenty years of age, is a novice in shamanism. During one of his dreams, stimulated by "eating smoke" he saw anhanga but was unable to identify which ones they were. During the Thunder ceremony, however, he decorated his body as did the anhanga he had seen in his dream. He painted a cross with urucu [302] on his chest and wore feathers of the white vulture (urubú-rei — *Sarcoramphus papa*) down the sides of his arms. As a protective measure [751] he carried a mirror with him during all ceremonies for, like ghosts of the dead, the beings of Thunder are frightened if they see their own image in a mirror. During one sundown session Ipewangi fell crying wildly, and scratching his body frantically from head to feet, as if the itching were unbearable, letting out blood-curdling screams. This behavior was seen several times during the ceremony in other persons. The [827] itching, informants told me, comes from many invisible fleas which jump from any dog on to the body of a person participating in the ceremony. [231] Dogs, therefore, are securely tied to house posts or to trees at the edge of the village during the four days of the Thunder ceremony but they, of course, escape now and again.

*Case of Campukwi*

Campukwi, a young man of about twenty-four years of age, says that he does not want to be a shaman because "Tapirapé have killed many shamans". He took part rather casually in several of the phases of the ceremony: he "ate smoke" and moved about with the group in the evening session when the creatures of Thunder were being called. At the end of the session, when the powerful shamans saw "many sapi", he fell, struck down with the rest of the group. Campukwi's wife was not present but his sister came to his side to help him. She looked at him carefully and laughingly said that he was faking. She kicked him and left him instead of helping him to the sidelines. Campukwi stood up, laughed, and left the group.

Now and again through the ceremonies spectators made such observations concerning participants whose reactions seemed doubtful. Some participants did now and again pretend and people laughed at them. It was all taken in a spirit of fun.

T /404 cont./
105 center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language
C differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand
[49] each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé
C seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the
648 Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs,
[239] food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé,
opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the
C Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The
[221] Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret
the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has
been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally
a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago;
since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far
C upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave
[129] women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are
taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and
263 appear here./

C 3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the
162 Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys
T from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than
[48] /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black
T incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b
304 /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).
●302

C In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the
439 Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near
136 the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (kîwaã; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method
T of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very
303 regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The
T spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ
283 in any way from those of the Karajá.

T The club (ĩwĩrã, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round
411 clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved
and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of
cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the
handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and
depressions.

[TOT Continues on P. 339]

/406 cont./

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Ill. 262 a, b.
Tattooing of the Tapirapé women.

Ill. 263.
Painting of a Tapirapé girl.

415 The whole-gourd vessel (kúlɨh; Pl.
53 69, Ill. 2) bears carved designs similar to
171 those of the Karajá; everything is very crudely executed, however. Of the two half-gourd vessels (kɨ̃ɨ̃di; Pl. 69, Ills. 3, 4), one is provided with a tassel made of red cotton threads; their designs are reminiscent of the Karajá carved designs, whereas the designs on the others are completely foreign and carved rather crudely and clumsily.

532 The doll (dɨ̃ɨ̃ho, Ill. 266) of white earth, of rhomboid shape, represents a
[483] Tapirapé /406/ maiden. A roll of wax,
which is led from one corner down along
[411] the two adjacent edges, serves as hair. A parting and arm cuffs (red painting between two rolls) have been put on it. Moreover, the doll wears two ear-rods. In the center and at the four corners there are small holes that are connected with the center by means of one line to the sides and two lines to the top and bottom. The whole figure is five centimeters high and wide and three centimeters thick. It was made by a Tapirapé boy. Of

Ill. 264.
Spindle.

Ill. 265.
Club.
Tapirapé.

G:Baldwin--18 E-5 (1936,1947)1948 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Fig. 1. Young Tapirapé woman with body painting characteristic of women.

Fig. 2. Tapirapé youth with frizzy hair, forearm ornaments, and body painting.

Plate 1

6: Baldus--14 E-5 (1935,1947) 1948 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Plate 2

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Fig. 1. Young Tapirapé woman with body painting characteristic of women.

Fig. 2. Tapirapé youth with another type of body painting.

Fig. 5. Tapirapé man named Inwuy, with body painting.

Fig. 6. Tapirapé youth with body painting and forearm ornaments.

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6: Baldu--16 E-5 (1935,1947) 1948 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Plate 4

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Fig. 5. Tapirapé young.

Fig. 7. Tapirapé girl with the ornament characteristic of immature girls.

Fig. 9. Tampantnõa-Kamanané, about 45 years old, and in 1947 the oldest Tapirapé. He defended his village alone against the Kaiapó.

Fig. 10. Tapirapé youth making a wax doll.

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101 [18] The Tapirapé Indians live in central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a left tributary of the Araguaia located in the extreme south of the state of Pará. They speak a dialect of Tupi-Guarani, the most widespread aboriginal tongue in Brazil. In spite of a great decline in their population, they still possess a rich cultural tradition which is peculiar to them and which distinguishes them [173] from other tribes. Their customs and traditions are transmitted orally with great care from generation to generation. One of the most 861 interesting among them is the ceremony in which the youth assumes the status of a grown man. This change in status is marked by nearly all peoples. Among us, when a young man reaches the age of 21, he can vote, marry, sign documents, etc.; among many primitive groups, the youth proves that he has become an adult by undergoing torture or achieving success in the hunt.

Among the Tapirapé, this tradition is observed with a festival [302] of song and dance called "hair-tying," for henceforth the young man will wear his hair tied at the back of the neck in adult fashion. For 858 several years before the ceremony, the boy keeps his body painted [302] black with genipap, wears his hair cropped close to the head--"like a monkey," in the words of the Tapirapé-- is subjected to food restrictions, and has his arms and legs scarified until they bleed so he [304] will "grow strong." When he reaches 14 or 15 years of age, his [852] family decides that the time has come for him to become an adult.

88 At the close of the rainy season, the time of harvesting and [221] time of plenty for the tribe, the "hair-tying" ceremony is carried out. For months beforehand, the youth allows his hair to grow until it comes [340] down to his shoulders. Meanwhile, mother and aunts weave threads [462] (cords) to adorn him, while father and uncles collect feathers with [283] which they make elaborate ornaments. All Tapirapé youths become [297] adults through this rite; the sons of important men, however, and [554] those who were "favorite sons" (the Tapirapé elect certain children to preferential treatment) are much more richly attired than the others. The ceremony is costly to the family, and much time is needed beforehand to gather the necessary materials--macaw tail feathers, short [297] feathers of the blue macaw and parrot, breast fluff of wild ducks; cotton threads for the ornaments, and beads. All these items are [556] [495] valuable to the Tapirapé, who gauge their own wealth in these terms.

881 On the eve of the ritual, the preparations begin. The youth's
[302] body is painted black with genipap. On his face, a black line is drawn under the mouth and a circle under the eyes, which are elongated with a line at the corners. The father or uncles put the last
[946] touches on a large diadem. At dawn on the day of the ceremony, the youth is led to the large ceremonial house built in the center of the Tapirapé village, and his hair is set to support the large
[292] [297] ankungitana (diadem) made of numerous macaw, parrot, and duck feathers fastened to a base of muriti palm and hard wood and weighing about five kilograms. The hair is trimmed and tied into a roll
[302] on the nape of the neck with a cord at least five meters long, to provide a base for the fastening of the large diadem. The lower lip
[301] is adorned with a ceremonial quartz tembetá [Tr., cylindrical plug].

The ceremony itself begins late in the morning. For 24 hours
[535] the youth dances continually, surrounded by his fellow tribesmen and accompanied by the songs and dances of men and women. He dances ill at ease, for he is soon tired by the weight and discomfort of the
773 ornaments. Tapirapé tradition explains this ritual as a test of en-
881 durance for the young men. According to one legend, a Tapirapé ancestor called Xavanamu and his son Makanci were captured by an enemy tribe. Xavanamu was eaten, and his son was forced to dance under the weight of a large diadem and the numerous ornaments that covered his body. At the end of a long day of dancing, Makanci, who had retained his strength, managed to flee and disappeared into the woods followed closely by his foes. He vanished on reaching a large hollow trunk. Nowadays, Tapirapé youths wear ornaments similar to those left behind by their ancestor.

In 1961, when we witnessed the "hair-tying" of the youth
881 Kanctampiõ, several Tapirapé predicted that he would cry "for he would become very tired during the night," but the boy stood up valiantly to the test. It is in another way, however, that men recall their initiation. One of them said, "When I danced, I was more beautiful than at any other time." It is true that at no other time of life does the individual get so much attention and make such a show with such rich ornaments. And this during adolescence!

Thus, the Tapirapé turn this ceremony into an opportunity for fun, which their men recall more or less in the same manner as our youths recall their first ball.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



592 from many villages in the one village, many combinations of relatives now form residential groups.

### DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Both sexes are nude. Men tie the prepuce over the glans penis with a
● 902 palm fiber. Both men and women pull out pubic, axillary, and all facial hair. Even eyebrows are considered ugly. Men wear cotton string ligatures around their legs, just below the knee. Men, and sometimes women,
901 wear large cotton wrist bands crocheted directly on to their arms. Young boys and girls sometimes wear similar ornaments on their ankles; these ornaments are painted with a thick coat of red urucú dye and have round cuffs, often 2 to 3 inches (5 to 7.5 cm.) wide. Necklaces of beads given by Neo-Brazilians are highly valued and used almost to excess. Men
[902] paint their feet and the calves of their legs red with urucú; both men and women trace a multitude of patterns on their body with black genipa dye.

904 Men have their lower lip pierced and wear a small wooden lip plug. Two years or so after women have begun sexual life, patterns in the form of a three-quarter moon are made on their faces by scarification with a paca
[904] (*Cuniculus paca*) tooth knife. Charcoal and plant juices are rubbed into the wounds to leave dark blue designs.

### TRANSPORTATION

[501] The *Tapirapé* do not have canoes. All cargoes are carried by the men
482 in a carrying knapsack made from buriti-palm fibers strapped to their backs.

### MANUFACTURES

296 Weaving.—Hammocks are made by women from native cotton spun on
482 wooden spindles. The technique used is the simple twine weaving used by the *Tupinamba* and other *Tupí* groups.

923 Ceramics.—At present, the art of ceramics is declining. Pottery is
482 usually for cooking, and is made by women. Sometimes it bears incised
531 geometrical decorations.

931 Gourds.—Gourds are decorated with geometric incisions.

Basketry.—The most highly developed basketry techniques among the
285 *Tapirapé* are woven and twilled. Two types of baskets are flexible and semiflexible cones; both are of buriti fiber. They generally have a quadrangular base and a narrow, round top, and are used mostly to store manioc or maize flour. Flat, round baskets are used as cotton containers
[531] or flour sifters. They are usually ornamented with motifs originating in the weave itself; frequently the finished basket is smeared with black genipa and odd rounds are scraped off, giving a negative decorative effect.

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PLATE 10.—Tapirapé ceremonies and house construction. Top, left: Youth in preparation for puberty ceremony. The large, heavy diadems of macaw feathers will be supported by the lock of hair wrapped in cotton cord. Top, right: Dancers wearing dangerous ceremonial headdress during Thunder ceremony. He is intoxicated by tobacco and is in a trance state. Below, left: Construction of man's house. Below, right: Dancer masks representing the "Crying Spirit," one of many female spirits who are said to come to stay for a time in the man's ceremonial house. (Courtesy Charles Wagley.)

[p. 170 A]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



A 500

and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite child, being given special attention and education and being highly decorated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life. 554 458

**Puberty.**—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong. 858 882 [302] [301]

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, *top, left*). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance. [302] 851 [292]

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of women. [302] [582]

**Marriage.**—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antagonism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage marriage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people. 621 [578] [582] [579]

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule. 582

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him. [581] [582] [578] [591]

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
[P 399]
SP22 Tapirape SP22

# 14

## Champukwi of the Village of the Tapirs

Charles Wagley

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few 177
months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of [197]
Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and [191]
verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these 114
youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals 123
we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," [621]
the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses [361]
arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were [592]
each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the per- [551]
sonal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Maria-
pawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let 114
alone pronounce. [122]

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study [197]
intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the wide-
spread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least
passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms
of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed
explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which [241]
manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops
were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poison- [462]
ous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I [252]
watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture [323]
their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm- [285]
thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building [462]
was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly [345]
became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and [291]
the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude [834]
women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never
to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also [302]
to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed
their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on
their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many [126]
other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes
and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather 123
pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our
antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversa-
tions that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales
of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

123 the subject of conversation when listening to a strange language.)
[199] Then, of course, our presence was materially valuable—for the salt, knives, needles, beads, mirrors, and other presents we brought were greatly appreciated. However, within a very short time some of these people began to emerge as individuals. Awanchowa, a small boy of about 6, followed me about and literally haunted our little house, staring at our large bag of salt which he ate with the same relish children in other cultures eat sweets. Then there was Tanui, a woman of middle age (whose hair was cropped short indicating that a near relative had recently died) who often brought us presents of food.
123 Gradually most of the villagers emerged as distinctive personalities
115 and among them was Champukwi. I cannot remember when I first came to know him as an individual, but his name begins to appear regularly in my field notebooks about one month after our arrival. Soon, he became my best informant, and after a time, an inseparable companion.

115 In 1939 Champukwi must have been about 25 years of age. He
[141] was tall for a Tapirapé male, measuring perhaps about 5 feet 6 inches, strongly built but lean, and weighing, I should judge, about
[302] 150 lbs. Like all Tapirapé men he wore his hair in bangs across his forehead with a braided pigtail tied at the back of his neck. He was somewhat of a dandy, for his feet and the calves of his legs
[301] were painted bright red every evening with *rucu*. From time to time he painted an intricate design on his body, and he wore crocheted
[554] disc-like wrist ornaments of cotton string dyed red. He was obviously a man of some prestige among men of his age, for youths and younger men treated him with deference, always finding a seat for him on the bench that was built against one wall of our house.
[799] I soon learned that he, too, had spent a short period at a mission
[191] station several years earlier and that he knew a few words of Portuguese. He was married and had a daughter about 2 years of age. His wife, hardly attractive according to my American tastes, appeared to be somewhat older than he, and was pregnant when we first met.

115 Champukwi seemed more patient than other Tapirapé with my at-
22 tempts to use his language and to seek information. He would repeat
[126] a word, a phrase, or a sentence several times so that I might write it down phonetically. He resorted to his meager Portuguese and even to mimicry to explain what was meant. His patience was of course

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
[P. 404] SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Champukwi on the Trip to Furo de Pedra.

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of my life, a feeling that was shared, I believe, by Valentim Gomes and by Champukwi.

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Champukwi adjusted to Furo de Pedra with amazing rapidity. His short visit as a youth to the mission station undoubtedly contributed to his quick adaptation although, to be sure, there were minor problems and incidents. The Brazilians of Furo de Pedra were accustomed to Indians, for nearby there was a village of semi-civilized Carajá Indians who frequently visited and traded in the settlement. Yet, Champukwi was a bit of a curiosity—the townspeople had seen only one other Tapirapé. The local Brazilians invited him into their homes and offered him coffee and sweets. Both Valentim Gomes and I watched over his movements with all the anxiety of overprotective parents for fear that he might be exposed to a respiratory infection (he did not contract any) or that the hospitality of the local Brazilians might persuade him to drink *cachaça* (sugar cane *aguardiente*). Alcoholic beverages were unknown to the Tapirapé who are unlike most South American groups in this respect.

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[293]

115 He was always pleased when
123 we came to listen, particularly if we made the motions of joining in.
[526] He was an excellent wrestler in Tapirapé style, in which each opponent takes a firm grip on the pigtail of the other and attempts to throw him to the ground by tripping. Our wrestling match was brief although I was much taller than he; and his match with Valentim Gomes, who outweighed him by more than forty pounds, was
[186] a draw. Unlike so many who get a glimpse at a seemingly "superior" cultural world, Champukwi never became dissatisfied with his own way of life.

122 In June of 1940, my period of residence among the Tapirapé
123 Indians ended. The waters on the savanna which had to be crossed
[101] afoot to get to the Tapirapé River where our canoe was moored had not completely receded. Many Tapirapé friends, among them Champukwi, offered to carry our baggage, made lighter after a final dis-
122 tribution of gifts, down to the river. The night before our departure
123 a festival with the usual songfest was held to celebrate the final phase
881 of a ceremony during which a youth, this time the nephew of Kamiraho, became a man. Some Brazilian tribes make this occasion
[171] an ordeal by such means as applying a frame of stinging wasps to
[301] the body of the novice, but it is characteristic of the Tapirapé that
[302] the "ordeal" consists only of decorating the youth with a headdress of magnificent red macaw feathers, painting his body elaborately, and making him the center of dancing and singing—although the youth must himself dance continuously for a day and a night. Cham-
122 pukwi led the singing most of the night, but at dawn he came to
123 our house to supervise the packing of our belongings into the basket-like cases made of palm which are used for carrying loads of any kind. He divided the baggage among the younger men. Even some of the older household leaders decided to accompany us but they, of course, did not carry anything. Our trip was slow because everyone was tired after the all-night festival and because of the water through
[501] which we had to wade. At one point, rafts had to be made to trans-
[481] port our baggage across a still-swollen stream. Since the Tapirapé do not swim—or, like Champukwi, they swim but poorly—it was the job of the *tori* to swim and push the rafts. I had the honor of swimming across the stream, pushing the respected chieftain, Kamiraho. (How he got back, I shall never know.) After a day and a half, we reached the landing on the Tapirapé River, and the next

/404 cont./

center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, arrows, stone lip-plugs, food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé, opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago; since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and 263 appear here./

3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).

In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (idwaã; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ in any way from those of the Karajá.

The club (iwiri, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and depressions.

[TEXT Continues on P. 339]

S: Krause--338 E-6 (1908) 1911 SPS Canja
Tapirape SP 90



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1. Comb.

2. Whole-gourd vessel.

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Half-gourd vessels.

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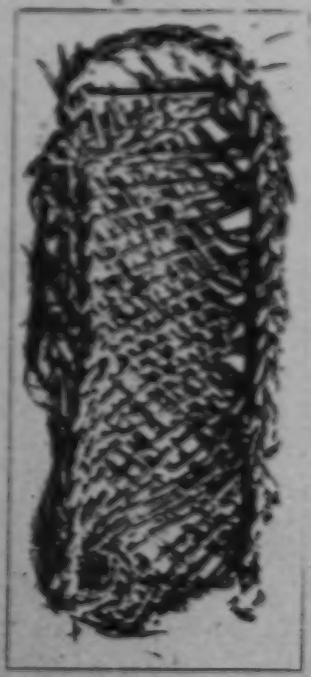

5. Back-basket.

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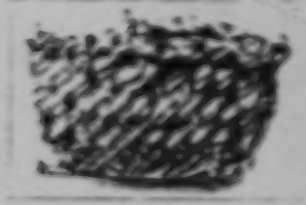

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6-8. Rectangular transport bags.

9. Elastic transport bag.

261 [216] swallow the hair plucked from their own body. Indeed, like most
302 South American Indians, the Tapirapé have the custom of carefully plucking all the hair from their faces and bodies. They refer to this procedure as okopaé. They remove body hair by covering it first with hot ashes and then plucking it out with their fingers. They likewise pluck out their whiskers exclusively with the fingers. [148] To remove eyebrows and eyelashes, however, they use a special instrument consisting simply of the caryopsis of a certain grass plant [Tr., identified in a later, omitted passage as the fruit of Streptogyne crinita Beauv., according to F.C. Hoehne (3)] which is equipped with teeth forming hooks at acute angles. The Indian holds this pod between the right thumb and index finger, while holding the eyebrow or eyelashes of the person he is about to beautify with the corresponding fingers of the left hand. Then he places the little hooks against the stretched hair, pushing down. A few hairs are invariably caught in this natural implement and removed along with it. [Ed., the last half of p. 109, which includes a detailed description of the use of Streptogyne crinita Beauv. as an instrument for depilation, pp. 110-113, and the first two lines of p. 114 are omitted.]

304 [88] [107-114] The Tapirapé apply scarification to men only. They first do this at the time when the boy who is to be initiated is given a haircut, that is to say, one year before the initiation ceremony. The procedure is repeated several times until marriage, and not infrequently it is carried out even after that. The Indians make vertical scratches on the skin of the arm between the shoulder and the elbow, and on the front part of the leg both on the thigh and between the knee and foot. The procedure is carried out by a mature man. Immediately afterward, the patient steps into the water to wash. It is extremely rare for inflammation [827] to result. The aim of the procedure is to "give strength." According to Wagley (4, 17), the killer of a sorcerer--medicine man, in 751 order to protect himself and the rest of his tribe against any possible 114 danger, must, among other precautionary measures, "scratch his 304 chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dogfish, just as he did in the course of the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult" [Tr., given in English in 4, 72]. I obtained no such information while I was in Tampiitáua.

304 The scarifying tool has the same name as the scratches it 413 makes, namely, chainiáua. It is a triangular gourd fragment [192]

304 equipped with a row of embedded teeth, their points sticking out
413 of the outer, convex side of the piece. The opposite side[1] is com-
[237] pletely covered with a thick black layer of beeswax. The teeth
are those of the so-called "dog-fish," aikyugapeva in Tapirapé,
a scaly fresh-water fish of the Characinidae family, Hydrocyon
subfamily, whose colloquial name alludes to its dog-like denti-
tion (cf. Rudolfo von Ihering, 165). The 17 teeth of the scarifier
I acquired in Tampitifua (Photo. 23) jut out three to six centi-
meters. This piece is eight centimeters long and measures five
and a half centimeters at its broadest part.

304 According to information obtained from the Tapirapé, the
881 girls are tattooed during the rainy season following their first
menstruation. The operation is carried out at nightfall, between
January and March, when there is tall maize, plentiful game
crowded together by the rising waters, and much merrymaking as
a result of all this. The Indians tattoo their chin and cheeks
(Fig. 1). The cheek tattoo reaches below the ear, so that a
small part of it is covered by the hair. The crossing vertical
304 and horizontal incisions look like a fine-meshed net. This
824 design is called hohova. The wounds are first rubbed with a
kaauna leaf (kâa, "plant"; una, "black, dark blue"). This
leaf, previously squeezed into a turtle shell (chauvatí-
ampekuera) full of water, is wet with its own juice mixed in
[398] water. It is the juice of kaauna that yields the indelible dark-
blue tone of the tattooing. The leaf is held close to the wound
for some time. Then, the Indians blow crushed cotton leaves
[278] with a pipe (amynichô-
ha(u)va) onto the wounds.
It may be that they do this
to alleviate the pain, for
the girls cry a great deal
[107:115] throughout the
operation, and the tattooed
parts become terribly
swollen (ivuvurá). As at

Fig. 1

302 the time of their first menstruation, the girls have so much urucú
881 in their hair that their coiffure, mixed with the greasy substance,
looks like a sort of cap. They are not, however, painted with

1 [of the scarification tool.—Analyst]

302 881 [953] genipap. They have given up for keeps the tamanikuá or cotton ornaments they were in childhood. Some of them change names, if they did not already do so at the time of their first menstruation. They eat nothing but green-maize cauí [a soup]. Both men and women sing the kaé, a kind of national anthem. When the whole ceremony is over, the girl is painted with the genipap stripes characteristic of women.

● 309 412 The tattooing is done by certain mature men. They need not be sorcerer--medicine men, but some of them are, like Urukumy for example (Photo. 53). The aim of the tattooing is to differentiate the women from the girls. The small knife used to make the incisions (Photo. 22) is called voamé. It consists of a fragment of [297] rodent incisor embedded in a small piece of thin cane wrapped in a narrow strip of philodendron inner bark. This strip strengthens [304] the small rod, which was previously covered with resin to provide a better hold. The tooth fragment in the knife reproduced here (Photo. 22) consists of that part of a paca (kanoand) incisor nearest to [237] the gum, and thus not of its cutting section. The edge was created by scraping the fragment with a knife. Sometimes the fragment is also taken from the tooth of an agouti (akutí, ankuchí), another rodent that, like the paca, belongs to the Caviidae family.

304 114 Krause (2, 404) writes of Tapirapé tattooing: "Tattooing exists among married women; they cut vertical lines in their chins, and a line that goes down obliquely from either side of the mouth." As we can see, this does not quite agree with the tattooing I observed. And the drawings published by Krause (ibid., Fig. 262), although they disagree with the description above by the same author in showing several oblique lines originating at the corners of the lips, rather than just one, still do not resemble the crossed horizontal and vertical lines that I saw on the faces of Tapirapé women. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 115, pp. 116-119 which include several pages of comparative data on scarification, and all but the last paragraph on p. 120 are omitted.]

304 171 [114] 107:120] To summarize, we may say that the special character of female tattooing differentiates the Tapirapé from all neighboring tribes about which anything is known in this connection. The data of Herrmann Meyer about the Aravine and their tattooing, which are given in Chapter 4 of this work, are not sufficient to be taken into account in studying this topic. It should be pointed out further

It should be pointed out further

304 171 882 that tattooing as a badge of the marriageable girl is found in South America not only in such widely separated regions as Guiana and Paraguay, but also among tribes belonging to such distinct linguistic families as the Karaib [Carib] and the Tupí. [Ed., end of Vol. 107.]

[108:121] Body painting is widely used among the Tapirapé. 302 In this respect, however, there are differences dictated by sex, age, 306 and the particular individual involved. The colors used are: black, obtained from the juice of the genipap (chenipúna in Tapirapé), the fruit of a tree of the Rubiaceae family (Genipa americana, Lin.); and red extracted from the pulp of urucú, the fruit of a shrub of the Bixaceae family (Bixa orellana, Lin.). [192] The Tapirapé, too, call it urukú, lending the vowel a sound that lies between u and a closed o. The manufacture of the paste derived from this fruit is not as simple as the obtention of genipap juice and will be described in Chapter 10 [Tr., apparently not published].

The genipap is simply chewed, as Staden (v. 3) related of the [171] Tupinambá, and the juice is left in a gourd. Among the Tapirapé, [462] both men and women do this work, allowing the juice to run directly from their mouths into the container. The liquid is clear, like water, and turns black upon drying. The juice can only be used as a dye when the fruit is almost ripe, at the time when it stops growing, for the staining quality vanishes when the rind turns brownish and the pulp grows soft. This dye, according to Staden 302 (Ibid.) and [108:122] Soares de Sousa (215), lasts for nine days on the skin and cannot be washed off before then. I must say, however, that on my skin it did not endure more than two or three days.

Among the women, body painting with genipap was so widespread that the absence of this painting gave me almost the same feeling as I get when I see a "civilized" lady in a negligee at the wrong hour. The design uniformly used by all members of the female sex, with the exception of children and old women, is completely different from the [Fig. 2 appears here] various types of body painting displayed by the men. It is called ioképaí, while [192] kuantiana is the generic term for all designs, including those on plaited objects, gourds, etc. Straight lines stretch down obliquely from between the breasts to the belly and thighs. The latter are

171 This scarcity may be one of the consequences of the great epi-
301 demics, since the dead are buried with all their feather ornaments.
[182] In addition, the Tapirapé, as cultivators and forest Indians, have
[364] fewer opportunities to obtain the raw materials for these ornaments than the more game-oriented tribes who live close to rivers and to other areas rich in bird life.

495 Like the ancient Tupinambá (Léry 159), the Tapirapé keep the large macaw feathers in internodes of thick cane (wanamú). [Ed., the last sentence on p. 137, which concludes the section in Vol. 158, is omitted.]

[109:76] I found a single specimen of a crown of jaguar claws
237 in Tampitífua (Photo. 16). It belonged to Mazinohó, who used
292 it only for certain daytime dances (Photo. 4). Its name was simply chauvuanohó pyamgé, "jaguar claw." It consisted of a wooden ring that reached one centimeter in width and 20 centimeters in diameter, wrapped in cotton thread blackened with genipap and charcoal. Not only does this thread keep the ring closed, but it also holds 14 jaguar claws, all of which are set pointing in the same direction. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

301 The use of flowers as a head ornament is unusual among South American Indians. I observed it only once in Tampitífua. Iravuy, a married man 26 years old, returned once from the forest with a bunch of flowers in his hand. On entering the village, he met Ampitíxia on the path and gave her the flowers. This girl, who was four or five years old, immediately tied them to her hair. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

304 Male Tapirapé have pierced ears. I was told that among them it is the mother who [109:76] makes these perforations in the early hours of the day following the birth of her child. She does this with the bone needle used in the manufacture of the cotton ornaments called tamankurá. Small pieces of tucum wood [Tr., Bactris setosa) or thin cane are placed in the holes, and for initiates
301 these pieces may reach two centimeters in length. [Ed., the re-
881 mainder of the paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

To summarize, it may be said that as far as ear ornaments and
171 their attendant cultural traits are concerned, the Tapirapé differ
301 considerably not only from all their neighbors about whom anything is known in this connection, but from the ancient Tupinambá as well.

304 Like the ear perforation, that of the lower lip is restricted to members of the male sex among the inhabitants of Tampitiéua. According to them, it is also made by the mother with a bone [412] needle on the morning following the birth of her child. The 301 Tapirapé do not have a generic name for the objects inserted into the artificial lip opening, which vary with the age of the wearer. 237 When they want to refer to a lip ornament without specifying [192] which one, they merely say emekuana (emeguana, temekuana), or emekuanî if a small boy is concerned. Emé means "lower lip" (cheremé, "my lower lip"), kuana means "hole," and i is a diminutive (kuanî, "little hole"). The opening in a child's lip is indeed much smaller than in that of an adult such as Kamaiurá (Photo. 57). They insert a bone there until the time when the boy who is about to be initiated has his hair cut, and this bone grows along with its wearer (Photos. 3, 6, 25, 28, 61). Thus, a boy who was about five years old wore a wild-pig bone nine and a half centimeters long and from two to four millimeters wide, with a crosspiece about eight millimeters wide (Photo. 18). A boy of eight or ten had a deer bone 25 centimeters long and three to five [109:77] in diameter, with a crosspiece one centimeter wide (Photo. 17). Rhea bones were also used as boys' lip ornaments. The bone is introduced from the inside, so that the crosspiece remains inside the mouth to secure the ornament.

[802] When a boy's hair is cut, a year before his initiation cere- [881] mony, the deer bone is replaced with the wooden plug worn by the men (Photo. 19a). Some of those plugs contain the embedded tooth of a tapiti (Sylvilagus minensis, tampichî in Tapirapé) (Photo. 55). The plug with a tooth shown in Photograph 19a is about eight to ten millimeters in diameter and six millimeters along its full length, or in other words, four millimeters in the wooden section and two millimeters in the projecting part of the tooth. The piece that secures the plug is two centimeters wide. [824] The plugs are made with the pointed excrescences found on the trunks of a tree called tanchimoyva in Tapirapé. The one reproduced here (Photo. 19b) is 25 millimeters long and from 15 to 25 millimeters wide.

301 At the initiation ceremony, however, and only on that great 324 day, the boy wears an ornament that would qualify for the Tupi [881] name tembetá, from tembé, "lower lip," and itá, "stone." This

171 bone ornaments mentioned above. Its width is 27 millimeters.
301 The thin part of the tembetá is 14 millimeters wide at the point where it begins to swell to form the crosspiece.

Ehrenreich (1, 10-11 and Fig. 2a), in his monograph on the Karajá, reproduces a complete specimen and makes the following remarks: "The most precious lip ornament, which is only worn on festive occasions and which is carefully kept at other times wrapped in cotton, is a long and heavy tembetá (manaiuru) of rosy hyalite or quartz whose T-shaped tip is introduced into the lower lip, while the conical plug hangs underneath. The largest of the four specimens in the collection is 17.5 centimeters long. The [#139] Karajá do not make these lip stones but trade for them from the Tapirapé. The elevations on the left bank of the river (Araguaia), such as the Caiapó Range, abound in this material."

The specimen reproduced by Krause (2, Fig. 62) resembles the one just mentioned. The author notes in this connection (ibid., 223-224): "Unmarried men alone use these tembetás, which they wear only at special festivities. When they marry, they present them to a young kinsman. The stone tembetá is very thick, and [#304] requires previous enlargement of the lip opening. To achieve this, the Indians wear increasingly thick wooden tembetá. I saw a single specimen of a stone tembetá among the northern band. I was unable to acquire it. It was only long after leaving their village that I heard of a specimen extant among the southern band. [#139] These tembetás are not made by the Karajá but by the Tapirapé, from whom the Karajá of the northern band trade for them. The people of the southern band, in turn, purchase them from the latter. They say that the current price is a dugout, an axe, a pot, and a bush knife, in short, it is very high..." [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 78 and the first two paragraphs on p. 79 are omitted.]

[109:79] The same author [Métraux] states (3, 167-168): "Among the present-day Tupi-Guarani, the Tapirapé alone have tembetás comparable in shape and material to those of the Tupinambá." [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

To summarize, the manufacture of quartz tembetá is a Tapirapé culture trait. We know of no such trait among other present-day Tupi cultures or among tribes neighboring the Tapirapé, with the exception of the northern Kayapó. Their stone tembetá,

162 of about four, a girl of about 11, and another girl of less than a year. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

171/ 546 We see, therefore, that the Tapirapé resemble the Karajá and Kayapó, as well as Indians of the upper Xingu basin, the Tupinambá, and other Tupi tribes, in practicing the couvade. [Ed., end of Vol. 122.]

553 [192] [124:139] In Tapirapé, berang means "name" and corresponds to the word bdra cited by Montoya (2, II, 154) and cdra by Studelli (413). The inhabitants of Tampiitaua told me that, among them, it is the mother who gives the newborn baby a name and who •[304] perforates the lower lip and ear lobes of a boy with a bone pin at dawn of the day following birth. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

557 No two or more Tapirapé ever bear the same name at the same time. I was able to discover the meaning of only a few. Animal names prevail among the women. In 1935 there was a woman over 40 years old whose name was Puranghaf, that is, "little electric eel." Another, about 35 years old, was called Tamamaf, or "great anteater" with [124:140] the addition of the diminutive i, and an old woman of about 45 had the name Anampaf, anampá being a fresh-water eel. A girl of 11 was called Chauevuyra, that is, "fresh-water ray," and another girl of six Tanchabó, the name of the white-lipped peccary. In 1947 there was a year-old girl whose name, Kaf, is that of the capuchin monkey. Among the men, I only found one in 1935 whose name I could identify with that of an animal, and it was a generic name, Vuytaf, "little bird," a somewhat humorous appellation in view of the man's thick, robust body. Other translatable names, aside from those of animals, are Kamana, belonging to an eight-year-old girl, meaning "thunder" and "gourd rattle," and the names of two boys I knew in 1947, who were two and four years old, respectively, Tvytaf, "wind," and Ekonomfchinga, "white boy."

171/ 551 According to Gabriel Soares de Sousa (370), the Tupinambá bore the names of "animals, fish, birds, trees, foods, weapons and various other things," according to Staden (r 1) of "forest animals," and according to Vicente de Salvador (41) of "animals, plants, or whatever chances to come before their eyes."

000 This last author also notes about those Indians that "... they do not regard killing as prowess unless they break heads, even

Lilakin--177 E-6 (1505, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

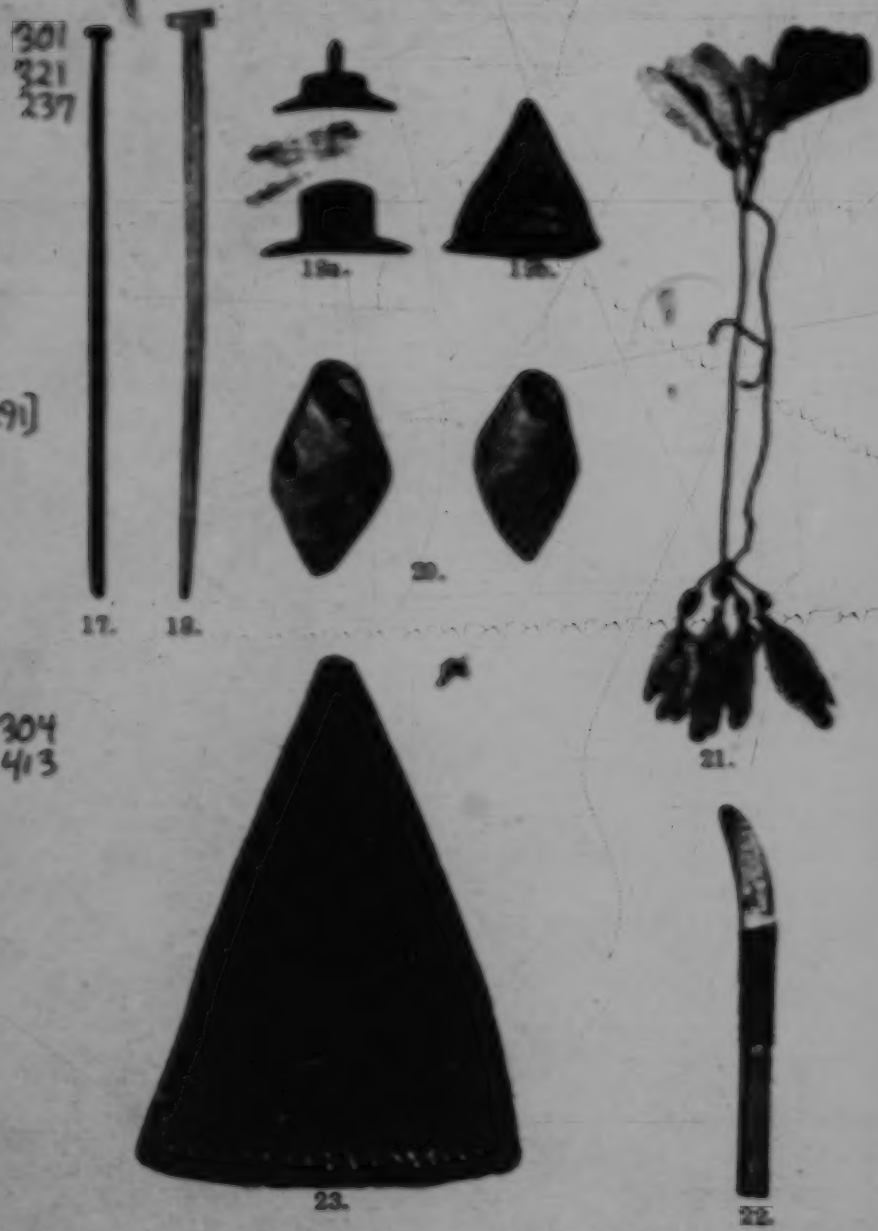



Photo. 17. Tembetá of deer bone. -- 18. Tembetá of wild-pig bone. -- 19a. Wooden tembetá. -- 19b. Raw material for wooden tembetá. -- 20. Penis sheaths. -- 21. Ear ornament. -- 22. Small tattooing knife. -- 23. Scarifier.

/404 cont./
center strips. Their women also make pottery. Their language differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, arrows, stone lip-plugs, food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé, opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago; since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and 263 appear here./

3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black incised tattooing on the chin and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).

In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (kĩwãã; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ in any way from those of the Karajá.

The club (ĩwĩrã, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and depressions.

[Text continues on p. 339]

/405 cont./

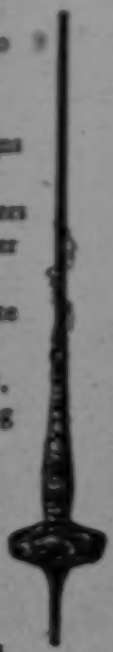
304 ←
309 →

Ill. 262 a, b.
Tattooing of the Tapirapé women.

Ill. 263.
Painting of a Tapirapé girl.

415 The whole-gourd vessel (*kulú*; Pl. 53 69, Ill. 2) bears carved designs similar to 19 those of the Karajá; everything is very crudely executed, however. Of the two half-gourd vessels (*kálodi*; Pl. 69, Ills. 3, 4), one is provided with a tassel made of red cotton threads; their designs are reminiscent of the Karajá carved designs, whereas the designs on the others are completely foreign and carved rather crudely and clumsily.

532 The doll (*dioho*, Ill. 266) of white earth, of rhomboid shape, represents a [383] Tapirapé /406/ maiden. A roll of wax, [411] which is led from one corner down along the two adjacent edges, serves as hair. A parting and arm cuffs (red painting between two rolls) have been put on it. Moreover, the doll wears two ear-rods. In the center and at the four corners there are small holes that are connected with the center by means of one line to the sides and two lines to the top and bottom. The whole figure is five centimeters high and wide and three centimeters thick. It was made by a Tapirapé boy. Of



Ill. 264.
Spindle.

Ill. 265.
Club.
Tapirapé.

101 [16] The Tapirapé Indians live in central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a left tributary of the Araguaia located in the extreme south of the state of Pará. They speak a dialect of Tupi-Guarani, the most widespread aboriginal tongue in Brazil. In spite of a great decline in their population, they still possess a rich cultural tradition which is peculiar to them and which distinguishes them [173] from other tribes. Their customs and traditions are transmitted orally with great care from generation to generation. One of the most 881 interesting among them is the ceremony in which the youth assumes the status of a grown man. This change in status is marked by nearly all peoples. Among us, when a young man reaches the age of 21, he can vote, marry, sign documents, etc.; among many primitive groups, the youth proves that he has become an adult by undergoing torture or achieving success in the hunt.

Among the Tapirapé, this tradition is observed with a festival [302] of song and dance called "hair-tying," for henceforth the young man will wear his hair tied at the back of the neck in adult fashion. For 858 several years before the ceremony, the boy keeps his body painted [302] black with genipap, wears his hair cropped close to the head--"like a monkey," in the words of the Tapirapé-- is subjected to food restrictions, and has his arms and legs scarified until they bleed so he [304] will "grow strong." When he reaches 14 or 15 years of age, his [856] family decides that the time has come for him to become an adult.

881 At the close of the rainy season, the time of harvesting and [221] thus of plenty for the tribe, the "hair-tying" ceremony is carried out. For months beforehand, the youth allows his hair to grow until it comes [302] down to his shoulders. Meanwhile, mother and aunts weave threads [462] (cords) to adorn him, while father and uncles collect feathers with [283] which they make elaborate ornaments. All Tapirapé youths become [237] adults through this rite; the sons of important men, however, and [554] those who were "favorite sons" (the Tapirapé elect certain children to preferential treatment) are much more richly attired than the others. The ceremony is costly to the family, and much time is needed beforehand to gather the necessary materials--macaw tail feathers, short [237] feathers of the blue macaw and parrot, breast fluff of wild ducks, cotton threads for the ornaments, and beads. All these items are [556] [435] valuable to the Tapirapé, who gauge their own wealth in these terms.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



592 from many villages in the one village, many combinations of relatives now form residential groups.

### DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Both sexes are nude. Men tie the prepuce over the glans penis with a palm fiber. Both men and women pull out pubic, axillary, and all facial
302 hair. Even eyebrows are considered ugly. Men wear cotton string ligatures around their legs, just below the knee. Men, and sometimes women,
301 wear large cotton wrist bands crocheted directly on to their arms. Young boys and girls sometimes wear similar ornaments on their ankles; these ornaments are painted with a thick coat of red urucú dye and have round cuffs, often 2 to 3 inches (5 to 7.5 cm.) wide. Necklaces of beads given by Neo-Brazilians are highly valued and used almost to excess. Men
[302] paint their feet and the calves of their legs red with urucú; both men and women trace a multitude of patterns on their body with black genipa dye.

304 Men have their lower lip pierced and wear a small wooden lip plug. Two years or so after women have begun sexual life, patterns in the form of a three-quarter moon are made on their faces by scarification with a paca
[386] (*Cuniculus paca*) tooth knife. Charcoal and plant juices are rubbed into the wounds to leave dark blue designs.

### TRANSPORTATION

[501] The *Tapirapé* do not have canoes. All cargoes are carried by the men
482 in a carrying knapsack made from buriti-palm fibers strapped to their backs.

### MANUFACTURES

286 **Weaving.**—Hammocks are made by women from native cotton spun on
462 wooden spindles. The technique used is the simple twine weaving used by the *Tupinambá* and other *Tupí* groups.

323 **Ceramics.**—At present, the art of ceramics is declining. Pottery is
462 usually for cooking, and is made by women. Sometimes it bears incised
531 geometrical decorations.

531 **Gourds.**—Gourds are decorated with geometric incisions.

**Basketry.**—The most highly developed basketry techniques among the
285 *Tapirapé* are woven and twilled. Two types of baskets are flexible and nonflexible ones; both are of buriti fiber. They generally have a quadrangular base and a narrow, round top, and are used mostly to store manioc or maize flour. Flat, round baskets are used as cotton containers
[531] or flour sifters. They are usually ornamented with motifs originating in the weave itself; frequently the finished basket is smeared with black genipa and odd strands are scraped off, giving a negative decorative effect.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



601 **Kinship.**—Kinship is more important in furthering solidarity among the *Tapirapé* than either the moieties or the feast groups. *Tapirapé* kin-
[182] ship is bilateral, its chief principle being that all cousins, whether cross-
[611] or parallel-cousins, no matter how distant, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of people calling each other siblings are also called siblings. Mother's sisters are called mother, and father's brothers, father. Mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, a man's brothers' children are considered his sons and daughters, and a woman's sisters' children are her children. Children of a man's sisters or a woman's brothers are given special terms.

[621] The wide inclusiveness of kinship affiliation makes it possible for an
[178] individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers—and in former days many people in other villages—by terms of close relationship.

An older man of some prestige gathers around him by adoption as many
554 "daughters" or as many of his wife's "daughters" as possible. By the
581 marriage of these "daughters," he attracts a group of younger men within
597 his household who contribute constantly to his larder through the hunt and
592 garden activities. At present, only three of the nine houses in the village were formed in this way, but reduced numbers, we were told, forced various combinations of relatives to share a household.

## LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth.**—Although aware that pregnancy is brought about by sexual intercourse, the *Tapirapé* believe that conception takes place when a shaman, serving as intermediary, brings a "child spirit" to the woman. Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, and various fish and insects are supposed to contain child spirits.

843 When the woman is certain that she is pregnant, she tells her husband. They both paint their bodies with genipa and cover their hair with urucú. During the first few days of pregnancy, no restraints are imposed upon the child's parents, but as birth approaches, all sexual contact must cease.
[851] All men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers of the future child, together with the real father.

844 At childbirth the woman is assisted by her mother and sister and by two male relatives. The husband retires to his hammock and is forbidden to partake of any liquid refreshment.

847 Infanticide is practiced because it is considered bad to have more than three children, or two children of the same sex. The fourth child, or third of the same sex, of one mother is buried in a hole dug inside the residence for the afterbirth.

852 On the day after birth, a male child has his lower lip perforated. Until
304 the child is weaned, the parents must refrain from sexual relations and
851 must not eat salt, sugar, honey, or the meat of various animals and forest
262 fowls. Both boys and girls also are restricted in their meat diet. A son

171 decorative object used on festive occasions and equipped with a
411 large bone point superposed on the shaft and adorned with tufts of pendant feathers. On the Karajá spear, however, these tufts are secured between the bone point and a braided ornament that covers the front part of the shaft along a length of 50 to 80 centimeters, while in the Tapirapé photographs published in the article "A civilização dos indios de Goyaz" [The Civilization of the Goiás Indians] (Revista [112:58] da Semana), they are fastened behind (or, if the spear is held vertically, under) the two-tone braiding. The Karajá told Krause (loc. cit.) that in olden times, when the spear was used to hunt jaguars, the tufts served to frighten the animal. Speaking of the Kayapó, the same author (2, 390) writes that he observed a few spears similar to those of the Karajá in the course of a ceremony.

Judging by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use hunting traps
224 and differ in this respect from the ancient coastal Tupi whose
171 traps are mentioned by several authors, for example, by Léry (134, 143) in the sixteenth century and by Vasconcellos (p. LXXVII) in the seventeenth. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

During our march to the river, the Tapirapé set fire to the
311 high, dry grass. According to them, they did this to make walking
484 easier on the return journey. This reason differs from that indi-
171 cated to me by the Brazilian frontiersmen when they set grass fields
224 on fire. They said that new grass would grow as a result of the burning and would attract deer and other animals, thus improving hunting conditions. Krause (2, 247) got the same explanation from the Karajá, who also liked to set fire to the grass fields. It may be
224 that the reason given by the Tapirapé reflects their lack of inclination for hunting. To my knowledge, they do not set fire to the fields for the purpose of killing the animals who run away from the fire and of gathering the small rodents who die in the flames, like, for example, the Chamakoko [Chamacoco] of the Chaco (Baldus 1, 32) and the Paressi of Mato Grosso (Roquette Pinto 126).

Among the dozen dogs (chavuana) in Tampiitaua, I did not
224 find a single one specialized for a certain type of game. The two
231 dogs who were with us when we encountered the pair of jaguars were immediately frightened by the animals and dared not run after them even in the company of the Indians. On the other hand, the wild

are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural rather than physical one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitáua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them are completely clothed.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actually experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their new neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the number of Tampiitáua inhabitants has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following [139] were not lacking, however. "Now the Tapirapé only eat small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs."

These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the dry season, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna as well as the human beings in the region have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the frontiersmen, by settling permanently in all the habitable places along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitáua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers.

When I ascended the length of the Tapirapé River in a canoe in 1935, its banks were uninhabited. There was a single inhabitant at the river mouth, and he manned, so to speak, the most advanced post of our civilization. In July, 1947, there were eight houses in Pôrto Velho, which stands more or less at the middle point of the navigable stretch, that is, 15 or 18 leagues from the mouth, and nearly all of their occupants came from the state of Pará and had lived previously at various spots on the Araguaia.

Their settlement, and with it the occupation of the Indian lands, began about five years ago and presents aspects characteristic of the processes that were repeated, with certain variations, throughout the colonization of Brazil. Their leader is a farmer by the name of Lucio

648 offer them a refuge in case of northern Kaiapó advances or attacks. It might also preclude the entry of adventurers into the lands to the south and west, which are assumed to be inhabited by the Akué-Chavante and by the Tupi tribe of the Ampaneá (in this respect, cf. my works, "Uma ponte etnográfica entre o Xingu e o Araguaia, [An ethnographic bridge between the Xingu and the Araguaia]," [113] Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 43, São Paulo, 1938, and "Os Tapirapé, tribo tupi no Brasil Central [The Tapirapé, a Tupi tribe of Central Brazil]," ibid., Vol. 100, São Paulo, 1945).

[911] [144] Since the Tapirapé are traditionally forest Indians, we must consider the possibility of establishing the new post in the vicinity of the recently burned village, that is, at the edge of the great forest. I regard this possibility as extremely slight owing to the difficulties of communication during the yearly floods that cover the savanna and the forest ground.

Another possible way of protecting the Tapirapé would be to gather them into a post to be established on Bananal Island. The advantage here would be their localization in a Federal territory intended exclusively as a reservation for the local Indians and more easily accessible than the upper Tapirapé River. On the other hand, this very accessibility might make it difficult to preserve the tribe as an ethnic entity. In addition, the following factors must be con-
131 sidered: although some Tapirapé groups, according to certain sources,
182 lived for a while on Bananal Island more than 100 years ago, everything indicates that the bulk of the tribe has lived in its present habitat since the eighteenth century (cf. my study of this question in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 98, São Paulo, 1944), and the Tapirapé, therefore, are physically and culturally adapted to this environment and capable of preserving their culture within it. It should
619 be added that in this case, also, the contact between the inhabitants of
166 Tampiitáua and Txitxutáua would be retained, and with it the possibility of marrying outside the village or moving from one village to the other as a result of disappointments, political factors, etc. (1).

648 1. In a report on his visit to the Tapirapé that
166 took place in September, 1948, Mr. Harald Schultz tells me that "none of the Tapirapé like the idea of being transferred to a spot near

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[166]

Conceição do Araguaia, as was Father Luiz Palha's plan." He says that these Indians wish to build a village near the houses of the above-mentioned São Pedro ranch, on the right margin of the Tapirapé, and he adds: "If the Indian Service is not in a position to establish a post for the Tapirapé Indians, it would be worth studying the possibility of entrusting Mr. Lucio da Luz with their protection. Mr. Lucio da Luz is a man of great means, and he would not be primarily interested in the meager wages of a man-in-charge or whatever he might be to those Indians, but would do this rather out of the humanitarian feelings which he seems to possess."

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[241]
[311]

Whatever the case may be, there are three basic needs to be considered in any resettlement of the Tapirapé: 1) the existence of an extensive forest adequate for the large gardens of this essentially farming tribe; 2) the exclusion of all representatives of our civilization who are not employees of the Indian Service, anthropologists, or physicians associated with the Service; 3) the exclusion of members of other aboriginal tribes.

I believe that Father Lelong is correct when he writes in his letter with reference to the Kaiapó who invaded Tapirapé territory: "Ten armed men would suffice to clear the territory of these assassins." These ten men, however, should be under the orders of the Indian Service so as to catch the culprits in the slaughter without shedding blood and take them to the idyllic penitentiary established at the Indian post of Icatu in the state of São Paulo. One of the most urgent tasks is unquestionably the lasting pacification of the northern Kaiapó who, unlike the Akué-Chavante, have the habit of leaving the traditional boundaries of their territory to attack harmless neighbors (cf. what I wrote about this in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 102, São Paulo, 1945, pp. 123-130).

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



by Bento Maciel Parente in 1616 made war upon the Tenetehara. Epidemics, which raged in the early 17th century among the Indian populations of northeast Brazil, certainly reached the Tenetehara. From time to time smallpox, measles, and other diseases have taken a heavy toll among these Indians. The impact of the dominant culture upon the Tenetehara was more intense than it has been upon the Tapirapé. In addition to differences in the nature of the contact continuum, factors inherent in the society and the culture of the two tribes were responsible for the reaction of these societies to Luso-Brazilian contact and for the population trends which followed. Since the Tenetehara and the Tapirapé have historically related cultures sharing many patterns and institutions common to most Tupi speaking tribes, a comparison of the two societies and cultures should allow us to determine the variables responsible for their contrasting reactions.

The subsistence methods of the tribes were in aboriginal times basically similar. Both were tropical forest horticulturalists depending upon hunting, fishing, and forest fruits to supplement their diet. For fishing, the Tenetehara had an advantage since their villages were normally situated near rivers and streams while the Tapirapé villages were located inland many kilometers from the river. In hunting, the Tapirapé had the advantage of nearby open plains country where hunting was more productive than in the tropical forest. Neither tribe had a land problem: the nearest village of the Karajá, who were Tapirapé neighbors, was at least two hundred kilometers away and the Timbira neighbors of the Tenetehara were savanna people offering no competition for forest land. Both tribes during aboriginal times had sufficient territory to move their villages every five or six years when suitable garden sites near their villages had been used up by the slash-and-burn system of horticulture. The two tribes inhabited similar physical environments and they had approximately the same technological equipment to cope with it. Their technology and their subsistence methods must have limited the maximum population of any one village and there are indications that approximately two hundred people was the average village size for both groups. On the other hand, a lack of territory evidently did not enforce a limitation on the number of villages for the tribe. Yet while the Tapirapé tell of only five villages in aboriginal times many times that number are reported by early observers for the Tenetehara. Although specific data is not available, it seems that in aboriginal times Tapirapé population was relatively small and stable while the Tenetehara population was at least twice as large and probably expanding.

This difference in population level between the two tribes in aboriginal times was related to the population policies held by the two groups as well as to differences in social structure of the groups concerned. These cultural values relating to population level are explicit in attitudes toward family size and in positive actions to limit families. Among the Tenetehara infanticide is indicated only in the case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused

137 The savanna of the hinterland beyond the left bank of the river
241 is bounded on the north by this huge forest, in which many generations of Tapirapé Indians have found enough virgin growth to prepare annually new plots that provide them with an abundance of bananas, maize, peanuts, gourds, beans, manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, peppers, tobacco, and cotton. This forest, aside from being flooded
193 extensively even in the dry season, contains small streams flowing
312 on wide beds of clear sand, which offer the Indians cool, limpid
226 water for drinking and bathing, and abundant fish, large and small, that play an important part in their diet.

The only man-made trails that we know of so far in the vicinity
487 of the Tapirapé River are the more or less deeply marked footpaths of the Tapirapé Indians. On the savanna, they are about 20 centimeters wide and follow the sinuous line involuntarily produced by human beings when they walk on flat ground. [97:51] We can verify this sinuosity, for example, on a long beach, when we attempt to reach a certain point directly and later look at the trail left by our feet. We notice that it meanders and thus differs from all animal tracks, those of the jaguar or water cavy as well as those of birds, which always run in a straight line unless they curve out deliberately.

To give an idea of a specific part of the river environs at a
114 specific time of year, I shall now describe my land journey toward the
133 north, from Porto Salvação to Tampũtána. I left on June 19, 1935, at 3:30 in the afternoon, carrying on my back the requisite sleeping and eating equipment. I walked at the rapid pace used by the local frontiersmen on long hikes, making about five kilometers an hour on flat, unobstructed ground. I went through dry grassland with a scatter-
[137] ing of medium-sized trees which sometimes stood dozens of meters apart. After a walk of nearly three hours, I reached Lake Tucunaré,
[103] so called because of its abundant fish of the same name which attract
[136] the Tapirapé Indians to the place every year. At the time of my passage, Lake Tucunaré was a slow and deep brook which I had to cross up to my waist in water. They say that it connects with the Tapirapé River during the rainy season. It is surrounded by trees, and the water is full of them. After wading through it, I reached a place on the shore where those Indians often set up their sleeping hammocks and
[136] where I spent the night. There were quite a few mosquitoes. The
[132] chief plague of the day, however, in spite of my deliberately late start, was the heat.

351 lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the vil-
lage square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstruc-
[372] tions. The trunks served as seats and, bit by bit, as firewood.
They lay in such numbers over the vast area stretching between
the houses and the edge of the forest, and were so entangled and
[114] ensnarled by their branches, that the imaginative Madame de
[712] la Falaise (196), who visited Tampiitaua on August 23, 1935, that
is to say, shortly after my departure, went so far as to write the
following: "We proceeded toward the village, where the tribe,
for fear of armed aggression, has fortified the surroundings. The
felled, tangled trees, the traps and ingenious obstacles, are dis-
couraging. The boldest aggressor would break his neck long be-
fore he got the better of them" [translated from French].

361 In this respect, however, I must confess that the only serious
712 obstacles I encountered daily on crossing the area in question were
114 the products of the tribal digestive processes, for the supposed
[514] fortification held no role other than that of a huge toilet. [110:
192] I do not wish to determine whether such obstacles may be
termed "ingenious," but I wish to emphasize that they did not
discourage me. The truth is that the Tapirapé do not fortify their
[171] village in any way, and differ in this respect from the Tupinambá,
who surrounded their villages (Jean Parmentier apud J.F. de
Almeida Prado, 180; Hans Staden, p. 3; Gabriel Soares de Sousa,
366). The "traps and ingenious obstacles" mentioned above exist
only in the imagination of the author. Even the act of placing
[721] sentries, a precaution referred to in Chapter 5, is strikingly incon-
sistent with the natural bent of the Tapirapé.

Toward the east a stream meandered, a few paces from the
361 village. Its clear, fresh waters ran free of the thick forest for only
[312] a short stretch, which was used at the same time as bathroom and
515 drinking fountain, and as a spot for fishing and for washing the
[226] sleeping hammocks. A well-beaten path led from it to the vil-
[487] lage plaza, skirting a plot of sugar cane to the left. According to
249 what Reverend Kegel told me, this plot resulted from collective
476 labor performed for Kamairahó. The latter had ruled on the site
of the plot and concurrently on that of the village, which had been
built later beside the communally prepared garden. It was, so to
speak, a luxury plot, for it contained nothing but the sweet grass

533 In any case, the greater part of the animal dances and songs
535 that I witnessed dealt with fish. Only the dance of the chankui, that is, "little guan," was also performed frequently. A dance
[171] by this name is mentioned by Von den Steinen (2, 313) for the Auetõ and Kamayurá as "original" to these Tupi tribes. Actually,
[137] those gallinaceans of the Penelope genus, which are easy to catch, abound in Tapirapé territory, and their tasty meat is not barred to either sex. It would be possible to build fine hypotheses about the connection between these facts and the above-mentioned dance, but I shall abstain.

The predominance of fish dances accords with the importance
226 of fishing. The chief fishing period lasts from June to October. During these months, the waters are low and clearer, and in many places it is possible to see all the way down to the bottom. The
[133] small streams gradually dry out, and the fish are compelled to crowd into certain stretches of the river and into the lakes. The latter lose their connections with the river, or they are closed off artificially with dams, observed by Krause (2, 409, Fig. 7, and 267, Plate 29), which consist of stakes connected with crosspieces and covered with thick foliage.

The areas thus dammed are poisoned with a vine called chimá in Tapirapé. The Indians pound the water with pieces of this vine, and call the procedure anchimaká. The water turns a purplish blue. Only the very small fry are killed, however. Other fish are stunned.
[312] To get drinking water the Indians dig holes in the banks, which sometimes lie no farther than one meter from the poisoned waters, but whose contents, filtered through the sand, are harmless to man. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[112:60] Another Tapirapé fishing method, which I have already mentioned, is with the bow and arrow. While the large barbed arrow is used exclusively by adult men, the small one with one or several simple wooden points is used by the boys. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

At Tampiitaua I saw a fish trap (chekiá) consisting of a cylin-
227 drical, funnel-shaped basket made of cane strips (Photo. 32). Aside from this, the Indians showed me a strange object, according to them, used to catch the tiniest fish, which is placed in the water, like the trap, in such a way that the current makes it easy for the fish to get in and impossible for it to get out. This object

171/ 264 [122:170] In their manner of eating the Tapirapé retain many similarities with the ancient Tupinambá. As was the case among the latter, the Tampiitaua family usually eats together from the same container, which stands in the middle, with the father lying in the hammock and the wife and children squatting on the ground (cf. Gabriel Soares de Sousa 366 and 375; Vicente de Salvador 35). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

These present-day Tupi, like the ancient coastal ones, do not drink while they eat (cf. Vicente de Salvador 33; Soares de Sousa 375; Anchieta 2, 330; Cardim 165; Léry 127). Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé eat "all the time, night and day, at any hour or moment" (Cardim 164), and what Simão de Vasconcellos (p. LXXXV) wrote about those Indians may be applied to these: "Eating time comes whenever nature demands it, as with wild animals; and nature demands it so often, that they eat during the day, and during the night if they must." It so happened that at midnight, when everyone was asleep, my hammock neighbor Kamairahó suddenly awoke because he was hungry. He got up, awakening his wife and children. The woman prepared fish, and finally they all began to eat and to take cauí.

The habit of tossing manioc flour into the mouth is a cultural trait that the Tapirapé share not only with the ancient coastal Tupi (cf. Léry 118-119; Thevet I, 303; Cardim 166; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. LXXXV), but also with the peasants who live near the city of São Paulo. The only difference is that around this modern metropolis the flour is propelled into the mouth with a spoon, while among the Indians this is done directly with the fingers.

262 252 Boiled food is eaten or drunk by the Tapirapé as hot as they can stand it. In this respect they can stand more than I, for example. If the food is still too hot even for them, they cool it off by blowing upon it or, if it is liquid, by stirring it with a gourd.

[192] [122:171] In Tapirapé, aó means "I eat," and ayó "I drink water," the o sounding almost like a u.

312 To obtain clear, fresh water, the Tapirapé dig a hole so close to still water or to the river that the liquid penetrates through the dividing wall of earth. The use of this filtering process shows that what Anchieta (II, 330) wrote about the Indians he knew cannot be applied to these: "... they hardly distinguish bad water from good, and are satisfied with any kind." In this respect, the inhabitants of

312 Tampiitaua could teach a lesson to the "civilized" frontiersmen, whom I never observed to use any filtering process in any of the Brazilian states I visited, but who merely drew water from river, pond, or swamp. It is true that when they have fresh, clear water available from small streams such as the one that flowed by the 1935 village, the Tapirapé omit the filtering. They seldom keep water longer than a few hours, and they leave it in gourds, usually small, that they also use as a rule to fetch the water.

276 The only narcotic used by the Tapirapé is tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum L.). They call it petyma. The small species they smoke grows in the forest without being cultivated. Only exceptionally [249] do they transplant a few specimens close to their gardens. They dry the leaves of this Solanacea in the sun, and then store them in [415] the large braided cylinders (orokoroa) that are worn on the head in certain masked dances. They do not allow the tobacco to ferment. Before putting it into the pipe, they crumble the leaves by rubbing them between their hands.

In 1935 they had two kinds of pipe (petyaua), that is, clay pipes, and pipes made of the fruit of the jequitibá [Tr., any tree of the Cariniana genus]. In 1947, the clay pipes had vanished. The 171 Karajá and Kayapó also use pipes made of the fruit of the jequitibá 276 (Krause II, 260 and 388). These two tribes and the Tapirapé do not chew tobacco and do not take snuff, nor do they smoke cigars or cigarettes like the numerous Tupi tribes mentioned by Métraux (II, 116), among them the Tupinambá, Auetó, and Yuruña, and to which we may add the Kamayurá (cf. Meyer I, 61). This how, ever, does not mean that my Tampiitaua friends did not pounce avidly on the butt of every cigarette I threw upon the ground, and smoke it until they burned their mouth and fingers. The Karajá are also crazy about smoking, and koty', that is, tobacco, is what they ask for most often from the traveler. While among them both women and men smoke the pipe, [122:172] only the men smoke among the Tapirapé. Speaking of the Tupinambá, Léry (190) states that he did not see the women use "Petun smoke."

The Tapirapé transfer the smoke from mouth to stomach, and then expel it noisily in a rapid sequence of belches. I did not see them expel it through the nostrils, as reported by Léry (190) and

/406 cont./

114 On the campo path from the first roasting place, which was later
[489] joined by the second coming from the left, we reached a large
[361] village on the second day of the land march, two smaller villages
[312] on the third day, all three abandoned and in utter ruins. Water
was not to be found on the campo on which the villages were
located; the swamps and brooks to which paths led were dried
out and, when excavated, in part to a depth of one meter, did
not even yield moist earth, to say nothing of water.

131 On the basis of the discoveries and observations that I
133 made at these places, I formed the following opinion. The tribe
lives on the high campo that extends from the southern bend of
the Tapirapé to the north as far as the high mountains (or plateau
borders) that enclose it in the north and west. In front of these
borders there extends a tremendous trough, apparently the source
region of the Tapirapé, which from there flows around out of
the high campo in the west and south, then turns off to the north-
[361] east. /407/ Here, approximately 130 kilometers due west from
[162] the Tapirapé mouth, the tribe lives in one large and two smaller
361 villages during the rainy season. The large village seemed to
have had three to four houses; the second, smaller one, two to
[342] three; the third perhaps the same number. The houses were in
such a state of ruin that their construction was no longer recog-
nizable; apparently they were large rectangular buildings with
a pointed gable roof. The villages lie close to the large forest
[133] area that accompanies the trough in front of the mountains. All
around in smaller troughs extend large swamps to which brooks
221 lead. During the dry season these water areas dry up completely,
so that even holes up to a meter deep in the brook bed do not
yield moist earth. As a result, the Indians are compelled to
migrate to water areas, and apparently they then first seek the
[437] upper Tapirapé. In former times they seem to have come
farther downstream to a certain place where they met the Karajá,
who extended their fishing expeditions this far, and traded with
them. This trading place lies about 30 kilometers southeast of
the first village (34 kilometers from the second and third). As
[322] a result of the conflicts with the Karajá, they now avoid this

size of the houses also varies, of course, with the number of their occupants. The ground plan of the village (Fig. 8) shows this numerical distribution, listed in Chapter 5, as it stood at the time of my visit.

Since I did not witness the construction of houses (avuyra-ham, "to build a house"), the following description of the procedure is based on what my companion, Mr. Kegel, observed on a previous visit. In August, during the day, the men cut down tree trunks of varying thickness in the forest, as well as leaves of the so-called "wild banana" (Heliconia spec.) and of the palm called macaba by the frontiersmen of the Araguaia. These provide the beams, poles, and thatch for the houses. The Indians carry these materials to the site of the future village in the late afternoon, thus avoiding the daytime heat which would cause the "banana" leaves to curl in transit and the bearers to tire unduly.

The construction work begins around four or five in the afternoon. First, the framework of beams is erected. The vertical shafts are laid out in three parallel rows, both outer rows being of the same height and the middle one being higher. Thus, in house a (Fig. 10), the outer shafts are about 1.60 meters high while the inner ones are about 3.80 meters high, and this represents a general average for all the houses except the takana. In house a, the outer rows stand about 2.75 meters from the inner one, and the intervals between the shafts in each row (marked with circles in Fig. 9) are one meter, 3.40 meters, 3.90 meters, 3.25 meters, 3.50 meters, and 1.30 meters, respectively. Since these intervals are the same in all three lines, seven other rows of shafts result, which stand perpendicular to the others and divide the house into rectangular quadrilaterals. This division, which is socially important because it reflects the distribution of the occupants [110:194] into couples and nuclear families, is emphasized further by crossbeams that form the sides of the quadrilaterals and are tied with embira cord [Tr., bast fiber yielded by a tree] at a height of 1.60 meters when they do not rest on the forked tips of the outer vertical shafts (cf. Fig. 10 and Photos. 3 and 48). In addition, the inner vertical shafts are connected to one another with several poles (marked with circles in Fig. 10) at a height varying from 3.20 to 3.80 meters.

476 under the leadership of the ãntaiva of the Anantxã, Tanupantxõa and Vuirã. Here the Anantxã were present in larger numbers than the other groups, for they were, so to speak, the contractors of this particular apatxirã. No division into three groups was evident, however, as the work progressed. All the Tãnãvé, Anantxã, and Vuirantxinió mixed together at random.

Tanupantxõa marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those spots without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax. [554] He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others.

Ãntaiva of other groups were also present and working, such as Urukumĩ' of the Tãnãvé and Kamairã of the Vuirantxinió. Vũãtanami' [576] had gone to his garden. As usual, he probably wanted to avoid meeting Kamairahó, whom he hated. Maninohó had stayed home. Kamairahó sat on a felled tree and watched.

313 476 [100] Each man, as soon as he felt the desire to work, chose a tree for himself, as he pleased, in the vicinity of the ãntaiva, and the contest began. It did not seem to be a contest against the fellow workers, a fight to win over the others by achieving more, but a joyous contest against the timber and the big forest, against the forest as a whole, for it was not merely a matter of conquering each tree individually with the brute strength of the arms, but also a matter of strategy. First an incision in a good number of trees was made in such a way that they would all fall in the same direction when their tottering neighbor leaned against them from the opposite direction. Only then was a forest giant felled, and felled in such a way that it dragged with it to the ground its fellows weakened by the ax.

464 After extreme exertion for a while, each man would rest until he felt like resuming his task. They were all quite diligent.

The Indian works according to a different rhythm than that followed by the men of our civilization. He does not carry out the same task every day, at a certain time and for a certain period of time, but gives himself up with all his senses and all his strength to whatever task seems to him most necessary at the moment and best suited to his creative urge. When he does this, he does not spare himself but persists in his heavy work until he is completely exhausted. For example, he gives himself to the felling of trees with such fanaticism that on the following day he can hardly get out of his hammock owing to the muscular pain. [101] As soon as he feels a little better, he carves a bow stave or weaves a basket. Suddenly, he feels a craving for

171 Another occasion to cut the hair short is the death of a close
302 relative, when not only the males (cf. Photos. 51 and 52) but the
765 opposite sex as well (Photo. 64) are compelled to undergo this procedure. This custom is quite widespread in South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

302 Among the Tapirapé at the present time, the hair is cut with
[177] scissors received from the Whites. [Ed., the remainder of p. 107
[412] is omitted, which includes the beginning of the sentence finished at the top of p. 108.]

[107:108] . . . in 1614, Father Claude d'Abbeville (267)
302 wrote of the hair of the Tupinambá of Maranhão: "[Ed., two
171 sentences are omitted.] They [the women] are quite meticulous
515 about combing their hair and do not fail to wash it and rub it with oil and Roucou every morning" [translated from French]. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

Some Tapirapé comb their hair with great care, although they do not wash it as frequently as the Tupinambá women observed by Father Claude, or massage it as often with oil and urucú. They
[314] would no doubt anoint it more frequently if it were not for the scarcity of the raw material, a palm nut that grows only at certain times of year. This scarcity impelled an honest matron to steal from us our only bottle of oil, which we had brought to remedy the lack of fat in the diet. Instead of lining our stomachs, the entire liter of nutritious liquid ended up on the good woman's head. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 108 is omitted.]

302 [107:109] The Tapirapé also put urucú in their hair, but only on special occasions. They apply it to boys on the festive day of
[881] initiation, to girls on the day when their first menstruation ends,
[764] and to the dead. It may have religious significance, but I cannot tell.

515 Aside from hair combing, delousing is a gesture of love. The
593 bugs caught end their existence between the teeth of the catcher, who thus swallows the blood of his or her beloved. This tender duty is performed on a mutual basis by parents and children and by loving spouses. Girls show the greatest enthusiasm for this type of quest. It does happen, however, that an old man still delouses an already married son (cf. Photo. 55).

826 Not only do they avoid losing the blood stolen by lice and
261 mosquitoes by eating the culprits caught in the act, but they also

302 genipap. They have given up for keeps the tamankurá or cotton
881 ornaments they wore in childhood. Some of them change names,
[553] if they did not already do so at the time of their first menstruation. They eat nothing but green-maize cauí [a soup]. Both men and women sing the kaó, a kind of national anthem. When the whole ceremony is over, the girl is painted with the genipap stripes characteristic of women.

304 The tattooing is done by certain mature men. They need not
412 be sorcerer--medicine men, but some of them are, like Urukumy for example (Photo. 53). The aim of the tattooing is to differentiate the women from the girls. The small knife used to make the incisions (Photo. 22) is called voamé. It consists of a fragment of
[237] rodent incisor embedded in a small piece of thin cane wrapped in a narrow strip of philodendron inner bark. This strip strengthens
[314] the small rod, which was previously covered with resin to provide a better hold. The tooth fragment in the knife reproduced here (Photo. 22) consists of that part of a paca (kanoanó) incisor nearest to
[237] the gum, and thus not of its cutting section. The edge was created by scraping the fragment with a knife. Sometimes the fragment is also taken from the tooth of an agouti (akutí, ankuchí), another rodent that, like the paca, belongs to the Caviidae family.

304 Krause (2, 404) writes of Tapirapé tattooing: "Tattooing exists
114 among married women; they cut vertical lines in their chins, and a line that goes down obliquely from either side of the mouth." As we can see, this does not quite agree with the tattooing I observed. And the drawings published by Krause (ibid., Fig. 262), although they disagree with the description above by the same author in showing several oblique lines originating at the corners of the lips, rather than just one, still do not resemble the crossed horizontal and vertical lines that I saw on the faces of Tapirapé women. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 115, pp. 116-119 which include several pages of comparative data on scarification, and all but the last paragraph on p. 120 are omitted.]

107:120] To summarize, we may say that the special character
304 of female tattooing differentiates the Tapirapé from all neighboring
171 tribes about which anything is known in this connection. The data
[114] of Herrmann Meyer about the Aravine and their tattooing, which are given in Chapter 4 of this work, are not sufficient to be taken into account in studying this topic. It should be pointed out further

The glue is a resin (ykyryvá in
301 Tapirapé) used by both sexes to anoint the body and hair. Once
237 crushed, it is mixed with peanut oil (chany). [Ed., the last two
[314] paragraphs of p. 130 and all but the last paragraph of p. 131 are
[381] omitted.]

[108:131] Larger feather ornaments are used by the Tapirapé, as a rule, only on festive occasions. The Tapirapé Kanchovaní, however, when I invited him to come with me to the Araguaia, showed me the large red macaw feathers that he intended to wear on his head upon reaching the Karajá villages. These are the
[171] feathers prized most highly both in his own tribe and among the shore dwellers of the big river. I never saw any Tapirapé use them aside from such occasions. [Ed., the remainder of p. 131 and the first half of p. 132 are omitted.]

[108:132] The circular feather headdress is of the greatest
292 importance to the Tapirapé. Referring to its use in the Thunder
796 ceremony, Wagley writes (4, 33-34 [Tr., in English at 4, 89-90]): "... each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate
[776] headdress--the ankungitána. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer. Without exception all who
292 wore the ankungitána, even Panterí and Urukumú, showed genuine
781 fear and fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder. Before a man could put the headdress on, a shaman waved it slowly before
[756] his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific 'heat.' When Urukumú wore the ankungitána, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circuit of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid, and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panterí. Panterí likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the
787 headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song, and when he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of
776 Thunder. Later, Panterí [108:133] related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: 'I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They

439 southern band they were regarded as precious articles." This may explain why Nuerehí, a Karajá about 50 years old and an inhabitant of Beroromandú, a village located near Santa Teresinha, asked me to bring him a bow and a handful of arrows from the Tapirapé, stating that these objects were better in the Tupi tribe than in his own. I already mentioned in Chapter 2 that, accord- [101] ing to Krause (2, 456), the word uohú, with which the Karajá designate the Tapirapé, means "arrow." This may possibly refer to their capacity as arrow suppliers.

The arrows (oyva) of these Indians, shown in Photographs 27, 171/411 29, and 30, resemble the corresponding Karajá and Kayapó arrows described by Krause (2, 264-270, 392-393). The corresponding arrows are the barbed ones and those with a simple, rounded, wooden tip. I have not seen any Tapirapé arrows like the two encountered by the same author (2, 411 and Fig. 270), of which one had a flat wooden tip with "barbs cut out on both sides and a double edge," while the other had a cane tip. Nor did I find [112:54] arrows with notched wooden tips among the Tapirapé, such as those Krause (2, 265) encountered among the Karajá. On the other hand, the bird arrow with a thick wax tip which that author (2, 247) noted in the same tribe is also used by the Tapirapé (see Photos. 25 and 26).

Like the Karajá, Kayapó (loc. cit., 267 and 392), and tribes of the Xingu headwaters (Von den Steinen 2, 229), the Tapirapé also make a kind of barbed arrow by fastening to the tip of the wooden part of the shaft, previously grooved laterally, a small piece of bone that is slightly curved and sharp at both ends. This [314] piece is tied on, and the whole binding is covered with black resin. In the barbed Tapirapé arrows tipped with the spine of the sting-ray, the barb is not made with the spine also, as Krause (2, 393 and Fig. 249h) asserts of a Kayapó arrow that is similar but made of wood. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The length of barbed arrows with bone or sting-ray tips is [237] roughly identical among the Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé. The tip, on the average, is six centimeters long, the wooden part of the shaft from 35 to 50 centimeters, and the cane part about one meter long.

The wooden rod bearing the arrow point (oyvanchí, chi meaning "point") is inserted into the cane stem (angkamanchyva) and

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411 secured there with resin. It was previously placed near the fire to be straightened out while still hot. As a rule, however, the rod becomes straight in general orientation only and remains crooked in one or several places. An essentially agricultural tribe like the Tapirapé does not make weapons with the care expended on such work by a hunting tribe, such as the Bororo, for example. The heat of the fire also serves to harden the wood, which is sometimes dyed red or black.

The section of the cane shaft that encircles the rod is bound [824] spirally with a narrow black strip of philodendron bark (vuamé) [314] glued on with resin. This covering is from nine to 16 centimeters long and makes the shaft stronger.

The feathered part (pepá or "wing," pe meaning "path," "direction," "forward motion," and pa meaning "hand") is, on the average, from 16 to 25 centimeters long. Like the Karajá and the Kayapó, the Tapirapé fasten two feathers in opposition to each [237] other at the extreme tip of the shaft. The feathers are usually those of macaws, hawks, or hoatzins. Their stems are tied to the shaft with cotton thread (inimá). The twisting of the feathers, which aims at spinning the arrow in flight, seldom covers a quarter of the shaft circumference and often does not even cover an eighth of it. The barbs of the feathers are crudely cut out [439] with scissors acquired from the Whites, and the half that juts out is broader than the other half. The stem of the feather is slit at the tip and glued to the cane covered with resin. Both spiral bindings of cotton thread are fastened to the shaft with resin. The front one is of [112:55] blackened cotton, about six centimeters long, and holds small red and sometimes yellow macaw breast feathers whose barbs extend backward, that is to say, inside the feathering. The rear binding is of white cotton, about one and a half centimeters long, and serves not only to secure the thinner part of the feather stems, but also to strengthen the tip of the arrow. This tip has an oblique notch (vuatachimeakáua), more than half a centimeter deep, that receives the bow cord. The binding reaches up to this notch, and its third function seems to be that of a tribal marking, for aside from the parallel threads it bears two crossed ones which are, as Krause (2, 270) heard among the Karajá, characteristic of the Tapirapé.

171 411 531 These Indians, like the Karajá (ibid.) and Kayapó (ibid., 393) decorate the shaft section between the two cotton bindings with one or more rings of red resin (totayga, chotahypyrynga). In the Tupi tribe, the width of these rings varies from one to eight centimeters. The raw material is cooked in a pot with water by the [462] [252] woman, since, according to the Tapirapé behavior pattern, all cooking in pots is female work, while roasting falls to the men. The cotton thread is also made by the woman. Otherwise, the arrow, like other weapons and their component parts, is made by [422] the man, and usually the owner of the weapon was also its maker.

Thevet (1, 291) writes as follows of a tree called "Vhebehasou" 171 which is extremely tall, with leaves similar to those of a cabbage ● 314 and fruits over a foot long which never ripen because they are soon eaten up by wild bees: "In addition, it bears a red gum, suitable to many different ends, which they handle skillfully" [translated from French]. Could it be that the Indians visited by Thevet, that is to say, the Tupinambá of the sixteenth century, used the above-mentioned "red gum" for the same end as the Tapirapé use totayaga?

227 411 The barbed arrow is better suited to the pursuit of large fish than any other, since the barb, by fastening the weapon to the animal's body, not only prevents it from escaping and weakens and kills it, as also happens with mammals, but also facilitates the removal of the fish from the water. The conditions are different, however, when small fish are shot in shallow waters where the arrowpoint easily penetrates into the sand. In such cases the Tapirapé use a small bow (vuirampampí) and special arrows, 60 to 70 centimeters long, with simple rounded wooden points, ten to 20 centimeters long, which are inserted directly into the cane shaft. In harmony with the overall size of these arrows, parrot [237] feathers are used at the tip instead of the plumage of macaws and other large birds used on barbed arrows. In other respects, however, these two types of arrows are identical from the tip of the cane shaft, which is bound with a strip of philodendron bark, to the other tip where the bow cord rests upon the notch, and all the details of the feathered section are exactly the same. As far as the point is concerned, however, it is worth noting that sometimes the small arrows have up to three of those simple, rounded, wooden points instead of just one (see Photo. 30). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

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Photo. 17. Tembetá of deer bone. -- 18. Tembetá of wild-pig bone. -- 19a. Wooden tembetá. -- 19b. Raw material for wooden tembetá. -- 20. Penis sheaths. -- 21. Ear ornament. -- 22. Small tattooing knife. -- 23. Scarifier.

101 identified with the Tapirapé, than that there should have existed
174 in the Tocantins basin two different tribes with such similar
[114] names. [Ed., the last half of p. 110 and the first half of p. 111 are omitted.]

[98:111] Assuming, now, that the "Caatingas" and "Pirapés" were the seventeenth century ancestors of the Tapirapé, which is not impossible in the case of the former and probable in the case of the latter, it must be admitted that the Tapirapé reached their present habitat from the north.

The hypothesis in favor of such an origin is strengthened
173 further by the statements made to me by the Tapirapé themselves. They say that they lived formerly to the north of Conceição and closer to the Araguaia than today, but that they gradually moved farther south out of fear of the Kayapó [Cayapo] and farther west out of fear of the Karajá. They add, however, that they never lived south of the Tapirapé River, which is the southern boundary of their present territory.
619 It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the inhabitants
648 of Tampiitáua maintained continuous relations with another Tapirapé village located "ten days' march to the north," and therefore, in any case, at a considerable distance, while they had no contact whatever with their supposed neighbors to the southwest, the so-called Ampaneá, who apparently are also Tupí and who are much less distant from Tampiitáua than that northern Tapirapé village. It is possible that the Ampaneá
[174] and Tapirapé reached their present habitats from different directions, or that the former got there long before the Tapirapé became their neighbors.

[98:112] Kissenberth (2, 40-41, 75-78) believes it possi-
114 ble that the potsherds he found on the Morro dos Cayapós [Hill
172 of the Cayapo], located in the hinterland west of Conceição
174 do Araguaia and almost at the same latitude as this locality, are products of the Tapirapé ceramic industry (see ibid., 37, map). Stating that he is not familiar with Tapirapé pottery, the same author goes on to say (ibid., 77): "Even a cursory comparison of these fragments with the ceramics and potsherds of South American peoples forcibly suggests the Tupí-Guaraní."
[323] Regarding this, I must say that I did not encounter among present-day Tapirapé pottery the ornamentation found on these potsherds.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



592 from many villages in the one village, many combinations of relatives now form residential groups.

### DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Both sexes are nude. Men tie the prepuce over the glans penis with a palm fiber. Both men and women pull out pubic, axillary, and all facial
302 hair. Even eyebrows are considered ugly. Men wear cotton string ligatures around their legs, just below the knee. Men, and sometimes women,
301 wear large cotton wrist bands crocheted directly on to their arms. Young boys and girls sometimes wear similar ornaments on their ankles; these ornaments are painted with a thick coat of red urucú dye and have round cuffs, often 2 to 3 inches (5 to 7.5 cm.) wide. Necklaces of beads given by Neo-Brazilians are highly valued and used almost to excess. Men
[302] paint their feet and the calves of their legs red with urucú; both men and women trace a multitude of patterns on their body with black genipa dye.

304 Men have their lower lip pierced and wear a small wooden lip plug. Two years or so after women have begun sexual life, patterns in the form of a three-quarter moon are made on their faces by scarification with a paca
[386] (*Cuniculus paca*) tooth knife. Charcoal and plant juices are rubbed into the wounds to leave dark blue designs.

### TRANSPORTATION

[501] The *Tapirapé* do not have canoes. All cargoes are carried by the men
482 in a carrying knapsack made from buriti-palm fibers strapped to their backs.

### MANUFACTURES

286 **Weaving.**—Hammocks are made by women from native cotton spun on
462 wooden spindles. The technique used is the simple twine weaving used by the *Tupinamba* and other *Tupí* groups.

323 **Ceramics.**—At present, the art of ceramics is declining. Pottery is
462 usually for cooking, and is made by women. Sometimes it bears incised
531 geometrical decorations.

531 **Gourds.**—Gourds are decorated with geometric incisions.

**Basketry.**—The most highly developed basketry techniques among the
285 *Tapirapé* are woven and twilled. Two types of baskets are flexible and nonflexible ones; both are of buriti fiber. They generally have a quadrangular base and a narrow, round top, and are used mostly to store manioc or maize flour. Flat, round baskets are used as cotton containers
[53] or flour sifters. They are usually ornamented with motifs originating in the weave itself; frequently the finished basket is smeared with black genipa and odd strands are scraped off, giving a negative decorative effect.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few 177
months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of [197]
Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and [191]
verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these 114
youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals 123
we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," [621]
the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses [361]
arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were [592]
each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the per- [551]
sonal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Maria-
pawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let 114
alone pronounce. [122]

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study [197]
intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the wide-
spread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least
passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms
of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed
explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which [241]
manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops
were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poison- [462]
ous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I [252]
watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture [323]
their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm- [285]
thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building [462]
was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly [345]
became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and [291]
the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude [834]
women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never
to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also [302]
to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed
their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on
their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many [126]
other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes
and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather 123
pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our
antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversa-
tions that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales
of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

304 Like the ear perforation, that of the lower lip is restricted to members of the male sex among the inhabitants of Tampiitáua. According to them, it is also made by the mother with a bone [412] needle on the morning following the birth of her child. The Tapirapé do not have a generic name for the objects inserted into 301 the artificial lip opening, which vary with the age of the wearer. 237 When they want to refer to a lip ornament without specifying [192] which one, they merely say emekuana (emeguana, temekuana), or emekuanĩ if a small boy is concerned. Emé means "lower lip" (cheremé, "my lower lip"), kuana means "hole," and i is a diminutive (kuanĩ, "little hole"). The opening in a child's lip is indeed much smaller than in that of an adult such as Kamairá (Photo. 57). They insert a bone there until the time when the boy who is about to be initiated has his hair cut, and this bone grows along with its wearer (Photos. 3, 6, 25, 28, 61). Thus, a boy who was about five years old wore a wild-pig bone nine and a half centimeters long and from two to four millimeters wide, with a crosspiece about eight millimeters wide (Photo. 18). A boy of eight or ten had a deer bone 25 centimeters long and three to five [109:77] in diameter, with a crosspiece one centimeter wide (Photo. 17). Rhea bones were also used as boys' lip ornaments. The bone is introduced from the inside, so that the crosspiece remains inside the mouth to secure the ornament.

[302] When a boy's hair is cut, a year before his initiation cere- [881] mony, the deer bone is replaced with the wooden plug worn by the men (Photo. 19a). Some of those plugs contain the embedded tooth of a tapiti (Sylvilagus minensis, tampichĩ in Tapirapé) (Photo. 55). The plug with a tooth shown in Photograph 19a is about eight to ten millimeters in diameter and six millimeters along its full length, or in other words, four millimeters in the wooden section and two millimeters in the projecting part of the tooth. The piece that secures the plug is two centimeters wide. [824] The plugs are made with the pointed excrescences found on the trunks of a tree called tanchimoyva in Tapirapé. The one reproduced here (Photo. 19b) is 25 millimeters long and from 15 to 25 millimeters wide.

301 At the initiation ceremony, however, and only on that great • 324 day, the boy wears an ornament that would qualify for the Tupi [881] name tembetá, from tembé, "lower lip," and itá, "stone." This

301 word is usually given to all the hard, stiff objects worn by Brazilian
324 Indians in the artificial lower-lip hole, except for the botoque which differs from the tembetá in shape and size (cf. Baldus and Willems 33-34 and 218). [Fig. 7 appears here.] It is true that the Tapirapé
[192] are unfamiliar with this word and speak only of itachinga, "white stone," when they point at this quartz ornament. I was told by
[135] them that the raw material is found "in large quantities" in a stream they call Tochypiá, which flows several days' journey northwest of Tampiitáua, near Moytáua, the Tapirapé village abandoned in 1932. The specimen I saw (Fig. 7) measured nine and a half centimeters along its full length and four and a half centimeters around the slender part, while the thick part was ten and a half centimeters all around and three and a half centimeters in diameter. It was the only specimen extant in Tampiitáua, and Kamairahó, in whose possession it was, did not want to let me have it at any price. This shows the importance of this ornament in the life of the tribe. Since the tembetá was no longer complete, I asked the Indian Kanió to show me how it was worn. It became

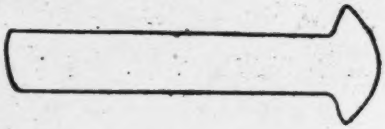

Fig. 7. Ceremonial quartz tembetá.

evident that the thicker part remains outside the mouth, for Kanió coated the other end with wax and introduced it into the lip hole (Photo. 2).

In Chapter 4 I mentioned the notices of João Manuel de Menezes,
171 Aristides de Souza Spinola, Fritz Krause, and Wilhelm Kissenberth
301 concerning the existence of Tapirapé tembetá among the [109:78] Karajá. The specimen acquired by Kissenberth (2, 72 and Fig. 15) from these Indians, which he reproduces in its actual size, has almost the same length as the fragment I saw in Tampiitáua, that is to say, 8.6 centimeters, and it too is incomplete. The difference, however, lies in the fact that the broadened, convex, plug-shaped end is missing, rather than the securing piece. The latter has the shape of a T, that is to say, it is a crosspiece like those on the

621 by this missionary. There was at the time only one couple with
[163] three children, while other couples with progeny only had one or two. When Mr. Kegel was in Tampiitáua in 1934, after the departure of the oft-mentioned "20" who had not yet returned in
[161] 1935, he only saw seven houses with 113 occupants. It is to be assumed that a few additional families were absent during the missionary's visit that year, for in 1935 I counted 130 Tapirapé. They were living in the seven houses seen by Mr. Kegel the
[342] previous year, and also in the so-called takana [men's house] and in another hut (marked with the letter g on the ground plan of the village) which was not as finished as the others. The distribution of those 130 individuals among the houses is indicated on the ground plan of the village (Fig. 8).

V62 621 The following table shows the ratios by age, sex, marital status, and progeny. [Table appears here.]

[103:187] It is apparent, therefore, that at the time of this census, made in 1935, there were 70 married individuals and 60 unmarried ones in Tampiitáua.

The 38 men between the ages of 18 and 45 included the fathers of 20 children. The 26 women between the ages of 21 and 60 included the mothers of 32 children. These 64 men and women, therefore, included the fathers and mothers of 52 children.

These 52 children do not include those who were cited as
[597] stepchildren or adopted offspring. It is possible, furthermore, that they may include step- or adopted children who were not cited as such. In this case, the number of children with a living father or mother, which is already relatively small, would be even smaller.

Among the couples who had issue from their current marriages, there was one with three children, two with two, and five with one child each.

There was a 45-year-old grandfather with a three-year-old granddaughter, and a grandmother of 60 with a granddaughter who was also three. A man of 33 said that he was the grandfather of a girl of five who had neither father nor mother. He may have been the brother of the girl's grandfather.

No less striking than the above figures are the following.

In the age group ranging from less than one year to 14, there were 26 males and 29 females, that is to say, 55 individuals of both sexes.

[Text continues on p. 40]

249 476 that the Indians suck. It was, incidentally, the only cultivated plot within the clearing where Tampiitaua stood.

361 342 345 The center of Tampiitaua was the takana, the large men's house. Eight communal huts were grouped around it, with their entrances set in such a way that it was impossible to look from the inside of one hut into that of another (cf. Fig. 8, in which the chief entrances are represented with black rectangles and the secondary ones with blank rectangles). The village plaza stretched between the front of the takana and the semicircle formed by the houses on the east side of the settlement, and it was the setting for dances, singing, games, races, speeches, and banquets.

361 166 The "village of the tapirs," however, had not always stood in the clearing where I found it, nor did it remain there after my departure (cf. Ch. 5). At certain times, the Tapirapé move far away. At regular intervals varying from two to five years, however, they move the village to a spot only one or a few leagues away. When they abandoned the village located on the banks of the lower Tapirapé, the distance they covered was considerable, that is to say, probably a few dozen kilometers. Long distances [621] [578] were also covered at various times when villages split up or joined together, as a result, in the former case, of internal dissensions, and in the latter case of dwindling population [Fig. 8 appears here] [110:193] or lack of shamans. The chief causes for the smaller, 136 166 361 habitual moves are the plagues of cockroaches and the number of graves within the huts. The unchecked proliferation of Blattella germanica L. compels the Indians to abandon and burn down all their houses every few years. The recurrence of this event is ensured by the carelessness of the Indians, for after the village has been destroyed the household goods carried to the new site are never sufficiently free from cockroaches to prevent them from soon swarming all over the dwellings. When epidemics cause the [764] [731] floors of the huts to fill rapidly with graves, this manner of burial may entail the erection of a new village within an even shorter period of time.

361 Not only does the settlement change as to site, however, but it also changes in size. I have already mentioned in Chapter 5 the data furnished by Reverend Kegel, according to which [342] Tampiitaua consisted of about 14 houses in August, 1932. The

[Text continues on p. 78]

1:Baldus--76 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

[facing p. 193]

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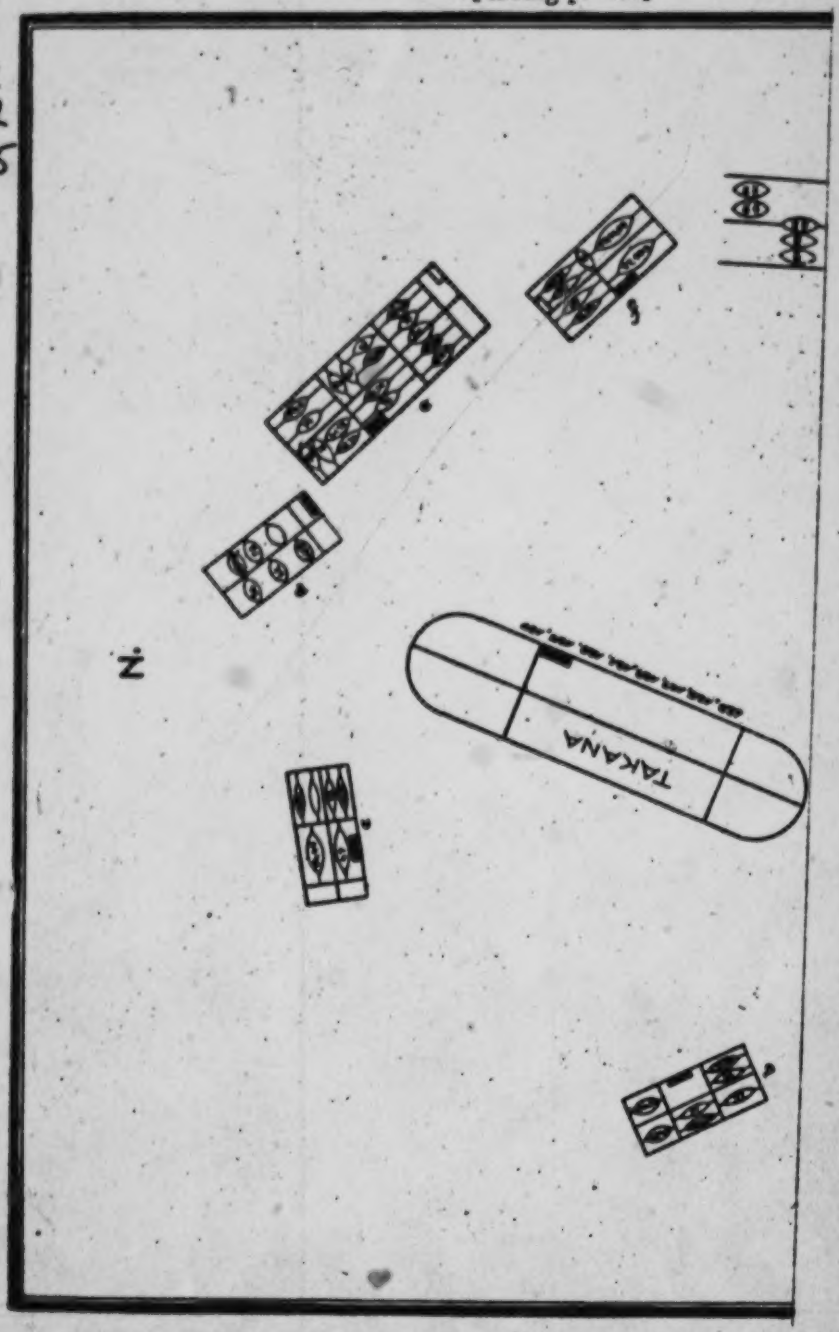


[FIG. 8- TOP HALF]

1:Baldus--'77 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

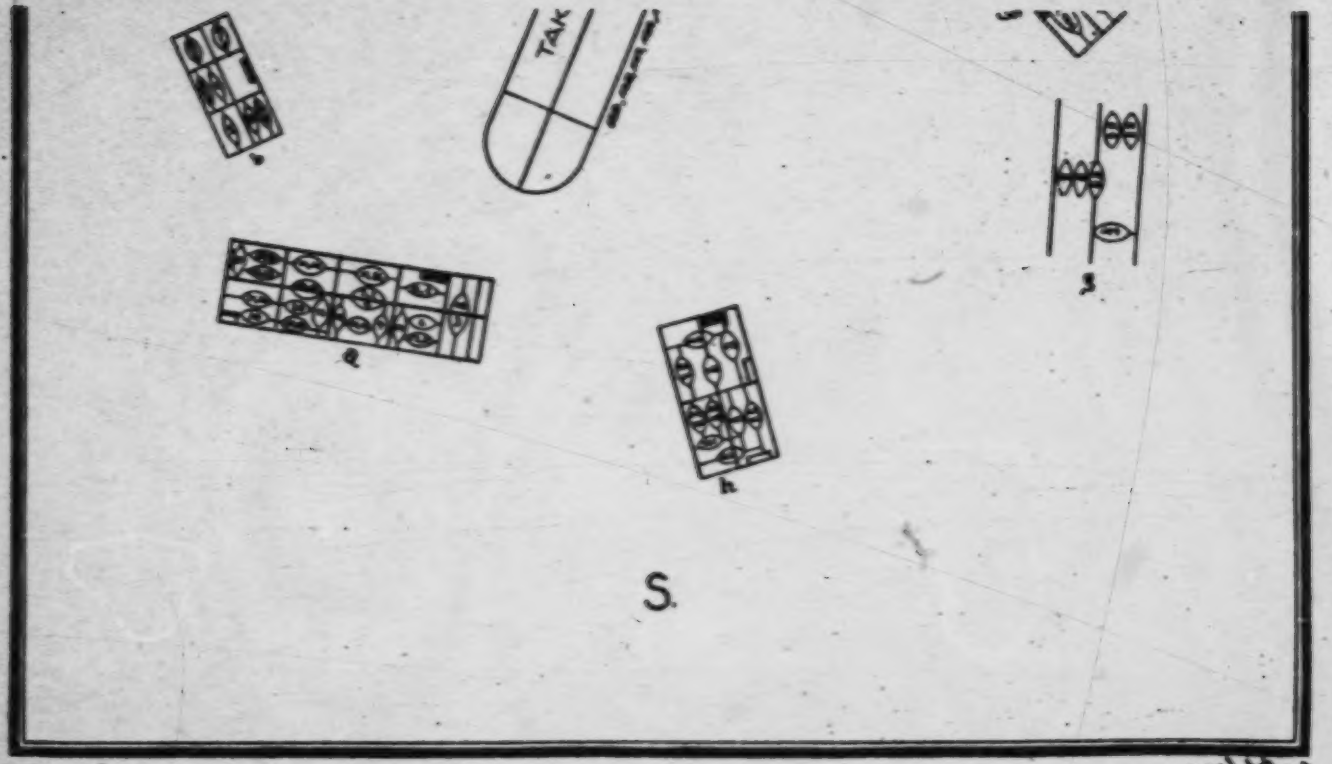


Fig. 8. Ground plan of the village.

[FIG. 8 - BOTTOM HALF]

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361 size of the houses also varies, of course, with the number of their
[342] occupants. The ground plan of the village (Fig. 8) shows this numerical distribution, listed in Chapter 5, as it stood at the time of my visit.

342 Since I did not witness the construction of houses (avuyra-ham, "to build a house"), the following description of the procedure is based on what my companion, Mr. Kegel, observed on a previous visit. In August, during the day, the men cut down tree trunks of
[313] varying thickness in the forest, as well as leaves of the so-called "wild banana" (Heliconia spec.) and of the palm called macaba by the frontiersmen of the Araguaia. These provide the beams, poles, and thatch for the houses. The Indians carry these mate-
[482] rials to the site of the future village in the late afternoon, thus avoiding the daytime heat which would cause the "banana" leaves to curl in transit and the bearers to tire unduly.

The construction work begins around four or five in the afternoon. First, the framework of beams is erected. The vertical shafts are laid out in three parallel rows, both outer rows being of the same height and the middle one being higher. Thus, in house a (Fig. 10), the outer shafts are about 1.60 meters high while the inner ones are about 3.80 meters high, and this represents a general average for all the houses except the takana. In house a, the outer rows stand about 2.75 meters from the inner one, and the intervals between the shafts in each row (marked with circles in Fig. 9) are one meter, 3.40 meters, 3.90 meters, 3.25 meters, 3.50 meters, and 1.30 meters, respectively. Since these intervals are the same in all three lines, seven other rows of shafts result, which stand perpendicular to the others and divide the house into rectangular quadrilaterals. This division, which is
[592] socially important because it reflects the distribution of the occupants [110:194] into couples and nuclear families, is emphasized further by crossbeams that form the sides of the quadrilaterals and
[283] are tied with embira cord [Tr., bast fiber yielded by a tree] at a height of 1.60 meters when they do not rest on the forked tips of the outer vertical shafts (cf. Fig. 10 and Photos. 3 and 48). In addition, the inner vertical shafts are connected to one another with several poles (marked with circles in Fig. 10) at a height varying from 3.20 to 3.80 meters.

342 Once the framework is completed, the Indians drive rods into the ground in a straight line between the outer vertical shafts. The series of numbers in Fig. 9 (3, 8, 11, 10, 7, and 1) refers to these rods, which I represented with dots on the ground plan of house a. The rods are fastened with embira cord to the ridge formed by the highest longitudinal poles, and to the longitudinal poles connecting the outer vertical shafts. This results in an elongated dome where the roof and walls make up a homogeneous unit rather than two separate sections. Once the men have planted the rods securely in the ground, they tie onto them horizontal ones [Figs. 9 and 10 appear here] (marked with circles in Fig. 10), beginning at the bottom and working their way up so that they use the rods as a ladder until they reach the top.

When this has been done, sticks about one meter long are fastened vertically about one meter apart to the outside of the longitudinal poles connecting the outer shafts. These sticks are

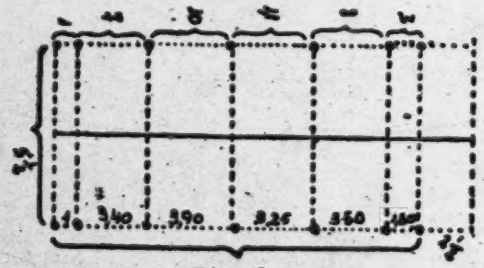

Fig. 9.

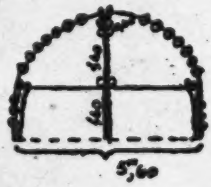

Fig. 10.

Fig. 9. Plan of house a.
Fig. 10. Cross-section of house a.

fastened in such a way that they stand half above and half below the longitudinal poles, their upper half conforming to the curvature of the dome and their lower half jutting out slightly. The sole purpose of these sticks is to hold, in the middle of their lower, jutting half, a cord of twisted embira fiber that stretches all around the house, tied with a knot to every stick. This cord supports from below the "wild banana" leaves laid out evenly and carefully [110:195] on the framework of beams and rods, and fits into notches cut into their stems for this purpose. The

342 Indians curve the leaves slightly to make them conform to the curvature of the dome. In any case, these leaves stop curling in the coolness of the afternoon, and at that hour, as a rule, there is no wind capable of blowing them off.

Then, the men climb upon the framework to cover up ampytapyk, that is to say, the upper part of the house. They are assisted in this work by the young women and the girls, who lift up the Heliconia leaves and hand them to the men. These leaves are laid down in such a way that they cover the framework of beams and rods, hanging from their folded stems (pakavaka, "to fold") which are doubled over the two highest longitudinal poles lying on each side of the ridge piece. The tips of the stems are secured between the second series of longitudinal poles and their covering leaves. In the case of large houses, such as house a, for example, a second layer of leaves hangs from the second series of longitudinal poles, with the tips of their stems inserted between the third longitudinal poles and their covering leaves. The stems are laid side by side until all the spaces between the vertical rods have been filled. The crest itself is covered with "wild banana" leaves laid lengthwise along the ridgepole, so that their longitudinal halves conform to those of the dome.

Green macaba leaves are placed over the "wild banana" leaves, with their stems jutting over the top and tied together. These palm leaves, which are quite heavy when green, prevent the foliage underneath from being blown off by the wind or curled up by the sun.

The lower part of the longitudinal sides of the house is covered with macaba leaves which are fastened to the framework from the outside being laid out side by side with their stems pointing upward and interwoven. "Wild banana" leaves are placed over them, fastened to the longitudinal poles in the same fashion as those hanging from the higher longitudinal poles. This thatching system is usually applied to the two smaller sides of the house, since leaves held on a cord by their notched stems would fall off for lack of support from these vertical, uncurved walls. The "cord technique" is not used in thatching the takana, either, for the lower part of this large structure remains open (see Photos. 68 and 69), while the upper part is covered in the same manner as the corresponding section of other houses, with as many layers as needed.

• 342 In simpler structures, such as house g (Photos. 64 and 67 to the right) and the summer dwellings (Photo. 7), there is no framework of rods, and because of this the leaves covering [110:196] the lower part of the shelter lean obliquely against the outer longitudinal poles with their stems resting directly upon the ground. The smaller sides are open in house g and only slightly covered [221] in the summer dwelling shown in Photograph 7. Structures of the latter type are erected in the fields and in neighboring wooded [226] areas when the dry season and its fishing opportunities lure the Indians into leaving their village and moving closer to the river in August, September, and October. The fact that the roofing of these temporary dwellings is not as good as that of permanent houses is understandable, since they are used as a protection against dew and sunlight rather than against rain properly speaking. The remnants of summer dwellings that I found along the trail leading from the river to the village consisted merely of a framework of poles lacking the finer latticework of sticks, and their covering was completely gone.

It is worth noting the existence of a sort of porch which took up entirely one of the smaller sides of house a and which was two and a half meters wide (Fig. 9). It was thatched only on its upper part, down to the longitudinal poles, and it was used by the men and women who wanted to be in the open air while lying in their hammocks or performing household tasks, but who wished to be sheltered from the sun (Photo. 48).

The house entrances are about the width of an adult person (Photos. 59 and 67), and they are bounded on top by the longitudinal pole, 1.60 meters from the ground. To my knowledge, they are never closed up.

[955] Reverend Kegel told me that during the rainy season the Tapirapé raise an earth bank around each house to prevent the waters from seeping in.

417 Beside the houses there stand wooden frameworks, triangular
251 or quadrangular according to the number of their legs, where manioc, peppers, and other fruits are laid out to dry and bananas are left to warm up in the sun.

345 The takana deserves special mention, not only because of its function as the men's house but also because of its appearance

345 which sets it apart from all other village structures in terms of thatching, size, and basic shape. As I mentioned above, the lower part of the takana remains open. The part covered with leaves is indicated by the parentheses [brackets] in Figure 12. The leaves rest on a framework of rods. The lower part of the takana, that is to say, the lower 1.60 meters, lacks horizontal rods, so the structure may be entered at any point (cf. Photos. 68 and 69). The front part of the house, however, has a particular (place indicated on Fig. 8 and 11) representing the entrance proper. At this place, a few vertical poles are also lacking, and this enables the pairs of dancers to come out [110:197] together and abreast without breaking up their mutual hold. The shafts that support the lowest longitudinal pole are not vertical but oblique; they are planted inside the house and form an acute angle with the vertical rods (Photo. 68). Oblique shafts also support the horizontal poles that jut out considerably from the thatch cover (Photos. 4, 68, and 69) and cross the takana at a height of 3.25 meters, dividing it into three sections, [Fig. 11 appears here] eight, 15, and 7.60 meters in length, respectively (Fig. 11). This building outstrips all the others in total length (30.60 meters), height (5.30 meters), and width (7.25 meters) (Fig. 12), and differs from them further in that its smaller sides are not rectilinear, but shaped like semicircles (Figs. 8, 9, and 11).

While only a few sleeping hammocks and some rare objects [352] [342] of male usage reveal that the takana serves not only for [Fig. 12 appears here] ceremonial purposes, but also as a dwelling, the entire scene inside the other houses is clearly indicative of their do-
352 mestic role. Take, for instance, house a. Within it, against
415 the wall, there are Kamaiahó's little bench, a sitting mat, bows and arrows, sifters, and tall carrying baskets full of urucú fruit and gourds. Stuck into the walls, there are small baskets, gourds, small bags, strips [of inner bark] to make penis sheaths, and large cane internodes in which the red macaw tail feathers are stored. On the floor, in the center of the house, there are jars full of food and cotton for spinning, gourds, small mortars made of sections of palm trunks, and fires, some of which are surrounded with stones to support the pots. [110:198] Hanging from the lower crossbeams, there are sleeping hammocks, small baskets and gourds full of manioc flour, a rag or two, a few ears of maize, and

352 bananas ripe for eating. The storeroom proper begins there and
415 extends to the upper crossbeams, from which hang large quanti-
[251] ties of bananas. Similar strips [of bark] tied to the roof just within the reach of a standing adult support small baskets, gourds, and small bags whose contents (usually manioc flour), like all foodstuffs, must be protected from the voracity of cockroaches and
[342] dogs. The floor of the house is of light grey, beaten earth. Low,
[764] oblong mounds mark the graves. The smoke that always fills the
354 house gives the inner side of the entire thatch cover a shiny black

[345]

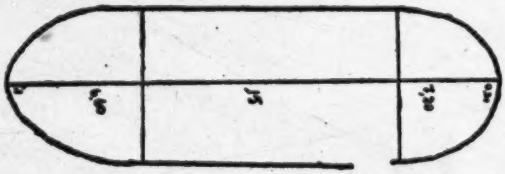

Fig. 11. Plan of the takana.

hue. The half-light maintained through the night by the fires burning beside the hammocks becomes a little brighter when daylight filters in through the slits in the lower part of the walls and through the doors.

512 Here is a nocturnal scene in house a.

[231] The chickens roosting upon the roof keep moving unceasingly,
[136] and from all sides comes the rustling of myriads of scuttling roaches.

[345]

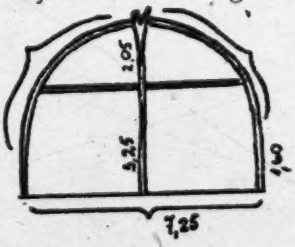


Fig. 12. Cross-section of the takana.

The swinging of hammocks makes the crossbeams creak. The
[516] smoke from the fires is not sufficient to protect the naked bodies from mosquitoes, and because of this, the Tapirapé swings his hammock, pushing his hand or foot against a rope stretched at his side or hanging one leg outside the hammock and pushing with it against the floor. He swings in this fashion until he goes to sleep.

114 in this house with No. 48, that is, the husband's mother (the hus-
591 band's father and the wife's parents were dead); (6) couple 35 and 40, in the same house, did not live with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother, who lived in house d (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (7) couple 51 and 58, in house d, lived in this house with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (8) couple 85 and 92, in house f, did not live with No. 22, that is, the husband's mother, in house a (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead). As we can see, these data do not permit us to mention the existence of either a matrilocal or a patrilocal pattern among the Tapirapé in 1935, nor do they contribute any answer to the question as to whether these Indians were formerly patrilocal or matrilocal. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 108, p. 109, and the first paragraph of p. 110 are omitted.]

[111:110] Thus, while the villages of various tribes at the
171 headwaters of the Xingu resemble Tampiitaua in their inclusion
361 of a ceremonial house and in the arrangement of the dwellings around it, they differ from it in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of dwellings and ceremonial houses. In that
171 region of the Xingu basin, the houses do not have, like those of the
● 342 Tapirapé, a rectangular plan. They are elliptical or round, and similar in their beehive shape to the hemispherical houses of the Rio das Mortes Chavante rather than to the elongated dome (cf. Max Schmidt 3, 460-461; Meyer, 1, 62; and the figure in Von den Steinen 1, 124). There, in addition, the ceremonial house
171 is not larger than the family dwellings around it, as is the takana
345 at Tampiitaua, but as a rule is actually smaller (Max Schmidt 3, 462). [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 110, p. 111, and all but the last two paragraphs on p. 112 are omitted.]

[101] [111:112] The use of a sleeping hammock also points out the
171 kinship of the Tapirapé with the Tupinanbá and with the Tupi fam-
513 ily as a whole (cf. Métraux 2, 60-62). Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá also slept naked and without blankets, maintaining a fire beside the net through the night (cf. Staden p. 4; Dialogos
114 das grandezas do Brazil [Dialogues on the Grandeurs of Brazil] 270;
171 Salvador 35). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] While according to
513 Father Vicente de Salvador (35), the Tupinambá husband usually

231 interested would remain where it is. Also, I have already men-
364 tioned the enthusiastic battling of the chickens against roaches,
[136] which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé
[825] to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw
one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which
would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (159-160), in-
136 cidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá
192 and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on
European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Arauers by the
savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also
come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find
something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they
get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco
leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such
articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they
get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked
and poorly wrapped at night, these Arauers gnawed them to the
bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning." [trans-
lated from French].

The word written arauers in the French spelling of the sixteenth century author tallies perfectly with the anavé, anaué, and araué with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we
171 may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá
[361] in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the
[342] erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the
[476] elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and
[764] in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient
[712] coastal Tupi in not fortifying their village with fences and in
possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in
[345] the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most
typically Tupi are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial,
and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Karajá
[352] in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupi name they
give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses
within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings,
in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The
171 Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:119] of houses
361 around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

171 other Gê tribes and of the Bororo, but they differ from their north-
361 ern neighbors in the ground plan and framework of the houses, in
[342] the manner of burial, and in the use of the sleeping hammock.
[764] The Tapirapé resemble various tribes of the upper Xingu basin in the layout of the houses around a ceremonial house and in the use of the sleeping hammock, but differ from them in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of the dwellings versus the ceremonial house, as well as in the custom of burying the dead inside the house. It is also worth noting the difference between the elongated-dome shape of the Tapirapé and northern Kayapó houses and the beehive shape of the Kayamo-Chavante dwellings on the Rio das Mortes. [Ed., end of Vol. 111.]

## Chapter 8

### [112:51] Subsistence

222 The Tapirapé derive their subsistence largely from farming and fishing. This does not keep them from using any opportunity they may have to gather wild fruits and honey and to hunt. The fruits of certain trees are plucked as they chance to be found along the way, but those of the tucum-açú (Astrocharyum spec.), called chavana in Tapirapé, are sought out systematically during the month of October. In September or thereabouts, the men equip themselves with axes and gourds and go into the forest to look for honey. During the same month they catch turtles and turtle eggs. At different times of the year they gather the larvae of various kinds of wasps (kaua, "wasp" in Tapirapé) and kill animals both small and large. Although some of them hunt at all times of the year,
224 February and March are the special hunting months, for this is the time when game, especially wild pigs, armadilloes, and pacas, is crowded in by the rising waters.

During my stay in Tampiitaua, there was only one man who preferred hunting to any other occupation. He was Kanchovani, a Tapirapé about 32 years of age who was more slender in body than many other members of his tribe. While the others worked in their

1:Baldus--172 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Photo. 7

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Woman painting her husband. The structure in the background is a summer dwelling. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

Photo. 8

142
302
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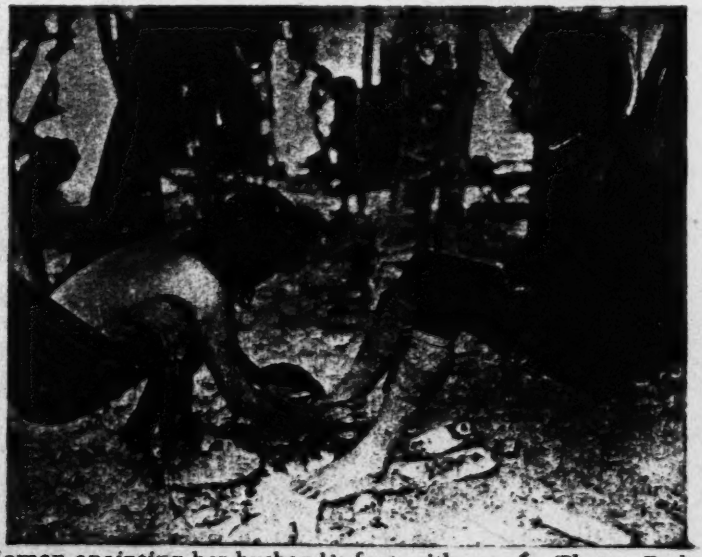

Woman anointing her husband's foot with urucú. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

1:Baldus--180 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

142
411
[342]

Photo. 27

The proportion between the height of the men and the length of their weapons.

Photo. 28

Man with club.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



148
291
•342
756
276
786
796

Fig. 3

Jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Está doente por engulir fumaça de tabaco e próximo a um estado de transe. Caiu antes de alcançar a segunda casa do circuito.

---

Young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. He fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



342
756
786
796

Fig. 6

De repente, ficou rígido e caiu para a frente, sendo agarrado pelos dois rapazes que o guiavam.

---

Suddenly he stiffened and fell forward caught by the young men who had been leading him.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



142
342
756
786
796

Fig. 8

Êle era "forte", não necessitando de ajuda, porém, quando foi abatido pelos seres do Trovão, os jovens estavam próximos para ampará-lo na queda.

---

He was "strong" and did not need aid but when he was struck by the beings of Thunder, the young men were nearby to catch him when he fell.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



342
417
482
756
796
786

Fig. 10

O corpo da maioria dos pagés ficava rigido, quando, em estado de inconciência, eram carregados pelo circuito da aldeia, de volta à casa em que se iniciara a cerimônia. Nesta fotografia, três rapazes carregam fàcilmente o corpo rigido de Panteri, um dos poderosos pagés, após, ter sido abatido pelos seres do Trovão.

---

The bodies of most shamans were rigid in their unconscious state as they were being carried through the village circle back to the first house. In this picture, three young men easily carry the rigid body of Panteri, one of the powerful shamans, after he had been stricken by the beings of Thunder.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

276
342
516
756
796

Fig. 12

Os dois pagés engolem fumaça de tabaco, preparando-se para a fase final da cerimônia do Trovão, em que livram o povo do perigo. A população da aldeia ainda não se reüniu. Cada homem tem o cachimbo na mão, e o jovem, à direita, está engulindo fumaça do cachimbo.

---

The two shamans swallowing tobacco smoke in preparation for the final phase of the Thunder ceremony when they rid the people of danger. The village populace has not yet gathered. Each man holds his pipe in his hand and the young man on the right is gulping smoke from his pipe.

411
535
142

Plate 27.

Tapirapé Dance of Men and Women.

292
342
535

Plate 28.

Tapirapé Masked Dance.

/406 cont./

114 On the campo path from the first roasting place, which was later
[489] joined by the second coming from the left, we reached a large
[361] village on the second day of the land march, two smaller villages
[312] on the third day, all three abandoned and in utter ruins. Water was not to be found on the campo on which the villages were located; the swamps and brooks to which paths led were dried out and, when excavated, in part to a depth of one meter, did not even yield moist earth, to say nothing of water.

131 On the basis of the discoveries and observations that I
133 made at these places, I formed the following opinion. The tribe lives on the high campo that extends from the southern bend of the Tapirapé to the north as far as the high mountains (or plateau borders) that enclose it in the north and west. In front of these borders there extends a tremendous trough, apparently the source region of the Tapirapé, which from there flows around out of the high campo in the west and south, then turns off to the north-
[361] east. /407/ Here, approximately 130 kilometers due west from
[142] the Tapirapé mouth, the tribe lives in one large and two smaller
361 villages during the rainy season. The large village seemed to have had three to four houses; the second, smaller one, two to
[342] three; the third perhaps the same number. The houses were in such a state of ruin that their construction was no longer recognizable; apparently they were large rectangular buildings with a pointed gable roof. The villages lie close to the large forest
[133] area that accompanies the trough in front of the mountains. All around in smaller troughs extend large swamps to which brooks
221 lead. During the dry season these water areas dry up completely, so that even holes up to a meter deep in the brook bed do not yield moist earth. As a result, the Indians are compelled to migrate to water areas, and apparently they then first seek the
[437] upper Tapirapé. In former times they seem to have come farther downstream to a certain place where they met the Karajá, who extended their fishing expeditions this far, and traded with them. This trading place lies about 30 kilometers southeast of the first village (34 kilometers from the second and third). As
[220] a result of the conflicts with the Karajá, they now avoid this

/407 cont./

221 region and come to the river farther upstream, before it turns
226 toward the northeast. Here, by means of poisonous cipo, they
[252] fish successive lakes blocked off by fences. They seem to travel from upstream downward, for the upper roasting place showed only a few new beams among very old ones, whereas the lower one was apparently quite recently built. This lower one, beside which they fished from the middle to the end of August 1908, lies about 16 kilometers south-southwest of the first village (24 kilometers
[487] from the second and third). The well-worn paths that go from the two roasting places, join, and lead by way of the first village to the other two, seem to indicate that the Indians visit this spot annually. Where they go from here I was unable to find out; perhaps they went across the Tapirapé to the south. In any case a campo lake abounding in fish, several kilometers away from the trading place, showed no traces of human beings.

161 These people seem to be very numerous. The number of
[342] houses is small, to be sure, but their dimensions seemed to be
[252] quite considerable. The 26 huge grills at the first roasting place and 10-15 at the second, the sandbanks completely trodden down with footprints beside the first fish lake, certainly lead one to
513 conclude that there is a large crowd of people. Sleeping is
352 apparently done in hammocks. This is indicated first by the net coverings that the Karajá buy from them, and then by the complete absence of sleeping places beside the roasting place, which was certainly used for many days.

241 Besides manioc (according to the account of the Karajá); these people also plant maize, as is indicated by many, partly
231 charred corncobs at the roasting place. As domestic animals they keep dogs, the traces of which were numerous on the sand-
224 banks. It may surely be assumed that they devote themselves to
[136] hunting. The campo is extremely rich in deer, the forests in wild pigs. Certainly they will not forgo these sources of meat.

226 In addition, fishing is practiced on a large scale through poisoning the /408/ /Ill. 267 appears here/ /409/ water of blocked-off lakes. We saw barrier poles everywhere in the territory of this tribe in front of lake outlets. The first lake that we came across was completely blocked off by a fence that was

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 344]

648 Tapirapé houses, covered with palm and
[342] "wild banana" leaves, a sturdy protection against heat, cold, and rain, are worth nothing in the eyes of those who own earthen walls. The language which they do not understand seems as ugly to them as all the strange customs seem ridiculous or horrifying, be they facial painting, masked dances, or the practices of the sorcerers--medicine men. This does not prevent them from being no less "primitive" than the Indians in certain aspects of their material culture. In Pôrto Velho, for example, a family from Conceição used a tree trunk with hollowed-out steps as a ladder, thus resembling in this respect the Oiampi [Oyampi] Indians of Guiana who reach their raised houses by similar contraptions.

Retreating before the White intruders with the transfer of
726 Tampiitáua, the Tapirapé fell once more into the hands of that neighbor who has probably been for centuries the Number One enemy of their tribe. In 1935 they had already shown their fear openly at night, asking me not to let go of my revolver when I lay down in my net so as to be ready to defend them from the Kaiapó, who [142] had attacked and destroyed another village of theirs three years earlier and killed most of its inhabitants. When I reached Pôrto Velho last July, the same preoccupation had seized the frontiersmen. They spoke of the nearness of the Kaiapó in the same terms as it had been mentioned 12 years earlier in Tampiitáua. These rumors were confirmed by the presence of three families who had come from the plains near Conceição do Araguaia. They said that they had left it only out of fear of those Indians, who had killed seven persons in the previous year.

Unfortunately, the expected danger was not imaginary. A few weeks after our last visit, the Kaiapó attacked Tampiitáua. Details
[115] of this tragic occurrence are related in a letter I received from Father
[648] M. H. Lelong (1). In it we read that the village was sacked and burned
[727]

1. Conceição do Araguaia, 11 October 1947
Dear Professor:

I am the Frenchman you met on the Araguaia as you went up from the Tapirapé toward Leopoldina.

I know how interested you were in this small group of attractive Indians, and thus, after arriving at Conceição the day before yesterday, I hasten to send you the news, which is very sad.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



*Tapirapé* do not use the tipiti (the long woven tube in which the water is squeezed from poisonous manioc), but squeeze poisonous manioc with their hands. The pulp is then spread out on a platform in the sun to be thoroughly dried. The flour is toasted in a clay pot over a very hot fire. 252

**Wild foods.**—Meat is a definite luxury to the agricultural *Tapirapé*. Monkeys, armadillos, forest fowls, cuati (*Nasua* sp.), and both kinds of peccary (*Tayassus tajacu* and *T. pecari*) are occasionally killed in the forest at any time during the year. The hunting and fishing season, however, is from June through October, when the savanna country is dry. The savannas are extraordinarily rich with game. Plains deer, wild pigs, peccary, and wild duck, and geese near the drying swamps are plentiful. 224 [221]

Fish are shot with the bow and arrow and stupefied with timbó (*Paullinea pinnata* or *Serjania* sp.) in the almost dry streams and lakes. The village is almost deserted in September and October, after garden sites have been cleared and before planting. Men, women, and children move out to the plains country near the Tapirapé River and set up a temporary camp. They collect turtle eggs and kill turtles in the river. They gather piqui fruit (*Caryocar vellosum*), andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), and other wild fruits, and, from October through November, they find wild honey both on the savanna and in the forest. 226 221 222

Hunting is done with the bow and arrow, but a club is used to finish the kill, especially wild pigs or jaguars. [224]

## HOUSES AND VILLAGES

The houses of a *Tapirapé* village form an oval around a large ceremonial men's house (tãkana), which is forbidden to the women. Both the large men's house, approximately 20 by 65 feet (6 by 20 m.), and the residential houses, averaging 13 by 33 feet (4 by 10 m.), have a quadrangular floor plan with arched roofs made by bending flexible poles and tying them together over a roof beam (pl. 19, *bottom, left*). The walls and the roof are covered with leaves of buriti palm and wild banana. 361 342 345

In the surviving village, called Tampitawa, there were nine residential houses, each housing from four to eight simple families. Each family occupies a determined sector of the house where they cook, keep their belongings, and hang their sleeping hammocks. Household utensils, such as baskets, pots, hammocks, and gourds, are owned by the women of each simple family. Houses, though built by men, are said to be the property of the women of the house. The house frame is constructed cooperatively by all the men of the house. Each man covers the portion to be used by his wife and children. 592 422 [423] 342

Ideally, residence is matrilocal, and the house is inhabited by a group of closely related women and their husbands. The household leader is generally the husband of the oldest woman of the group (see p. 172). Owing perhaps to great depopulation and the accumulation of refugees [591] 592

249 476 that the Indians suck. It was, incidentally, the only cultivated plot within the clearing where Tampiitaua stood.

The center of Tampiitaua was the takana, the large men's 361 342 house. Eight communal huts were grouped around it, with their 345 entrances set in such a way that it was impossible to look from the inside of one hut into that of another (cf. Fig. 8, in which the chief entrances are represented with black rectangles and the secondary ones with blank rectangles). The village plaza stretched between the front of the takana and the semicircle formed by the houses on the east side of the settlement, and it was the setting for dances, singing, games, races, speeches, and banquets.

The "village of the tapirs," however, had not always stood 361 in the clearing where I found it, nor did it remain there after my 166 departure (cf. Ch. 5). At certain times, the Tapirapé move far away. At regular intervals varying from two to five years, however, they move the village to a spot only one or a few leagues away. When they abandoned the village located on the banks of the lower Tapirapé, the distance they covered was considerable, [621] that is to say, probably a few dozen kilometers. Long distances [578] were also covered at various times when villages split up or joined together, as a result, in the former case, of internal dissensions, and in the latter case of dwindling population [Fig. 8 appears here] [110:193] or lack of shamans. The chief causes for the smaller, 136 habitual moves are the plagues of cockroaches and the number of 166 graves within the huts. The unchecked proliferation of Blattella 361 germanica L. compels the Indians to abandon and burn down all their houses every few years. The recurrence of this event is ensured by the carelessness of the Indians, for after the village has been destroyed the household goods carried to the new site are never sufficiently free from cockroaches to prevent them from [764] soon swarming all over the dwellings. When epidemics cause the [731] floors of the huts to fill rapidly with graves, this manner of burial may entail the erection of a new village within an even shorter period of time.

361 Not only does the settlement change as to site, however, but it also changes in size. I have already mentioned in Chapter 5 the data furnished by Reverend Kegel, according to which [342] Tampiitaua consisted of about 14 houses in August, 1932. The

[Text continues on p. 78]

1:Baldus--76 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

[facing p. 193]

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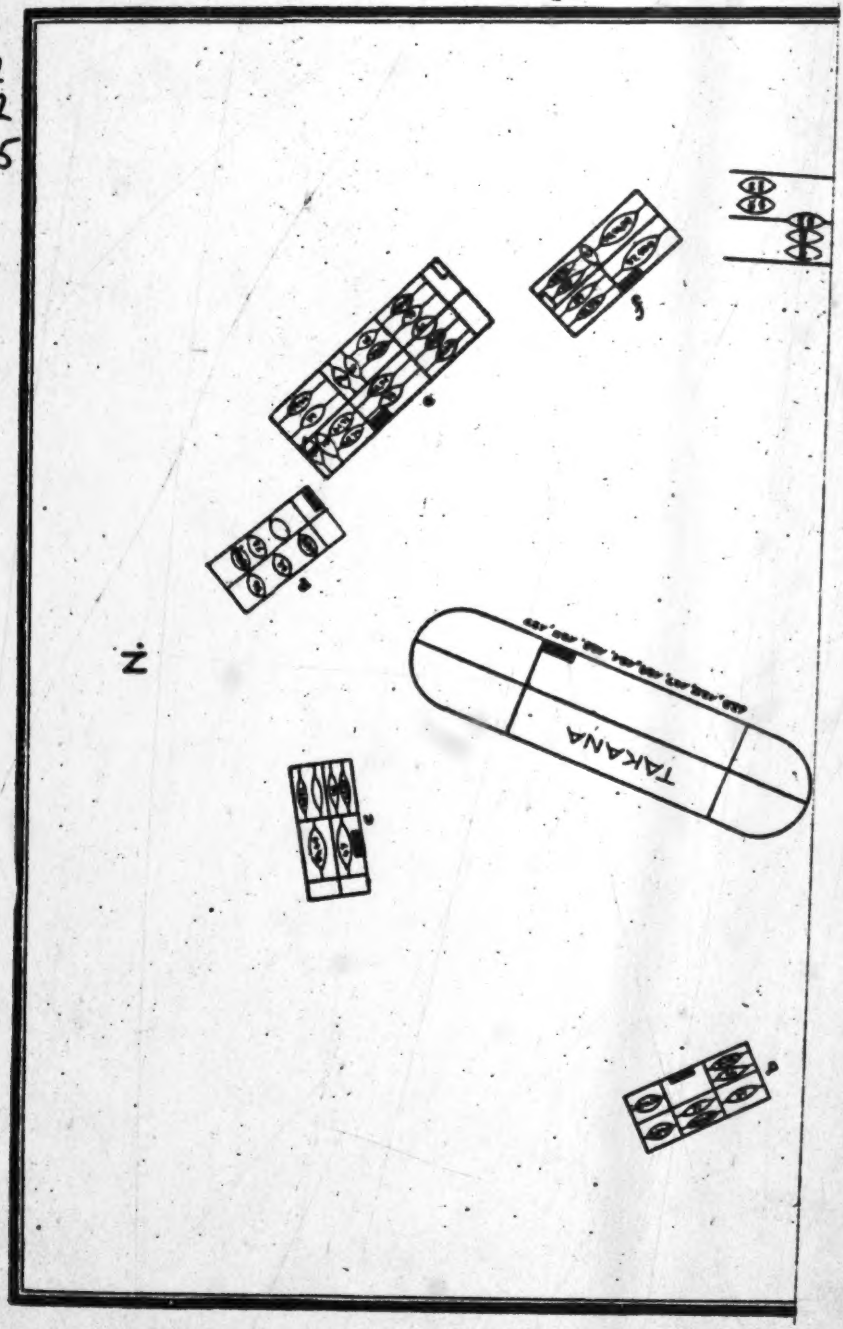


[FIG. 8- TOP HALF]

1:Baldus--77 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

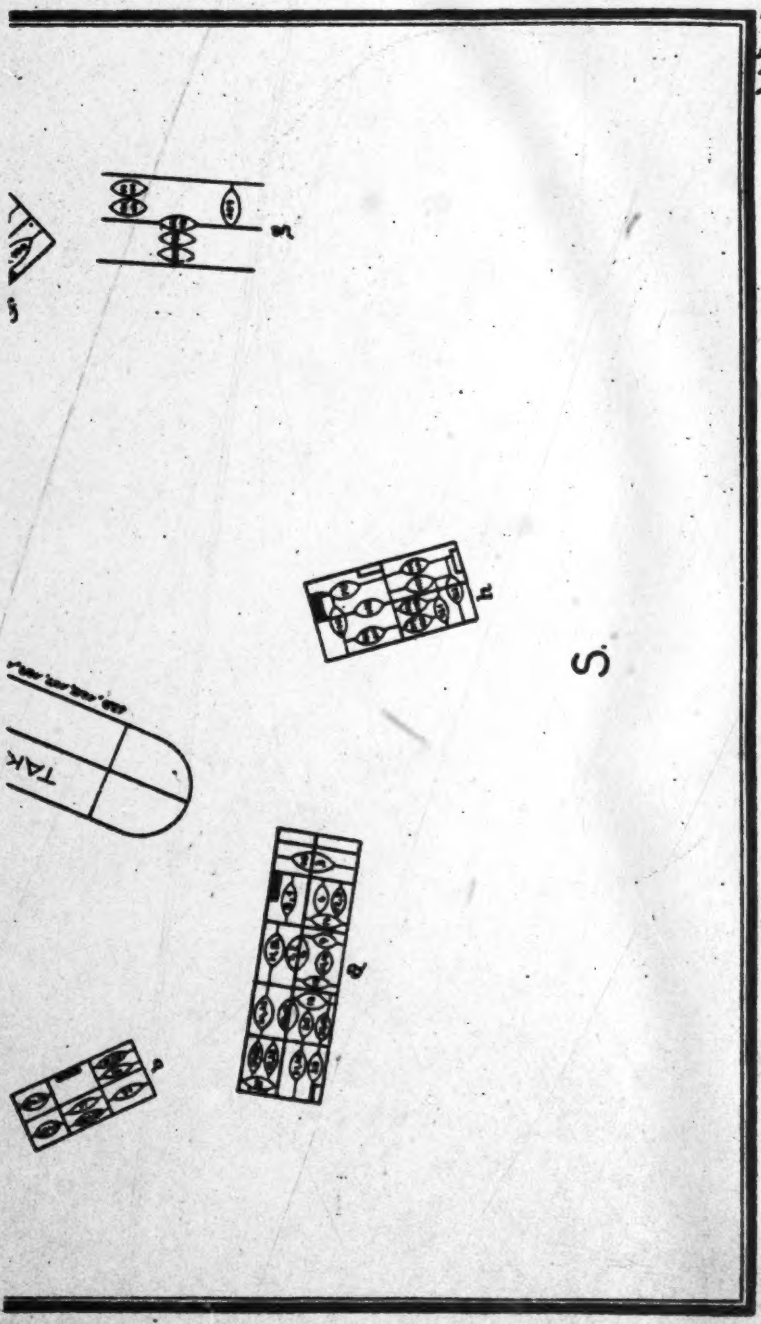


Fig. 8. Ground plan of the village.

361
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342
345

[FIG. 8 - BOTTOM HALF]

342 In simpler structures, such as house g (Photos. 64 and 67 to the right) and the summer dwellings (Photo. 7), there is no framework of rods, and because of this the leaves covering [110:196] the lower part of the shelter lean obliquely against the outer longitudinal poles with their stems resting directly upon the ground. The smaller sides are open in house g and only slightly covered [221] in the summer dwelling shown in Photograph 7. Structures of the latter type are erected in the fields and in neighboring wooded [226] areas when the dry season and its fishing opportunities lure the Indians into leaving their village and moving closer to the river in August, September, and October. The fact that the roofing of these temporary dwellings is not as good as that of permanent houses is understandable, since they are used as a protection against dew and sunlight rather than against rain properly speaking. The remnants of summer dwellings that I found along the trail leading from the river to the village consisted merely of a framework of poles lacking the finer latticework of sticks, and their covering was completely gone.

It is worth noting the existence of a sort of porch which took up entirely one of the smaller sides of house a and which was two and a half meters wide (Fig. 9). It was thatched only on its upper part, down to the longitudinal poles, and it was used by the men and women who wanted to be in the open air while lying in their hammocks or performing household tasks, but who wished to be sheltered from the sun (Photo. 48).

The house entrances are about the width of an adult person (Photos. 59 and 67), and they are bounded on top by the longitudinal pole, 1.60 meters from the ground. To my knowledge, they are never closed up.

[355] Reverend Kegel told me that during the rainy season the Tapirapé raise an earth bank around each house to prevent the waters from seeping in.

417 Beside the houses there stand wooden frameworks, triangular 251 or quadrangular according to the number of their legs, where manioc, peppers, and other fruits are laid out to dry and bananas are left to warm up in the sun.

● 345 The takana deserves special mention, not only because of its function as the men's house but also because of its appearance

345 which sets it apart from all other village structures in terms of thatching, size, and basic shape. As I mentioned above, the lower part of the takana remains open. The part covered with leaves is indicated by the parentheses [brackets] in Figure 12. The leaves rest on a framework of rods. The lower part of the takana, that is to say, the lower 1.60 meters, lacks horizontal rods, so the structure may be entered at any point (cf. Photos. 68 and 69). The front part of the house, however, has a particular (place indicated on Fig. 8 and 11) representing the entrance proper. At this place, a few vertical poles are also lacking, and this enables the pairs of dancers to come out [110:197] together and abreast without breaking up their mutual hold. The shafts that support the lowest longitudinal pole are not vertical but oblique; they are planted inside the house and form an acute angle with the vertical rods (Photo. 68). Oblique shafts also support the horizontal poles that jut out considerably from the thatch cover (Photos. 4, 68, and 69) and cross the takana at a height of 3.25 meters, dividing it into three sections, [Fig. 11 appears here] eight, 15, and 7.60 meters in length, respectively (Fig. 11). This building outstrips all the others in total length (30.60 meters), height (5.30 meters), and width (7.25 meters) (Fig. 12), and differs from them further in that its smaller sides are not rectilinear, but shaped like semicircles (Figs. 8, 9, and 11).

While only a few sleeping hammocks and some rare objects
[352] of male usage reveal that the takana serves not only for [Fig. 12
[342] appears here] ceremonial purposes, but also as a dwelling, the entire scene inside the other houses is clearly indicative of their do-
352 mestic role. Take, for instance, house a. Within it, against
415 the wall, there are Kamaiahó's little bench, a sitting mat, bows and arrows, sifters, and tall carrying baskets full of urucú fruit and gourds. Stuck into the walls, there are small baskets, gourds, small bags, strips [of inner bark] to make penis sheaths, and large cane internodes in which the red macaw tail feathers are stored. On the floor, in the center of the house, there are jars full of food and cotton for spinning, gourds, small mortars made of sections of palm trunks, and fires, some of which are surrounded with stones to support the pots. [110:198] Hanging from the lower crossbeams, there are sleeping hammocks, small baskets and gourds full of manioc flour, a rag or two, a few ears of maize, and

352 bananas ripe for eating. The storeroom proper begins there and
415 extends to the upper crossbeams, from which hang large quanti-
[251] ties of bananas. Similar strips [of bark] tied to the roof just within the reach of a standing adult support small baskets, gourds, and small bags whose contents (usually manioc flour), like all foodstuffs, must be protected from the voracity of cockroaches and
[342] dogs. The floor of the house is of light grey, beaten earth. Low,
[764] oblong mounds mark the graves. The smoke that always fills the
354 house gives the inner side of the entire thatch cover a shiny black

[345]

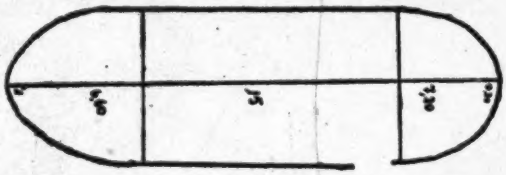

Fig. 11. Plan of the takana.

hue. The half-light maintained through the night by the fires burning beside the hammocks becomes a little brighter when daylight filters in through the slits in the lower part of the walls and through the doors.

Here is a nocturnal scene in house a.

512 The chickens roosting upon the roof keep moving unceasingly,
[231] and from all sides comes the rustling of myriads of scuttling roaches.
[136]

[345]

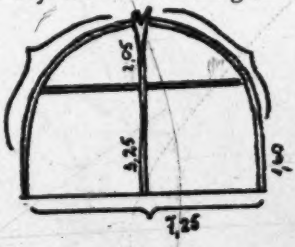


Fig. 12. Cross-section of the takana.

The swinging of hammocks makes the crossbeams creak. The
[516] smoke from the fires is not sufficient to protect the naked bodies from mosquitoes, and because of this, the Tapirapé swings his hammock, pushing his hand or foot against a rope stretched at his side or hanging one leg outside the hammock and pushing with it against the floor. He swings in this fashion until he goes to sleep.

512 not far from the door, and every quarter of an hour a pair of dancers, singing in loud voices and hammering the ground with their feet, pass before the opening. The other occupants of the house also have trouble getting an uninterrupted night's sleep. After midnight it turns increasingly cold. Then the Indian takes a piece of burning wood from the fire beside his net, breaks it into embers by striking it against the ground, and lays the pieces directly under his hammock. A small boy is asleep, curled up on a net that is already too small for him. He has no mother to make him a new one. His long rhea-bone tembetá hangs down into thin air. Suddenly the boy moans; the mosquitoes and the cold have awakened him. He gets up, heavy with sleep, squats by the nearly burned-out embers of his small fire, and blows until the flame revives. Then he sits in his hammock once more, rubs the soles of his feet together to remove the light grey dust of the floor, and swings while sighing once in a while, "Aky, tanchió (Ai, mosquito!)." When daylight breaks dimly into the house, everyone awakens. The women get up first, blow on the fire, [462] place the pots upon it, fetch cotton and spindle, sit beside their [283] still prone spouses, and spin for a while. Then they set the spindle aside to fetch a few bananas for their husbands and themselves, stir the pots while the men get up, and thus, gradually, all the occupants of the house start moving.

[110:200] When they are in the village and there are no festivities underway, both sexes usually spend not only most of the night, but most of the day at home. For a while before and after sundown, however, they sit in the space fronting their house, which is called takupé, or in the plaza in front of the takana. At the [345] time of my visit, the men's house served as permanent dwelling only for the few initiates and for one or two bachelors. Other men would go in only to "have a chat" or to dance a little, and never stayed there for hours on end as do Boróro married men in their men's house. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 110, pp. 200-202, and the first page, p. 105, of the section in Vol. 111, as well as the first paragraph on p. 106, are omitted. Vol. 110, pp. 200-202, and Vol. 111, p. 105, contain data on Tupinambá houses.]

171 361 [111:106] These data show a certain similarity between Tupinambá villages and Tampiitaua in the arrangement of the

114 in this house with No. 48, that is, the husband's mother (the hus-
591 band's father and the wife's parents were dead); (6) couple 35 and 40, in the same house, did not live with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother, who lived in house d (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (7) couple 51 and 58, in house d, lived in this house with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (8) couple 85 and 92, in house f, did not live with No. 22, that is, the husband's mother, in house a (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead). As we can see, these data do not permit us to mention the existence of either a matrilocal or a patrilocal pattern among the Tapirapé in 1935, nor do they contribute any answer to the question as to whether these Indians were formerly patrilocal or matrilocal. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 108, p. 109, and the first paragraph of p. 110 are omitted.]

[111:110] Thus, while the villages of various tribes at the
171 headwaters of the Xingu resemble Tampiitaua in their inclusion
361 of a ceremonial house and in the arrangement of the dwellings around it, they differ from it in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of dwellings and ceremonial houses. In that
171 region of the Xingu basin, the houses do not have, like those of the
342 Tapirapé, a rectangular plan. They are elliptical or round, and similar in their beehive shape to the hemispherical houses of the Rio das Mortes Chavante rather than to the elongated dome (cf. Max Schmidt 3, 460-461; Meyer, 1, 62; and the figure in Von den Steinen 1, 124). There, in addition, the ceremonial house
171 is not larger than the family dwellings around it, as is the takana
345 at Tampiitaua, but as a rule is actually smaller (Max Schmidt 3, 462). [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 110, p. 111, and all but the last two paragraphs on p. 112 are omitted.]

[101] [111:112] The use of a sleeping hammock also points out the
171 kinship of the Tapirapé with the Tupinanbá and with the Tupi fam-
513 ily as a whole (cf. Métraux 2, 60-62). Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá also slept naked and without blankets, maintaining a fire beside the net through the night (cf. Staden p. 4; Dialogos
114 das grandezas do Brazil [Dialogues on the Grandeurs of Brazil] 270;
171 Salvador 35). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] While according to
513 Father Vicente de Salvador (35), the Tupinambá husband usually

interested would remain where it is. Also, I have already mentioned the enthusiastic battling of the chickens against roaches, which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (159-160), incidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Arauers by the savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked and poorly wrapped at night, these Arauers gnawed them to the bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning." [translated from French].

The word written arauers in the French spelling of the sixteenth century author tallies perfectly with the anavé, anaué, and araué with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient coastal Tupi in not fortifying their village with fences and in possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most typically Tupi are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial, and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Karajá in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupi name they give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings, in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:119] of houses around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

264 476 574 [224] such as the head and legs, which they gave to those members of their family who did not belong to the same eating group.

The feasting had already begun before the sun was up. In the [345] takána, the large dance house, which is essentially a men's house and [562] thus as a rule not visited by women, the Ãvãinki´ of both sexes sat [352] [ 94] on straw mats stretched for the purpose around large pots containing the roasted pig. The animal was cut up in such a way that the pieces could easily be held in the hand.

When I appeared, they all graciously invited me to help myself. [123] I declined, stating that I was a Txankanépéra, and in view of this they did not insist further.

Naturally, members of other eating groups may ask the feast participants for a piece. Custom, however, demands that they withdraw after receiving what they requested. Only members of the same group may sit in the circle surrounding the pots. As a rule, however, a member of another group does not come to the people who are feasting and ask for a piece.

In any case, I did not want to carry my pride in being a Txankané-
123 pára too far, and therefore I accepted the invitation of a special friend,
264 Vuãnomantxí, whose wife had prepared the bulk of the food for the
476 Ãvãinki´ and thus earned the pig's head for her family. While she sat
574 with her group-fellows in the takána, her husband and son, and a few other persons who were not relatives but who belonged to the family, so to speak, because they were the only other occupants of the small hut, lay across their hammocks and chewed contentedly. When I came in, Vuãnomantxí tore from the pig's head the piece that he considered the best and offered it to me. I began to chew on it, and this required much fortitude because the meat was very tough. [ 95] When my chin began to hurt badly and I was certain that I had swallowed enough of those awful bites, I craved a bonus and asked for the brains. My friend smiled--he always had a friendly smile for me, thoroughly joyous and relaxed--and gave me to understand that my tastes were not inferior to those of the most illustrious Tapirapé. Then, with his athletic strength, he broke open the skull, handed me the bulk of the brains, and stuffed the rest into his mouth.

Before the sun was up, only the pig's bones remained in Vuãnomantxi
264 house and in the takána.
476

Aside from the tãtáupáũã, there is another institution which also
[574] involves eating in hereditary groups. It is called apatxirú. Its purpose,
[611]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



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12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

881
292
302

292
781
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●345

292
532
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PLATE 19.—Tapirapé ceremonies and house construction. *Top, left:* Youth in preparation for puberty ceremony. The large, heavy diadem of macaw feathers will be supported by the lock of hair wrapped in cotton cord. *Top, right:* Shaman wearing dangerous ceremonial headdress during Thunder ceremony. He is intoxicated by tobacco and in a trance state. *Bottom, left:* Construction of men's house. *Bottom, right:* Dance masks representing the "Crying Spirit," one of many forest spirits who are said to come to stay for a time in the men's ceremonial house. (Courtesy Charles Wagley.)

[p. 170 A]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



**Weapons.**—Bows have a circular cross section and average about 6 feet (2 m.) in length. The arrows are of cane about 5 feet (1.5 m.) long with heads of bone, hardwood, and the spur from the sting ray (*Potamotyrgon histrix*). They have brilliant feathers, sometimes the red and blue feathers of the red macaw. Clubs are made of several polished hardwoods and are sometimes decorated near the handles with woven strands of cane fibers. 411

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Three distinct social groupings are basic in *Tapirapé* social organization: men's ceremonial moieties, feast societies, and the kinship groups. 561

**Ceremonial moieties.**—All *Tapirapé* men belong to one of the patrilineal ceremonial moieties. Each of these moieties is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths (those up to 15 years of age); two groups of men of warrior age (15 to 40 years); and two groups of older men (40 to 60 years). Each group bears the name of a bird, the word "wirã" (bird) being the generic name for the group. These age groups (Baldus, 1937, p. 96, calls them "work groups") function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites at the cooperative work festival; parallel groups also dance against each other in various ceremonials and reciprocally feast each other. Each moiety owns half of the men's house, and its portion is subdivided into sections owned by the three age grades. The warrior age group of each moiety has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and communal work, and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. As a man becomes elderly, he entirely drops out of the "bird" groups and is no longer affiliated, as he cannot take part in their economic and ceremonial activities. At present, the *Tapirapé* are so reduced in number that, lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's age grade in order to retain the necessary balance for ceremonials. 616 [345] [423]

**Feast groups.**—Both men and women are divided into eight feasting groups called tãtáupawã (literally, "fire all to eat") Men belong to their fathers' feast group and women to their mothers'. Feast groups are not only nonexogamic, but people prefer to marry within their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry the names of the mythological heads of the original eight households of the first *Tapirapé* village. They unite at various times throughout the year for ceremonial meals. The feasts take place at traditional spots in the village plaza, at times when there is an abundance of honey, maize, or meat from the hunt. Each member brings his contribution. Baldus (1937, p. 88) calls these "eating groups," and emphasizes that they are consumers' groups providing a means of distributing food when more is available than a family can eat. Today only six groups meet for feasts, two being extinct for lack of members. 574 264 [582]

653333—47—14

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few 177
months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of [197]
Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and [191]
verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these 114
youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals 123
we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," [62]
the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses [361]
arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were [592]
each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the per- [551]
sonal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Maria-
pawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let 114
alone pronounce. [122]

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study [197]
intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the wide-
spread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least
passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms
of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed
explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which [241]
manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops
were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poison- [462]
ous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I [252]
watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture [323]
their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm- [285]
thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building [462]
was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly [345]
became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and [291]
the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude [834]
women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never
to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also [302]
to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed
their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on
their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many [126]
other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes
and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather 123
pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our
antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversa-
tions that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales
of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



could come quietly to us at night to drink water, to ask for something to eat, and even to sleep in an extra hammock we had for visitors. His affairs were evidently extensive, for he once divided all of the adult women of the village into two categories—those "I know how to talk with" (i.e., to seduce) and those "I do not know how to talk with." There were many with whom he "could talk."

Unfortunately, by late November of 1939, I knew too much about Champukwi's affairs either for his comfort or for mine. His wife sometimes came to my house to ask if I knew where he had gone (I could generally guess), and once an irate husband even came to inquire of his whereabouts. His Don Juan activities had evidently increased. His friendship with me caused him trouble with other Tapirapé who were envious of the presents he received. The story was circulated that he had stolen a pair of scissors which, in fact, I had given to him. Moreover, several people caught colds, and he was accused of bringing the infection from Furo de Pedra (actually it was probably transmitted by the frontiersman who had helped transport us to the village in November). Champukwi sought revenge by cutting down one of the main supports of the men's house, which promptly caved in. No one died or was seriously injured and the destruction of the men's house was soon forgotten since it is normally rebuilt each year. However, people continued to criticize Champukwi, much of their criticism revolving around his relationship with me. There are no realms of esoteric secrets in Tapirapé culture (as there are in many cultures) that must not be revealed to an outsider; there is only the "secret" of the men from the women that the masked dancers are not supernatural beings but merely masquerading men, but I had been fully and openly brought into this "secret." I was, moreover, exceedingly careful in conversation never to refer to any bit of personal information that some informant, Champukwi or another, had told me. But rumors were rife in the small village—that I was angry and would soon leave (I was by then a valuable asset), that Champukwi told me lies about others, that I refused to give a bushknife to a household leader because Champukwi had urged me not to do so (I refused because I had already given him one bushknife), and the like.

Champukwi reacted moodily, often violently, to this situation. I could no longer count on his visits nor on our research interviews. He now visited us with a glum look on his face, and when he was

881 On the eve of the ritual, the preparations begin. The youth's
[302] body is painted black with genipap. On his face, a black line is drawn under the mouth and a circle under the eyes, which are elongated with a line at the corners. The father or uncles put the last
[946] touches on a large diadem. At dawn on the day of the ceremony, the youth is led to the large ceremonial house built in the center of the Tapirapé village, and his hair is set to support the large
[292] [237] ankungitana (diadem) made of numerous macaw, parrot, and duck feathers fastened to a base of muriti palm and hard wood and weighing about five kilograms. The hair is trimmed and tied into a roll
[302] on the nape of the neck with a cord at least five meters long, to provide a base for the fastening of the large diadem. The lower lip
[301] is adorned with a ceremonial quartz tembetá [Tr., cylindrical plug].

The ceremony itself begins late in the morning. For 24 hours
[535] the youth dances continually, surrounded by his fellow tribesmen and accompanied by the songs and dances of men and women. He dances ill at ease, for he is soon tired by the weight and discomfort of the
773 ornaments. Tapirapé tradition explains this ritual as a test of en-
881 durance for the young men. According to one legend, a Tapirapé ancestor called Xavanamu and his son Makanci were captured by an enemy tribe. Xavanamu was eaten, and his son was forced to dance under the weight of a large diadem and the numerous ornaments that covered his body. At the end of a long day of dancing, Makanci, who had retained his strength, managed to flee and disappeared into the woods followed closely by his foes. He vanished on reaching a large hollow trunk. Nowadays, Tapirapé youths wear ornaments similar to those left behind by their ancestor.

In 1941, when we witnessed the "hair-tying" of the youth
881 Kancinampiõ, several Tapirapé predicted that he would cry "for he would become very tired during the night," but the boy stood up valiantly to the test. It is in another way, however, that men recall their initiation. One of them said, "When I danced, I was more beautiful than at any other time." It is true that at no other time of life does the individual get so much attention and make such a show with such rich ornaments. And this during adolescence!

Thus, the Tapirapé turn this ceremony into an opportunity for fun, which their men recall more or less in the same manner as our youths recall their first ball.

[71] 301 them as they become too tight. The same is done by the Tapirapé. I even found in Tampiitáua a forked stick which was used as a frame to make tamankurá for the ankles of children yet to be born (Photo. 13). This fork holds one unfinished tamankurá and a finished one which is four centimeters long with an edge two centimeters wide. [Ed., the remainder of p. 83, pp. 84-86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted. Pages 84, 85, 86, and 87 contain comparative data from the Tupinambá and other tribes on wrist and leg ornaments.]

[109:87] To summarize: one of the chief resemblances between the Tapirapé, Karajá, and Javahé cultures resides in the tamankurá complex, and differences among the three cultures in this area are insignificant. Kayapó culture, as described by Krause, differs from these cultures in [109:88] the absence of this complex, which left only a few traces upon it. According to the data mentioned above, certain elements of the complex distinguish the culture of the Tapirapé from that of other Tupi Indians, as well as from that of the Xingu Indians, while other elements reveal similarities among all these cultures. Although such similarities do not prove that this complex or any part of it originated among the Tupi Indians, they do not permit the formulation of the opposite hypothesis either. It is probable that the garter should be regarded as a trait of cultural relationship between the Tapirapé, the northern Tupinambá, and other Tupi Indians. Among certain Tupi tribes (Tapirapé, Yuruna), the cotton leg ornaments differ from those of certain Gê tribes in that they are made with a crochet needle instead of being woven. It will be the task of future research to determine whether this is the case among so many tribes in both families that it may serve as a general differentiating factor between the Tupi and the Gê peoples. [Ed., end of Vol. 109.]

[110:191] Chapter 7

## The Village and the Houses

[96] 35 At the time of my visit, Tampiitaua was located in the center of a large clearing. Around each house (avuyra in Tapirapé)

351 lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the vil-
lage square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstruc-
[372] tions. The trunks served as seats and, bit by bit, as firewood.
They lay in such numbers over the vast area stretching between
the houses and the edge of the forest, and were so entangled and
[114] ensnarled by their branches, that the imaginative Madame de
[712] la Falaise (196), who visited Tampiitaua on August 23, 1935, that
is to say, shortly after my departure, went so far as to write the
following: "We proceeded toward the village, where the tribe,
for fear of armed aggression, has fortified the surroundings. The
felled, tangled trees, the traps and ingenious obstacles, are dis-
couraging. The boldest aggressor would break his neck long be-
fore he got the better of them" [translated from French].

361 In this respect, however, I must confess that the only serious
712 obstacles I encountered daily on crossing the area in question were
114 the products of the tribal digestive processes, for the supposed
[514] fortification held no role other than that of a huge toilet. [110:
192] I do not wish to determine whether such obstacles may be
termed "ingenious," but I wish to emphasize that they did not
discourage me. The truth is that the Tapirapé do not fortify their
[171] village in any way, and differ in this respect from the Tupinambá,
who surrounded their villages (Jean Parmentier apud J.F. de
Almeida Prado, 180; Hans Staden, p. 3; Gabriel Soares de Sousa,
366). The "traps and ingenious obstacles" mentioned above exist
only in the imagination of the author. Even the act of placing
[721] sentries, a precaution referred to in Chapter 5, is strikingly incon-
sistent with the natural bent of the Tapirapé.

361 Toward the east a stream meandered, a few paces from the
[312] village. Its clear, fresh waters ran free of the thick forest for only
[515] a short stretch, which was used at the same time as bathroom and
[226] drinking fountain, and as a spot for fishing and for washing the
[487] sleeping hammocks. A well-beaten path led from it to the vil-
lage plaza, skirting a plot of sugar cane to the left. According to
219 what Reverend Kegel told me, this plot resulted from collective
476 labor performed for Kamairahó. The latter had ruled on the site
of the plot and concurrently on that of the village, which had been
built later beside the communally prepared garden. It was, so to
speak, a luxury plot, for it contained nothing but the sweet grass

578 In this regard one should mention, first and foremost, the
621 survivors of the village abandoned in 1932. They may be distin-
guished from the other inhabitants of Tampiitáua by their scowl,
their perennial tendency to make mocking remarks in a low voice,
and their lack of hospitality. Their village, located "ten days'
march" to the north, reputedly hated the Whites. It established
contact with Tampiitáua through trade and a few marriages. I
still found about 20 of those "enemies," counting the men, women,
[123] and children. I got along well with them. One of them, Maninohó,
became my close friend and an exception among his people in his
increasingly hospitable behavior toward me. This did not prevent
many Tampiitáua people from hating him. Perhaps it even in-
creased the antagonism.

Gradually, I learned that the 20 individuals who disappeared
621 in 1934 had been, for the most part, former inhabitants of the vil-
166 lage that became extinct in 1932. Mr. Kegel recalled that al-
578 ready in 1933 there was a rumor in Tampiitáua that they would
move far away. They were, on the whole, unpopular and re-
mained enemies of the Whites. When they left, they took with
them everything they owned. They walked away towards the north.
[622] A sorcerer--medicine man, an influential and vigorous man who
had been accused of causing the death of Kamairá's wife, joined
them and became their leader. They had not been seen again in
1935, and it was so widely believed that they had been killed by
the Kayapó that, as I have already mentioned, the whole tribe
wanted to run away to Macauba and later commemorated the at-
tack through the pantomime described earlier. There was no abso-
lute certainty, however, as to the end met by the 20 persons. It
was said, as I have already mentioned, that they never returned
from a hunting trip. All the Tapirapé I asked spoke of this com-
[627] munal hunt, but it is probable that those 20 persons were expelled
from the community. It is well to note, however, that this
hypothesis would not be corroborated by the fact that they took with
them everything they owned. Indeed, they left at the very time
[361] when the entire village was being transferred to a new site. Fur-
[224] thermore, when people leave the village for several days with their
[226] families in order to hunt or fish communally, they usually take
along all their household goods, which as a rule are quite easy to
[352] carry because they are few and light in weight.

345 which sets it apart from all other village structures in terms of thatching, size, and basic shape. As I mentioned above, the lower part of the takana remains open. The part covered with leaves is indicated by the parentheses [brackets] in Figure 12. The leaves rest on a framework of rods. The lower part of the takana, that is to say, the lower 1.60 meters, lacks horizontal rods, so the structure may be entered at any point (cf. Photos. 68 and 69). The front part of the house, however, has a particular (place indicated on Fig. 8 and 11) representing the entrance proper. At this place, a few vertical poles are also lacking, and this enables the pairs of dancers to come out [110:197] together and abreast without breaking up their mutual hold. The shafts that support the lowest longitudinal pole are not vertical but oblique; they are planted inside the house and form an acute angle with the vertical rods (Photo. 68). Oblique shafts also support the horizontal poles that jut out considerably from the thatch cover (Photos. 4, 68, and 69) and cross the takana at a height of 3.25 meters, dividing it into three sections, [Fig. 11 appears here] eight, 15, and 7.60 meters in length, respectively (Fig. 11). This building outstrips all the others in total length (30.60 meters), height (5.30 meters), and width (7.25 meters) (Fig. 12), and differs from them further in that its smaller sides are not rectilinear, but shaped like semicircles (Figs. 8, 9, and 11).

While only a few sleeping hammocks and some rare objects [352] [342] of male usage reveal that the takana serves not only for [Fig. 12 appears here] ceremonial purposes, but also as a dwelling, the entire scene inside the other houses is clearly indicative of their do- 352 415 mestic role. Take, for instance, house a. Within it, against the wall, there are Kamairahó's little bench, a sitting mat, bows and arrows, sifters, and tall carrying baskets full of urucú fruit and gourds. Stuck into the walls, there are small baskets, gourds, small bags, strips [of inner bark] to make penis sheaths, and large cane internodes in which the red macaw tail feathers are stored. On the floor, in the center of the house, there are jars full of food and cotton for spinning, gourds, small mortars made of sections of palm trunks, and fires, some of which are surrounded with stones to support the pots. [110:198] Hanging from the lower crossbeams, there are sleeping hammocks, small baskets and gourds full of manioc flour, a rag or two, a few ears of maize, and

352 bananas ripe for eating. The storeroom proper begins there and
415 extends to the upper crossbeams, from which hang large quanti-
[251] ties of bananas. Similar strips [of bark] tied to the roof just within the reach of a standing adult support small baskets, gourds, and small bags whose contents (usually manioc flour), like all foodstuffs, must be protected from the voracity of cockroaches and
[342] dogs. The floor of the house is of light grey, beaten earth. Low,
[764] oblong mounds mark the graves. The smoke that always fills the
354 house gives the inner side of the entire thatch cover a shiny black

[345]

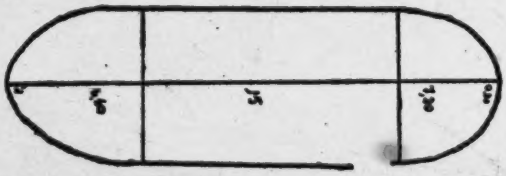

Fig. 11. Plan of the takana.

hue. The half-light maintained through the night by the fires burning beside the hammocks becomes a little brighter when daylight filters in through the slits in the lower part of the walls and through the doors.

Here is a nocturnal scene in house a.

512 The chickens roosting upon the roof keep moving unceasingly,
[231] and from all sides comes the rustling of myriads of scuttling roaches.
[136]

[345]

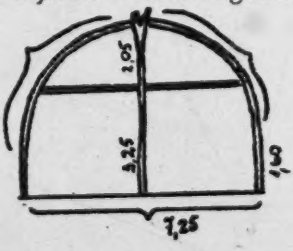


Fig. 12. Cross-section of the takana.

The swinging of hammocks makes the crossbeams creak. The
[516] smoke from the fires is not sufficient to protect the naked bodies from mosquitoes, and because of this, the Tapirapé swings his hammock, pushing his hand or foot against a rope stretched at his side or hanging one leg outside the hammock and pushing with it against the floor. He swings in this fashion until he goes to sleep.

114 slept with his wife in the same net, this also being the custom
171 among the Tapirapé with certain exceptions, couples in the region
513 of the Xingu headwaters, according to Herrmann Meyer's diary (1, 64), sleep separately in nets set up one above the other. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá, according to Léry (276), took their nets along when they went hunting and fishing, hanging them from trees when it was time to sleep.

171 The Tapirapé custom of swinging the hammock was also
516 found among Indians of the eastern Bolivian forest. Each of the following words by Richard N. Wegner (1, 70) about the Siriono may be applied to many inhabitants of Tampiitaua: [111:113] "Both naked Siriono lay in short hammocks. Only the buttocks and the head more or less fitted in. The right foot was balanced on the cord that held up the net, while the left leg, which hung out even in sleep, kept the net swinging throughout the night."

352 The menstruation net is a peculiarity of Tapirapé culture.
513 Certain hammocks have an opening at the spot where the woman's
841 buttocks lie. As a rule, these nets are also used at other times. In house d, however, the couple consisting of Techipy and Manchiró slept with Marekantú, their three-year-old daughter, in the same net, and also possessed a menstruation hammock. The latter, however, was used by Manchiró only at the time for which it was intended, and this is why I left it blank in Figure 8. I have never heard of the existence of menstruating nets in other cultures. It is possible, of course, that they may exist among other peoples and go unnoticed by explorers.

231 The net in house c, which I left blank on the same figure, was tiny because it belonged to a small dog. It was the bed of a "dog child," in the words of the Tapirapé.

171 In their use of the hammock, these Indians differ from their
513 eastern, northern, and probably also their southern neighbors.
352 The Karajá and Kayapó sleep on the ground (cf. Krause 2, 198 and 373), and the same must be assumed of the Rio das Mortes Chavante, among whom many mats have been found, but to my knowledge no sleeping hammocks.

114 The small bench was an article of which only one specimen
171 existed in Tampiitaua. We read in Métraux (2, 63): "No cultural
352

114 trait is as characteristic of northern and central South America
171 as the wooden stool. Its southern boundary, like that of the
●352 hammock, is the southernmost region inhabited by the Tupi-Guarani tribes. We find it mentioned, indeed, among the Tupinamba, Caingua, Chiriguano, Guarayú, Yuruna, Chipaya, Curuaya, Auetõ, Kamayurá, and Oyampi. Ortiguera lists among
[531] the wonders owned by the Omagua their painted and varnished
[532] stools. Those of the Chiriguano, Caingua, Yuruna, and Kamayurá are made in the shape of animals" [translated from French].

It should be remembered, however, that as Father Wilhelm
114 Schmidt showed on a comparative table, there is a wide variety
171 of types, not only among the benches as a whole but also among
352 those representing animals. One of the latter is peculiar to the
532 Indians of the upper Xingu (Von den Steinen 2, 286-288), to the Karajá (Krause 2, 199), and to the Tapirapé. It consists of a single piece of wood for the seat, and two supporting boards set up as they would be in a sled. Among the Kamayurá, Mehinakú [Mehinacu], and Trumai, however, the representation of birds retains a certain naturalism (cf. Von den Steinen 2, Figs. 82-84), while it is altogether stylized among the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 19), where the ellipsoidal seat of the bench ends on either side in a sort of triangular head with mother-of-pearl eyes supplied with wax pupils, and tassels [111:114] of yellow-red parrot feathers at the ear openings. The bench I saw in Tampiitaua was similar in shape to the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause (ibid.) and was also painted black with genipap juice (cf. Krause 2, 199), but it possessed neither eyes nor ear openings and ornaments. Although its appearance indicated a closer relationship with the stool of the Araguaia Indians, its name related it to the Xingu bench. While the Karajá call the stool kolixú (Krause, ibid.),
114 the Tapirapé give it the name ampykaua, which in the Tupi of
171 the Auetõ and Kamayurá comes out as apykáp (apũkáp in Von den
352 Steinen's spelling, 2, 286). It is worth noting that a Karaib tribe
192 in the same region, the Bakairi, use the same Tupi term changed to apyka (apũka in Von den Steinen's monograph). The same word, but with the tonic accent on the last syllable, that is to say, apyká, means "bench" in the Tupi-Guarani dialect heard by Montoya (2, I, 105) in the upper Paraná basin, while the Amazon

114 Nheêngatu [Tr., the native name for Tupi, meaning "good lan-
171 guage"] language recorded by Stradelli (694) has uapikasaua or
● 352 uapikatyua for "bench," and uapikauá for the person sitting on it.
192 Claude d'Abbeville (308) mentions among the Tupinambá of Maranhão "very nice little stools which they call Apouycaue" [translated from French].

As far as the function of these benches is concerned, we
171 must take into account the observation relayed by Krause (loc.
352 cit.) that among the Karajá "they are only for the chiefs," and
554 the note by Von den Steinen (2, 287) that there are not many specimens in existence among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin, but that they are always found in the chiefs' houses where they are offered to guests. (This latter observation is confirmed by Meyer 1, 63.)

Kamairahó was the owner of the stool in Tampiitaua. This man was the most important leader among the Tapirapé, and wherever he went there went the wooden seat as though it were a badge of distinction. Kamairahó took it and sat on the Tampiitaua plaza or outside the village before the little house built and inhabited by my companion Kegel and our camarada Daniel. Only when he was in his own house would he place the stool against the wall close to his net and sit or lie in the latter.
[574] As among the Xingu tribes, this "ceremonial seat" was also offered to guests among the Tapirapé. I never sat on it alone, however. Since two people could sit on it at once if they pressed very close together, Kamairahó never granted me more than half his throne. In order to do this, he could not merely move over to the side. He had to stand up and establish with me a complete harmony of movement. For although the horizontal board of the seat was large enough for both of us, the central support, like that of the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause, was so small, dwindling further toward the ground, that we had to take over our respective halves with the most rigorous synchronization to avoid tipping the seat over and either hitting the floor or being hit in the buttocks by the bench.

516 Kamairahó and I frequently spent the early hours of the night
562 in such equipoise, while beside [111:115] and before us the other men and boys sat on a tree trunk and the women and girls sat

231 interested would remain where it is. Also, I have already men-
364 tioned the enthusiastic battling of the chickens against roaches,
[136] which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé
[825] to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw
one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which
would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (159-160), in-
136 cidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá
192 and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on
European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Arauers by the
savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also
come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find
something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they
get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco
leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such
articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they
get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked
and poorly wrapped at night, these Arauers gnawed them to the
bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning." [trans-
lated from French].

The word written arauers in the French spelling of the sixteenth
century author tallies perfectly with the anavé, anaué, and araué
with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we
171 may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá
[361] in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the
[342] erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the
[476] elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and
[764] in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient
[712] coastal Tupi in not fortifying their village with fences and in
possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in
[345] the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most
typically Tupi are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial,
and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Karajá
•[352] in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupi name they
give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses
within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings,
in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The
171 Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:119] of houses
361 around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

1:Baldus--172 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Photo. 7

142
302
301
342

Woman painting her husband. The structure in the background is a summer dwelling. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

Photo. 8

142
302
352

Woman anointing her husband's foot with urucú. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

1:Baldus--174 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

301
516

Photo. 11

The initial phase in the making of tamankurá (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

[352]

Photo. 12

Putting the tamankurá on the girl's ankle. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

264 476 574 such as the head and legs, which they gave to those members of their
[224] family who did not belong to the same eating group.

The feasting had already begun before the sun was up. In the
[345] takána, the large dance house, which is essentially a men's house and
[562] thus as a rule not visited by women, the Ãvãinki´ of both sexes sat
[952] [94] on straw mats stretched for the purpose around large pots containing the roasted pig. The animal was cut up in such a way that the pieces could easily be held in the hand.

When I appeared, they all graciously invited me to help myself.
[123] I declined, stating that I was a Txankanépéra, and in view of this they did not insist further.

Naturally, members of other eating groups may ask the feast participants for a piece. Custom, however, demands that they withdraw after receiving what they requested. Only members of the same group may sit in the circle surrounding the pots. As a rule, however, a member of another group does not come to the people who are feasting and ask for a piece.

In any case, I did not want to carry my pride in being a Txankané-
123 264 476 574 péra too far, and therefore I accepted the invitation of a special friend, Vuãnomantxí, whose wife had prepared the bulk of the food for the Ãvãinki´ and thus earned the pig's head for her family. While she sat with her group-fellows in the takána, her husband and son, and a few other persons who were not relatives but who belonged to the family, so to speak, because they were the only other occupants of the small hut, lay across their hammocks and chewed contentedly. When I came in, Vuãnomantxí tore from the pig's head the piece that he considered the best and offered it to me. I began to chew on it, and this required much fortitude because the meat was very tough. [95] When my chin began to hurt badly and I was certain that I had swallowed enough of those awful bites, I craved a bonus and asked for the brains. My friend smiled--he always had a friendly smile for me, thoroughly joyous and relaxed--and gave me to understand that my tastes were not inferior to those of the most illustrious Tapirapé. Then, with his athletic strength, he broke open the skull, handed me the bulk of the brains, and stuffed the rest into his mouth.

Before the sun was up, only the pig's bones remained in Vuãnomantxi
264 476 house and in the takána.

Aside from the tatáupãua, there is another institution which also
[574] [611] involves eating in hereditary groups. It is called apatxirũ. Its purpose,

/407 cont./

221 region and come to the river farther upstream, before it turns
226 toward the northeast. Here, by means of poisonous cipo, they
[252] fish successive lakes blocked off by fences. They seem to travel from upstream downward, for the upper roasting place showed only a few new beams among very old ones, whereas the lower one was apparently quite recently built. This lower one, beside which they fished from the middle to the end of August 1908, lies about 16 kilometers south-southwest of the first village (24 kilometers
[489] from the second and third). The well-worn paths that go from the two roasting places, join, and lead by way of the first village to the other two, seem to indicate that the Indians visit this spot annually. Where they go from here I was unable to find out; perhaps they went across the Tapirapé to the south. In any case a campo lake abounding in fish, several kilometers away from the trading place, showed no traces of human beings.

161 These people seem to be very numerous. The number of
[342] houses is small, to be sure, but their dimensions seemed to be
[252] quite considerable. The 26 huge grills at the first roasting place and 10-15 at the second, the sandbanks completely trodden down with footprints beside the first fish lake, certainly lead one to
513 conclude that there is a large crowd of people. Sleeping is
●352 apparently done in hammocks. This is indicated first by the net coverings that the Karajá buy from them, and then by the complete absence of sleeping places beside the roasting place, which was certainly used for many days.

241 Besides manioc (according to the account of the Karajá), these people also plant maize, as is indicated by many, partly
231 charred corncobs at the roasting place. As domestic animals they keep dogs, the traces of which were numerous on the sand-
224 banks. It may surely be assumed that they devote themselves to
[136] hunting. The campo is extremely rich in deer, the forests in wild pigs. Certainly they will not forgo these sources of meat.

226 In addition, fishing is practiced on a large scale through poisoning the /408/ /Ill. 267 appears here/ /409/ water of blocked-off lakes. We saw barrier poles everywhere in the territory of this tribe in front of lake outlets. The first lake that we came across was completely blocked off by a fence that was

[TEXT Continues on P. 344]

352 bananas ripe for eating. The storeroom proper begins there and
415 extends to the upper crossbeams, from which hang large quanti-
[251] ties of bananas. Similar strips [of bark] tied to the roof just within the reach of a standing adult support small baskets, gourds, and small bags whose contents (usually manioc flour), like all foodstuffs, must be protected from the voracity of cockroaches and
[342] dogs. The floor of the house is of light grey, beaten earth. Low,
[344] oblong mounds mark the graves. The smoke that always fills the
354 house gives the inner side of the entire thatch cover a shiny black

[345]

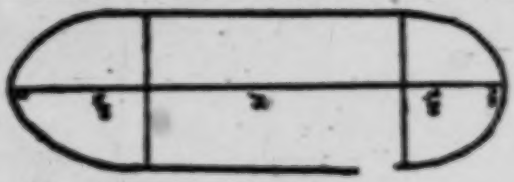

Fig. 11. Plan of the takana.

hue. The half-light maintained through the night by the fires burning beside the hammocks becomes a little brighter when daylight filters in through the slits in the lower part of the walls and through the doors.

Here is a nocturnal scene in house a.

512 The chickens roosting upon the roof keep moving unceasingly,
[231] and from all sides comes the rustling of myriads of scuttling roaches.
[136]

[345]

Fig. 12. Cross-section of the takana.

The swinging of hammocks makes the crossbeams creak. The
[516] smoke from the fires is not sufficient to protect the naked bodies from mosquitoes, and because of this, the Tapirapé swings his hammock, pushing his hand or foot against a rope stretched at his side or hanging one leg outside the hammock and pushing with it against the floor. He swings in this fashion until he goes to sleep.

516 directly upon the ground. Actually, the manner of sitting is
562 one of the cultural traits in which the sexes are radically differentiated among the Tapirapé. A woman, when she is not sitting in her hammock, sits on the ground without previously covering it, and only exceptionally does she sit on a tree trunk beside
[834] her husband (cf. Photo. 58). She always hides her sexual organs, however, either by covering them with the hand or with a leg folded against the body while the other leg is stretched out (Photo. 59) or by crossing her legs (Photos. 11 and 32). When she wields the pestle and kneels to hold the mortar between her knees, this object hides, up to a point, her sexual organs (Baldus 7, Fig. 31). The men usually sit with open legs and cover the ground with a mat (Photo. 53) or a piece of cloth (Photo. 63), when they do not squat (Photo. 39) or sit on a tree trunk (Photo. 61). When several of them sit on the same trunk, they prefer to press close together rather than to leave space between them. When eating at home, the husband eases himself into the net while the woman sits before him on the floor. [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

171 The Tapirapé resemble the majority of Brazilian tribes in not
354 having any special implements to light up their houses, but merely relying at night on the weak flames of their fires for the purpose.

I did not witness the making of fire among the Tapirapé, for
572 they never allowed it to go out and carried burning sticks with
171 them on their journeys. In Wagley's collection at the National Museum [Rio de Janeiro], however, there are fire drills to indicate that this tribe, whenever necessary, makes fire by the process used in all [111:116] Brazilian tribes and already described and reproduced in Hans Staden's woodcuts (p 3), that is to say, by twirling between the open hands a rod resting perpendicularly on a piece of wood.

To kindle the fire, the Tapirapé use fans which are made, as in a number of Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 101), of plaited palm leaves. The Tupinambá also had fans for this purpose, as is shown in one of Staden's woodcuts (t 1).

When the inhabitants of Tampilitaua leave the house at night
[514] to answer the calls of nature, they light their way with a burning stick which they wave about constantly to prevent the fire from dying out. Adalbert, Prince of Prussia (679), when he traveled in

252 In the Tapirapé barbecues, the height at which the grille is fastened varies with its different functions. It is placed low to
[251] roast meat or fish, and higher to dry it.

171 The pot is held by three stones laid around the fire, as I also
252 noted among the Karajá and as Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 48) ob-
●[354] served among the Taulipáng of the Rio Branco basin. What Karl von den Steinen (2, 215) said of the Xingu Indians, that is: "The men roasted [meat], but never boiled it," may be said also of the Tapirapé and of numerous other South American tribes (cf. Baldus 7, 142 and Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 91, 335, 351). Speaking of the Karajá, Krause (2, 253) amends this rule with the fact that "the men also know how to boil [meat]," as they show on trips whenever necessary. This cannot be said of the Tapirapé. They do
[481] not carry pots on their journeys since they go on foot, while those Indians travel by canoe and therefore can take along with them heavy and breakable cooking utensils. Aside from this, the
252 division of labor is so strict among the sexes that the Tapirapé man,
462 if for some reason he does not have a wife, misses her simply from the fact that he cannot eat stew unless he is willing to take it from other families. On the other hand, the roasting of large animals is usually done by the men. It is only when game is killed close to the village that in some cases the women barbecue it. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

124 With the aim of setting up a Tapirapé zoological vocabulary, and also of finding out which animals were eaten by the inhabitants of Tampiitáua or by certain groups among them, I repeatedly showed to numerous persons of different ages and sex the figures in Rodolpho von Ihering s book entitled Da vida dos nossos animais. Fauna do Brasil [The Habits of Our Animals. Brazilian Fauna] (Roterimund & Co., São Leopoldo, 1934). This gave them much pleasure, and I recommend this method to Indianists as a way of establishing rapport. It also makes rather strict controls possible, since each animal is identified by several if not by numerous experts, and its name is pronounced several times by many individuals. Of course, a single look is not always sufficient for the Indian to recognize the animal represented. It is often necessary to [117:93] add comments about its size, color, motions, cry, and habits. Concerning certain insects, for example, the size of the

1:Bakhu--183 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

252
354
417

227
516

Photo. 32

Funnel-shaped fish trap (chekif) with Ipayva (No. 106) sitting beside it.

Photo. 33

Roasting fish. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

342 In simpler structures, such as house g (Photos. 64 and 67 to the right) and the summer dwellings (Photo. 7), there is no framework of rods, and because of this the leaves covering [110:196] the lower part of the shelter lean obliquely against the outer longitudinal poles with their stems resting directly upon the ground. The smaller sides are open in house g and only slightly covered [221] in the summer dwelling shown in Photograph 7. Structures of the latter type are erected in the fields and in neighboring wooded [226] areas when the dry season and its fishing opportunities lure the Indians into leaving their village and moving closer to the river in August, September, and October. The fact that the roofing of these temporary dwellings is not as good as that of permanent houses is understandable, since they are used as a protection against dew and sunlight rather than against rain properly speaking. The remnants of summer dwellings that I found along the trail leading from the river to the village consisted merely of a framework of poles lacking the finer latticework of sticks, and their covering was completely gone.

It is worth noting the existence of a sort of porch which took up entirely one of the smaller sides of house a and which was two and a half meters wide (Fig. 9). It was thatched only on its upper part, down to the longitudinal poles, and it was used by the men and women who wanted to be in the open air while lying in their hammocks or performing household tasks, but who wished to be sheltered from the sun (Photo. 48).

The house entrances are about the width of an adult person (Photos. 59 and 67), and they are bounded on top by the longitudinal pole, 1.60 meters from the ground. To my knowledge, they are never closed up.

[355] Reverend Kegel told me that during the rainy season the Tapirapé raise an earth bank around each house to prevent the waters from seeping in.

417 Beside the houses there stand wooden frameworks, triangular or quadrangular according to the number of their legs, where 251 manioc, peppers, and other fruits are laid out to dry and bananas are left to warm up in the sun.

345 The takana deserves special mention, not only because of its function as the men's house but also because of its appearance

177 than overcome by habit they bent down until they were squatting
514 again. These inroads on the traditional manner [111:117] of urinating were repeated on the days that followed. "I urinate"
[192] is ankurũg in Tapirapé. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

A letter from Father Antônio Blasquez, written in Bahia in
000 1557 and included in the Cartas jesuíticas [Letters from the Jesuits] (II, 173) says of the local Tupinambá: "Their houses are dark, ill-smelling, and smoky, and in the center stand some jars shaped like half-troughs that recall the caldrons of hell. At the same moment, some of the Indians are laughing and others are crying, so slowly does the night go by in this house, where no one goes out. Their beds are hammocks rotten with urine, for they are so lazy that they will not get up to answer the calls of nature." [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

As far as the Tapirapé are concerned, I may say that I never
514 saw them urinate inside the house and never smelled urine on their hammocks, which, in any case, were washed in the nearby stream. To judge the cleanliness of the village as a whole, there is
356 no better authority than that of the mistress of a household in one
364 of the most civilized nations of Europe, namely, the charming Madame de la Falaise, who writes as follows about Tampiitaua (200): "The general impression is one of stability and cleanliness, which is not encountered in any of the Caraja villages I visited. Here, there is neatness. No litter, no thrift-shop jumble, no tattered witches, no garbage, or broken pottery. Caraja villages express disorder, laziness, a heedless attitude. They are flea markets stinking of old fish. The Tapirapé village expresses order. The basic character of each race is clearly expressed. The Caraja,
000 who camp for five or six months [111:118] at most, delight in the
361 temporary. The Tapirapé, who are much more sedentary, set up their house for a long time" [translated from French.] [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Of course, the cleanliness of the Tapirapé has limits which
231 the kindness of Madame de la Falaise does not disclose, but which
364 become apparent when we take a good look at the ground in some of the photographs reproduced in this work. There is no doubt that the voracity of the dogs and chickens contributes a great deal to the cleanliness of the houses and their immediate vicinity, for if it were not for them, much of the kind of garbage in which they are

could come quietly to us at night to drink water, to ask for something to eat, and even to sleep in an extra hammock we had for visitors. His affairs were evidently extensive, for he once divided all of the adult women of the village into two categories—those "I know how to talk with" (i.e., to seduce) and those "I do not know how to talk with." There were many with whom he "could talk."

Unfortunately, by late November of 1939, I knew too much about Champukwi's affairs either for his comfort or for mine. His wife sometimes came to my house to ask if I knew where he had gone (I could generally guess), and once an irate husband even came to inquire of his whereabouts. His Don Juan activities had evidently increased. His friendship with me caused him trouble with other Tapirapé who were envious of the presents he received. The story was circulated that he had stolen a pair of scissors which, in fact, I had given to him. Moreover, several people caught colds, and he was accused of bringing the infection from Furo de Pedra (actually it was probably transmitted by the frontiersman who had helped transport us to the village in November). Champukwi sought revenge by cutting down one of the main supports of the men's house, which promptly caved in. No one died or was seriously injured and the destruction of the men's house was soon forgotten since it is normally rebuilt each year. However, people continued to criticize Champukwi, much of their criticism revolving around his relationship with me. There are no realms of esoteric secrets in Tapirapé culture (as there are in many cultures) that must not be revealed to an outsider; there is only the "secret" of the men from the women that the masked dancers are not supernatural beings but merely masquerading men, but I had been fully and openly brought into this "secret." I was, moreover, exceedingly careful in conversation never to refer to any bit of personal information that some informant, Champukwi or another, had told me. But rumors were rife in the small village—that I was angry and would soon leave (I was by then a valuable asset), that Champukwi told me lies about others, that I refused to give a bushknife to a household leader because Champukwi had urged me not to do so (I refused because I had already given him one bushknife), and the like.

Champukwi reacted moodily, often violently, to this situation. I could no longer count on his visits nor on our research interviews. He now visited us with a glum look on his face, and when he was

114 I left at 6:30 the following morning. Everything was wet with
133 dew. I skated over a stretch of black earth, damp and slippery
[132] ("soap"). I saw jaguar tracks. At eight o'clock, I reached a flooded
[134] forest strip which I had to ford. The same thing happened after walking another ten minutes. At ten o'clock I reached a traditional Tapirapé resting place located in a small patch of forest which contains fresh water. I rested there until four in the afternoon, and then set out again and waded through a swampy area. At 5:30 I reached
[136] dry scrub land where I was able to set up camp for the night. Before going to sleep, I heard frequent jaguar calls.

When I awoke on the twenty-first my clothes were soaked through with dew. I set out at six o'clock. Half an hour later, I was lost in a large and swampy muriti grove. At seven o'clock I reached dry scrub land, and at 9:15 the great forest. During the first 15 minutes of walking, the ground of the forest was more or less dry, but after that it became completely flooded. I walked for an hour and a half in water, which flowed in several places. At 11:30 [97:52] I
[241] found manioc in a brook. I then crossed four gardens separated from each other by strips of forest. At a quarter before one, I met four
● [361] youths of the Tapirapé tribe, and half an hour later, still walking through the immense forest, I spotted in its midst the village of those Indians.

When I returned from the village to Porto Salvação on August 5
481 of the same year, I made the whole trip in a single day. I left at dawn with a Tapirapé youth. Although these Indians, as a rule, walk a little more slowly than the local Brazilian frontiersmen, their pace is still quite rapid and very even so that they proceed at the same speed through forest and grassland, and since they hardly stop to rest in the daytime, they may walk 40 or 50 kilometers a day.

On the way back, we took a different course through the forest.
133 The area we had gone through on the way out was still flooded. We
487 walked on ground that was quite dry, making a wide curve to the west. We reached the grassland within two hours. In many areas the Indians
[241] had already burned the grass, and our feet and legs were free of that hindering growth which adds so much to the traveler's weariness. Once in a while, a fresh breeze blew upon us. We walked four hours through
[137] open grassland and scrub forest, with frequent glimpses of pairs of deer,
[136] until we reached the traditional Tapirapé resting place in the small
[484] patch of forest containing fresh water. There we found Reverend Kegel

578 In this regard one should mention, first and foremost, the
621 survivors of the village abandoned in 1932. They may be distin-
guished from the other inhabitants of Tampiitáua by their scowl,
their perennial tendency to make mocking remarks in a low voice,
and their lack of hospitality. Their village, located "ten days'
march" to the north, reputedly hated the Whites. It established
contact with Tampiitáua through trade and a few marriages. I
still found about 20 of those "enemies," counting the men, women,
[123] and children. I got along well with them. One of them, Maninohó,
became my close friend and an exception among his people in his
increasingly hospitable behavior toward me. This did not prevent
many Tampiitáua people from hating him. Perhaps it even in-
creased the antagonism.

Gradually, I learned that the 20 individuals who disappeared
621 in 1934 had been, for the most part, former inhabitants of the vil-
K6 lage that became extinct in 1932. Mr. Kegel recalled that al-
578 ready in 1933 there was a rumor in Tampiitáua that they would
move far away. They were, on the whole, unpopular and re-
mained enemies of the Whites. When they left, they took with
them everything they owned. They walked away towards the north.
[622] A sorcerer--medicine man, an influential and vigorous man who
had been accused of causing the death of Kamairá's wife, joined
them and became their leader. They had not been seen again in
1935, and it was so widely believed that they had been killed by
the Kayapó that, as I have already mentioned, the whole tribe
wanted to run away to Macauba and later commemorated the at-
tack through the pantomime described earlier. There was no abso-
lute certainty, however, as to the end met by the 20 persons. It
was said, as I have already mentioned, that they never returned
from a hunting trip. All the Tapirapé I asked spoke of this com-
[627] munal hunt, but it is probable that those 20 persons were expelled
from the community. It is well to note, however, that this
hypothesis would not be corroborated by the fact that they took with
them everything they owned. Indeed, they left at the very time
[361] when the entire village was being transferred to a new site. Fur-
[224] thermore, when people leave the village for several days with their
[226] families in order to hunt or fish communally, they usually take
[352] along all their household goods, which as a rule are quite easy to
carry because they are few and light in weight.

164 apparently was aggravated by pneumonia. During the rainy season
731 that followed, this epidemic caused great mortality throughout
[165] the tribe, also killing Ikaranchó and his wife. Then the separa-
[166] tists returned to Tampiitsúa.

The eighteenth century map reproduced in this work points
•361 out with three triangles the "Aldeas do Gentio Tapirapé [villages of the Tapirapé people]." In his account of Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira's 1911 expedition, Angyone Costa (222-223) writes as follows about the Tapirapé of the time: "These Indians occupy three villages, the first one located two days' journey from the riverbank, the second one three days' away. The explorer did not visit the third one."

The following appears in the account of the Dominican ex-
[113] pedition of 1914 printed in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosário (317): "The Tapirapé form three groups, or rather three malocas [vil-
[481] lages], five days' journey apart. The Indians can walk 50 kilometers a day. This shows how huge is the region inhabited by such a relatively sparse tribe. The village we visited had 16 huts,
[592] each one sheltering several families. It is true that when the
[609] Fathers drew near, some of the huts were emptied, and families,
[161] urged on by a suspicious chief, ran to hide in the forest. The people we found did not exceed 160 souls, and from this it may easily be inferred that the tribe does not include more than about a thousand members."

621 [103:186] The note published in 1912 about Dr. Francisco Mandacarú's journey states that the Tapirapé village visited by
[161] this explorer contained 268 inhabitants and that "almost invariably, a village merely consists of a single and numerous family." The number of villages, however, is not mentioned (cf. Kissenberth 2, 43-44).

The same applies to the account of the trip by the inspector
[161] of the Indians, mentioned earlier, which only states that "some 1,000 or 1,500" Tapirapé were found (Glass, 139).

Reverend Kegel told me that in August of 1932 he found in
[161] Tampiitsúa some 14 houses with slightly more than 220 occupants. These people, as we have already mentioned, split up in September, but were together again when we visited them the following year. From 50 to 60 of them died during the 1932-1933 rainy
[165] season, and only three or four children born at that time were seen by this missionary.

166 [756] [621] underline more clearly the importance of these men.

The village abandoned in 1932 was called Moytáua, a word 103 made up of moyva, "cane," and táua, "village." The other three 166 extinct villages were called (1) Kuruantáua, from kuruá or koruá "squash" (Brazilian Cucurbitacea), which remained in the Brazilian vernacular as cruá [Tr., Sicana odorifera]; (2) Mankotáua, from Manko, the name of a Karajá who was the village chief; and (3) Chechotáua, chechó probably being jejú (Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus), a fish akin to the traíra [Tr., Amazon lungfish], or else a contraction of chechoó, "big chechó," that is to say, the piracurú (Arapaima gigas). It may be that Chechotáua was the "Chichutáua" Wagley heard about, and that the Tampiitáua emigrants [103:189] moved to the site of the former village of this name on account of the food plants which undoubtedly still grew in the surrounding plots.

166 Tampiitáua, the "village of the tapir," no longer stands where it was at the time of my visit. It was moved farther from 361 the river. This represents a move away from the Whites and, to some extent, "toward the Kayapó." Such a move appears to me as 648 a "healthy policy." There were, and continue to be, attempts to relocate the Tapirapé at a "Protective Post" located near the Araguaia. *The immediate and continuous contact of these Indians* with the most varied representatives of our civilization, which would be inevitable if the above-mentioned project were to be carried out, would bring about the certain annihilation of this peaceful [161] Tupí tribe, whose numbers, as I write this (1944), probably do not reach 150. [Ed., end of Vol. 103; the section in Vol. 104, pp. 93-100, is omitted.]

[105:77] Chapter 6

## Physical Appearance and Ornamentation

142 Coming from the Karajá to the Tapirapé, one immediately notices that the latter, on the average, are much shorter and less sturdy, especially shorter than the Karajá I saw in Santa Isabel, and less sturdy than the inhabitants of Beroromandú and other villages located north of the mouth of the Tapirapé River. Fritz

[71] 301 them as they become too tight. The same is done by the Tapirapé. I even found in Tampiitáua a forked stick which was used as a frame to make tamankurá for the ankles of children yet to be born (Photo. 13). This fork holds one unfinished tamankurá and a finished one which is four centimeters long with an edge two centimeters wide. [Ed., the remainder of p. 83, pp. 84-86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted. Pages 84, 85, 86, and 87 contain comparative data from the Tupinambá and other tribes on wrist and leg ornaments.]

[109:87] To summarize: one of the chief resemblances between the Tapirapé, Karajá, and Javahé cultures resides in the tamankurá complex, and differences among the three cultures in this area are insignificant. Kayapó culture, as described by Krause, differs from these cultures in [109:88] the absence of this complex, which left only a few traces upon it. According to the data mentioned above, certain elements of the complex distinguish the culture of the Tapirapé from that of other Tupi Indians, as well as from that of the Xingu Indians, while other elements reveal similarities among all these cultures. Although such similarities do not prove that this complex or any part of it originated among the Tupi Indians, they do not permit the formulation of the opposite hypothesis either. It is probable that the garter should be regarded as a trait of cultural relationship between the Tapirapé, the northern Tupinambá, and other Tupi Indians. Among certain Tupi tribes (Tapirapé, Yuruna), the cotton leg ornaments differ from those of certain Gê tribes in that they are made with a crochet needle instead of being woven. It will be the task of future research to determine whether this is the case among so many tribes in both families that it may serve as a general differentiating factor between the Tupi and the Gê peoples. [Ed., end of Vol. 109.]

[110:191] Chapter 7

## The Village and the Houses

[96] 35 At the time of my visit, Tampiitaua was located in the center of a large clearing. Around each house (avuyra in Tapirapé)

351 lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the vil-
lage square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstruc-
[872] tions. The trunks served as seats and, bit by bit, as firewood.
They lay in such numbers over the vast area stretching between
the houses and the edge of the forest, and were so entangled and
[114] ensnarled by their branches, that the imaginative Madame de
[712] la Falaise (196), who visited Tampiitaua on August 23, 1935, that
is to say, shortly after my departure, went so far as to write the
following: "We proceeded toward the village, where the tribe,
for fear of armed aggression, has fortified the surroundings. The
felled, tangled trees, the traps and ingenious obstacles, are dis-
couraging. The boldest aggressor would break his neck long be-
fore he got the better of them" [translated from French].

361 In this respect, however, I must confess that the only serious
712 obstacles I encountered daily on crossing the area in question were
114 the products of the tribal digestive processes, for the supposed
[514] fortification held no role other than that of a huge toilet. [110:
192] I do not wish to determine whether such obstacles may be
termed "ingenious," but I wish to emphasize that they did not
discourage me. The truth is that the Tapirapé do not fortify their
[171] village in any way, and differ in this respect from the Tupinambá,
who surrounded their villages (Jean Parmentier apud J.F. de
Almeida Prado, 180; Hans Staden, p. 3; Gabriel Soares de Sousa,
366). The "traps and ingenious obstacles" mentioned above exist
only in the imagination of the author. Even the act of placing
[721] sentries, a precaution referred to in Chapter 5, is strikingly incon-
sistent with the natural bent of the Tapirapé.

361 Toward the east a stream meandered, a few paces from the
[312] village. Its clear, fresh waters ran free of the thick forest for only
515 a short stretch, which was used at the same time as bathroom and
[226] drinking fountain, and as a spot for fishing and for washing the
[487] sleeping hammocks. A well-beaten path led from it to the vil-
lage plaza, skirting a plot of sugar cane to the left. According to
249 what Reverend Kegel told me, this plot resulted from collective
476 labor performed for Kamairahó. The latter had ruled on the site
of the plot and concurrently on that of the village, which had been
built later beside the communally prepared garden. It was, so to
speak, a luxury plot, for it contained nothing but the sweet grass

249 476 that the Indians suck. It was, incidentally, the only cultivated plot within the clearing where Tampiitaua stood.

The center of Tampiitaua was the takana, the large men's 361 342 house. Eight communal huts were grouped around it, with their 345 entrances set in such a way that it was impossible to look from the inside of one hut into that of another (cf. Fig. 8, in which the chief entrances are represented with black rectangles and the secondary ones with blank rectangles). The village plaza stretched between the front of the takana and the semicircle formed by the houses on the east side of the settlement, and it was the setting for dances, singing, games, races, speeches, and banquets.

The "village of the tapirs," however, had not always stood 361 in the clearing where I found it, nor did it remain there after my 166 departure (cf. Ch. 5). At certain times, the Tapirapé move far away. At regular intervals varying from two to five years, however, they move the village to a spot only one or a few leagues away. When they abandoned the village located on the banks of the lower Tapirapé, the distance they covered was considerable, that is to say, probably a few dozen kilometers. Long distances [621] were also covered at various times when villages split up or joined [578] together, as a result, in the former case, of internal dissensions, and in the latter case of dwindling population [Fig. 8 appears here] [110:193] or lack of shamans. The chief causes for the smaller, 196 habitual moves are the plagues of cockroaches and the number of 166 graves within the huts. The unchecked proliferation of Blattella 361 germanica L. compels the Indians to abandon and burn down all their houses every few years. The recurrence of this event is ensured by the carelessness of the Indians, for after the village has been destroyed the household goods carried to the new site are never sufficiently free from cockroaches to prevent them from [764] soon swarming all over the dwellings. When epidemics cause the [751] floors of the huts to fill rapidly with graves, this manner of burial may entail the erection of a new village within an even shorter period of time.

Not only does the settlement change as to site, however, but 361 it also changes in size. I have already mentioned in Chapter 5 the data furnished by Reverend Kegel, according to which [342] Tampiitaua consisted of about 14 houses in August, 1932. The

[Text continues on p. 79]

1:Baldus--76 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

[facing p. 193]

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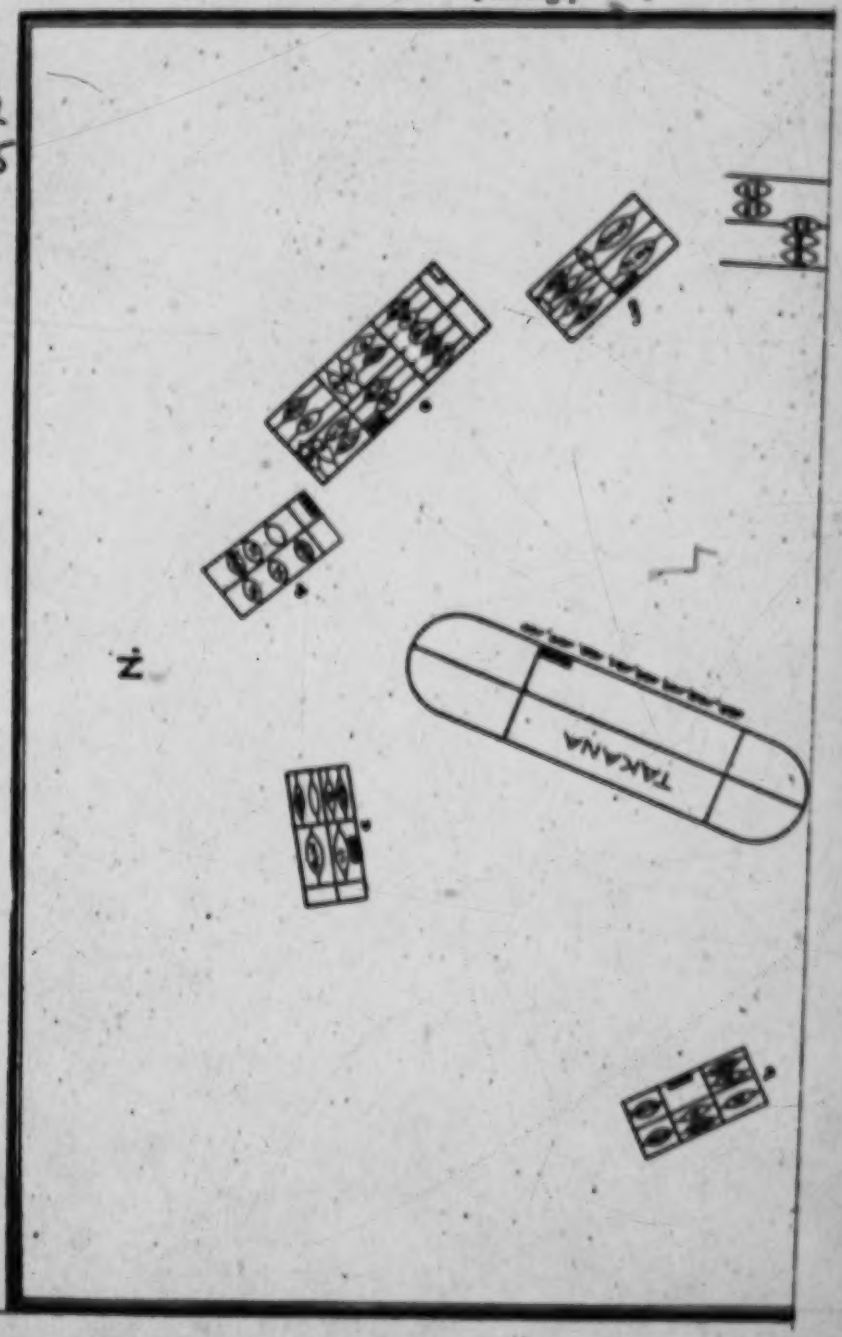


[FIG. 8 - TOP HALF]

1.Baldus--77 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22




Fig. 8. Ground plan of the village.

361 SP2 342 345

[FIG. 8 - BOTTOM HALF]

size of the houses also varies, of course, with the number of their occupants. The ground plan of the village (Fig. 8) shows this numerical distribution, listed in Chapter 5, as it stood at the time of my visit.

Since I did not witness the construction of houses (avuyra-ham, "to build a house"), the following description of the procedure is based on what my companion, Mr. Kegel, observed on a previous visit. In August, during the day, the men cut down tree trunks of varying thickness in the forest, as well as leaves of the so-called "wild banana" (Heliconia spec.) and of the palm called macaba by the frontiersmen of the Araguaia. These provide the beams, poles, and thatch for the houses. The Indians carry these materials to the site of the future village in the late afternoon, thus avoiding the daytime heat which would cause the "banana" leaves to curl in transit and the bearers to tire unduly.

The construction work begins around four or five in the afternoon. First, the framework of beams is erected. The vertical shafts are laid out in three parallel rows, both outer rows being of the same height and the middle one being higher. Thus, in house a (Fig. 10), the outer shafts are about 1.60 meters high while the inner ones are about 3.80 meters high, and this represents a general average for all the houses except the takana. In house a, the outer rows stand about 2.75 meters from the inner one, and the intervals between the shafts in each row (marked with circles in Fig. 9) are one meter, 3.40 meters, 3.90 meters, 3.25 meters, 3.50 meters, and 1.30 meters, respectively. Since these intervals are the same in all three lines, seven other rows of shafts result, which stand perpendicular to the others and divide the house into rectangular quadrilaterals. This division, which is socially important because it reflects the distribution of the occupants [110:194] into couples and nuclear families, is emphasized further by crossbeams that form the sides of the quadrilaterals and are tied with embira cord [Tr., bast fiber yielded by a tree] at a height of 1.60 meters when they do not rest on the forked tips of the outer vertical shafts (cf. Fig. 10 and Photos. 3 and 48). In addition, the inner vertical shafts are connected to one another with several poles (marked with circles in Fig. 10) at a height varying from 3.20 to 3.80 meters.

572 not far from the door, and every quarter of an hour a pair of dancers, singing in loud voices and hammering the ground with their feet, pass before the opening. The other occupants of the house also have trouble getting an uninterrupted night's sleep. After midnight it turns increasingly cold. Then the Indian takes a piece of burning wood from the fire beside his net, breaks it into embers by striking it against the ground, and lays the pieces directly under his hammock. A small boy is asleep, curled up on a net that is already too small for him. He has no mother to make him a new one. His long thea-bone tembetá hangs down into thin air. Suddenly the boy moans; the mosquitoes and the cold have awakened him. He gets up, heavy with sleep, squats by the nearly burned-out embers of his small fire, and blows until the flame revives. Then he sits in his hammock once more, rubs the soles of his feet together to remove the light grey dust of the floor, and swings while sighing once in a while, "Aky, tanchió (Ai, mosquito!)." When daylight breaks dimly into the house, everyone awakens. The women get up first, blow on the fire, [462] place the pots upon it, fetch cotton and spindle, sit beside their [283] still prone spouses, and spin for a while. Then they set the spindle aside to fetch a few bananas for their husbands and themselves, stir the pots while the men get up, and thus, gradually, all the occupants of the house start moving.

[110:200] When they are in the village and there are no festivities underway, both sexes usually spend not only most of the night, but most of the day at home. For a while before and after sundown, however, they sit in the space fronting their house, which is called takupé, or in the plaza in front of the takana. At the [345] time of my visit, the men's house served as permanent dwelling only for the few initiates and for one or two bachelors. Other men would go in only to "have a chat" or to dance a little, and never stayed there for hours on end as do Bororo married men in their men's house. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 110, pp. 200-202, and the first page, p. 105, of the section in Vol. 111, as well as the first paragraph on p. 106, are omitted. Vol. 110, pp. 200-202, and Vol. 111, p. 105, contain data on Tupinambá houses.]

171 [111:106] These data show a certain similarity between • 361 Tupinambá villages and Tamplitaua in the arrangement of the

171 houses, since in both cases the structures stand around the central
361 plaza. The chief difference lies in the fact that the large men's house stands in the center of the Tampiitaua plaza, while according to all references and pertinent woodcuts the Tupinambá village plaza had no building whatever in the center.

There seems to be a closer similarity between Tapirapé and Mundurukú [Mundurucu] villages. [Ed., the remainder of p. 106 and all but the last paragraph on p. 107 are omitted.]

[111:107] On the plan of Tampiitaua (Fig. 8), the arrange-
361 ment of houses around the takana clearly reveals two semicircles
621 standing [111:108] at some distance from each other, one on the
616 northern side and the other on the southern side. The largest house in each group stands in the middle of the others, so that these two larger houses, a and e, stand more or less opposite with the takana between them. The important kauihó dance, which
[535] will be described in a later chapter, was performed first in house a, and immediately afterward by the same persons in house e. In various masked dances, the pairs, when crossing the village plaza, moved alternately from one of these houses to the other. The
[622] heads of the two houses, Kamairahó and Vuatanamy, not only were the main leaders of Tampiitaua, but also performed as a pair in one of those dances. It is thus possible that they represented the "patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties" mentioned by Wagley (4, 7 [Tr., in English at 4, 63]).

591 According to that author (ibid.), Tapirapé residence is matri-
114 local. At the time of my stay in Tampiitaua, there were eight couples with living ancestors: (1) in house a, the couple designated by the numbers 3 and 10 on the village plan (Fig. 8) lived with No. 1, that is, the husband's father (the husband's mother and the wife's parents were dead); (2) couple 11 and 16, in the same house, did not live with No. 29, that is, the wife's father, in house b (the husband's parents and the wife's mother were dead); (3) couple 13 and 18 lived in the same house, a, as No. 8, that is, the husband's mother, and this was also the house of 17 and 24, that is, the wife's parents (the husband's father was dead); (4) couple 29 and 36, in house b, did not live with No. 22, that is, the wife's mother, in house a (the husband's parents and the wife's father were dead); (5) couple 33 and 42, in house b, lived

114 in this house with No. 48, that is, the husband's mother (the hus-
591 band's father and the wife's parents were dead); (6) couple 35 and 40, in the same house, did not live with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother, who lived in house d (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (7) couple 51 and 58, in house d, lived in this house with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (8) couple 85 and 92, in house f, did not live with No. 22, that is, the husband's mother, in house a (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead). As we can see, these data do not permit us to mention the existence of either a matrilocal or a patrilocal pattern among the Tapirapé in 1935, nor do they contribute any answer to the question as to whether these Indians were formerly patrilocal or matrilocal. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 108, p. 109, and the first paragraph of p. 110 are omitted.]

[111:110] Thus, while the villages of various tribes at the
171 headwaters of the Xingu resemble Tampiitaua in their inclusion
● 361 of a ceremonial house and in the arrangement of the dwellings around it, they differ from it in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of dwellings and ceremonial houses. In that
171 region of the Xingu basin, the houses do not have, like those of the
342 Tapirapé, a rectangular plan. They are elliptical or round, and similar in their beehive shape to the hemispherical houses of the Rio das Mortes Chavante rather than to the elongated dome (cf. Max Schmidt 3, 460-461; Meyer, 1, 62; and the figure in Von den Steinen 1, 124). There, in addition, the ceremonial house
171 is not larger than the family dwellings around it, as is the takana
345 at Tampiitaua, but as a rule is actually smaller (Max Schmidt 3, 462). [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 110, p. 111, and all but the last two paragraphs on p. 112 are omitted.]

[101] [111:112] The use of a sleeping hammock also points out the
171 kinship of the Tapirapé with the Tupinambá and with the Tupi fam-
513 ily as a whole (cf. Métraux 2, 60-62). Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá also slept naked and without blankets, maintaining a fire beside the net through the night (cf. Staden p. 4; Dialogos
114 das grandezas do Brazil [Dialogues on the Grandeurs of Brazil] 270;
171 Salvador 35). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] While according to
513 Father Vicente de Salvador (35), the Tupinambá husband usually

177 than overcome by habit they bent down until they were squatting
514 again. These inroads on the traditional manner [111:117] of urinating were repeated on the days that followed. "I urinate"
[192] is ankurúg in Tapirapé. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

A letter from Father Antônio Blasquez, written in Bahia in
000 1557 and included in the Cartas jesuíticas [Letters from the Jesuits] (II, 173) says of the local Tupinambá: "Their houses are dark, ill-smelling, and smoky, and in the center stand some jars shaped like half-troughs that recall the caldrons of hell. At the same moment, some of the Indians are laughing and others are crying, so slowly does the night go by in this house, where no one goes out. Their beds are hammocks rotten with urine, for they are so lazy that they will not get up to answer the calls of nature." [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

As far as the Tapirapé are concerned, I may say that I never
514 saw them urinate inside the house and never smelled urine on their hammocks, which, in any case, were washed in the nearby stream. To judge the cleanliness of the village as a whole, there is
956 no better authority than that of the mistress of a household in one
364 of the most civilized nations of Europe, namely, the charming Madame de la Falaise, who writes as follows about Tampiitaua (200): "The general impression is one of stability and cleanliness, which is not encountered in any of the Caraja villages I visited. Here, there is neatness. No litter, no thrift-shop jumble, no tattered witches, no garbage, or broken pottery. Caraja villages express disorder, laziness, a heedless attitude. They are flea markets stinking of old fish. The Tapirapé village expresses order. The basic character of each race is clearly expressed. The Caraja,
000 who camp for five or six months [111:118] at most, delight in the
•361 temporary. The Tapirapé, who are much more sedentary, set up their house for a long time" [translated from French.] [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Of course, the cleanliness of the Tapirapé has limits which
231 the kindness of Madame de la Falaise does not disclose, but which
364 become apparent when we take a good look at the ground in some of the photographs reproduced in this work. There is no doubt that the voracity of the dogs and chickens contributes a great deal to the cleanliness of the houses and their immediate vicinity, for if it were not for them, much of the kind of garbage in which they are

231 interested would remain where it is. Also, I have already men-
364 tioned the enthusiastic battling of the chickens against roaches,
[136] which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé
[825] to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (159-160), in-
136 cidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá
192 and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Arauers by the savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked and poorly wrapped at night, these Arauers gnawed them to the bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning." [translated from French].

The word written arauers in the French spelling of the sixteenth century author tallies perfectly with the anavé, anaué, and araué with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we
171 may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá
[361] in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the
[342] erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the
[476] elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and
[764] in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient
[712] coastal Tupi in not fortifying their village with fences and in possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in
[345] the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most typically Tupi are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial, and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Karajá
[352] in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupi name they give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings, in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The
171 Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:119] of houses
361 around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

other Gê tribes and of the Bororo, but they differ from their northern neighbors in the ground plan and framework of the houses, in the manner of burial, and in the use of the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble various tribes of the upper Xingu basin in the layout of the houses around a ceremonial house and in the use of the sleeping hammock, but differ from them in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of the dwellings versus the ceremonial house, as well as in the custom of burying the dead inside the house. It is also worth noting the difference between the elongated-dome shape of the Tapirapé and northern Kayapó houses and the beehive shape of the Kayamo-Chavante dwellings on the Rio das Mortes. [Ed., end of Vol. 111.]

## Chapter 8

### [112:51] Subsistence

The Tapirapé derive their subsistence largely from farming and fishing. This does not keep them from using any opportunity they may have to gather wild fruits and honey and to hunt. The fruits of certain trees are plucked as they chance to be found along the way, but those of the tucum-açú (Astrocaryum spec.), called chavana in Tapirapé, are sought out systematically during the month of October. In September or thereabouts, the men equip themselves with axes and gourds and go into the forest to look for honey. During the same month they catch turtles and turtle eggs. At different times of the year they gather the larvae of various kinds of wasps (kana, "wasp" in Tapirapé) and kill animals both small and large. Although some of them hunt at all times of the year, February and March are the special hunting months, for this is the time when game, especially wild pigs, armadilloes, and pacas, is crowded in by the rising waters.

During my stay in Tampitaua, there was only one man who preferred hunting to any other occupation. He was Kanchovani, a Tapirapé about 32 years of age who was more slender in body than many other members of his tribe. While the others worked in their

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



175 they might beg from the Brasilian. Another group of
648 families came to live at the Indian post near the mouth of the Tapirapé River, where the Indian officer helped them build temporary shelters and provided them with food. And earlier, before the Kayapo attack, a small group of families had broken from the main village to migrate to a distant village site called Čiĉutawa, far to the north.[1] During these years, ceremonial and religious life, normal family life, aboriginal economic activities, and in fact most of the regular activities of their society were either completely suspended or affected by a marginal existence to the Brazilian frontiersmen.

131 But in 1950 Tapirapé society was, in a sense, re-
166 -organised. As a result of the efforts of the Indian officer,
178 all of the remaining Tapirapé (except those who had
[648] migrated to the north) came together to form a village which they called *Tauwiho* (New Village), some six kilometers from the Post Heloísa Alberto Torres. By 1953 this village had been fully completed, and the Tapirapé had relatively large and productive gardens in the forest
361 some three or four kilometers from it. The village had
198 been constructed, as in aboriginal times, in a circle surrounding a large men's ceremonial house. The houses were in general of the aboriginal type, each housing several biological families. Ceremonials had begun again and, as before, the nights were filled with singing. Although considerably modified, normal Tapirapé social life was again possible. Although for a short period Tapirapé society might be said not to have existed, Tapirapé *culture* continued to live in the minds of these few remaining individuals and it allowed them, given the opportunity, to recreate, although in a much attenuated form, their social life. This is a striking example of the difference between a society and its culture.

177 But both Tapirapé society and Tapirapé culture had been considerably modified by the events of the last decade. There were striking differences in social

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 125-126. This group has never been heard of since they left. It is the opinion of the remaining Tapirapé that they were killed by the Kayapo near Čiĉutawa, in near Kayapo territory.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

## EXPLICAÇÃO DA FIG. 13

600 A — Casa situada a sudoeste, em que se realiza a fase vesperal (ocaso) da cerimônia.

B — Lugar de danças, onde ocorre a fase final da cerimônia, ao fim do quarto dia.

C — Casa grande cerimonial dos homens.

→ Direção que segue o pajé, "no circuito da aldeia", na fase diurna da cerimônia.

:::::: Trilhas feitas especialmente para a cerimônia.

—§—§— Portas temporárias, abertas nas casas, para permitir o "circuito da aldeia".

—| |— Portas permanentes das casas.

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A — Dwelling situated at SW in which the evening phase (sunset) of the ceremony takes place.

B — Dance grounds, where the final phase of the ceremony takes place, at the end of the fourth day.

C — Men's ceremonial house.

→ Direction the shaman takes in his village circuit during the day time phase of the ceremony.

:::::: Path made especially for the ceremony.

—§—§— Temporary doors opened in each house to form the village circuit.

—| |— Permanent house doors.

[p.54]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



PLANTA DA ALDEIA — MAP OF THE VILLAGE

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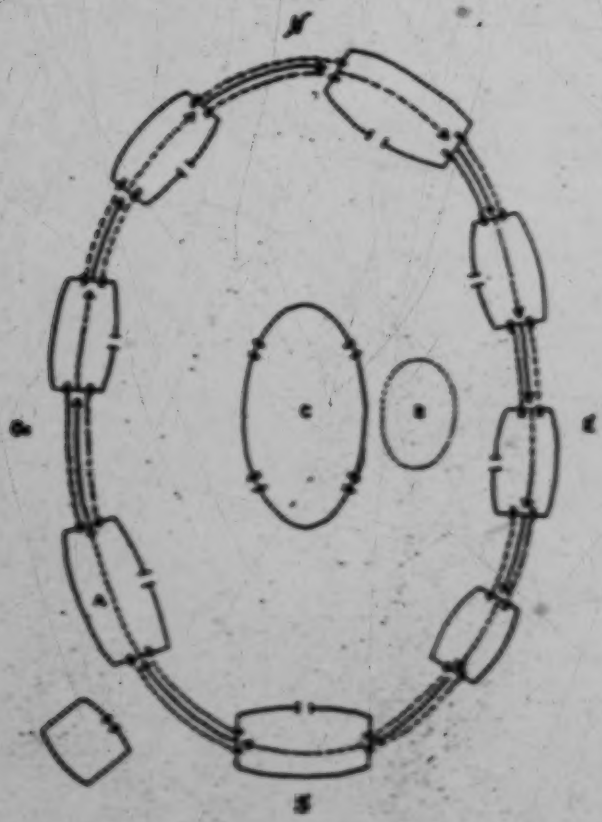


Fig. 13

Disposição das seis casas da aldeia, com as portas provisórias para a chuvada da Cerimônia do Tiwaiko.

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Arrangement of the six dwellings of the village, with the temporary side doors opened to form the shield for the Tiwaiko ceremony.

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4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



241 and planting, which begins after the first light rains of October, is done
462 individually and principally by the men. Cotton and peanuts, however,
[423] are women's crops. The women plant these in their husband's garden plots and harvest them themselves. While a new garden plot is cleared each year, a particular garden plot is generally used for two years and then abandoned. A man plants such crop as maize, beans, and peppers on the plot the first year and as they are harvested, he replants the plot with manioc. Maize is harvested from the end of December through February, the season of heaviest rains; while other crops are harvested at the end of the rains in May and June.

[241] Large gardens with many different crops guarantee to the Tapi-
262 rapé a variety and abundance of garden stuff, but meat and fish are
22 definitely luxuries. People in the village could not remember a time when there had been real hunger among them, but they were frequently hungry for meat and fish. This lack in the diet is supplied by frequent trips to the near-by Tapirapé River and the grass plains that border it where fish and game, principally wild pork (*Tagassu pecari*), deer, peccary (*Tagassu tajacu*), water fowl, and tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*) are found in abundance. During the dry season these plains abound in piqui (*Caryocar villosum*), palm nuts especially andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), used for body oil — and other wild fruits.

556 Among the Tapirapé wealth is not reckoned in terms of basic sub-
435 sistence, for these goods are so easy to obtain as to be considered with little regard. The possessions that lend real distinction of wealth are such luxury articles as the breast and tail feathers of the red parrot (*Ara chloroptera?*), beads, and pieces of hardware acquired through contact with white men or trading with other Indians. These goods are accordingly the most valued media of exchange in the community. Other goods used for a medium of exchange were urucú (*Bixa orellana*), tobacco, extra hammocks, decorated gourds, string for binding feathers to arrows, and cane arrow shafts.

361 The houses of a Tapirapé village form a circle around a great central
ceremonial men's house. There are nine of these large thatch dwellings with rounded roofs in the modern Tapirapé village; four to eight simple
591 families (father, mother, and children) share a house. Each simple family
592 has a section of the unpartitioned house where they lead a domestic life separate from the others. Residence is matrilocal and the women of such a household are ideally related by kinship; yet each large household has

5: Krause--26 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

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Ill. 6. Tortoise cages of the Karajá. Tapirapé River.
(Drawn from a photograph.)
/Ill. 6 appears on p. 119./

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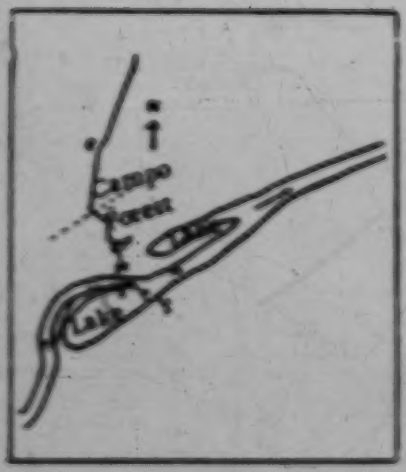


a: Fish fence
b: Sandbank
c: Path to the place where trees are felled.
d: Roasting place.
e: Path to the roasting place and to the villages.

Ill. 7.
Sketch map of the fish-lakes in the Tapirapé River.
/Ill. 7 appears on p. 122./

/406 cont./

114 On the campo path from the first roasting place, which was later
[399] joined by the second coming from the left, we reached a large
[361] village on the second day of the land march, two smaller villages
[312] on the third day, all three abandoned and in utter ruins. Water was not to be found on the campo on which the villages were located; the swamps and brooks to which paths led were dried out and, when excavated, in part to a depth of one meter, did not even yield moist earth, to say nothing of water.

131 On the basis of the discoveries and observations that I
133 made at these places, I formed the following opinion. The tribe lives on the high campo that extends from the southern bend of the Tapirapé to the north as far as the high mountains (or plateau borders) that enclose it in the north and west. In front of these borders there extends a tremendous trough, apparently the source region of the Tapirapé, which from there flows around out of the high campo in the west and south, then turns off to the north-
[361] east. /407/ Here, approximately 130 kilometers due west from
[142] the Tapirapé mouth, the tribe lives in one large and two smaller
361 villages during the rainy season. The large village seemed to have had three to four houses; the second, smaller one, two to
[392] three; the third perhaps the same number. The houses were in such a state of ruin that their construction was no longer recognizable; apparently they were large rectangular buildings with a pointed gable roof. The villages lie close to the large forest
[133] area that accompanies the trough in front of the mountains. All around in smaller troughs extend large swamps to which brooks
221 lead. During the dry season these water areas dry up completely, so that even holes up to a meter deep in the brook bed do not yield moist earth. As a result, the Indians are compelled to migrate to water areas, and apparently they then first seek the
[138] upper Tapirapé. In former times they seem to have come farther downstream to a certain place where they met the Karajá, who extended their fishing expeditions this far, and traded with them. This trading place lies about 30 kilometers southeast of the first village (34 kilometers from the second and third). As
[202] a result of the conflicts with the Karajá, they now avoid this

S:Krause--366 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

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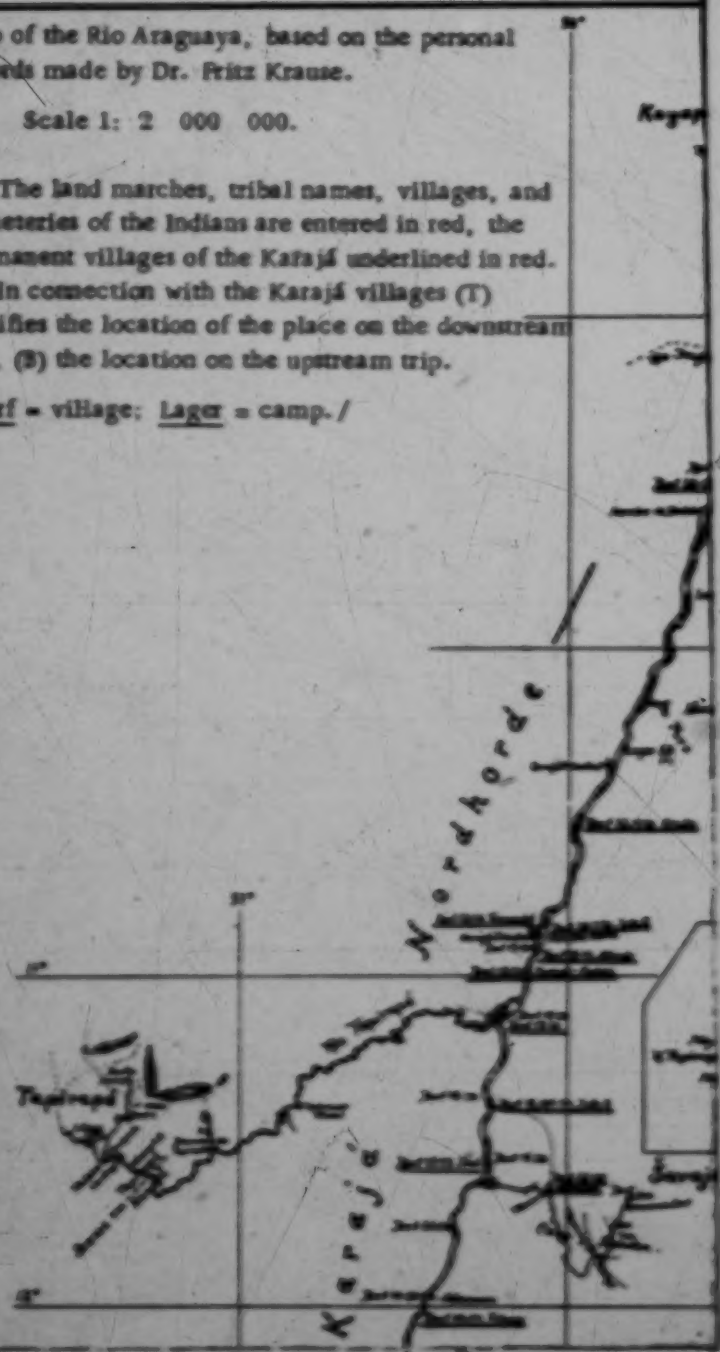
Map of the Rio Araguaya, based on the personal records made by Dr. Fritz Krause.

Scale 1: 2 000 000.

The land marches, tribal names, villages, and cemeteries of the Indians are entered in red, the permanent villages of the Karajá underlined in red.

In connection with the Karajá villages (T) signifies the location of the place on the downstream trip, (B) the location on the upstream trip.

/Dorf = village; Lager = camp./




[End Map A-1]

S: Krause--367 E-S (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

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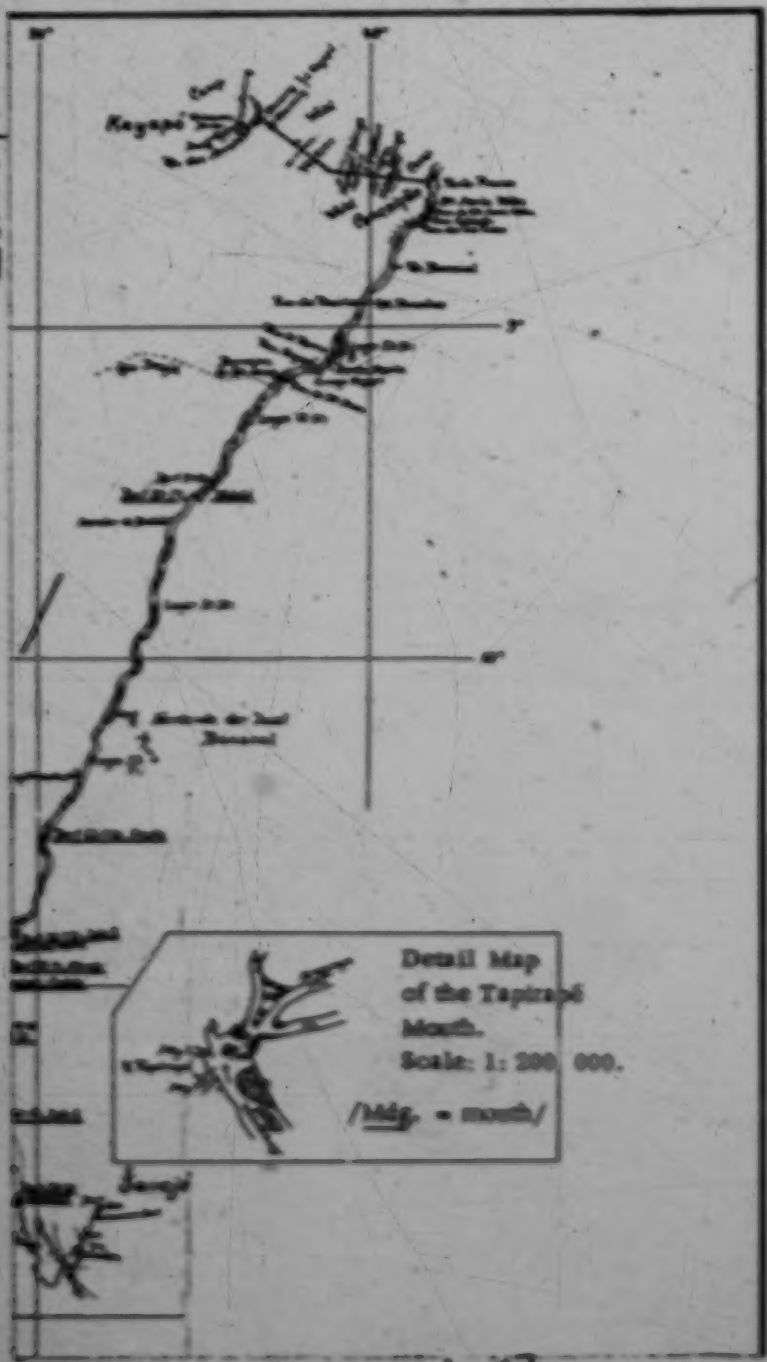


[End Map A-2]

5: Krause--368 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 Tapirape SP82

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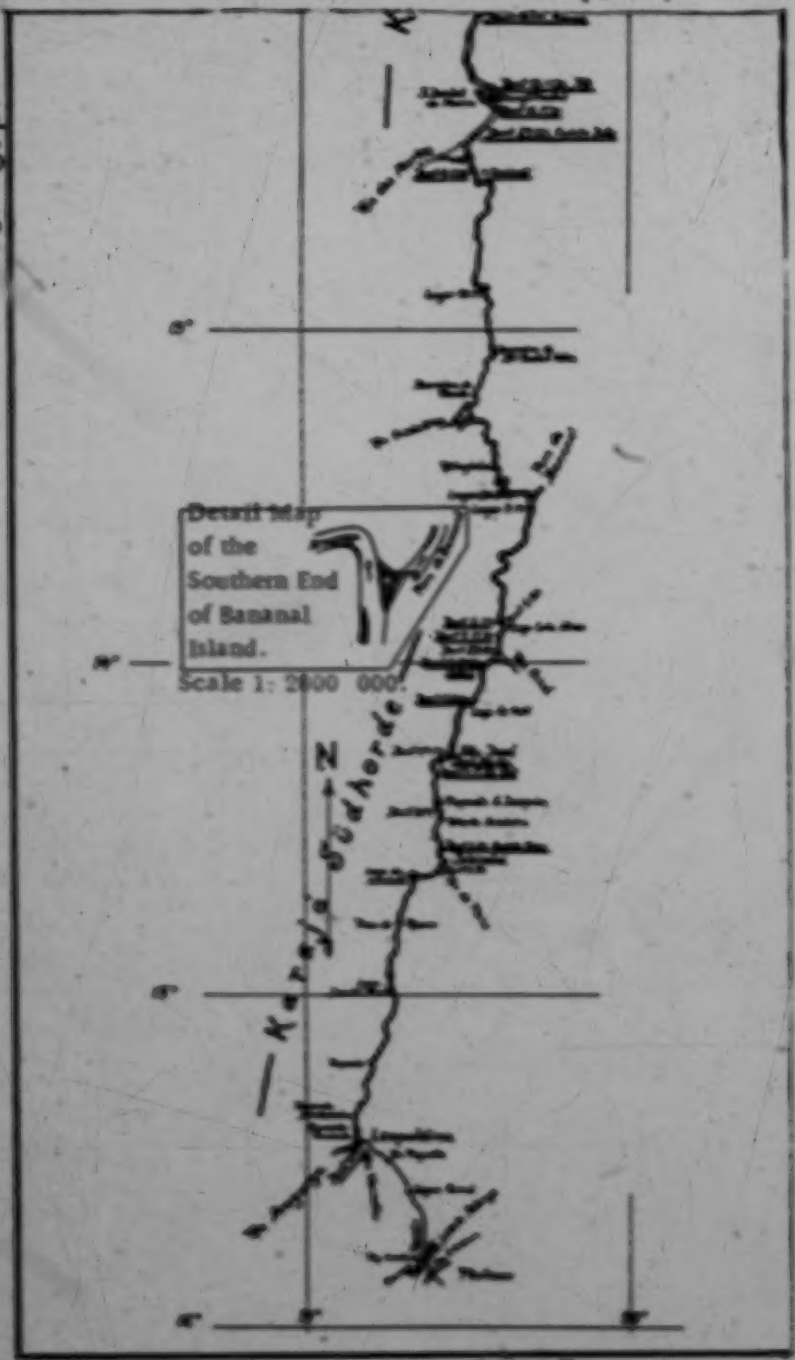


[End Map A-3]

177 are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural
291 rather than physical one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitfua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them are completely clothed.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actually
177 experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their new
262 neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the number
[161] of Tampiitfua inhabitants has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following [139] were not lacking, however. "Now the Tapirapé only eat small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs."

These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the
[261] dry season, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna as well as the human beings in the region have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the
[136] frontiersmen, by settling permanently in all the habitable places along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at
[361] certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitfua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers.

When I ascended the length of the Tapirapé River in a canoe in
311 1935, its banks were uninhabited. There was a single inhabitant at the river mouth, and he manned, so to speak, the most advanced
698 post of our civilization. In July, 1947, there were eight houses in Pôrto Velho, which stands more or less at the middle point of the navigable stretch, that is, 15 or 18 leagues from the mouth, and nearly all of their occupants came from the state of Pará and had lived previously at various spots on the Araguaia.

Their settlement, and with it the occupation of the Indian lands, began about five years ago and presents aspects characteristic of the processes that were repeated, with certain variations, throughout the colonization of Brazil. Their leader is a farmer by the name of Lucio

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirape SP22



Fear was present in the formalization of quarrels full of hatred, a formalization which obliged the opponents to avoid direct contact. They had to remain hidden from one another and not interrupt the speech of their antagonist, but only reply when he had finished. One such quarrel began in the afternoon of June 27, 1955. Kamaiurá lay in his hammock with open eyes and didn't answer when several people called him. Maniwdzi, the eldest man of the neighboring house, begins to pronounce insults. He stays inside his house. The entrances of the houses are so arranged that it is impossible to look from the interior of one house into the interior of another.[6] Kamaiurá's wife stays outside between the two houses without looking towards either of them. She faces the men's house in the centre of the village and replies to Maniwdzi with extraordinary gravity, in a level voice and with calm gestures. They are discussing a question of shamanism. Maniwdzi seems to be doing the provoking. The other persons present continue with their habitual activities, neither laughing nor speaking. After a while Maniwdzi's aggressiveness seems to increase. Kamaiurá's wife joins her husband and the eldest man of her house places himself close to the entrance but inside, holding a club and railing violently in a loud and monotonous voice. When he finishes, profound silence rules for some moments. Then the other replies in the same tone. Never does one interrupt the other. This rule is also observed when two Tapirapé women have a quarrel as well as among other South American tribes.[7] The quarrel between the two men, one always hidden from the other, lasted until sunset. Late that night the old man of Kamaiurá's house, where I was also living, asked me for my electric torch and went with his wife for water by a very roundabout way in order to avoid the proximity of Maniwdzi's house. These precautionary measures—the lamp, the company of his wife, and the détour—reveal clearly the fear he had of the adversary. Supposing then that fear has contributed to create the institution of formalized quarrels we may consider it a factor of socialization. But is it only a tribal behaviour pattern or also fear that causes the victim of theft to abstain from any extroverted reaction? Frequently I observed that the theft of some thing obtained from the white men, for instance a necklace of glass beads, was known immediately in the whole village; the victim, however, suffers in silence without any demonstration and doesn't attempt any revenge.

152 576 578

(361)

152 578

(203) (674)

As an institution which is essentially a product of fear appears that of the shamans. Nowadays in certain South American tribes and little developed in others, it is so important to the Tapirapé that they informed me of certain local groups having renounced their independence and joined the inhabitants of another village because there were no more shamans among them.[8] This becomes credible when one considers Charles Wagley's[9] quotation of one of his informants' words: "Without our pajés, all we Tapirapé die." According to the same author,[10] "the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman." This means that the first place in Tapirapé society belongs to the person who defends the community against the ever terrible dangers of the supernatural world. It is collective fear which gives him this status. But the easy and continuous contact with the forces of destruction makes the shaman for his part also a man to be feared, and consequently exposes him to other dangers, to dangers which we would not call supernatural. When cases of death occur in the village, and especially several in a short time, it is usual to attribute the cause to a shaman and therefore many shamans are murdered. Then it is also collective fear which, in such cases, moves a Tapirapé to defend the community

152 576 578

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



them. "Is it true," they ask, pointing westward, "that there is another Ara- 823
guaya (large river) there?"

The Tapirapé know well their traditional country—that territory north of the Tapirapé River to the River Preto, and west to the Araguaya. They know the plains country which borders the Tapirapé River and the tropical [361]
forest to the north where formerly their five villages stretched in a line some fifty to seventy-five miles apart. At least once during a man's life it [574]
was customary to visit all these villages, and before setting out he would acquaint himself with the rivers, hills, and good hunting places along the trail. At the present time, since the Tapirapé are a sedentary agricultural [241]
people, depending upon large gardens of manioc, corn, yams, and bananas, rather than upon hunting as the chief basis of their food supply, and since [494]
they have no trade, they do little travelling. The spatial limit of their direct experience is small.

Knowledge of the horizons beyond their direct experience—of far off 773
places and people, of the supernatural and spirit worlds, of the heavens, of the origins of peoples and things, comes to them only through stories of their legendary heroes, or through experiences of their shamans. Myths relate the creation, adventures, and travels of a series of successive culture heroes who took the form of civilizing gods.[2] Tapirapé shamans travel [756]
widely in their dreams; they whisk off to far places—to the Araguaya, to [487]
the heavens, to the home of Thunder (see p. 257)—in their "canoes" [415]
(spread gourds used as eating utensils by the Tapirapé), or they may take the form of a bird as they travel in dreams. Since a Tapirapé has this great wealth of vicarious experience to draw upon, he never answers for himself [823]
when asked of those realms beyond his knowledge. Instead he tells of the exploits of a legendary culture hero, or of the travels of a shaman "who has been there."

The Tapirapé are thus equipped with a wide range of second-hand ex- 772
perience. They have no concept of a closed or limited universe. New 823
knowledge either adds to, or fits into, their second-hand knowledge of a broad universe. Thus a Tapirapé youth, seeing for the first time the large rock formation at the mouth of the Tapirapé River, identified it as the place in which Panchai, a contemporary shaman, had seen the tremendous red parrots from which the supernaturals pluck feathers. Similarly, one travelling on the Araguaya recognized the large rapids below Santa Maria do Araguaya as those created by Kaworahu, a culture hero, to com-

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[2] Métraux, Alfred, La Religion des Tupinambás (1928), p. 7: "Pour les Tupinambás, comme pour la plupart des tribus américaines, certaines personnages doués d'une puissance supérieure à celle du commun des mortels ont été les artisans du monde tel qu'il se présente à leurs yeux, mais ils en ont été seulement modeleurs que les transformateurs. Je veux dire par là que, même s'ils ont créé le ciel, les astres, et la mer leur œuvre est toujours partielle et inexplicable, ne s'achevant que postérieurement à la venue d'ancêtres divers."

S: Krause

SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

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Sec. 1
/p. 366/

Sec. 2
/p. 367/

Sec. 3
/p. 368/

Chart of Positions of End Map A.
[Facing p. 365]

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



Te 177 648 [731] [164] Te Ta 177 Ta Te [171] by Beato Maciel Parente in 1616 made war upon the Tenetehara. Epidemics, which raged in the early 17th century among the Indian populations of northeast Brazil, certainly reached the Tenetehara. From time to time smallpox, measles, and other diseases have taken a heavy toll among these Indians. The impact of the dominant culture upon the Tenetehara was more intense than it has been upon the Tapirapé. In addition to differences in the nature of the contact continuum, factors inherent in the society and the culture of the two tribes were responsible for the reaction of these societies to Luso-Brazilian contact and for the population trends which followed. Since the Tenetehara and the Tapirapé have historically related cultures sharing many patterns and institutions common to most Tupi speaking tribes, a comparison of the two societies and cultures should allow us to determine the variables responsible for their contrasting reactions.

Te Ta 22 [241] [361] Te Ta 311 361 [166] [241] Te Ta [162] [621] Te Ta 161 The subsistence methods of the tribes were in aboriginal times basically similar. Both were tropical forest horticulturalists depending upon hunting, fishing, and forest fruits to supplement their diet. For fishing, the Tenetehara had an advantage since their villages were normally situated near rivers and streams while the Tapirapé villages were located inland many kilometers from the river. In hunting, the Tapirapé had the advantage of nearby open plains country where hunting was more productive than in the tropical forest. Neither tribe had a land problem: the nearest village of the Karajá, who were Tapirapé neighbors, was at least two hundred kilometers away and the Timbira neighbors of the Tenetehara were savanna people offering no competition for forest land. Both tribes during aboriginal times had sufficient territory to move their villages every five or six years when suitable garden sites near their villages had been used up by the slash-and-burn system of horticulture. The two tribes inhabited similar physical environments and they had approximately the same technological equipment to cope with it. Their technology and their subsistence methods must have limited the maximum population of any one village and there are indications that approximately two hundred people was the average village size for both groups. On the other hand, a lack of territory evidently did not enforce a limitation on the number of villages for the tribe. Yet while the Tapirapé tell of only five villages in aboriginal times many times that number are reported by early observers for the Tenetehara. Although specific data is not available, it seems that in aboriginal times Tapirapé population was relatively small and stable while the Tenetehara population was at least twice as large and probably expanding.

Te Ta 168 847 Te [842] [845] 847 This difference in population level between the two tribes in aboriginal times was related to the population policies held by the two groups as well as to differences in social structure of the groups concerned. These cultural values relating to population level are explicit in attitudes toward family size and in positive actions to limit families. Among the Tenetehara infanticide is indicated only in the case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

# THE TAPIRAPÉ

By Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvão

## INTRODUCTION

Isolated from other *Tupi-Guaraní*-speaking people, the *Tapirapé* live in Central Brazil, west of the Araguaya River and north of the Tapirapé River, a western tributary flowing into the Araguaya near the northern tip of the Island of Bananal (lat. 2° S., long. 52° W.). According to tradition, the *Tapirapé* lived for a time on the banks of the Araguaya and Javahé Rivers with the *Carajá*. They quarreled, and the *Tapirapé* moved west to their present territory (map 1, *No. 1;* see Volume 1, map 7). At the beginning of last century, five *Tapirapé* villages formed a line stretching northward into *Cayapó* country beginning at a point a few miles back from the Tapirapé River about 150 miles from its mouth. The *Tapirapé* have always been at war with the *Cayapó*, except for a brief period. Each of these villages contained at least 200 individuals with a total *Tapirapé* population of about 1,000. Since 1900, however, there has been a terrific reduction of *Tapirapé* population.

In 1939, there was only one remaining *Tapirapé* village situated about 20 miles north of the Tapirapé River with a total population of 147 people. This decline in population is basically due to disease (smallpox, respiratorial diseases, etc.) acquired either directly from Neo-Brazilians or from the *Carajá*, who are continually in contact with Neo-Brazilians. *Tapirapé* groups have been also massacred on several occasions by both the *Carajá* and *Cayapó*.

The *Tapirapé* have had but few contacts, however, with Neo-Brazilians. Except for the demoralizing effect of depopulation, their culture has been little modified. Although stories are told of Neo-Brazilian hunters visiting the *Tapirapé* in 1909, the first registered contact with them was in 1912. During that year, Señor Mandacurú, leading an expedition of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service, visited the village nearest the Tapirapé River. In 1914, the Dominican priests visited the *Tapirapé*. From that date on, the Dominicans returned each year or so to a camp on the Tapirapé River for 3 or 4 days at a time and were met by the *Tapirapé*, to whom they distributed trade goods. About 1934, a Protestant missionary, Frederick Klagsi, made several trips, staying 2 or 3 months in a *Tapirapé* village. In 1935, the first trained ethnologist, Dr. Herbert Baldus, resided several months with the *Tapirapé*, and in 1939–40, Wagley spent 12 months with them making the study on which this article is based.

12: Wagley & Galvão K-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



## CULTURE

### SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

[137] The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth 133 and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive 132 rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

241 **Farming.**—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their [394] large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, cará (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

[221] Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also 241 it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work 616 festival (apaĩrú). When communally prepared, the large clearings are 47% afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, gener- [423] ally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apaĩrú, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaó) at the end 241 of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as [462] the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, cará, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout [422] the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clear- [361] ings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

252 Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is 252 the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupí* groups, however, the

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1948) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



*Tapirapé* do not use the tipiti (the long woven tube in which the water is 252
squeezed from poisonous manioc), but squeeze poisonous manioc with their hands. The pulp is then spread out on a platform in the sun to be thoroughly dried. The flour is toasted in a clay pot over a very hot fire.

**Wild foods.**—Meat is a definite luxury to the agricultural *Tapirapé*. 224
Monkeys, armadillos, forest fowls, cuati (*Nasua* sp.), and both kinds of peccary (*Tayassu tajacu* and *T. pecari*) are occasionally killed in the forest at any time during the year. The hunting and fishing season, [221]
however, is from June through October, when the savanna country is dry. The savannas are extraordinarily rich with game. Plains deer, wild pigs, peccary, and wild duck, and geese near the drying swamps are plentiful.

*Fish* are shot with the bow and arrow and stupefied with timbó 226
(*Paullinia pinnata* or *Serjania* sp.) in the almost dry streams and lakes. The village is almost deserted in September and October, after garden 221
sites have been cleared and before planting. Men, women, and children move out to the plains country near the Tapirapé River and set up a temporary camp. They collect turtle eggs and kill turtles in the river. 222
They gather piqui fruit (*Caryocar villosum*), andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), and other wild fruits, and, from October through November, they find wild honey both on the savanna and in the forest.

Hunting is done with the bow and arrow, but a club is used to finish [224]
the kill, especially wild pigs or jaguars.

### HOUSES AND VILLAGES

The houses of a *Tapirapé* village form an oval around a large ceremonial 361
men's house (tikana), which is forbidden to the women. Both the large men's house, approximately 20 by 65 feet (6 by 20 m.), and the residential 342
houses, averaging 13 by 33 feet (4 by 10 m.), have a quadrangular floor 345
plan with arched roofs made by bending flexible poles and tying them together over a roof beam (pl. 19, *bottom, left*). The walls and the roof are covered with leaves of buriti palm and wild banana.

In the surviving village, called Tampitawa, there were nine residential 592
houses, each housing from four to eight simple families. Each family occupies a determined sector of the house where they cook, keep their belongings, and hang their sleeping hammocks. Household utensils, such 422
as baskets, pots, hammocks, and gourds, are owned by the women of each simple family. Houses, though built by men, are said to be the property [423]
of the women of the house. The house frame is constructed cooperatively 342
by all the men of the house. Each man covers the portion to be used by his wife and children.

Ideally, residence is matrilocal, and the house is inhabited by a group [591]
of closely related women and their husbands. The household leader is 592
generally the husband of the oldest woman of the group (see p. 172). Owing perhaps to great depopulation and the accumulation of refugees

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the personal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Mariapawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let alone pronounce.

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the widespread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poisonous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm-thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversations that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *hwiterahi*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of

177 than overcome by habit they bent down until they were squatting
514 again. These inroads on the traditional manner [111:117] of urinating were repeated on the days that follow. "I urinate"
[192] is ankurig in Tapirapé. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

A letter from Father Antônio Blasquez, written in Bahia in
000 1557 and included in the Cartas jesuíticas [Letters from the Jesuits] (II, 173) says of the local Tupinambá: "Their houses are dark, ill-smelling, and smoky, and in the center stand some jars shaped like half-troughs that recall the caldrons of hell. At the same moment, some of the Indians are laughing and others are crying, so slowly does the night go by in this house, where no one goes out. Their beds are hammocks rotten with urine, for they are so lazy that they will not get up to answer the calls of nature." [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

As far as the Tapirapé are concerned, I may say that I never
514 saw them urinate inside the house and never smelled urine on their hammocks, which, in any case, were washed in the nearby stream. To judge the cleanliness of the village as a whole, there is
956 no better authority than that of the mistress of a household in one
364 of the most civilized nations of Europe, namely, the charming Madame de la Falaise, who writes as follows about Tampiitaua (200): "The general impression is one of stability and cleanliness, which is not encountered in any of the Caraja villages I visited. Here, there is neatness. No litter, no thrift-shop jumble, no tattered witches, no garbage, or broken pottery. Caraja villages express disorder, laziness, a heedless attitude. They are flea markets stinking of old fish. The Tapirapé village expresses order. The basic character of each race is clearly expressed. The Caraja,
000 who camp for five or six months [111:118] at most, delight in the
961 temporary. The Tapirapé, who are much more sedentary, set up their house for a long time" [translated from French.] [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Of course, the cleanliness of the Tapirapé has limits which
231 the kindness of Madame de la Falaise does not disclose, but which
364 become apparent when we take a good look at the ground in some of the photographs reproduced in this work. There is no doubt that the voracity of the dogs and chickens contributes a great deal to the cleanliness of the houses and their immediate vicinity, for if it were not for them, much of the kind of garbage in which they are

231 interested would remain where it is. Also, I have already mentioned the enthusiastic hunting of the chickens against roaches, which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (159-160), incidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Arauers by the savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked and poorly wrapped at night, these Arauers gnawed them to the bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning." [translated from French].

The word written arauers in the French spelling of the sixteenth century author tallies perfectly with the anavé, anaué, and araué with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient coastal Tupi in not fortifying their village with fences and in possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most typically Tupi are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial, and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Karajá in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupi name they give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings, in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:119] of houses around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

351 lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the vil-
lage square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstruc-
[372] tions. The trunks served as seats and, bit by bit, as firewood.
They lay in such numbers over the vast area stretching between
the houses and the edge of the forest, and were so entangled and
[114] [712] entangled by their branches, that the imaginative Madame de
la Falaise (198), who visited Tampiitama on August 23, 1935, that
is to say, shortly after my departure, went so far as to write the
following: "We proceeded toward the village, where the tribe,
for fear of armed aggression, has fortified the surroundings. The
felled, tangled trees, the traps and ingenious obstacles, are dis-
couraging. The boldest aggressor would break his neck long be-
fore he got the better of them" [translated from French].

361 712 114 [514] In this respect, however, I must confess that the only serious
obstacles I encountered daily on crossing the area in question were
the products of the tribal digestive processes, for the supposed
fortification held no role other than that of a huge toilet. [110:
192] I do not wish to determine whether such obstacles may be
termed "ingenious," but I wish to emphasize that they did not
discourage me. The truth is that the Tapirapé do not fortify their
[171] village in any way, and differ in this respect from the Tupinambá,
who surrounded their villages (Jean Parmentier apud J.F. de
Almeida Prado, 180; Hans Staden, p. 3; Gabriel Soares de Sousa,
366). The "traps and ingenious obstacles" mentioned above exist
only in the imagination of the author. Even the act of placing
[721] sentries, a precaution referred to in Chapter 5, is strikingly incon-
sistent with the natural bent of the Tapirapé.

361 [312] [515] [224] Toward the east a stream meandered, a few paces from the
village. Its clear, fresh waters ran free of the thick forest for only
a short stretch, which was used at the same time as bathroom and
drinking fountain, and as a spot for fishing and for washing the
[487] sleeping hammocks. A well-beaten path led from it to the vil-
lage plaza, skirting a plot of sugar cane to the left. According to
219 476 what Reverend Kegel told me, this plot resulted from collective
labor performed for Kamaiurahó. The latter had ruled on the site
of the plot and concurrently on that of the village, which had been
built later beside the communally prepared garden. It was, so to
speak, a luxury plot, for it contained nothing but the sweet grass

516 directly upon the ground. Actually, the manner of sitting is
562 one of the cultural traits in which the sexes are radically differentiated among the Tapirapé. A woman, when she is not sitting in her hammock, sits on the ground without previously covering it, and only exceptionally does she sit on a tree trunk beside her husband (cf. Photo. 58). She always hides her sexual organs, [834] however, either by covering them with the hand or with a leg folded against the body while the other leg is stretched out (Photo. 59) or by crossing her legs (Photos. 11 and 32). When she wields the pestle and kneels to hold the mortar between her knees, this object hides, up to a point, her sexual organs (Baldus 7, Fig. 31). The men usually sit with open legs and cover the ground with a mat (Photo. 53) or a piece of cloth (Photo. 63), when they do not squat (Photo. 39) or sit on a tree trunk (Photo. 61). When several of them sit on the same trunk, they prefer to press close together rather than to leave space between them. When eating at home, the husband eases himself into the net while the woman sits before him on the floor. [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

171 The Tapirapé resemble the majority of Brazilian tribes in not
354 having any special implements to light up their houses, but merely relying at night on the weak flames of their fires for the purpose.

• 572 I did not witness the making of fire among the Tapirapé, for
171 they never allowed it to go out and carried burning sticks with them on their journeys. In Wagley's collection at the National Museum [Rio de Janeiro], however, there are fire drills to indicate that this tribe, whenever necessary, makes fire by the process used in all [111:116] Brazilian tribes and already described and reproduced in Hans Staden's woodcuts (p 3), that is to say, by twirling between the open hands a rod resting perpendicularly on a piece of wood.

To kindle the fire, the Tapirapé use fans which are made, as in a number of Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 101), of plaited palm leaves. The Tupinambá also had fans for this purpose, as is shown in one of Staden's woodcuts (t 1).

When the inhabitants of Tampiitaua leave the house at night [514] to answer the calls of nature, they light their way with a burning stick which they wave about constantly to prevent the fire from dying out. Adalbert, Prince of Prussia (679), when he traveled in

372 Juruna [Yuruna] territory, called this habit of waving a burning
171 piece of wood to one side and another "the Indian way" in his diary. Among the Tapirapé, the burning sticks shaken in this
372 fashion serve as nocturnal protection against certain anchinga,
776 that is to say, evil spirits. Hans Staden (p 4) also wrote of the
171 Tupinambá: "At night, when they must attend to their needs, they do not like to leave their houses without taking a light, for such is their fear of the devil called Ingange and frequently seen by them." According to Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 168), the fear of evil spirits (mawarí) impels the Taulipáng to carry a burning stick when they leave the house at night.

In spite of the constant danger presented by the anchinga and
514 naturally also by the fearsome Kayapó neighbors, the Tapirapé never defecate near the house even at night, but go into the labyrinth of felled trunks lying between the village and the forest, far enough so the clean open spaces near the dwelling will not be soiled and the odor of the feces will not reach the house. The
[195] custom of retiring to a good distance for this purpose is embodied in the expression kaa-pe-pyá ("belly-to-the-woods"), or to translate it more freely, "I shall now take my belly toward the woods," a phrase with which every well-bred lady in Tampiitana must announce to her housemates her intention to go and defecate.

When it comes to urinating, however, these women are not quite as formal. When we rose from a night session carried out in front of the house and presided over by Kamairabó, the moon was out and I could see dark spots on the ground where members of the female sex had been sitting. Without moving or showing the slightest sign of unrest, the ladies, young and old, who had been sitting around us, had urinated copiously while the great man and I aired the most profound mythological questions. Apparently, the wet spots on which they sat had not been overly unpleasant to them.

Naturally, a woman who is standing does not sit directly upon the ground, but squats, when she wishes to urinate. The men also adopt this position. There were some interesting endeavors at
177 cultural change in this respect, however, Once, some time after
514 my arrival in the village, while I urinated in the neighboring woods, I was surprised to see several young men imitate me by standing also. No sooner had they started out in this way, however,

The glue is a resin (ykyryva in
301 Tapirapé) used by both sexes to anoint the body and hair. Once
237 crushed, it is mixed with peanut oil (chany). [Ed., the last two
[34] paragraphs of p. 130 and all but the last paragraph of p. 131 are
[35] omitted.]

[108:131] Larger feather ornaments are used by the Tapirapé, as a rule, only on festive occasions. The Tapirapé Kanchovanf, however, when I invited him to come with me to the Araguaia, showed me the large red macaw feathers that he intended to wear on his head upon reaching the Karajá villages. These are the
[171] feathers prized most highly both in his own tribe and among the shore dwellers of the big river. I never saw any Tapirapé use them aside from such occasions. [Ed., the remainder of p. 131 and the first half of p. 132 are omitted.]

[108:132] The circular feather headdress is of the greatest
292 importance to the Tapirapé. Referring to its use in the Thunder
7% ceremony, Wagley writes (4, 33-34 [Tr., in English at 4, 89-90]): "... each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate
[7%] headdress--the ankungitána. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer. Without exception all who
292 wore the ankungitána, even Panterf and Urukumú, showed genuine
781 fear and fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder. Before a man could put the headdress on, a shaman waved it slowly before
[156] his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific 'heat.' When Urukumú wore the ankungitána, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circuit of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid, and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panterf. Panterf likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the
787 headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song, and when
7% he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Panterf [108:133] related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: 'I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They

304 equipped with a row of embedded teeth, their points sticking out
413 of the outer, convex side of the piece. The opposite side[1] is com-
[287] pletely covered with a thick black layer of beeswax. The teeth are those of the so-called "dog-fish," alkyngapeva in Tapirapé, a scaly fresh-water fish of the Characinidae family, Hydrocyon subfamily, whose colloquial name alludes to its dog-like dentition (cf. Rodolfo von Ihering, 165). The 17 teeth of the scarifier I acquired in Tampiztsua (Photo. 23) jut out three to six centimeters. This piece is eight centimeters long and measures five and a half centimeters at its broadest part.

304 According to information obtained from the Tapirapé, the
881 girls are tattooed during the rainy season following their first menstruation. The operation is carried out at nightfall, between January and March, when there is tall maize, plentiful game crowded together by the rising waters, and much merrymaking as a result of all this. The Indians tattoo their chin and cheeks (Fig. 1). The cheek tattoo reaches below the ear, so that a small part of it is covered by the hair. The crossing vertical
304 and horizontal incisions look like a fine-meshed net. This
824 design is called kohova. The wounds are first rubbed with a kaauná leaf (káa, "plant"; una, "black, dark blue"). This leaf, previously squeezed into a turtle shell (chauvatí-ampekuera) full of water, is wet with its own juice mixed in
[388] water. It is the juice of kaauna that yields the indelible dark-blue tone of the tattooing. The leaf is held close to the wound for some time. Then, the Indians blow crushed cotton leaves
[278] with a pipe (amynichó-ha(u)va) onto the wounds. It may be that they do this to alleviate the pain, for the girls cry a great deal [107:115] throughout the operation, and the tattooed parts become terribly swollen (ivuvurá). As at

Fig. 1

302 the time of their first menstruation, the girls have so much urucú
881 in their hair that their coiffure, mixed with the greasy substance, looks like a sort of cap. They are not, however, painted with

[1] [of the scarification tool.—Analyst]

1: Baldus--55 E-5 (1936, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

It should be pointed out further

304 171 882 that tattooing as a badge of the marriageable girl is found in South America not only in such widely separated regions as Guiana and Paraguay, but also among tribes belonging to such distinct linguistic families as the Karaib [Carib] and the Tupí. [Ed., end of Vol. 107.]

[108:121] Body painting is widely used among the Tapirapé. 302 In this respect, however, there are differences dictated by sex, age, 886 and the particular individual involved. The colors used are: black, obtained from the juice of the genipap (chenipdua in Tapirapé), the fruit of a tree of the Rubiaceae family (Genipa americana, Lin.); and red extracted from the pulp of urucú, the fruit of a shrub of the Bixaceae family (Bixa orellana, Lin.). [192] The Tapirapé, too, call it urukú, lending the vowel a sound that lies between u and a closed o. The manufacture of the paste derived from this fruit is not as simple as the obtention of genipap juice and will be described in Chapter 10 [Tr., apparently not published].

The genipap is simply chewed, as Staden (v. 3) related of the [171] Tupinambá, and the juice is left in a gourd. Among the Tapirapé, [462] both men and women do this work, allowing the juice to run directly from their mouths into the container. The liquid is clear, like water, and turns black upon drying. The juice can only be used as a dye when the fruit is almost ripe, at the time when it stops growing, for the staining quality vanishes when the rind turns brownish and the pulp grows soft. This dye, according to Staden 302 (ibid.) and [108:122] Soares de Sousa (215), lasts for nine days on the skin and cannot be washed off before then. I must say, however, that on my skin it did not endure more than two or three days.

Among the women, body painting with genipap was so widespread that the absence of this painting gave me almost the same feeling as I get when I see a "civilized" lady in a negligee at the wrong hour. The design uniformly used by all members of the female sex, with the exception of children and old women, is completely different from the [Fig. 2 appears here] various types of body painting displayed by the men. It is called ioképaí, while [192] kuantiana is the generic term for all designs, including those on plaited objects, gourds, etc. Straight lines stretch down obliquely from between the breasts to the belly and thighs. The latter are

532 of wood, plaited and woven material found by Von den Steinen
[171] (2, Figs. 94-118) among the Xingu tribes.

The cylindrical masks of the Tapirapé are also adorned with feathers (Photo. 72). In the daytime dances of these Indians, some
301 of the male participants wear one or several red macaw tail feathers vertically on the occiput (Photo. 5). On such occasions they also wore the ear ornament (Photo. 21), which I acquired in Tampiitáua and which I shall now describe. Two strings, twisted
[283] counter-clockwise and consisting of two threads spun clockwise, are tied to a cotton cord twisted clockwise and comisting of two strings twisted counter-clockwise and made up in turn of two threads spun clockwise. The first two strings mentioned are each folded in the middle and placed on the rope in such a way that on one side there is a loop, and on the other the two free-swinging ends. These ends are slipped through the loop and stretched to make a knot. Each end, after being slipped through a perforated palm nut,
[237] is attached to three or four tail feathers of the green oropendola (Ostinops viridis), which are yellow with black spots and up to nine centimeters long. The feathers are tied by the lower, denuded part of the stem, which is folded up at the tip for the purpose. When the cord is worn across the forehead and tied on the occiput, the
[386] feathers fall over the ears. All the threads are dyed with genipap. [Ed., the last two lines of p. 136 and the first paragraph of p. 137 are omitted.]

[108:137] According to Reverend Kegel, the Tapirapé adoles-
301 cent at the initiation ceremony wears around his neck two cotton
881 strips, three centimeters wide, which hang down in front to below the knees and in the back to below the calves. These strips end in tassels, and under the tassel is a palm-nut shell, its opening facing downward, surrounded with small breast feathers of the red macaw. On each arm the boy wears a cotton cord from which hang five of these shells with the same little red feathers.

To summarize: the Tapirapé feather ornaments are not only
171 distinct from those of the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó visited by
301 Krause (2, passim), from those of the inhabitants of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen 2, 328), the Bororo (Colbacchini and Albisetti, passim), the Tupi tribe of the Urubu (Lopes 2, passim), and the Tupinambá (Métraux 2, 130-148), but also much less numerous and varied than the featherwork in any of these tribes.

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Plate 31.

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Tapirapé Woman
Pounding Urucú.

Plate 32.

Tapirapé Masked Dancer.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



592 from many villages in the one village, many combinations of relatives now form residential groups.

### DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Both sexes are nude. Men tie the prepuce over the glans penis with a
302 palm fiber. Both men and women pull out pubic, axillary, and all facial hair. Even eyebrows are considered ugly. Men wear cotton string ligatures around their legs, just below the knee. Men, and sometimes women,
301 wear large cotton wrist bands crocheted directly on to their arms. Young boys and girls sometimes wear similar ornaments on their ankles; these ornaments are painted with a thick coat of red urucú dye and have round cuffs, often 2 to 3 inches (5 to 7.5 cm.) wide. Necklaces of beads given by Neo-Brazilians are highly valued and used almost to excess. Men
[302] paint their feet and the calves of their legs red with urucú; both men and women trace a multitude of patterns on their body with black genipa dye.

304 Men have their lower lip pierced and wear a small wooden lip plug. Two years or so after women have begun sexual life, patterns in the form of a three-quarter moon are made on their faces by scarification with a paca
[386] (*Cuniculus paca*) tooth knife. Charcoal and plant juices are rubbed into the wounds to leave dark blue designs.

### TRANSPORTATION

[501] The *Tapirapé* do not have canoes. All cargoes are carried by the men
482 in a carrying knapsack made from buriti-palm fibers strapped to their backs.

### MANUFACTURES

286 **Weaving.**—Hammocks are made by women from native cotton spun on
482 wooden spindles. The technique used is the simple twine weaving used by the *Tupinamba* and other *Tupí* groups.

323 **Ceramics.**—At present, the art of ceramics is declining. Pottery is
482 usually for cooking, and is made by women. Sometimes it bears incised
531 geometrical decorations.

531 **Gourds.**—Gourds are decorated with geometric incisions.

**Basketry.**—The most highly developed basketry techniques among the
285 *Tapirapé* are woven and twilled. Two types of baskets are flexible and nonflexible ones; both are of buriti fiber. They generally have a quadrangular base and a narrow, round top, and are used mostly to store manioc or maize flour. Flat, round baskets are used as cotton containers
[531] or flour sifters. They are usually ornamented with motifs originating in the weave itself; frequently the finished basket is smeared with black genipa and odd strands are scraped off, giving a negative decorative effect.

648 same feeling, the same fear of the Kananchahó, aroused even in
166 the inhabitants of this latter village a desire to abandon it and to settle under the protection of the Whites on Bananal Island. Reverend Kegel told me that when he arrived at Porto Salvação in
797 1934 he was visited by Kamairahó who came to the river bank
166 especially to ask him to come back, to have large boats built,
648 and to take the entire tribe to Macauba. The reason for this request was fear of the Kayapó. It was assumed that they had killed 20 men and women from Tampiitáua who had not returned from a hunting trip. Mr. Kegel told the most influential man among the Tapirapé that it would be impossible to feed the whole tribe since there was no longer time to prepare plots on the land of the Evangelical Union.

When we heard the harrowing cry of the potoo during the
648 night of June 23, 1935, the Tapirapé took this as a sign that the
[825] Kayapó were coming. Four days later, at night, as I stretched out on my net beside Kamairahó's hammock, the Indian "bigwig" said, "I am afraid." I retorted, with the courteous arrogance proper to a "captain [chief]" of my rank, "I am here, and therefore you need not be afraid." A little later [102:124], Kamairahó inquired,
[123] on account of the Kayapó, whether I had with me the "little killer," as we used to call the revolver to differentiate it from the "big killer," or rifle. I told him that I always slept well armed, and he laughed happily.

At the nocturnal group dances, the men hold a heavy club or
[535] bush knife in their hands, and this is not just to mark time since
[411] during the day they find an arrow or bow adequate for that purpose.

On the evening of July 8, as I talked with Mr. Kegel in front of the little house beside the village which had been built for him and camarada Daniel, several men and women came running, one of the men holding a bush knife and another a club, and they told us excitedly that there were Kananchahó in the neighboring forest. Followed by an Indian, I proceeded immediately to the spot they had pointed out. We found nothing, and I calmed the Tapirapé by telling them that the Kananchahó were sleeping very far away. They returned in silence to their hammocks, and a middle-aged woman merely said, "They will come when the moon goes to sleep."

224 plots or at some task in the village, he would be on the lookout in the jungle or in the scrub forest. Some younger men also went hunting from time to time, but Kanchovani stood out as a specialist, a hunter par excellence.

Aside from individual hunting, there are collective hunts carried out by a few men (Photo. 24) or by the work groups.

The hunting weapons consist of bow and arrow and club. While traveling, the Indian usually takes along a bow and arrow, and often a club as well. On August 5, when we met a pair of jaguars as we marched from the village to the river, Kamairá and Chapokó ran after them with bow and club in hand. On July 14, a Tapirapé killed a wild pig with a club.

The bow (vuirampana) shown in Figure 13 and in Photographs
411 25, 26, 27, and 29 is typical [112:52] [Fig. 13 appears here.] [112:53] In the specimen shown in Photograph 29, the stave of patí palm wood (Syagrus botryophora), tantaú or tantayva in Tapirapé, is 175 centimeters long, and its circumference is eight centimeters in the center part, five centimeters near the notches at the ends, and three and a half at the tips, of which the upper one is four and a half and the lower one three and a half centimeters long. The cross-section is circular. The cord of vegetable matter (iniyma, ámayma) is 162 centimeters long. Sometimes it is rubbed with the greasy urucú paste, and this is done even more frequently to the bow stave and to the club. On certain bows made
[531] with special care, which are used by the dance leaders as decorative weapons and to mark time, the cord is whitened all over (Photos. 4, 68, 69).

Krause (2, 264) gives the length of the Karajá bow cord as
171 184-204 centimeters. Except for its size, this bow is identical to
411 that of the Tapirapé. In Meyer's (3, 8) classification, these bows belong to the "eastern Brazilian" type. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Krause (2, 262) writes as follows about the palm wood of which
439 the Karajá bow stave is made: "They say that this wood (olotó, woaluó) grows only in the Tapirapé area. In any case, according to their unanimous assertion, the Indians of the southern band obtain their bows, or the materials for them, from the Karajá of the northern band or from the Tapirapé themselves. As a result, I was able to acquire bows only from the northern band, for among the

[Text continues on p. 98]

1:Baldus--97 E-5 (1935, 1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



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Fig. 13. Knots holding the bow cord.

439 southern band they were regarded as precious articles." This may explain why Nuerehí, a Karajá about 50 years old and an inhabitant of Beroromandú, a village located near Santa Teresinha, asked me to bring him a bow and a handful of arrows from the Tapirapé, stating that these objects were better in the Tupi tribe than in his own. I already mentioned in Chapter 2 that, according to Krause (2, 456), the word uohú, with which the Karajá designate the Tapirapé, means "arrow." This may possibly refer to their capacity as arrow suppliers. [101]

The arrows (oyva) of these Indians, shown in Photographs 27, 29, and 30, resemble the corresponding Karajá and Kayapó arrows described by Krause (2, 264-270, 392-393). The corresponding arrows are the barbed ones and those with a simple, rounded, wooden tip. I have not seen any Tapirapé arrows like the two encountered by the same author (2, 411 and Fig. 270), of which one had a flat wooden tip with "barbs cut out on both sides and a double edge," while the other had a cane tip. Nor did I find [112:54] arrows with notched wooden tips among the Tapirapé, such as those Krause (2, 265) encountered among the Karajá. On the other hand, the bird arrow with a thick wax tip which that author (2, 247) noted in the same tribe is also used by the Tapirapé (see Photos. 25 and 26). 171/411

Like the Karajá, Kayapó (loc. cit., 267 and 392), and tribes of the Xingu headwaters (Von den Steinen 2, 229), the Tapirapé also make a kind of barbed arrow by fastening to the tip of the wooden part of the shaft, previously grooved laterally, a small piece of bone that is slightly curved and sharp at both ends. This piece is tied on, and the whole binding is covered with black resin. In the barbed Tapirapé arrows tipped with the spine of the sting-ray, the barb is not made with the spine also, as Krause (2, 393 and Fig. 249h) asserts of a Kayapó arrow that is similar but made of wood. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.] [314]

The length of barbed arrows with bone or sting-ray tips is roughly identical among the Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé. The tip, on the average, is six centimeters long, the wooden part of the shaft from 35 to 50 centimeters, and the cane part about one meter long. [237]

The wooden rod bearing the arrow point (oyvanchí, chi meaning "point") is inserted into the cane stem (angkamanchyva) and

171
411 secured there with resin. It was previously placed near the fire to be straightened out while still hot. As a rule, however, the rod becomes straight in general orientation only and remains crooked in one or several places. An essentially agricultural tribe like the Tapirapé does not make weapons with the care expended on such work by a hunting tribe, such as the Bororo, for example. The heat of the fire also serves to harden the wood, which is sometimes dyed red or black.

The section of the cane shaft that encircles the rod is bound
[824] spirally with a narrow black strip of philodendron bark (vuamé)
[314] glued on with resin. This covering is from nine to 16 centimeters long and makes the shaft stronger.

The feathered part (pepá or "wing," pe meaning "path," "direction," "forward motion," and pa meaning "hand") is, on the average, from 16 to 25 centimeters long. Like the Karajá and the Kayapó, the Tapirapé fasten two feathers in opposition to each
[237] other at the extreme tip of the shaft. The feathers are usually those of macaws, hawks, or hoatzins. Their stems are tied to the shaft with cotton thread (inimá). The twisting of the feathers, which aims at spinning the arrow in flight, seldom covers a quarter of the shaft circumference and often does not even cover an eighth of it. The barbs of the feathers are crudely cut out
[439] with scissors acquired from the Whites, and the half that juts out is broader than the other half. The stem of the feather is slit at the tip and glued to the cane covered with resin. Both spiral bindings of cotton thread are fastened to the shaft with resin. The front one is of [112:55] blackened cotton, about six centimeters long, and holds small red and sometimes yellow macaw breast feathers whose barbs extend backward, that is to say, inside the feathering. The rear binding is of white cotton, about one and a half centimeters long, and serves not only to secure the thinner part of the feather stems, but also to strengthen the tip of the arrow. This tip has an oblique notch (vuatachimeakáua), more than half a centimeter deep, that receives the bow cord. The binding reaches up to this notch, and its third function seems to be that of a tribal marking, for aside from the parallel threads it bears two crossed ones which are, as Krause (2, 270) heard among the Karajá, characteristic of the Tapirapé.

171 These Indians, like the Karajá (ibid.) and Kayapó (ibid., 393)
●411 decorate the shaft section between the two cotton bindings with
531 one or more rings of red resin (totayga, chotahypyrynga). In the Tupi tribe, the width of these rings varies from one to eight centimeters. The raw material is cooked in a pot with water by the
[462] woman, since, according to the Tapirapé behavior pattern, all
[252] cooking in pots is female work, while roasting falls to the men. The cotton thread is also made by the woman. Otherwise, the arrow, like other weapons and their component parts, is made by
[422] the man, and usually the owner of the weapon was also its maker.

Thevet (1, 291) writes as follows of a tree called "Vhebehasou"
171 which is extremely tall, with leaves similar to those of a cabbage
314 and fruits over a foot long which never ripen because they are soon eaten up by wild bees: "In addition, it bears a red gum, suitable to many different ends, which they handle skillfully" [translated from French]. Could it be that the Indians visited by Thevet, that is to say, the Tupinambá of the sixteenth century, used the above-mentioned "red gum" for the same end as the Tapirapé use totayaga?

227 The barbed arrow is better suited to the pursuit of large fish
411 than any other, since the barb, by fastening the weapon to the animal's body, not only prevents it from escaping and weakens and kills it, as also happens with mammals, but also facilitates the removal of the fish from the water. The conditions are different, however, when small fish are shot in shallow waters where the arrowpoint easily penetrates into the sand. In such cases the Tapirapé use a small bow (vuirampampí) and special arrows, 60 to 70 centimeters long, with simple rounded wooden points, ten to 20 centimeters long, which are inserted directly into the cane shaft. In harmony with the overall size of these arrows, parrot
[237] feathers are used at the tip instead of the plumage of macaws and other large birds used on barbed arrows. In other respects, however, these two types of arrows are identical from the tip of the cane shaft, which is bound with a strip of philodendron bark, to the other tip where the bow cord rests upon the notch, and all the details of the feathered section are exactly the same. As far as the point is concerned, however, it is worth noting that sometimes the small arrows have up to three of those simple, rounded, wooden points instead of just one (see Photo. 30). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

171 [112:56] In Meyer's classification (3, 9, 33), the feathering
411 of the Tapirapé arrow belongs to the "eastern Brazilian or Gê-
Tupi" type, and it is clearly distinct from the "sewn feathering of the Xingu" in which two half feathers are sewn to the shaft (ibid., Plate 1, Fig. 9). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

114 Krause (2, 273-274 and Fig. 127) describes the spear thrower
171 (aubí, obirú) of the Karajá as a sporting weapon used in a game
411 called anarkánted-uohú, that is, "game of the Tapirapé," and says
524 he was told by those Araguaia Indians that both spear thrower and game also exist in this Tupi tribe. [Ed., two sentences are omitted.] Among the Tapirapé, I did not see or hear anything about this weapon or about the game referred to by Krause.

114 This author (2, Fig. 265) presents as a Tapirapé club a
171 weapon that he acquired in a Karajá village located near the mouth
411 of the Tapirapé River, which resembles the rounded club (gohordé) of the Karajá not only in shape but also in the grooves on its rear section and handle (cf. ibid., Fig. 123). Regarding the Karajá, Krause (ibid., 271) notes: "Nowhere did I see smooth clubs like those brought by Ehrenreich." The Javahé club is grooved on the rear section and handle (ibid., 361 and Fig. 196), like that of the Karajá, while most of the rounded Kayapó clubs are entirely covered with these grooves (ibid., 390 and Fig. 245). It is worth noting, however, that these northern neighbors of the Tapirapé also have flat clubs (ibid., Fig. 246).

171 All the Tapirapé clubs I saw (yvyrá, "stick," the generic term
411 for "wood") had the shape of the above-mentioned rounded clubs possessed by their neighbors, but they were not grooved in any way, and they were usually smaller than those of the Karajá. According to Ehrenreich (1, 19), Karajá clubs are from 95 to 137 centimeters long, and one of these weapons in my own private collection measures 111 centimeters, while its maximum circumference is 20 centimeters and the minimum one ten centimeters. In other words, it has average measurements. The Tapirapé club (Photo. 29), however, which is also average in size, is 90 centimeters long, 17 centimeters at its maximum circumference, and eight centimeters at the minimum one. As we can see in the photograph, it has the shape of a cudgel, being thicker at the hitting end. The ring between the handle and the body is three centimeters wide and 11 centimeters [112:57] in circumference on this Tapirapé club, and

171 25 centimeters wide and 12 centimeters in circumference on the
411 above-mentioned Karajá club which is in my possession. Both specimens are made of heavy wood. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

In hand-to-hand fighting, to kill at a short distance, the club
411 is usually preferable to the arrow. The Tapirapé will also grab
[724] their clubs when quarreling with a member of their own tribe, but
[578] in spite of this menacing gesture the quarrel is usually limited to a string of verbal insults. While in daytime dances the men of
411 Tampiitaua held in their hands an arrow or bow, and only excep-
535 tionally a club, in the kaó, or great nocturnal group dance, they held clubs and bush knives. These weapons were not used largely to mark time, as was the case with the bow and arrow in the daytime dances. They were displayed to make clear the character of kaó, which, as shown also by the intonation of the accompanying chant and by other elements, is basically a martial one. Fur-
[721] thermore, when equipped with clubs and bush knives, the warriors stood ready every night to repel any dreaded attack by their Kayapó neighbors. As far as hunting is concerned, it must be re-
224 called that the density of the forest vegetation and the height of
411 the grass in the savanna frequently ruled against the use of bow and
[137] arrow and impelled the Indian to attack from a short distance, that is to say, to use the club. In spite of this, during the march between the village and the river I observed that all the men carried
[683] bows and arrows, while they did not all carry clubs. Another specialized function of the Tapirapé club is to kill those people who are regarded as evil sorcerers.

The Tapirapé spear (yvyra-háia, "pointed stick," or mina,
114 "spear") may have been imported from the Karajá. There are no
411 references to spears among the ancient Tupinambá or among the
[439] upper Xingu tribes. In Montoya's work (2, II), however, we find
[171] the terms ibirâhaquâbae, "pointed stick" (haquâ, "point") and my, "spear, prong." I did not see any spears while I was with the
[535] Tapirapé, but at Macauba on Bananal Island, Mr. Frederico Kegel showed me one that he had brought back from a previous visit to those Indians, and told me that they used it exclusively in their dances to mark the time, in the same manner as the above-men-
171 tioned weapons. This spear resembled the Karajá spear (donolí)
411 described by Krause (2, 272-273 and Fig. 126). It was likewise a

171 decorative object used on festive occasions and equipped with a
411 large bone point superposed on the shaft and adorned with tufts of pendant feathers. On the Karajá spear, however, these tufts are secured between the bone point and a braided ornament that covers the front part of the shaft along a length of 50 to 80 centimeters, while in the Tapirapé photographs published in the article "A civilização dos indios de Goyaz" [The Civilization of the Goiás Indians] (Revista [112:58] da Semana), they are fastened behind (or, if the spear is held vertically, under) the two-tone braiding. The Karajá told Krause (loc. cit.) that in olden times, when the spear was used to hunt jaguars, the tufts served to frighten the animal. Speaking of the Kayapó, the same author (2, 390) writes that he observed a few spears similar to those of the Karajá in the course of a ceremony.

Judging by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use hunting traps
224 and differ in this respect from the ancient coastal Tupi whose
171 traps are mentioned by several authors, for example, by Léry (134, 143) in the sixteenth century and by Vasconcellos (p. LXXVII) in the seventeenth. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

During our march to the river, the Tapirapé set fire to the
311 high, dry grass. According to them, they did this to make walking
484 easier on the return journey. This reason differs from that indi-
171 cated to me by the Brazilian frontiersmen when they set grass fields
224 on fire. They said that new grass would grow as a result of the burning and would attract deer and other animals, thus improving hunting conditions. Krause (2, 247) got the same explanation from the Karajá, who also liked to set fire to the grass fields. It may be
224 that the reason given by the Tapirapé reflects their lack of inclination for hunting. To my knowledge, they do not set fire to the fields for the purpose of killing the animals who run away from the fire and of gathering the small rodents who die in the flames, like, for example, the Chamakoko [Chamacoco] of the Chaco (Baldus 1, 32) and the Paressi of Mato Grosso (Roquette Pinto 126).

Among the dozen dogs (chavuana) in Tampiitaua, I did not
224 find a single one specialized for a certain type of game. The two
231 dogs who were with us when we encountered the pair of jaguars were immediately frightened by the animals and dared not run after them even in the company of the Indians. On the other hand, the wild

1:Baldus--100 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 3

Mareromyó (No. 2) with the women's body painting, boys with tembetá and girls with tamankurá.

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Photo. 4

Maninonó (No. 111), Kaunevanvynhó (No. 3), Techipy (No. 51), Inamoreo (No. 23). The woman is Tora-Maneaia (No. 100).

1:Baldus--171 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 5

The dancers of Photo. 4, with Pancheavi (No. 75) and Manupauvynghoi (No. 13) to the right of Inamoreo (No. 23).

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Photo. 6

Manavangkó (No. 87) with a bone tembetá. Auayauí (No. 93) is on his left.

1:Baldus--1[illegible] E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 24

Men leaving for the hunt.

1:Baldus--179 E-6 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 EP22 Taplapaf EP22

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Photo. 25

Shooting a bird arrow.

Photo. 26

Shooting a bird arrow.

I:Baldus--180 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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[342]

Photo. 27

The proportion between the height of the men and the length of their weapons.

Photo. 28

Man with club.

I:Baldus--181 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Photo. 29

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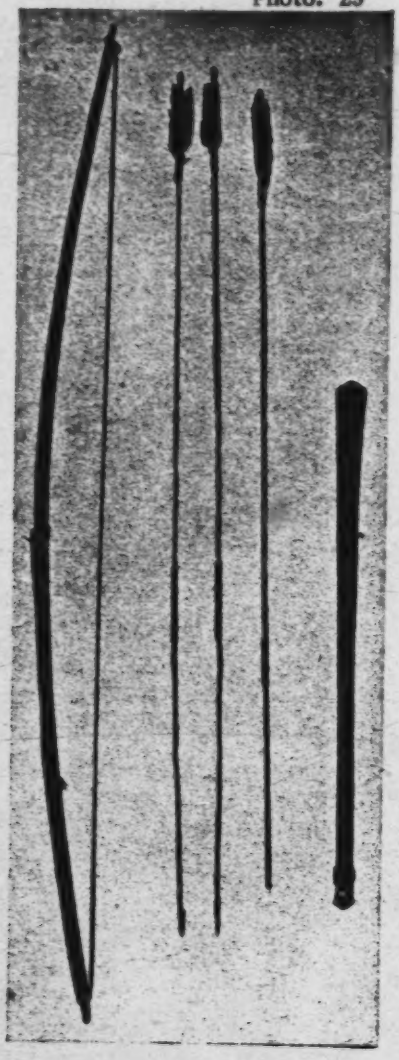

Club, bow, and arrows.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



the possibility of comparison, of observing other forms of behavior which were formerly closed to them, now stimulates change in Tapirapé culture.

Numerous other modifications in the Tapirapé way of life might be reported. In 1953, a few Tapirapé collected money which they kept as they formerly kept red parrot feathers in a bamboo container, but they have only vague ideas of its value. Two men own rifles but they have little idea of how to keep them in order. Men wear trousers when they visit the Indian Post, but they might at any time calmly remove them in the presence of the missionaries, and women have learned quickly to put on a wrap-around skirt when Brazilian men approach. These and a series of other changes might be quickly noted as having occurred between 1940 and 1953.

Still, Tapirapé culture has remained remarkably stable in face of the violent disruption of Tapirapé society during this last decade. Tapirapé culture has been modified by borrowing and by loss of trait and pattern due to the reduction of population and the disorganization of the society. Tapirapé society, with fewer people and new influences, has now changed more than Tapirapé culture. Certainly society and culture are intimately related phenomena but the history of the Tapirapé during the last thirteen years indicates the value of distinguishing between social change on the one hand and culture change on the other. For a period the Tapirapé lived as members of a distinct society, but their culture persisted, and with this knowledge they have been able to recreate, at least temporarily, their organized social unit.

5: Baldus--12 E-5 (1935) 1937 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Plate 27.

Tapirapé Dance of Men and Women.

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Plate 28.

Tapirapé Masked Dance.

T /404 cont./
105 center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language
C differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand
[197] each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé
C seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the
648 Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs,
[939] food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé,
opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the
C Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The
[721] Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret
the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has
been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally
a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago;
C since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far
[727] upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave
women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are
taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and
263 appear here./

C 3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the
162 Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys
T from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than
[142] /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black
T incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b
304 /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).
302

C In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the
439 Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near
126 the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (kŭwăă; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method
T of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very
303 regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The
T spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ
283 in any way from those of the Karajá.

T The club (ĩwŭrã, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round
● 411 clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved
and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of
cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the
handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and
depressions.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 339]

/405 cont./

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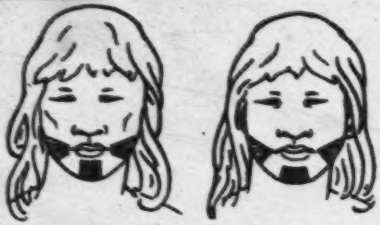

a b

Ill. 262 a, b.
Tattooing of the Tapirapé women.

Ill. 263.
Painting of a Tapirapé girl.

415 531 171 The whole-gourd vessel (kuitã; Pl. 69, Ill. 2) bears carved designs similar to those of the Karajá; everything is very crudely executed, however. Of the two half-gourd vessels (kãšẽdi; Pl. 69, Ills. 3, 4), one is provided with a tassel made of red cotton threads; their designs are reminiscent of the Karajá carved designs, whereas the designs on the others are completely foreign and carved rather crudely and clumsily.

532 The doll (dioho, Ill. 266) of white earth, of rhomboid shape, represents a [283] Tapirapé /406/ maiden. A roll of wax, which is led from one corner down along [411] the two adjacent edges, serves as hair. A parting and arm cuffs (red painting between two rolls) have been put on it. Moreover, the doll wears two ear-rods. In the center and at the four corners there are small holes that are connected with the center by means of one line to the sides and two lines to the top and bottom. The whole figure is five centimeters high and wide and three centimeters thick. It was made by a Tapirapé boy. Of

Ill. 264.
Spindle.

Ill. 265.
Club.
Tapirapé.

/409 cont./

252 were lashed together with bast. They were obviously cut to size
[412] with stone axes, whereas thinner branches showed sharp knife cuts. Thus, iron knives have made their appearance here as a result of the carrying trade, even before a white man has seen the people themselves.

251 482 The roasted booty is apparently taken along by the Indians

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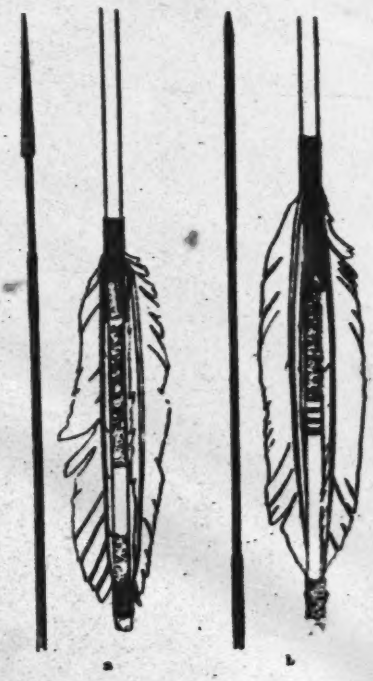
Ill. 269 a-c. Grills from the large roasting place of the Tapirapé.



Ill. 270 a, b. Arrows.

251 482 on their further expeditions to other water places. For this purpose they use transport back-baskets as well as smaller carrying bags, of which I brought along a selection from the specimens lying about at the roasting places.

/409 cont./

482 The back baskets are similar in construction to those of the
185 Karajá, but considerably smaller. One back-basket is plaited
[171] out of two palm fronds, like those of the Karajá; /410/ the ribs form the two longitudinal poles, the interwoven inner part of the fronds the bottom, the outer part the open-work edge. Their dimensions are 87 centimeters in length, 26 centimeters in width, 14 centimeters in height. Carrying bands are absent. The other back basket (Pl. 69, Ill. 5), by contrast, is made of only one frond in that the rib is broken twice and in this way forms the two longitudinal poles and the bottom cross-pole. To strengthen the longitudinal poles, two separate poles are tied on. The bottom plaiting and the lateral rods are /Ills. 269 and 270 appear here/ made considerably more neatly than in the previous one. It is only 68 centimeters long, 25 centimeters wide, and 15 centimeters high.

The bags are all made out of one palm frond in such a way that the rib forms the lower cross-edge, above which the bag, plaited out of pinnae, is built up (Pl. 69, Ills. 6-8). It is rectangular in shape throughout and is made with a simple one-up-one-down plaiting. Where carrying bands are present, they are fastened to the long side or the transverse side. /411/ Only one bag (Pl. 69, Ill. 9) is different in shape; its upper edge is drawn together tightly, so that only a small round opening remains, below which the bag bulges out in all directions. The measurements of the bag are: 10-16 centimeters high, 15-37 centimeters long.

301 Concerning other finds, there are still to be mentioned: a tassel of red cotton yarn that corresponds exactly to a cut-off,
411 youth's neck-tassel from the Karajá. And then two arrows. One of these (Ill. 270a) has a flat wooden point 43 centimeters long with barbs cut out on two sides and double-edged sharpness. The taquara shaft is 110 centimeters long and bears in back the two-part feathering, the twist of which makes a quarter turn and which is fastened only at the upper and lower end by winding. The upper winding consists of black cotton; into it little red feathers are tied toward the inside. The space between the feathers is

/411 cont./

411 painted with red lacquer from the top to the center. The end winding consists of a fine white thread; it carries a crossed [284] thread and extends to the notch. The attachment winding between shaft and point is made of embira and consists of two [171] parts which are connected by spiral winding. Thus, this arrow shows nothing that would be foreign to the Karajá. The other arrow is entirely different (Ill. 270b). The long-tapered cane point, 30 centimeters long, is set onto a round wooden stem 49 centimeters long and is simply wound with embira at the point of attachment. The wooden stem, in turn, is set into the cane shaft, which is 75 centimeters long. Its attachment winding of black embira extends almost to the upper feather-winding. The feathering is done in the same way as in the case of the other arrow. The upper winding consists of black cotton thread, [284] to which is joined a black embira winding that extends up to half the intermediate space of the very long feathering. In it are wrapped little red feathers. The notch winding consists of white thread and carries three parallel, widely crossed threads.

105 171 When we sum up everything, we find that the Tapirapé are a people who, like the Karajá and Šavajé, live beside lakes on the campo during the rainy season, come to the river during the dry season in order to fish there, but, in contrast to the former, seek out different places one after the other, in other words, migrate within a definite area. They plant manioc and maize, work cotton into hammocks and ornaments, are familiar with pottery, the working of stones into axes and lip plugs, carry bows, arrows, and clubs, and like to decorate their objects with carvings. In many things their culture seems to be very close to that of the Karajá, along with them they probably belong to the same ethnographic province, which is distinctly separate from that of the Xingu region; they differ essentially from them, however, in their small stature, their foreign language, and an ignorance of navigation. /Page 412 is blank. The "Appendix," pp. 413-482, has been omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



**Weapons.**—Bows have a circular cross section and average about 6 feet (2 m.) in length. The arrows are of cane about 5 feet (1.6 m.) long with heads of bone, hardwood, and the spur from the sting ray (*Potamotyrgon histrix*). They have brilliant feathers, sometimes the red and blue feathers of the red macaw. Clubs are made of several polished hardwoods and are sometimes decorated near the handles with woven strands of cane fibers. 411

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Three distinct social groupings are basic in *Tapirapé* social organization: men's ceremonial moieties, feast societies, and the kinship groups. 561

**Ceremonial moieties.**—All *Tapirapé* men belong to one of the patrilineal ceremonial moieties. Each of these moieties is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths (those up to 15 years of age); two groups of men of warrior age (15 to 40 years); and two groups of older men (40 to 60 years). Each group bears the name of a bird, the word "wĩrã" (bird) being the generic name for the group. These age groups (Baldus, 1937, p. 96, calls them "work groups") function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites at the cooperative work festival; parallel groups also dance against each other in various ceremonials and reciprocally feast each other. Each moiety owns half of the men's house, and its portion is subdivided into sections owned by the three age grades. The warrior age group of each moiety has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and communal work, and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. As a man becomes elderly, he entirely drops out of the "bird" groups and is no longer affiliated, as he cannot take part in their economic and ceremonial activities. At present, the *Tapirapé* are so reduced in number that, lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's age grade in order to retain the necessary balance for ceremonials. 616 [345] [423]

**Feast groups.**—Both men and women are divided into eight feasting groups called tãtáupawã (literally, "fire all to eat") Men belong to their fathers' feast group and women to their mothers'. Feast groups are not only nonexogamic, but people prefer to marry within their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry the names of the mythological heads of the original eight households of the first *Tapirapé* village. They unite at various times throughout the year for ceremonial meals. The feasts take place at traditional spots in the village plaza, at times when there is an abundance of honey, maize, or meat from the hunt. Each member brings his contribution. Baldus (1937, p. 88) calls these "eating groups," and emphasizes that they are consumers' groups providing a means of distributing food when more is available than a family can eat. Today only six groups meet for feasts, two being extinct for lack of members. 574 264 [582]

653333—47—14

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



requited by gifts of beads, hardware, and salt which I provided judiciously from time to time. After a few days, I began noting questions to be asked of Champukwi in the late afternoon when he now habitually visited our house. But this was the time that others also liked to visit. At this hour of the day our house was often crowded with men, women, children, and even pets—monkeys, parrots, and wild pigs—for which the Tapirapé along with other Brazilian tribes have an especial fondness. Such social gatherings were hardly conducive to the ethnological interview or even to the systematic recording of vocabulary. So I asked Champukwi if I might go with him to his garden. There, alternating between helping him cut brush from his garden site and sitting in the shade, I was able to conduct a kind of haphazard interview. Often, while he worked, I formulated questions in my halting Tapirapé and I was able by repetition to understand his answers. Although the Tapirapé villagers began to joke of Champukwi's new garden site as belonging to the two of us, these days were very valuable for my research.

Walking through the forest to and from Champukwi's garden, we often hunted for *jacu*, a large forest fowl rather like a chicken. I attempted to teach Champukwi how to use my .22 rifle, but he had difficulty understanding the gunsights and missed continually. He attempted to show me how to "see" the *jacu* hidden in the thick branches of the trees, but I seldom caught sight of the birds until they had flown. Thus, our complementary incapacities combined to make our hunting in the tropical forest quite unproductive, and in disgust Champukwi often resorted to his bow and arrow. Only later in the year, after he had practiced a great deal by shooting at tin cans did Champukwi master the use of the rifle, and this new-found skill greatly added to his prestige among the Tapirapé.

My abiding friendship with Champukwi perhaps really began when I came down with malaria about six weeks after our arrival. During the first few days of my illness, I was oblivious to my surroundings. I am told that while one *panché*, or medicine man, predicted my death, another tried to cure me by massage, by blowing tobacco smoke over my body, and by attempting to suck out the "object" that was causing the fever. Evidently his efforts—plus the atabrine tablets administered by Valentim Gomes—were successful, for my fever abated. I realized, however, that convalescence would be slow. Unable to leave the house for almost three weeks, I spent my days

291 (cf. Photos. 5, 25, 69). This may corroborate the conjecture of
[114] the evolutionist Von den Steinen (2, 192) that the waist cord for-
[174] merly had the function of the penis sheath. Among present-day
Tapirapé this cord may be regarded, along with the tembetá, as
[482] a prerogative of the males. It is rarely used to carry [105:88]
[412] things. Occasionally they will hang a comb from it, or in recent
times a pair of scissors as well.

Dr. Charles Wagley told me that in 1939 he found straps for
114 carrying children that were worn by the Tapirapé women over the
854 shoulder and across the chest. In 1937, Dominican missionaries
177 had gone up the Tapirapé River with large quantities of fabrics.
The straps were made of those fabrics. It is interesting to note
that in 1935 there were no such objects in existence. It is inter-
esting because it would have been possible to carry the children
in small hammocks. Furthermore, I had given away many pieces
of cloth which could have been used as straps for carrying children.
[171] Such straps not only are used by the neighboring Kayapó (Krause,
2, 394) but are also a typical cultural trait of the Tupí Indians.
[Ed., two sentences are omitted.] It is worth noting, however,
that straps for carrying children are not used by the eastern neigh-
bors of the Tapirapé, that is to say, the Karajá (Krause 2, 276
and Plates 12, 37, and 42).

In the case of the Tapirapé, it was apparently the numerous
pieces of fabric brought by the Dominicans in 1937 that played a
decisive role in the introduction of straps for carrying children. In
291 1935, all the fabrics and cloth articles coming from our factories
177 had a merely decorative function among those Indians. The men
[562] alone used them, since most adornments are prerogatives of their
[301] sex and such impressive ornaments as those made of feathers and
claws are worn only by them. Kamairahó, the most important
chief, liked best of all to wear a red dress which his wife had re-
ceived as a gift. Thus, the aim the giver had in mind, probably
inspired by catechizing hopes, was missed entirely for the lady
remained altogether naked while her husband was covered down to
177 the knees and below. It is worth noting, however, that in the even-
29 ing, when Kamairahó retired, he would undress and carefully fold
513 the garment. Thus, at an hour when every protection against the
mosquitoes and the cold would have seemed to me exceedingly

171 Another occasion to cut the hair short is the death of a close
302 relative, when not only the males (cf. Photos. 51 and 52) but the
765 opposite sex as well (Photo. 64) are compelled to undergo this procedure. This custom is quite widespread in South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

302 Among the Tapirapé at the present time, the hair is cut with
[177] scissors received from the Whites. [Ed., the remainder of p. 107
[412] is omitted, which includes the beginning of the sentence finished [illegible]e top of p. 108.]

[107:108] . . . in 1614, Father Claude d'Abbeville (267)
302 wrote of the hair of the Tupinambá of Maranhão: "[Ed., two
171 sentences are omitted.] They [the women] are quite meticulous
51[illegible] about combing their hair and do not fail to wash it and rub it [illegible]ith oil and Roucou every morning" [translated from French]. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

Some Tapirapé comb their hair with great care, although they do not wash it as frequently as the Tupinambá women observed by Father Claude, or massage it as often with oil and urucú. They
[314] would no doubt anoint it more frequently if it were not for the scarcity of the raw material, a palm nut that grows only at certain times of year. This scarcity impelled an honest matron to steal from us our only bottle of oil, which we had brought to remedy the lack of fat in the diet. Instead of lining our stomachs, the entire liter of nutritious liquid ended up on the good woman's head. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 108 is omitted.]

302 [107:109] The Tapirapé also put urucú in their hair, but only
on special occasions. They apply it to boys on the festive day of
[881] initiation, to girls on the day when their first menstruation ends,
[764] and to the dead. It may have religious significance, but I cannot tell.

515 Aside from hair combing, delousing is a gesture of love. The
593 bugs caught end their existence between the teeth of the catcher, who thus swallows the blood of his or her beloved. This tender duty is performed on a mutual basis by parents and children and by loving spouses. Girls show the greatest enthusiasm for this type of quest. It does happen, however, that an old man still delouses an already married son (cf. Photo. 55).

826 Not only do they avoid losing the blood stolen by lice and
261 mosquitoes by eating the culprits caught in the act, but they also

302 genipap. They have given up for keeps the tamankurá or cotton
881 ornaments they wore in childhood. Some of them change names,
[553] if they did not already do so at the time of their first menstruation. They eat nothing but green-maize cauí [a soup]. Both men and women sing the kaó, a kind of national anthem. When the whole ceremony is over, the girl is painted with the genipap stripes characteristic of women.

304 The tattooing is done by certain mature men. They need not be sorcerer--medicine men, but some of them are, like Urukumy
● 412 for example (Photo. 53). The aim of the tattooing is to differentiate the women from the girls. The small knife used to make the incisions (Photo. 22) is called voamé. It consists of a fragment of
[237] rodent incisor embedded in a small piece of thin cane wrapped in a narrow strip of philodendron inner bark. This strip strengthens
[314] the small rod, which was previously covered with resin to provide a better hold. The tooth fragment in the knife reproduced here (Photo. 22) consists of that part of a paca (kanoanó) incisor nearest to
[237] the gum, and thus not of its cutting section. The edge was created by scraping the fragment with a knife. Sometimes the fragment is also taken from the tooth of an agouti (akutí, ankuchí), another rodent that, like the paca, belongs to the Caviidae family.

304 Krause (2, 404) writes of Tapirapé tattooing: "Tattooing exists among married women; they cut vertical lines in their chins, and
114 a line that goes down obliquely from either side of the mouth." As we can see, this does not quite agree with the tattooing I observed. And the drawings published by Krause (ibid., Fig. 262), although they disagree with the description above by the same author in showing several oblique lines originating at the corners of the lips, rather than just one, still do not resemble the crossed horizontal and vertical lines that I saw on the faces of Tapirapé women. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 115, pp. 116-119 which include several pages of comparative data on scarification, and all but the last paragraph on p. 120 are omitted.]

107:120] To summarize, we may say that the special character
304 of female tattooing differentiates the Tapirapé from all neighboring
171 tribes about which anything is known in this connection. The data
[114] of Herrmann Meyer about the Aravine and their tattooing, which are given in Chapter 4 of this work, are not sufficient to be taken into account in studying this topic. It should be pointed out further

304 Like the ear perforation, that of the lower lip is restricted to members of the male sex among the inhabitants of Tampiitáua. According to them, it is also made by the mother with a bone [412] needle on the morning following the birth of her child. The 301 Tapirapé do not have a generic name for the objects inserted into the artificial lip opening, which vary with the age of the wearer. 237 When they want to refer to a lip ornament without specifying [192] which one, they merely say emekuana (emeguana, temekuana), or emekuanĩ if a small boy is concerned. Emẽ means "lower lip" (cheremẽ, "my lower lip"), kuana means "hole," and i is a diminutive (kuanĩ, "little hole"). The opening in a child's lip is indeed much smaller than in that of an adult such as Kamairá (Photo. 57). They insert a bone there until the time when the boy who is about to be initiated has his hair cut, and this bone grows along with its wearer (Photos. 3, 6, 25, 28, 61). Thus, a boy who was about five years old wore a wild-pig bone nine and a half centimeters long and from two to four millimeters wide, with a crosspiece about eight millimeters wide (Photo. 18). A boy of eight or ten had a deer bone 25 centimeters long and three to five [109:77] in diameter, with a crosspiece one centimeter wide (Photo. 17). Rhea bones were also used as boys' lip ornaments. The bone is introduced from the inside, so that the crosspiece remains inside the mouth to secure the ornament.

[302] When a boy's hair is cut, a year before his initiation cere- [881] mony, the deer bone is replaced with the wooden plug worn by the men (Photo. 19a). Some of those plugs contain the embedded tooth of a tapiti (Sylvilagus minensis, tampichĩ in Tapirapé) (Photo. 55). The plug with a tooth shown in Photograph 19a is about eight to ten millimeters in diameter and six millimeters along its full length, or in other words, four millimeters in the wooden section and two millimeters in the projecting part of the tooth. The piece that secures the plug is two centimeters wide. [824] The plugs are made with the pointed excrescences found on the trunks of a tree called tanchimoyva in Tapirapé. The one reproduced here (Photo. 19b) is 25 millimeters long and from 15 to 25 millimeters wide.

301 At the initiation ceremony, however, and only on that great 324 day, the boy wears an ornament that would qualify for the Tupi [881] name tembetá, from tembẽ, "lower lip," and itá, "stone." This

171 however, differ from those of the Tapirapé in lacking a "plug."
301 I know of no such "plugs" on the stone lip cylinders of the ancient Tupinambá. Those found on the São Paulo coast and in the vicinity of Bahia, reproduced by H. von Ihering (apud Wegner 3, 34, Fig. 5), do not have any. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 79, p. 80, and the first two paragraphs on p. 81 are omitted.]

[109:81] To summarize, it may be said that among the Tapirapé, just as among the Tupinambá, Karajá, and Kayapó, the tembetá is an exclusively male ornament that varies in its shape and material according to the age of the wearer. The Tapirapé differ from the Tupinambá in that adults do not have the coin-shaped stone tembetá mentioned by Léry. As far as material, shape, and size are concerned, the differences between the Tapirapé, Karajá, and Kayapó tembetá are, on the whole, greater than the resemblances. The Central Tupi differ from the Tapirapé in not having any lip ornaments.

The arm and leg ornaments made of cotton dyed with urucú are a striking link between the Tapirapé and Karajá cultures. They are everyday ornaments worn by both sexes. Among the Karajá, according to [109:82] Krause (2, 226), they are "the distinctive badge of unmarried men, therefore used from earliest childhood until marriage, and in widowhood." The same author (ibid.) adds, however, that these bands may also be used by married men "if their wives are pleased with them."

Among the Tapirapé, I saw married men wearing the cotton ornaments called tamankurá in their language. This name covers three different kinds, namely, the bracelet, the garter, and the
[462] ankle band. They are all made by the women with the crochet
[412] needle (chuúnia, chu meaning "thorn"), which was originally made
[439] of bone and today, as a result of White imports, may also be of metal. Among the Karajá, this is also woman's work (cf. ibid.).

The bracelets (dexí in Karajá) are cylinders with reinforced, outcurving edges. Each of the two bracelets that had been worn by a Tapirapé man and are reproduced in Photograph 14b is 14 centimeters long, 19 centimeters in circumference at the upper end, and 17 at the lower end, while the upper edge is four centimeters wide and the lower one two and a half centimeters wide. The initial phase of their manufacture is shown in Photograph 11.

171 the new layer of charcoal, and repeat this until the tree is felled."
241 [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[113:194] I do not know whether the Tapirapé used the method described by Stradelli. I heard that they felled large trees by setting up a fire beneath the roots. If this is confirmed by the vestiges of carbonization on the roots of fallen trunks and in the holes lying around them, which were still visible in the old plots in 1935, not much time would have elapsed since fire was used for this purpose. Considering that the Tapirapé have owned
[177] iron axes for dozens of years, it should then be assumed that fire was used in connection with these products of our civilization.

In any case, I did not find stone axes among the Tapirapé,
174 nor did I find anyone in Tampiitaua who had used them, or anyone
412 who had found similar implements at sites formerly occupied by the tribe. Of course, there is no doubt that the Tapirapé did possess them in the past, and they may have been as small as those of the Ampaneá, according to the Tapirapé. It is certain, however, that
174 several generations ago the Tapirapé obtained iron objects
412 (itanchoa, "iron," "glass," from ita, "stone," and choa, "yellow")
439 through the Karajá, and not only axes, but bush knives as well (kyché-eté, from kyché, "knife," and eté, "real," an augmentative, the term kiché being already mentioned in the Vocabulário da Língua Brasílica [Vocabulary of the Indigenous Brazilian Language] as quigce, by Montoya as quicé [author: i= y in our spelling], and
[177] by Stradelli as kicé). It is worth noting that the Tapirapé, who have used metal cutting tools for so long, cannot bring themselves to sharpen them, although this procedure has already been taught to them several times by the Whites, who also offered them sharpening stones. This is an illustration of the fact that the acceptance of foreign cultural traits does not necessarily imply the acceptance of all the procedures connected with them.

On July 30, I witnessed the felling of some trees, carried out
241 as a collective endeavor called apachirú by the Tapirapé (the
476 puchirum of the frontiersmen in the states of Pará and Amazonas). The leader, Tanuapanchoa, marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those places without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax. He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others. The other men selected their own trees around his as they pleased. They incised the small ones and finally

241 cut down the biggest one. Throughout this work, they only used
476 axes with rather long handles (Photos. 56 and 61). Each man hit the trunks at the level most convenient to him, so that the stumps varied in height from 30 to 90 centimeters. After extreme exertion for a while, each man would rest until he felt like resuming his task. They were all quite diligent. And as I watched those men, most of them [113:195] endowed with the physique of our adolescents, conquer piece after piece of the huge forest around them, I saw none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness or tedious-
[461] ness that characterizes so much of the collective work among us. Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side, as though they were performing a very amusing game.

Since the time when the trees are felled is the driest of the
221 year, the leaves and branches of the toppled trees wither more
241 rapidly and become easily combustible. The Tapirapé set fire to them and then do their planting between the felled and nearly carbonized trees as soon as the rains come to nurture the vegetation. Thus, the chief time for planting falls in November and December, but in certain areas of higher humidity it comes as early as October.

To plant yams, cará [Tr., another kind of yam], and manioc,
244 the Indians use the hoe to dig a funnel-shaped hole, from one to
[412] one and a half meters in diameter and depth at the center, in which they pile up the earth in the shape of a cone. They slip into this cone four or five yam protuberances or an equal number of cará knobs, that is to say, fragments or "eyes" of the respective tubers, or four or five manioc shoots. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195 and the first two lines of p. 196 are omitted.]

[412] [113:196] The dibble is used by the Tapirapé to plant maize,
241 peanuts, and cotton in straight lines that ride over the fallen trunks and other irregularities in the terrain and lie about four meters apart. In planting cotton, around December, they place several seeds in each hole and keep the holes about two meters apart; the distance is smaller when planting maize or peanuts. Weeding also begins in December. Maize, peanuts, and cotton are harvested from June to August. Manioc and bananas are gathered throughout the year. Bananas and maize are gathered when still green and hung under the house roof to ripen, for there are many forest animals interested in eating them. The plots,

235 [113:198] I did not see any tamed animals in Tampiitaua. In my talks with the inhabitants, however, I gathered that, like Indians in general, they would have liked to have such animals, and that they had formerly owned various mammals and wild birds. The most important among these were the red-blue-and-green macaw (Ara chloroptera Gray, arana in Tapirapé), much rarer in the Araguaia basin than the blue-and-yellow macaw (Ara ararauna Lin., kaniné in Tapirapé), for the [113:199] former's red feathers are more highly prized as ornaments than the latter's blue and yellow ones. This is the case not only among the Tapirapé,
171 but also among the Karajá, and this is why shortly before my ar-
235 rival to the Araguaia a man of this tribe of canoemen had traded in a canoe, which at that time and in that area was worth from 50 to 100 milreis or one rifle, for the nestling of a red-blue-and-green macaw. At the time when the Karajá traded regularly with
439 the Tapirapé, these nestlings were one of the chief commodities of trade.

This trade, through which the Tupi tribe received iron articles
[412] in exchange for tamed macaws, urucú, hammocks, quartz tembetá,
[241] and other products of their industry, actually played a decisive role in their subsistence, owing especially to the importance of the iron tools in farming. In this respect, it was fortunate for the Tapirapé that they established direct contact with the Whites shortly after they broke relations with the Karajá. For the lack of iron tools among people who had never worked with stone axes would probably have led either to rash behavior in their "foreign relations," or to intratribal conflicts.

Thus, as far as the subsistence of the Tapirapé is concerned,
797 their most important relations with the Whites are their contacts with
[412] the Dominicans, which have occurred with some regularity every year or two since 1914 and which keep them supplied with the necessary tools. Actually, no real trading is involved in this case, since as a rule the Indians are not required to furnish any products of their industry in exchange for the materials, but only to pay attention to certain words and procedures peculiar to the Fathers. This
437 is not to say that they are ignorant of the concept of reciprocal trade
123 with the Whites. When I wanted to acquire an arrow for my collection, they not only knew how to set high prices, but also how to raise the value of the common object by calling it a "captain's

386
462
412

Plate 31.

292
585

Tapirapé Woman
Pounding Urucú.

Plate 32.

Tapirapé Masked Dancer.

/409 cont./

252 812 were lashed together with bast. They were obviously cut to size with stone axes, whereas thinner branches showed sharp knife cuts. Thus, iron knives have made their appearance here as a result of the carrying trade, even before a white man has seen the people themselves.

251 482 The roasted booty is apparently taken along by the Indians

252 ← 411 →

Ill. 269 a-c. Grills from the large roasting place of the Tapirapé.

Ill. 270 a, b. Arrows.

251 482 on their further expeditions to other water places. For this purpose they use transport back-baskets as well as smaller carrying bags, of which I brought along a selection from the specimens lying about at the roasting places.

261 826 swallow the hair plucked from their own body. Indeed, like most South American Indians, the Tapirapé have the custom of carefully plucking all the hair from their faces and bodies. They refer to this procedure as ekopaá. They remove body hair by covering it first with hot ashes and then plucking it out with their fingers. They likewise pluck out their whiskers exclusively with the fingers. To remove eyebrows and eyelashes, however, they use a special instrument consisting simply of the caryopsis of a certain grass plant [Tr., identified in a later, omitted passage as the fruit of Streptogyne crinita Beauv., according to F.C. Hoehne (3)] which is equipped with teeth forming hooks at acute angles. The Indian holds this pod between the right thumb and index finger, while holding the eyebrow or eyelashes of the person he is about to beautify with the corresponding fingers of the left hand. Then he places the little hooks against the stretched hair, pushing down. A few hairs are invariably caught in this natural implement and removed along with it. [Ed., the last half of p. 109, which includes a detailed description of the use of Streptogyne crinita Beauv. as an instrument for depilation, pp. 110-113, and the first two lines of p. 114 are omitted.]

302 [413]

[107:114] The Tapirapé apply scarification to men only. They first do this at the time when the boy who is to be initiated is given a haircut, that is to say, one year before the initiation ceremony. The procedure is repeated several times until marriage, and not infrequently it is carried out even after that. The Indians make vertical scratches on the skin of the arm between the shoulder and the elbow, and on the front part of the leg both on the thigh and between the knee and foot. The procedure is carried out by a mature man. Immediately afterward, the patient steps into the water to wash. It is extremely rare for inflammation to result. The aim of the procedure is to "give strength." According to Wagley (4, 17), the killer of a sorcerer--medicine man, in order to protect himself and the rest of his tribe against any possible danger, must, among other precautionary measures, "scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dogfish, just as he did in the course of the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult" [Tr., given in English in 4, 72]. I obtained no such information while I was in Tampiitáua.

304 [881] [827] 751 114 304

The scarifying tool has the same name as the scratches it makes, namely, chainiáua. It is a triangular gourd fragment

304 413 [192]

304 equipped with a row of embedded teeth, their points sticking out
413 of the outer, convex side of the piece. The opposite side[1] is com-
[237] pletely covered with a thick black layer of beeswax. The teeth are those of the so-called "dog-fish," aikyngapeva in Tapirapé, a scaly fresh-water fish of the Characinidae family, Hydrocyon subfamily, whose colloquial name alludes to its dog-like dentition (cf. Rodolfo von Ihering, 165). The 17 teeth of the scarifier I acquired in Tampiitáua (Photo. 23) jut out three to six centimeters. This piece is eight centimeters long and measures five and a half centimeters at its broadest part.

304 According to information obtained from the Tapirapé, the
881 girls are tattooed during the rainy season following their first menstruation. The operation is carried out at nightfall, between January and March, when there is tall maize, plentiful game crowded together by the rising waters, and much merrymaking as a result of all this. The Indians tattoo their chin and cheeks (Fig. 1). The cheek tattoo reaches below the ear, so that a small part of it is covered by the hair. The crossing vertical
304 and horizontal incisions look like a fine-meshed net. This
824 design is called kohova. The wounds are first rubbed with a kaauna leaf (káa, "plant"; una, "black, dark blue"). This leaf, previously squeezed into a turtle shell (chauvatí-ampekuera) full of water, is wet with its own juice mixed in
[386] water. It is the juice of kaauna that yields the indelible dark-blue tone of the tattooing. The leaf is held close to the wound for some time. Then, the Indians blow crushed cotton leaves
[278] with a pipe (amynichó-ha(u)va) onto the wounds. It may be that they do this to alleviate the pain, for the girls cry a great deal [107:115] throughout the operation, and the tattooed parts become terribly swollen (ivuvurà). As at

Fig. 1

302 the time of their first menstruation, the girls have so much urucú
881 in their hair that their coiffure, mixed with the greasy substance, looks like a sort of cap. They are not, however, painted with

1 [of the scarification tool.—Analyst]

1:Baldus--177 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

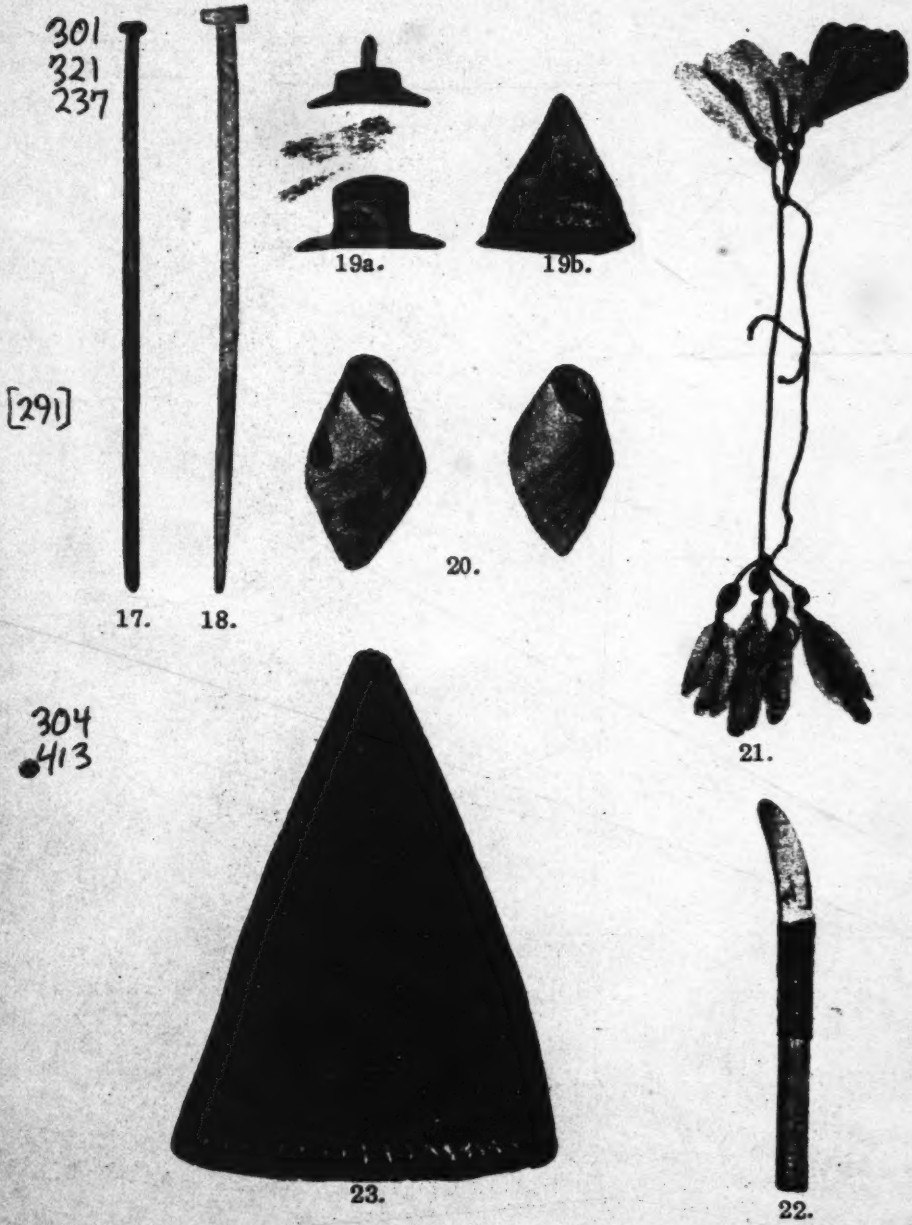



Photo. 17. Tembetá of deer bone. -- 18. Tembetá of wild-pig bone. -- 19a. Wooden tembetá. -- 19b. Raw material for wooden tembetá. -- 20. Penis sheaths. -- 21. Ear ornament. -- 22. Small tattooing knife. -- 23. Scarifier.

171 This scarcity may be one of the consequences of the great epi-
301 demics, since the dead are buried with all their feather ornaments.
[182] In addition, the Tapirapé, as cultivators and forest Indians, have
[764] fewer opportunities to obtain the raw materials for these ornaments than the more game-oriented tribes who live close to rivers and to other areas rich in bird life.

Like the ancient Tupinambá (Léry 159), the Tapirapé keep
●415 the large macaw feathers in internodes of thick cane (vuanantú). [Ed., the last sentence on p. 137, which concludes the section in Vol. 108, is omitted.]

[109:75] I found a single specimen of a crown of jaguar claws
237 in Tampiitáua (Photo. 16). It belonged to Maninohó, who used
292 it only for certain daytime dances (Photo. 4). Its name was simply chauvuanohó pyampé, "jaguar claw." It consisted of a wooden ring that reached one centimeter in width and 20 centimeters in diameter, wrapped in cotton thread blackened with genipap and charcoal. Not only does this thread keep the ring closed, but it also holds 14 jaguar claws, all of which are set pointing in the same direction. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

301 The use of flowers as a head ornament is unusual among South American Indians. I observed it only once in Tampiitáua. Iravuy, a married man 26 years old, returned once from the forest with a bunch of flowers in his hand. On entering the village, he met Ampitánia on the path and gave her the flowers. This girl, who was four or five years old, immediately tied them to her hair. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Male Tapirapé have pierced ears. I was told that among them
304 it is the mother who [109:76] makes these perforations in the early hours of the day following the birth of her child. She does this with the bone needle used in the manufacture of the cotton ornaments called tamankurá. Small pieces of tucum wood [Tr.,
301 Bactris setosa) or thin cane are placed in the holes, and for initiates
881 these pieces may reach two centimeters in length. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

To summarize, it may be said that as far as ear ornaments and
171 their attendant cultural traits are concerned, the Tapirapé differ
301 considerably not only from all their neighbors about whom anything is known in this connection, but from the ancient Tupinambá as well.

345 which sets it apart from all other village structures in terms of thatching, size, and basic shape. As I mentioned above, the lower part of the takana remains open. The part covered with leaves is indicated by the parentheses [brackets] in Figure 12. The leaves rest on a framework of rods. The lower part of the takana, that is to say, the lower 1.60 meters, lacks horizontal rods, so the structure may be entered at any point (cf. Photos. 68 and 69). The front part of the house, however, has a particular (place indicated on Fig. 8 and 11) representing the entrance proper. At this place, a few vertical poles are also lacking, and this enables the pairs of dancers to come out [110:197] together and abreast without breaking up their mutual hold. The shafts that support the lowest longitudinal pole are not vertical but oblique; they are planted inside the house and form an acute angle with the vertical rods (Photo. 68). Oblique shafts also support the horizontal poles that jut out considerably from the thatch cover (Photos. 4, 68, and 69) and cross the takana at a height of 3.25 meters, dividing it into three sections, [Fig. 11 appears here] eight, 15, and 7.60 meters in length, respectively (Fig. 11). This building outstrips all the others in total length (30.60 meters), height (5.30 meters), and width (7.25 meters) (Fig. 12), and differs from them further in that its smaller sides are not rectilinear, but shaped like semicircles (Figs. 8, 9, and 11).

While only a few sleeping hammocks and some rare objects [352] [342] of male usage reveal that the takana serves not only for [Fig. 12 appears here] ceremonial purposes, but also as a dwelling, the entire scene inside the other houses is clearly indicative of their do- 352 mestic role. Take, for instance, house a. Within it, against 415 the wall, there are Kamaiahó's little bench, a sitting mat, bows and arrows, sifters, and tall carrying baskets full of urucú fruit and gourds. Stuck into the walls, there are small baskets, gourds, small bags, strips [of inner bark] to make penis sheaths, and large cane internodes in which the red macaw tail feathers are stored. On the floor, in the center of the house, there are jars full of food and cotton for spinning, gourds, small mortars made of sections of palm trunks, and fires, some of which are surrounded with stones to support the pots. [110:198] Hanging from the lower crossbeams, there are sleeping hammocks, small baskets and gourds full of manioc flour, a rag or two, a few ears of maize, and

352 bananas ripe for eating. The storeroom proper begins there and
415 extends to the upper crossbeams, from which hang large quanti-
[251] ties of bananas. Similar strips [of bark] tied to the roof just within the reach of a standing adult support small baskets, gourds, and small bags whose contents (usually manioc flour), like all foodstuffs, must be protected from the voracity of cockroaches and
[342] dogs. The floor of the house is of light grey, beaten earth. Low,
[764] oblong mounds mark the graves. The smoke that always fills the
354 house gives the inner side of the entire thatch cover a shiny black

[345]

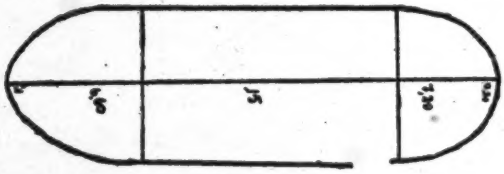


Fig. 11. Plan of the takana.

hue. The half-light maintained through the night by the fires burning beside the hammocks becomes a little brighter when daylight filters in through the slits in the lower part of the walls and through the doors.

Here is a nocturnal scene in house a.

512 The chickens roosting upon the roof keep moving unceasingly,
[231] and from all sides comes the rustling of myriads of scuttling roaches.
[136]

[345]

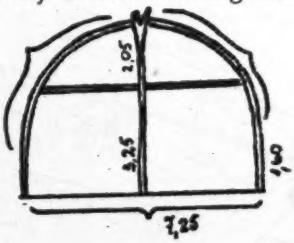



Fig. 12. Cross-section of the takana.

The swinging of hammocks makes the crossbeams creak. The
[516] smoke from the fires is not sufficient to protect the naked bodies from mosquitoes, and because of this, the Tapirapé swings his hammock, pushing his hand or foot against a rope stretched at his side or hanging one leg outside the hammock and pushing with it against the floor. He swings in this fashion until he goes to sleep.

137 Pimenta Bueno in the state of Mato Grosso and described by Hoehne
171 (1, 21-22 and Table 190; 2). Like it, the Tapirapé monoví differs
244 from the "common peanut" (Arachis hypogaea) in its size, which is much larger, for its pod may reach seven centimeters in length and its seeds two or three centimeters. According to Hoehne (1, 22), each specimen of Arachis nambyquarae may yield from 50 to 100 pods. Owing to its oil content and abundance, the peanut is
262 of some importance in the Tapirapé diet and also was one of my favorite foods during my stay in Tampiitáua. Krause (2, 241-242, 358-359, and 387) does not mention this plant among the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó. A legend I heard in July, 1947, at the Karajá village of Santa Isabel, however, states that a civilizing hero of that tribe, the evening star, taught them to plant peanuts among other things.

244 Less important than peanuts to the Tapirapé were the large
262 flat beans [Tr., lima beans], slightly larger than those of Europe.
824 Only a few individuals cultivated them, planting them in small quantities. Their Tapirapé name, kumaná, corresponds to comendá in Soares de Sousa (200) and cumandá in Montoya (2, II, 105v) and Stradelli (427). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] The large Tapirapé bean seems to be a variety of [114:198] Phaseolus lunatus L. and thus to belong to the same species as the beans mentioned by Anchieta (Hoehne 2, 107), Thevet (ibid., 132), and Soares de
[252] Sousa (ibid., 211-213). In Tampiitáua, it is boiled in small earthenware pots. Then its green skin is removed. Underneath this skin, the bean is white. I ate it with great pleasure.

Smaller than these beans are the round yellow fruits of a leguminous shrub cultivated by the Tapirapé and called kumaná-yvyraí, "bean-shrub." The neo-Brazilians plant this shrub on Morro da Areia [Tr., a high outcrop hill on the Araguaia River] and other places in the region and give it the name anduzeiro. This name might lead us to assume that the plant belongs to the Cytisus cajanus Lin. species.

262 The Tapirapé use the fruits of certain Cucurbitaceae as recep-
824 tacles after removing the flesh, and they use those of another variety
252 in the same family to prepare a highly prized dish with the juice.
[415] This juice is heated, and as it begins to boil it is mixed in with pounded raw maize; the boiling mixture is stirred for ten minutes until it thickens. Sometimes they add crushed peanuts. In this

312 Tampiitaua could teach a lesson to the "civilized" frontiersmen, whom I never observed to use any filtering process in any of the Brazilian states I visited, but who merely drew water from river, pond, or swamp. It is true that when they have fresh, clear water available from small streams such as the one that flowed by the 1935 village, the Tapirapé omit the filtering. They seldom keep water longer than a few hours, and they leave it in gourds, usually small, that they also use as a rule to fetch the water.

276 The only narcotic used by the Tapirapé is tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum L.). They call it petyma. The small species they smoke grows in the forest without being cultivated. Only exceptionally [249] do they transplant a few specimens close to their gardens. They dry the leaves of this Solanacea in the sun, and then store them in [415] the large braided cylinders (orokoroa) that are worn on the head in certain masked dances. They do not allow the tobacco to ferment. Before putting it into the pipe, they crumble the leaves by rubbing them between their hands.

In 1935 they had two kinds of pipe (petyaua), that is, clay pipes, and pipes made of the fruit of the jequitibá [Tr., any tree of the Cariniana genus]. In 1947, the clay pipes had vanished. The 171 Karajá and Kayapó also use pipes made of the fruit of the jequitibá 276 (Krause II, 260 and 388). These two tribes and the Tapirapé do not chew tobacco and do not take snuff, nor do they smoke cigars or cigarettes like the numerous Tupi tribes mentioned by Métraux (II, 116), among them the Tupinambá, Auetó, and Yuruna, and to which we may add the Kamayurá (cf. Meyer I, 61). This how, ever, does not mean that my Tampiitaua friends did not pounce avidly on the butt of every cigarette I threw upon the ground, and smoke it until they burned their mouth and fingers. The Karajá are also crazy about smoking, and koty', that is, tobacco, is what they ask for most often from the traveler. While among them both women and men smoke the pipe, [122:172] only the men smoke among the Tapirapé. Speaking of the Tupinambá, Léry (190) states that he did not see the women use "Petun smoke."

The Tapirapé transfer the smoke from mouth to stomach, and then expel it noisily in a rapid sequence of belches. I did not see them expel it through the nostrils, as reported by Léry (190) and

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415
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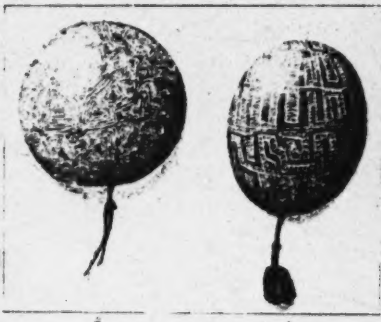
1. Comb.

2. Whole-gourd vessel.



3 4

Half-gourd vessels.

285
482

6

5. Back-basket.

7.

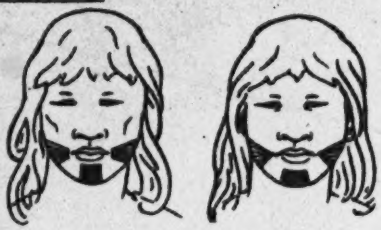
8.

6-8. Rectangular transport bags.

9. Elastic transport bag.

/405 cont./

304 ←
302 →



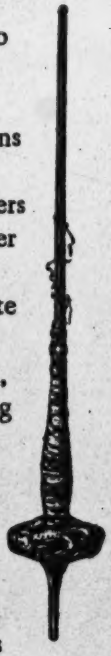
a b

Ill. 262 a, b.
Tattooing of the Tapirapé women.

Ill. 263.
Painting of a Tapirapé girl.

415 531 171 The whole-gourd vessel (kuĩtã; Pl. 69, Ill. 2) bears carved designs similar to those of the Karajá; everything is very crudely executed, however. Of the two half-gourd vessels (kãšẽdĩ; Pl. 69, Ills. 3, 4), one is provided with a tassel made of red cotton threads; their designs are reminiscent of the Karajá carved designs, whereas the designs on the others are completely foreign and carved rather crudely and clumsily.

532 The doll (dĩohõ, Ill. 266) of white earth, of rhomboid shape, represents a [283] Tapirapé /406/ maiden. A roll of wax, which is led from one corner down along [911] the two adjacent edges, serves as hair. A parting and arm cuffs (red painting between two rolls) have been put on it. Moreover, the doll wears two ear-rods. In the center and at the four corners there are small holes that are connected with the center by means of one line to the sides and two lines to the top and bottom. The whole figure is five centimeters high and wide and three centimeters thick. It was made by a Tapirapé boy. Of



Ill. 264.
Spindle.

Ill. 265.
Club.
Tapirapé.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



them. "Is it true," they ask, pointing westward, "that there is another Ara- 823
guaya (large river) there?"

The Tapirape know well their traditional country—that territory north of the Tapirape River to the River Preto, and west to the Araguaya. They know the plains country which borders the Tapirape River and the tropical forest to the north where formerly their five villages stretched in a line [361] some fifty to seventy-five miles apart. At least once during a man's life it was customary to visit all these villages, and before setting out he would [574] acquaint himself with the rivers, hills, and good hunting places along the trail. At the present time, since the Tapirape are a sedentary agricultural [241] people, depending upon large gardens of manioc, corn, yams, and bananas, rather than upon hunting as the chief basis of their food supply, and since [484] they have no trade, they do little travelling. The spatial limit of their direct experience is small.

Knowledge of the horizons beyond their direct experience—of far off 773
places and people, of the supernatural and spirit worlds, of the heavens, of the origins of peoples and things, comes to them only through stories of their legendary heroes, or through experiences of their shamans. Myths relate the creation, adventures, and travels of a series of ancestor culture heroes who took the form of civilizing gods.[2] Tapirape shamans travel [756] widely in their dreams; they whisk off to far places—to the Araguaya, to [787] the heavens, to the home of Thunder (see p. 257)—in their "canoes" (opened gourds used as eating utensils by the Tapirape), or they may take [415] the form of a bird as they travel in dreams. Since a Tapirape has this great wealth of vicarious experience to draw upon, he never answers for himself [823] when asked of those realms beyond his knowledge. Instead he tells of the exploits of a legendary culture hero, or of the travels of a shaman "who has been there."

The Tapirape are thus equipped with a wide range of second-hand ex- 772
perience. They have no concept of a closed or limited universe. New 823
knowledge either adds to, or fits into, their second-hand knowledge of a broad universe. Thus a Tapirape youth, seeing for the first time the large rock formation at the mouth of the Tapirape River, identified it as the place in which Panchai, a contemporary shaman, had seen the tremendous red parrots from which the supernaturals pluck feathers. Similarly, one travelling on the Araguaya recognized the large rapids below Santa Maria do Araguaya as those created by Kaowaho, a culture hero, to com-

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[2] Métraux, Alfred, La Réligion des Tupinamba (1928), p. 7: "Pour les Tupinamba, comme pour la plupart des tribus sudaméricaines, certaines personnages doués d'une puissance supérieure à celle du commun des magiciens ont été les artisans du monde tel qu'il se présentait à leurs yeux, mais ils en ont été souvent moins les créateurs que les transformateurs. Je veux dire par là que, même s'ils ont créé le ciel, les astres, et la terre leur oeuvre est toujours partielle et incomplète, ne s'achevant que postérieurement à la suite d'incidents divers."

342 In simpler structures, such as house g (Photos. 64 and 67 to the right) and the summer dwellings (Photo. 7), there is no framework of rods, and because of this the leaves covering [110:196] the lower part of the shelter lean obliquely against the outer longitudinal poles with their stems resting directly upon the ground. The smaller sides are open in house g and only slightly covered [221] in the summer dwelling shown in Photograph 7. Structures of the latter type are erected in the fields and in neighboring wooded [226] areas when the dry season and its fishing opportunities lure the Indians into leaving their village and moving closer to the river in August, September, and October. The fact that the roofing of these temporary dwellings is not as good as that of permanent houses is understandable, since they are used as a protection against dew and sunlight rather than against rain properly speaking. The remnants of summer dwellings that I found along the trail leading from the river to the village consisted merely of a framework of poles lacking the finer latticework of sticks, and their covering was completely gone.

It is worth noting the existence of a sort of porch which took up entirely one of the smaller sides of house a and which was two and a half meters wide (Fig. 9). It was thatched only on its upper part, down to the longitudinal poles, and it was used by the men and women who wanted to be in the open air while lying in their hammocks or performing household tasks, but who wished to be sheltered from the sun (Photo. 48).

The house entrances are about the width of an adult person (Photos. 59 and 67), and they are bounded on top by the longitudinal pole, 1.60 meters from the ground. To my knowledge, they are never closed up.

[355] Reverend Kegel told me that during the rainy season the Tapirapé raise an earth bank around each house to prevent the waters from seeping in.

417 Beside the houses there stand wooden frameworks, triangular or quadrangular according to the number of their legs, where 251 manioc, peppers, and other fruits are laid out to dry and bananas are left to warm up in the sun.

345 The takana deserves special mention, not only because of its function as the men's house but also because of its appearance

1:Baldus--183 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 32

Funnel-shaped fish trap (chekiá) with Ipayva (No. 106) sitting beside it.

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Photo. 33

Roasting fish. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 10

O corpo da maioria dos pagés ficava rígido, quando, em estado de inconsciência, eram carregados pelo círculo da aldeia, de volta à casa em que se iniciava a cerimônia. Nesta fotografia, três rapazes carregam facilmente o corpo rígido de Pantori, um dos poderosos pagés, após, ter sido abatido pelos servo do Trovão.

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The bodies of most shamans were rigid in their unconscious state as they were being carried through the village circle back to the first house. In this picture, three young men easily carry the rigid body of Pantori, one of the powerful shamans, after he had been stricken by the beings of Thunder.

[171] 858 children raised under the German authoritarianism of the turn of the century did not seem as "grownup." The attitude of the Indian child, [127:235] however, is determined not only by the freedom he enjoys along with many neo-Brazilian children, but also by two other factors which make him more like the adults: (1) among the [857] Indians, the activities of the child are much closer to those of the adults than among us and are never different in type from the work of the parents; (2) from the earliest age, the Indian child owns [121] individual property which he and he alone may dispose of as he wishes.

We have already alluded above to the strict respect shown for 857 the child's property. As far as work is concerned, it may be said 868 that the Tapirapé children learn adult work through play. The boy 422 of three already has a small bow and arrow, the size of which corresponds to his size. The girl of three already has a small sifter, the size of which corresponds to her size. Thus, the two of them go fishing like a grownup couple, with the little man shooting the fish and the little woman gathering them in the sifter. Naturally, the size of the fish is also in proportion to the size of the fishermen. When they return home, they put the little fish in the embers and roast them. Then they eat them, thus showing that a Tapirapé of three already knows how to take care of himself. As the boy and girl grow, so do the bow and sifter, until they become a man's bow and a woman's sifter when their owners reach puberty. This applies to all the implements used by these Indians, namely, clubs, baskets, pestles, spindles, and other utensils. This, however, does not mean that prior to puberty the boys participate in the economic life to the same extent as the girls, who often, while the boys loaf, help their mothers from a tender age according to their strength and to the capacities of their years and thus constitute an increasingly productive element.

857 Naturally, Tapirapé children imitate grownups in areas other than work. They soon learn the so-called automatic smile that [201] characterizes those Indians, a certain coquettishness, and what stirs most vividly the soul of their tribe, that is, dances and songs. I saw boys from four to seven years old making dance masks for themselves with wild-banana leaves, put them on their heads, and then dance and sing in a manner corresponding to the type of mask used. In the Karajá village of Santa Isabel, I witnessed similar scenes in 1947.

171 411 531 These Indians, like the Karajá (ibid.) and Kayapó (ibid., 393) decorate the shaft section between the two cotton bindings with one or more rings of red resin (totayga, chotahypyrynga). In the Tupi tribe, the width of these rings varies from one to eight centimeters. The raw material is cooked in a pot with water by the [462] [252] woman, since, according to the Tapirapé behavior pattern, all cooking in pots is female work, while roasting falls to the men. The cotton thread is also made by the woman. Otherwise, the arrow, like other weapons and their component parts, is made by [422] the man, and usually the owner of the weapon was also its maker.

171 314 Thevet (1, 291) writes as follows of a tree called "Vhebehasou" which is extremely tall, with leaves similar to those of a cabbage and fruits over a foot long which never ripen because they are soon eaten up by wild bees: "In addition, it bears a red gum, suitable to many different ends, which they handle skillfully" [translated from French]. Could it be that the Indians visited by Thevet, that is to say, the Tupinambá of the sixteenth century, used the above-mentioned "red gum" for the same end as the Tapirapé use totayaga?

227 411 The barbed arrow is better suited to the pursuit of large fish than any other, since the barb, by fastening the weapon to the animal's body, not only prevents it from escaping and weakens and kills it, as also happens with mammals, but also facilitates the removal of the fish from the water. The conditions are different, however, when small fish are shot in shallow waters where the arrowpoint easily penetrates into the sand. In such cases the Tapirapé use a small bow (vuirampampí) and special arrows, 60 to 70 centimeters long, with simple rounded wooden points, ten to 20 centimeters long, which are inserted directly into the cane shaft. In harmony with the overall size of these arrows, parrot [237] feathers are used at the tip instead of the plumage of macaws and other large birds used on barbed arrows. In other respects, however, these two types of arrows are identical from the tip of the cane shaft, which is bound with a strip of philodendron bark, to the other tip where the bow cord rests upon the notch, and all the details of the feathered section are exactly the same. As far as the point is concerned, however, it is worth noting that sometimes the small arrows have up to three of those simple, rounded, wooden points instead of just one (see Photo. 30). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

855 respected by the latter through abstentions to which they submit
[784] for the child's sake over a long period of time, and not only when
the child is sick. The period of physical contact also lasts longer
853 than among us. Although the statement of Father Vicente de
[114] Salvador (37), according to which certain Tupinambá mothers
[171] nursed their children "seven or eight years" is exaggerated, we
may assume that the same thing occurred among those Tupi as we
observed among the Tapirapé and numerous other Brazilian tribes,
that is to say, a child who already plays and runs about with other
children without adult supervision and who still nurses at his mother's
[171] breast. According to Lipkind (2, 187), Karajá children sleep with
513 their mother until they stop nursing. In Tampiitaua, I found one
boy and one girl, each a year old, two girls of three years, and
one girl of four years who slept with both parents in the same net
in 1935, and two girls of one year who did so in 1947. In 1935,
I found one girl of a few months, one girl of less than a year, one
girl a little over a year, and one boy of three who slept with their
mother, and in 1947 I found one boy of one year, one boy of two,
and one boy of four who did the same. I found one girl and one
boy of four and one girl of six who slept with their father in 1935
(the mother slept in an adjoining hammock with a smaller child)
and one boy of two who did so in 1947. In that same year, a girl
of about 10 slept with her father, a man of 35, while his wife,
about seven months pregnant, who was not the girl s mother, slept
in the next hammock. And in 1935, a boy of six slept with his
mother's older sister while the mother slept in another house with
her husband, who was not the boy's father.

The Tapirapé adorn the children with special care. I showed
301 in Chapter 6 (Photo. 13) how even before the birth they make
854 tamankurá for a child's ankles. When he is born, they proceed to
adorn him with the traditional ornaments of the tribe, [127:233]
and in addition they hang beads obtained from the Whites around his
• [422] neck. Like everything else they may give him, these beads are
acknowledged henceforth as the child's property. A museum collec-
tor may sometimes have difficulty obtaining an object owned ex-
clusively by a child not yet old enough to understand his wish.

I was moved when I saw a Tapirapé mother attempt to protect
854 her weeks-old baby against the strong noon sun while crossing the
village plaza. She held it close against her abdomen and ran bent

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858 the century did not seem as "grownup." The attitude of the Indian child, [127:235] however, is determined not only by the freedom he enjoys along with many neo-Brazilian children, but also by two other factors which make him more like the adults: (1) among the
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12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



## CULTURE

### SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

137 The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth 133 and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive 132 rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

**Farming.**—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their 241 villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their [484] large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, cará (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

[221] Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also 241 it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work 616 festival (apačirú). When communally prepared, the large clearings are 476 afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, gener- [423] ally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apačirú, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaô) at the end 241 of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as [462] the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, cará, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout [422] the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clear- [361] ings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

262 Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is 252 the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupí* groups, however, the

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



*Tapirapé* do not use the tipiti (the long woven tube in which the water is squeezed from poisonous manioc), but squeeze poisonous manioc with their hands. The pulp is then spread out on a platform in the sun to be thoroughly dried. The flour is toasted in a clay pot over a very hot fire. 252

**Wild foods.**—Meat is a definite luxury to the agricultural *Tapirapé*. Monkeys, armadillos, forest fowls, cuati (*Nasua* sp.), and both kinds of peccary (*Tayassus tajacu* and *T. pecari*) are occasionally killed in the forest at any time during the year. The hunting and fishing season, however, is from June through October, when the savanna country is dry. The savannas are extraordinarily rich with game. Plains deer, wild pigs, peccary, and wild duck, and geese near the drying swamps are plentiful. 224 [221]

Fish are shot with the bow and arrow and stupefied with timbó (*Paullinea pinnata* or *Serjania* sp.) in the almost dry streams and lakes. The village is almost deserted in September and October, after garden sites have been cleared and before planting. Men, women, and children move out to the plains country near the Tapirapé River and set up a temporary camp. They collect turtle eggs and kill turtles in the river. They gather piqui fruit (*Caryocar vellosum*), andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), and other wild fruits, and, from October through November, they find wild honey both on the savanna and in the forest. 226 221 222

Hunting is done with the bow and arrow, but a club is used to finish the kill, especially wild pigs or jaguars. [224]

## HOUSES AND VILLAGES

The houses of a *Tapirapé* village form an oval around a large ceremonial men's house (tãkana), which is forbidden to the women. Both the large men's house, approximately 20 by 65 feet (6 by 20 m.), and the residential houses, averaging 13 by 33 feet (4 by 10 m.), have a quadrangular floor plan with arched roofs made by bending flexible poles and tying them together over a roof beam (pl. 19, *bottom, left*). The walls and the roof are covered with leaves of buriti palm and wild banana. 361 342 345

In the surviving village, called Tampitawa, there were nine residential houses, each housing from four to eight simple families. Each family occupies a determined sector of the house where they cook, keep their belongings, and hang their sleeping hammocks. Household utensils, such as baskets, pots, hammocks, and gourds, are owned by the women of each simple family. Houses, though built by men, are said to be the property of the women of the house. The house frame is constructed cooperatively by all the men of the house. Each man covers the portion to be used by his wife and children. 592 422 [423] 342

Ideally, residence is matrilocal, and the house is inhabited by a group of closely related women and their husbands. The household leader is generally the husband of the oldest woman of the group (see p. 172). Owing perhaps to great depopulation and the accumulation of refugees [591] 592

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

## INTRODUCTION

101
The Tapirapé Indians are a Tupi-speaking tribe living in Central 131
Brazil west of the Araguaya River. Their villages formerly extended [197]
some two hundred miles to the north of the Tapirapé River, an affluent [178]
of the Araguaya; but today their one remaining village lies west of the Araguaya, about forty miles north of the Tapirapé and 160 miles from the point of union of the two rivers. This settlement contains a total 161
population that does not exceed 150 people, the residue of five villages that probably existed so late as the turn of the century and that are said to have had a population of about two hundred people each. A progressive population decline has followed the acquiring of diseases from contact with the neighboring Carajá Indians of the Araguaya River and from European visitors. Such contacts, however, have left their aboriginal culture little changed.

The Tapirapé are properly a forest people, maintaining an agricultural 241
life on clearings hewed from the great tropical forest. Their cultivated 462
fields are large producing manioc (both *Manihot manihot* and the sweet species *Manihot palmata aypi*), maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, yams, kará (*Dioscorea sp.*), cotton, and bananas.

The dry months of June through September of each year are devoted [132]
to clearing the garden sites. This work is done by men, frequently working individually, sometimes in communal labor formed by the men's moiety groups (1). When the clearing is done collectively, the large [423]
field is divided into individual plots which become individual property;

(1) There is an excellent description of this communal activity, called *apatxirú* by the Tapirapé in Herbert Baldus. 1937. "Os grupos de comer e os grupos de trabalho dos Tapirapé", *in Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, pp. 98-111. São Paulo.

[p.61]
[p.60 blank]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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241 and planting, which begins after the first light rains of October, is done
462 individually and principally by the men. Cotton and peanuts, however,
[423] are women's crops. The women plant these in their husband's garden plots and harvest them themselves. While a new garden plot is cleared each year, a particular garden plot is generally used for two years and then abandoned. A man plants such crop as maize, beans, and peppers on the plot the first year and as they are harvested, he replants the plot with manioc. Maize is harvested from the end of December through February, the season of heaviest rains; while other crops are harvested at the end of the rains in May and June.

[241] Large gardens with many different crops guarantee to the Tapi-
262 rapé a variety and abundance of garden stuff, but meat and fish are
22 definitely luxuries. People in the village could not remember a time when there had been real hunger among them, but they were frequently hungry for meat and fish. This lack in the diet is supplied by frequent trips to the near-by Tapirapé River and the grass plains that border it where fish and game, principally wild pork (*Tagassu pecari*), deer, peccary (*Tagassu tajacu*), water fowl, and tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*) are found in abundance. During the dry season these plains abound in piqui (*Caryocar villosum*), palm nuts especially andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), used for body oil — and other wild fruits.

556 Among the Tapirapé wealth is not reckoned in terms of basic sub-
435 sistance, for these goods are so easy to obtain as to be considered with little regard. The possessions that lend real distinction of wealth are such luxury articles as the breast and tail feathers of the red parrot (*Ara chloroptera ?*), beads, and pieces of hardware acquired through contact with white men or trading with other Indians. These goods are accordingly the most valued media of exchange in the community. Other goods used for a medium of exchange were urucú (*Bixa orellana*), tobacco, extra hammocks, decorated gourds, string for binding feathers to arrows, and cane arrow shafts.

361 The houses of a Tapirapé village form a circle around a great central ceremonial men's house. There are nine of these large thatch dwellings with rounded roofs in the modern Tapirapé village; four to eight simple
591 families (father, mother, and children) share a house. Each simple family
592 has a section of the unpartitioned house where they lead a domestic life separate from the others. Residence is matrilocal and the women of such a household are ideally related by kinship; yet each large household has

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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when an individual discovers a new patch of tobacco, he hastily builds a low fence around it to inform others that it belongs to him. This native tabacco is smoked by laymen in short tubular pipes made of wood or clay and by shamans in long clay pipes, sometimes 30 centimeters long. 276 [423]

Tobacco is used for leisure-time smoking for pleasure: but its principal uses among the Tapirapé are as a stimulant and as a medicine. Each night after a long day's work or while traveling or hunting, Tapirapé men blow smoke over their tired legs, arms, and backs and sometimes men can be seen fumigating their tired wives or companions. They accompany the fumigation of their bodies with massage, rubbing their arms and legs toward the extremities. Tiredness and soreness are considered extraneous substances acquired during the day through exercise and it is believed they may be massaged and fumigated from the body. [517] [278] [753 827]

Treatment of the sick is the shaman's most common duty and the use of tobacco is always a necessary prelude and accompaniment to this. Unless the illness is serious enough to warrant immediate treatment, shamans always cure in the late evening. A shaman comes to his patient, and squats near the patient's hammock, his first act is always to light his pipe. When the patient has a fever or has fallen unconscious from the sight of a ghost, the principal method of treatment is by massage. The shaman blows smoke over the entire body of the patient; then he blows smoke over his own hands, spits into them, and massages the patient slowly and firmly, always toward the extremities of the body. He shows that he is removing a foreign substance by a quick movement of his hands as he reaches the end of an arm or leg. 755 [276]

The more frequent method of curing, however, is by the extraction of a malignant object (18) by sucking. The shaman squats alongside the hammock of his patient and begins to "eat smoke" — swallow large gulps of tobacco smoke from his pipe. He forces the smoke with great intakes of breath deep down into his stomach; soon he becomes intoxicated and nauseated; he vomits violently and smoke spews from his stomach. He groans and clears his throat in the manner of a person gagging with nausea but unable to vomit. By sucking back what he vomits he accumulates saliva in his mouth (19).

(18) Fishbones, worms, arrows which are injected into body by sorcery. [754]

(19) It hardly need be said that panié do not eat before curing in this manner, but prefer to cure with an empty stomach.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



## CULTURE

### SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

137 The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth 133 and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive 132 rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

**Farming.**—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their 241 villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their [484] large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, cará (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

[221] Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also 241 it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work 616 festival (apačirú). When communally prepared, the large clearings are 476 afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, gener- [423] ally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apačirú, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaô) at the end 241 of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as [462] the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, cará, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout [422] the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted [361] with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clearings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

262 Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is 252 the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupí* groups, however, the

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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*Tapirapé* do not use the tipiti (the long woven tube in which the water is squeezed from poisonous manioc), but squeeze poisonous manioc with their hands. The pulp is then spread out on a platform in the sun to be thoroughly dried. The flour is toasted in a clay pot over a very hot fire. 252

**Wild foods.**—Meat is a definite luxury to the agricultural *Tapirapé*. Monkeys, armadillos, forest fowls, cuati (*Nasua* sp.), and both kinds of peccary (*Tayassus tajacu* and *T. pecari*) are occasionally killed in the forest at any time during the year. The hunting and fishing season, however, is from June through October, when the savanna country is dry. The savannas are extraordinarily rich with game. Plains deer, wild pigs, peccary, and wild duck, and geese near the drying swamps are plentiful. 224 [221]

Fish are shot with the bow and arrow and stupefied with timbó (*Paullinea pinnata* or *Serjania* sp.) in the almost dry streams and lakes. The village is almost deserted in September and October, after garden sites have been cleared and before planting. Men, women, and children move out to the plains country near the Tapirapé River and set up a temporary camp. They collect turtle eggs and kill turtles in the river. They gather piqui fruit (*Caryocar vellosum*), andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), and other wild fruits, and, from October through November, they find wild honey both on the savanna and in the forest. 226 221 222

Hunting is done with the bow and arrow, but a club is used to finish the kill, especially wild pigs or jaguars. [224]

## HOUSES AND VILLAGES

The houses of a *Tapirapé* village form an oval around a large ceremonial men's house (tãkana), which is forbidden to the women. Both the large men's house, approximately 20 by 65 feet (6 by 20 m.), and the residential houses, averaging 13 by 33 feet (4 by 10 m.), have a quadrangular floor plan with arched roofs made by bending flexible poles and tying them together over a roof beam (pl. 19, *bottom, left*). The walls and the roof are covered with leaves of buriti palm and wild banana. 361 342 345

In the surviving village, called Tampitawa, there were nine residential houses, each housing from four to eight simple families. Each family occupies a determined sector of the house where they cook, keep their belongings, and hang their sleeping hammocks. Household utensils, such as baskets, pots, hammocks, and gourds, are owned by the women of each simple family. Houses, though built by men, are said to be the property of the women of the house. The house frame is constructed cooperatively by all the men of the house. Each man covers the portion to be used by his wife and children. 592 422 [423] 342

Ideally, residence is matrilocal, and the house is inhabited by a group of closely related women and their husbands. The household leader is generally the husband of the oldest woman of the group (see p. 172). Owing perhaps to great depopulation and the accumulation of refugees [591] 592

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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**Weapons.**—Bows have a circular cross section and average about 6 feet (2 m.) in length. The arrows are of cane about 5 feet (1.6 m.) long with heads of bone, hardwood, and the spur from the sting ray (*Potamotyrgon histrix*). They have brilliant feathers, sometimes the red and blue feathers of the red macaw. Clubs are made of several polished hardwoods and are sometimes decorated near the handles with woven strands of cane fibers. 411

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Three distinct social groupings are basic in *Tapirapé* social organization: men's ceremonial moieties, feast societies, and the kinship groups. 561

**Ceremonial moieties.**—All *Tapirapé* men belong to one of the patrilineal ceremonial moieties. Each of these moieties is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths (those up to 15 years of age); two groups of men of warrior age (15 to 40 years); and two groups of older men (40 to 60 years). Each group bears the name of a bird, the word "wīrā" (bird) being the generic name for the group. These age groups (Baldus, 1937, p. 96, calls them "work groups") function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites at the cooperative work festival; parallel groups also dance against each other in various ceremonials and reciprocally feast each other. Each moiety owns half of the men's house, and its portion is subdivided into sections owned by the three age grades. The warrior age group of each moiety has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and communal work, and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. As a man becomes elderly, he entirely drops out of the "bird" groups and is no longer affiliated, as he cannot take part in their economic and ceremonial activities. At present, the *Tapirapé* are so reduced in number that, lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's age grade in order to retain the necessary balance for ceremonials. 616 [345] [423]

**Feast groups.**—Both men and women are divided into eight feasting groups called tātáupawā (literally, "fire all to eat") Men belong to their fathers' feast group and women to their mothers'. Feast groups are not only nonexogamic, but people prefer to marry within their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry the names of the mythological heads of the original eight households of the first *Tapirapé* village. They unite at various times throughout the year for ceremonial meals. The feasts take place at traditional spots in the village plaza, at times when there is an abundance of honey, maize, or meat from the hunt. Each member brings his contribution. Baldus (1937, p. 88) calls these "eating groups," and emphasizes that they are consumers' groups providing a means of distributing food when more is available than a family can eat. Today only six groups meet for feasts, two being extinct for lack of members. 574 264 [582]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



276 756 by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

423 249 The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

272 [273] No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

## RELIGION

771 *Tapirapé* religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, ančunga (spirit or shadow).

775 The ančunga iünwera, human spirits or ghosts (aña or anhanga among the *Tupinamba*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

[825] Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls [756] of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

776 In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called ančunga, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Waré, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many ančunga, among whom were the awakú anká, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mumpiankâ were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the [535] *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, [532] *bottom, right*).

**Rites.**—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people 796 are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (ančunga) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest [241] ceremonial (kaô) and the ceremony of kawi (a souplike beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

241 756 In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



asked. "Stinginess" is a severe accusation among these people and to complain mildly about a high price is one way of announcing one's liberality. 577 756

Liberality is a necessary quality for a man of prestige. At the time of the annual harvest ceremonies, shamans and all other men of prestige must give gifts to all those who drink of *kauió* (27). Gift giving at this time proves their liberality and validates their prestige. At this time then there is a siphoning off of wealth from the shamans, but throughout the rest of the year fees and gifts channel it back into their hands. 431 554 756 577

## ROAD TO SHAMANISM

Among the Tapirapé, *pančés* are essentially those people who dream much and who, in their dreams, travel widely in the supernatural world, achieving familiarity with the supernatural. At the time of my visit there were six men recognized as fullfledged shamans who were called upon to treat the sick and to perform various ceremonials. Panteri and Urukumu, were the two clearly outstanding; these assumed leadership in shamanistic ceremonies and were the ones most frequently called for cures. Besides these six recognized shamans, there were four young men working to develop shamanistic power to gain recognition as shamans. 756 [787]

Within the memory of persons living in the village there had been three women shamans, but there were none, either practicing as recognized shamans or working as novices, during my visit. The women shamans were remembered as having been especially malevolent. They are supposed to dream more than the man and work much harm to the people. People who recalled the women shamans explained that when they had sung in the annual ceremony of calling and fighting Thunder they had sung the part of the music usually sung by the shamans' wives and their husbands had sung the usual men shamans' parts. The women *pančés* had smoked and fallen in trances as the male shamans do. Nothing possible to men shamans appeared to be beyond the power of the women. None of them was described as masculine in behavior; [562]

(27) See footnote 17 on p. 72.

264 [92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of
574 various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets.
476 These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kãũũanõĩ, owing to
their small numbers, had joined the Ãvãinkĩ" to form a single group.
All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group.
[262] There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce
and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of kará [Tr.,
a kind of yam], peanut kãũĩ, etc. Before that, there was a great
431 distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom
574 he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such
[622] as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of
[177] this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better
use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay
264 the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted to-
476 gether, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they
574 pleased. Kamairahõ, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk
[554] of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother.
123 We called each other "Txankanépéra," and Ampitánya, his little
adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Ané Txankané-
[597] péra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other
groups also called me "Txankanépéra," and I called them by the name
of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

264 [93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that
574 there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots
and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The
535 plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the
[776] good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kãũihõ and
vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness
132 the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season
with its "good shadows," summer.

574 They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they
796 also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tãtáupãũa of an
224 eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Ãvãinkĩ' had killed
264 with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting
476 the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group.
574 In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain pa
[462]

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



trary, I am good, and in order to demonstrate it, I embrace cordially a man on her side so that I don't need to embrace her. And I say to my English companion who at this moment joins me: "Certain research-workers who were killed by the Indians with whom they lived, as, for instance, Boggiani among the Chamakoko, were murdered only through fear." At that instant, as if he had understood my words, the man I have just embraced asks me if the Shavante really have killed the white man by the name of Father John and if they have murdered him with a club. I don't know from where the Tapirapé had received this information and if his question represented a reaction or only conversation. What I know is that the man couldn't have understood my comment about the murders through fear.

An hour later I see Kamairahó going to the brook carrying two calabash rattles which he had obtained from the Karajá neighbours, but never used. I follow him and ask him what he intends to do with the rattles. He explains that they are dirty and that he wants to clean them with water, and adds: "When you go away and I remain here, the rattles will go with you." He continues with a mournful face. Besides, everyone looks sad, and when I enter our hut, I am not received as usual with the friendly exclamation: "You arrive!" But, looking to this or that person, I immediately receive a polite smile. Even at night Kamairahó says to the Englishman that he is still afraid of me, and when my companion reassures him, confirming the jocose character of my threat, he is invited immediately by Kamairahó to eat bananas and by other inhabitants of the house to have kauí, a fermented drink, in payment for this consolation. Meanwhile Inamoréo, who had beaten his wife, has already gone peacefully to sleep with her in the hammock and explains later that he whipped her only with the arrow—which is not true. I invite Kamairahó for a dinner of deer. He eats well, but with a sad face complaining of a headache. He receives aspirin.

It is necessary to consider that the fear described above may have been caused less by the threat with the revolver than by the agitated manner with which I expressed my indignation and which contrasts with Tapirapé behaviour. Even Kamairahó's wife, who used to quarrel much, always pronounced insults in a monotonous voice and with apparent calm, quite different, for instance, from the Karajá women who shout without reserve. But it may be mentioned that the Tapirapé were also afraid of the Englishman when a woman had stolen a great quantity of kitchen oil from him, putting it in her hair, and when dogs of the village tore his towel to pieces. And my companion was less explosive than I!

Graver causes of fear are the Kayapó attacks. I have already mentioned that, on account of these, I was asked to sleep armed. When a rumour maker is talking about the approach of these Indians, all the village is immediately alarmed. And there are reasons for this, because in 1947, soon after my second visit to the Tapirapé, these warlike neighbours assaulted the village, plundered it, and burned it, killing and kidnapping women.

Fear was produced also by the eclipse of the moon on 15th of June, 1935. When at night I was awakened with the words "chahy vuy" "moon blood," all the people were dejected and the men were talking only in low tones. Really, the moon appears dark red like coagulated blood. Next day everybody was still preoccupied with the phenomenon, considering it a bad omen of carnage.

But while the eclipse was an uncommon cause of fear, there were other causes in every moment and in any place, for the Tapirapé lives surrounded by malevolent spirits. Here is the so-called "imaginary fear" regarding which Mira y López[9] observes that "even the bravest warriors, able to throw themselves

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



morning we embarked downriver. My last memory of Champukwi was of him standing on the bank waving in *tori* style until our boat made the curve of the river.

I did not return to visit the Tapirapé until 1953, but news of them came to me at intervals. Valentim Gomes returned to the region in 1941 as an officer of the Brazilian Indian Service, and his post was charged with the protection of the Tapirapé Indians. In his first year in this capacity, he wrote me: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the 26th of July [1941]. They were in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, and the like. There were plenty of bananas. But I am sorry to say that after we left them, twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Champukwi, the best informant in the village, and our best friend." Several slow exchanges of letters brought further details from Valentim. In some manner, perhaps through a visit from a Brazilian frontiersman, several Tapirapé had contracted common colds. Its fatalness to them is indicated by the name they give it—*ó-ó* (*ó* is the augmentative which might be translated as "big, big"). Since they have no knowledge of the process of contagion and have not acquired immunity to the common cold, the disease spread rapidly throughout the village. The Tapirapé realized, I knew, that colds and other diseases such as measles which they had suffered before, were derived from visitors. Yet they also believed that death resulted from evil magic or sorcery. Why do some people who are very sick from colds get well, they asked, while others who are no more ill, soon die? It is only because those who die are the victims of sorcery, they had explained to me. So, following many deaths, including that of a young man like Champukwi, who enjoyed prestige and had many kinsmen, I was not surprised to learn from Valentim Gomes that the powerful shaman, Urukumu, had been assassinated. As Champukwi had told me, suspicion of Urukumu had already been growing even during my residence in the village. After the death of Champukwi, one of his many "brothers" (actually a cousin but called by the same term as brother in Tapirapé) had entered Urukumu's house late at night and clubbed him to death. To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related

291 and planting, which begins after the first light rains of October, is done
462 individually and principally by the men. Cotton and peanuts, however,
[523] are women's crops. The women plant these in their husband's garden plots and harvest them themselves. While a new garden plot is cleared each year, a particular garden plot is generally used for two years and then abandoned. A man plants such crop as maize, beans, and peppers on the plot the first year and as they are harvested, he replants the plot with manioc. Maize is harvested from the end of December through February, the season of heaviest rains; while other crops are harvested at the end of the rains in May and June.

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262 rapé a variety and abundance of garden stuff, but meat and fish are
22 definitely luxuries. People in the village could not remember a time when there had been real hunger among them, but they were frequently hungry for meat and fish. This lack in the diet is supplied by frequent trips to the near-by Tapirapé River and the grass plains that border it where fish and game, principally wild pork (*Tagassu pecari*), deer, peccary (*Tagassu tajacu*), water fowl, and tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*) are found in abundance. During the dry season these plains abound in piqui (*Caryocar villosum*), palm nuts especially andirobu (*Carapa guyanensis*), used for body oil — and other wild fruits.

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435 sistence, for these goods are so easy to obtain as to be considered with little regard. The possessions that lend real distinction of wealth are such luxury articles as the breast and tail feathers of the red parrot (*Ara chloroptera?*), beads, and pieces of hardware acquired through contact with white men or trading with other Indians. These goods are accordingly the most valued media of exchange in the community. Other goods used for a medium of exchange were urucú (*Bixa orellana*), tobacco, extra hammocks, decorated gourds, string for binding feathers to arrows, and cane arrow shafts.

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101 [16] The Tapirapé Indians live in central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a left tributary of the Araguaia located in the extreme south of the state of Pará. They speak a dialect of Tupi-Guarani, the most widespread aboriginal tongue in Brazil. In spite of a great decline in their population, they still possess a rich cultural tradition which is peculiar to them and which distinguishes them [173] from other tribes. Their customs and traditions are transmitted orally with great care from generation to generation. One of the most 861 interesting among them is the ceremony in which the youth assumes the status of a grown man. This change in status is marked by nearly all peoples. Among us, when a young man reaches the age of 21, he can vote, marry, sign documents, etc.; among many primitive groups, the youth proves that he has become an adult by undergoing torture or achieving success in the hunt.

Among the Tapirapé, this tradition is observed with a festival [302] of song and dance called "hair-tying," for henceforth the young man will wear his hair tied at the back of the neck in adult fashion. For 858 several years before the ceremony, the boy keeps his body painted [302] black with genipap, wears his hair cropped close to the head--"like a monkey," in the words of the Tapirapé-- is subjected to food restrictions, [304] and has his arms and legs scarified until they bleed so he [854] will "grow strong." When he reaches 14 or 15 years of age, his family decides that the time has come for him to become an adult.

881 At the close of the rainy season, the time of harvesting and [221] thus of plenty for the tribe, the "hair-tying" ceremony is carried out. [302] For months beforehand, the youth allows his hair to grow until it comes [462] down to his shoulders. Meanwhile, mother and aunts weave threads [283] (cords) to adorn him, while father and uncles collect feathers with [237] which they make elaborate ornaments. All Tapirapé youths become adults through this rite; the sons of important men, however, and [554] those who were "favorite sons" (the Tapirapé elect certain children to preferential treatment) are much more richly attired than the others. The ceremony is costly to the family, and much time is needed beforehand to gather the necessary materials--macaw tail feathers, short [237] feathers of the blue macaw and parrot, breast fluff of wild ducks, [556] cotton threads for the ornaments, and beads. All these items are [435] valuable to the Tapirapé, who gauge their own wealth in these terms.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



the possibility of comparison, of observing other forms of behavior which were formerly closed to them, now stimulates change in Tapirapé culture.

Numerous other modifications in the Tapirapé way of life might be reported. In 1953, a few Tapirapé collected money which they kept as they formerly kept red parrot feathers in a bamboo container, but they have only vague ideas of its value. Two men own rifles but they have little idea of how to keep them in order. Men wear trousers when they visit the Indian Post, but they might at any time calmly remove them in the presence of the missionaries, and women have learned quickly to put on a wrap-around skirt when Brazilian men approach. These and a series of other changes might be quickly noted as having occurred between 1940 and 1953.

Still, Tapirapé culture has remained remarkably stable in face of the violent disruption of Tapirapé society during this last decade. Tapirapé culture has been modified by borrowing and by loss of trait and pattern due to the reduction of population and the disorganization of the society. Tapirapé society, with fewer people and new influences, has now changed more than Tapirapé culture. Certainly society and culture are intimately related phenomena but the history of the Tapirapé during the last thirteen years indicates the value of distinguishing between social change on the one hand and culture change on the other. For a period the Tapirapé lived as members of a distinct society, but their culture persisted, and with this knowledge they have been able to recreate, at least temporarily, their organized social unit.

235 [113:198] I did not see any tamed animals in Tampiitaua. In my talks with the inhabitants, however, I gathered that, like Indians in general, they would have liked to have such animals, and that they had formerly owned various mammals and wild birds. The most important among these were the red-blue-and-green macaw (Ara chloroptera Gray, arana in Tapirapé), much rarer in the Araguaia basin than the blue-and-yellow macaw (Ara ararauna Lin., kaniné in Tapirapé), for the [113:199] former's red feathers are more highly prized as ornaments than the latter's blue and yellow ones. This is the case not only among the Tapirapé, 171 but also among the Karajá, and this is why shortly before my ar- 235 rival to the Araguaia a man of this tribe of canoemen had traded in a canoe, which at that time and in that area was worth from 50 to 100 milreis or one rifle, for the nestling of a red-blue-and-green macaw. At the time when the Karajá traded regularly with 439 the Tapirapé, these nestlings were one of the chief commodities of trade.

This trade, through which the Tupi tribe received iron articles [412] in exchange for tamed macaws, urucú, hammocks, quartz tembetá, [241] and other products of their industry, actually played a decisive role in their subsistence, owing especially to the importance of the iron tools in farming. In this respect, it was fortunate for the Tapirapé that they established direct contact with the Whites shortly after they broke relations with the Karajá. For the lack of iron tools among people who had never worked with stone axes would probably have led either to rash behavior in their "foreign relations," or to intratribal conflicts.

Thus, as far as the subsistence of the Tapirapé is concerned, 797 their most important relations with the Whites are their contacts with [412] the Dominicans, which have occurred with some regularity every year or two since 1914 and which keep them supplied with the necessary tools. Actually, no real trading is involved in this case, since as a rule the Indians are not required to furnish any products of their industry in exchange for the materials, but only to pay attention to certain words and procedures peculiar to the Fathers. This 437 is not to say that they are ignorant of the concept of reciprocal trade 123 with the Whites. When I wanted to acquire an arrow for my collection, they not only knew how to set high prices, but also how to raise the value of the common object by calling it a "captain's

123 437 [chief's] arrow." This "mercantilism" even operated in the area of "spiritual" (or "non-material") culture, for just as they had bartered dances and songs with the Karajá, they also demanded songs from me in exchange for theirs, and I had to teach them a song from my childhood, in which the fox is accused of having [533] stolen the goose ("Fuchs, du hast die Gans gestohlen") to learn from them a children's ballad dealing with a mouse.

When the Tapirapé bartered among themselves, I observed considerable haggling. [Ed., end of Vol. 113.]

## Chapter 9

[114:185] **The Diet**

262 824 The last chapter referred to the importance of plants in the Tapirapé diet. First and foremost, there is manioc. Aside from fish, it is the only food mentioned in these Indians' description of [772] the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven lying above our visible one. The inhabitants of Tampiitáua call the roots of that Euphorbiacea by the generic name mandiaga. Ayrosa (4, 112) questions the Tupi origin of the word mandioca [manioc].

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have both "wild manioc" [171] (Manihot utilissima Pohl) and "sweet manioc" (Manihot dulcis Pax.). They distinguish five varieties of the Manihot genus, while the number of varieties known to the ancient Tupi was even greater (cf. Soares de Sousa 187; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXVIII; Métraux 2, 65).

171 252 Like those Indians, the Tapirapé have two basic ways of preparing the manioc roots for consumption: (1) by placing them for a few days in water until they become soft, turning them into what they call mandiyvungna and what is called puba [manioc mash] by the neo-Brazilians; (2) by grating them without putting them through the water treatment [114:186] (cf. Staden q 2; Soares de Sousa 189 and 191; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXIX; Claude d'Abbeville 304-305). Some of the varieties are prepared in either way, and others are prepared only in one way. The roots softened [251] in water are dried in the sun and pounded in the mortar, and the mashed substance is used in the manufacture of beiju [flat cakes] and cauí [a soup].

/406 cont./

114 On the campo path from the first roasting place, which was later
[487] joined by the second coming from the left, we reached a large
[361] village on the second day of the land march, two smaller villages
[312] on the third day, all three abandoned and in utter ruins. Water
was not to be found on the campo on which the villages were
located; the swamps and brooks to which paths led were dried
out and, when excavated, in part to a depth of one meter, did
not even yield moist earth, to say nothing of water.

131 On the basis of the discoveries and observations that I
133 made at these places, I formed the following opinion. The tribe
lives on the high campo that extends from the southern bend of
the Tapirapé to the north as far as the high mountains (or plateau
borders) that enclose it in the north and west. In front of these
borders there extends a tremendous trough, apparently the source
region of the Tapirapé, which from there flows around out of
the high campo in the west and south, then turns off to the north-
[361] east. /407/ Here, approximately 130 kilometers due west from
[162] the Tapirapé mouth, the tribe lives in one large and two smaller
361 villages during the rainy season. The large village seemed to
have had three to four houses; the second, smaller one, two to
[342] three; the third perhaps the same number. The houses were in
such a state of ruin that their construction was no longer recog-
nizable; apparently they were large rectangular buildings with
a pointed gable roof. The villages lie close to the large forest
[133] area that accompanies the trough in front of the mountains. All
around in smaller troughs extend large swamps to which brooks
221 lead. During the dry season these water areas dry up completely,
so that even holes up to a meter deep in the brook bed do not
yield moist earth. As a result, the Indians are compelled to
migrate to water areas, and apparently they then first seek the
[437] upper Tapirapé. In former times they seem to have come
farther downstream to a certain place where they met the Karajá,
who extended their fishing expeditions this far, and traded with
them. This trading place lies about 30 kilometers southeast of
the first village (34 kilometers from the second and third). As
[322] a result of the conflicts with the Karajá, they now avoid this

114 The Tupí tribe found by a bandeira [Tr., pioneering expedi-
175 tion] that left São Paulo in 1613 lived not far from the mouth of the Itacaiunas, namely, on the right bank of the Araguaia, two leagues above its confluence with the Tocantins. The account of this meeting, published only recently by Serafim Leite (1, 103-110), is as far as I know the first reference to a Tupí tribe on the Araguaia. According to Taunay (181-192), several bandeiras left São Paulo between the beginning of the seventeenth century and the departure of the above-mentioned expedition. The data relating to these expeditions are so defective, however, that it is possible to identify the place names on the itinerary only in a few cases. Among the few expeditions which may thus be identified, there is not one to the Araguaia. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The above-mentioned document dealing with the 1613 expedition, recently published by Father Leite, was written by the Jesuit Antonio de Araujo and covers the information provided by Pero Domingues, one of the 30 inhabitants of the São Paulo settlement who made up the expedition. Referring to "seven very large villages" found by the
175 travelers "about two leagues from the bar of the Iabeberi," that is, the Tocantins (cf. Leite 1, 101), the report goes on to say (ibid., 105-106): "The Indians in these villages were called Caatingas. Their language was the tongue common to these shores. Our men found
[439] among them many iron tools, scythes, wedges, axes, many glass beads, and large quantities of Rouen shirts, along with numerous hats, all of which they said they had obtained in trade from the French for feathers and arrows, of which they had many canoefuls in their houses, and also for cotton. They asserted that the French were at a distance of only 11 days' journey down-river and lived in a fortress they had built many years previously, and added that they had a sugar mill and made sugar from the cane plantations they owned. They
[648] confessed that they had put to death seven Frenchmen who must have fled the fortress of their countrymen, at whose request the Indians killed them. And, without being asked, they said that so many days' journey away, on another arm of the same Pará River, lived those whom we call Almazonas and whom they call [98:108] Camaíma, that is to say, 'breastless women.' They also stated that there were large numbers of villages down-river on both sides of the stream, and
175 that they were not scarce up-river but toward the interior. The in-
648 habitants of the seven villages sent messengers forthwith to the other

000 Only the Karajá, who will not part from their children under any circumstances, did not want to have anything to do with the school. Unfortunately, the mistake was made once of taking children from these Indians by force. As a result, they now keep all the children away whenever a ship comes by. At the time 175 648 of our visit, the institute was badly neglected. The headmaster treated the Indians as slaves and ordered them to work in his personal service. The forlorn boys were exposed to his brutality and to that of his friends. The girls had to attend to the pleasure of all their oppressors. Most of them had already borne children or were about to do so. No new Indians had appeared for a long time, for the outrages of the White civilizers had increasingly kept them away. Most of the school Indians had already reached the age of 30, but not one of them thought of leaving. Trained all along to slavery and tutelage, they carried on their services with dumb indolence. Of course, there was no longer any question of teaching. The cattle had been stolen or had run away. The funds provided by the government ended up in the headmaster's pocket. Later, [99:71] Dr. Baggi, who as a good republican attempted to uncover and prosecute all the abuses of the current regime, achieved the suppression of the institute."

Although a few Tapirapé individuals encountered Whites during the nineteenth century, there is no evidence that the latter had any direct contact at that time with the bulk of the tribe. Ehrenreich (5), who in his classification cited above, published in 1891, includes the Tapirapé among the "Central Tupí," confesses as late as 1905 that they are known only by hearsay and this makes it impossible to state whether they are related to the Eastern or the Central Tupí. He adds that possibly they are a separate group that originated in Pará or Maranhão.

The few Tapirapé who were seen by Whites during the first ten years of this century were chiefly women and children abducted by the Karajá. Krause (2, 320 and 404) says that the [439] Karajá carried out these abductions at the times when the men of the Tupí tribe left their families to go and trade with them on a sand bar of the Tapirapé River. The captive women served them as laborers and sexual partners, and the resulting children became part of the tribe. Some of those women and children were made 175 726 prisoners in the course of an attack when the Karajá killed several

171 bone ornaments mentioned above. Its width is 27 millimeters.
301 The thin part of the tembetá is 14 millimeters wide at the point where it begins to swell to form the crosspiece.

Ehrenreich (1, 10-11 and Fig. 2a), in his monograph on the Karajá, reproduces a complete specimen and makes the following remarks: "The most precious lip ornament, which is only worn on festive occasions and which is carefully kept at other times wrapped in cotton, is a long and heavy tembetá (manutere) of rosy hyalite or quartz whose T-shaped tip is introduced into the lower lip, while the conical plug hangs underneath. The largest of the four specimens in the collection is 17.5 centimeters long. The [439] Karajá do not make these lip stones but trade for them from the Tapirapé. The elevations on the left bank of the river (Araguaia), such as the Caiapó Range, abound in this material."

The specimen reproduced by Krause (2, Fig. 62) resembles the one just mentioned. The author notes in this connection (ibid., 223-224): "Unmarried men alone use these tembetás, which they wear only at special festivities. When they marry, they present them to a young kinsman. The stone tembetá is very thick, and [304] requires previous enlargement of the lip opening. To achieve this, the Indians wear increasingly thick wooden tembetá. I saw a single specimen of a stone tembetá among the northern band. I was unable to acquire it. It was only long after leaving their village that I heard of a specimen extant among the southern band. [439] These tembetás are not made by the Karajá but by the Tapirapé, from whom the Karajá of the northern band trade for them. The people of the southern band, in turn, purchase them from the latter. They say that the current price is a dugout, an axe, a pot, and a bush knife, in short, it is very high..." [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 78 and the first two paragraphs on p. 79 are omitted.]

[109:79] The same author [Métraux] states (2, 167-168): "Among the present-day Tupi-Guarani, the Tapirapé alone have tembetás comparable in shape and material to those of the Tupinambá." [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

To summarize, the manufacture of quartz tembetá is a Tapirapé culture trait. We know of no such trait among other present-day Tupi cultures or among tribes neighboring the Tapirapé, with the exception of the northern Kayapó. Their stone tembetá,

171 however, differ from those of the Tapirapé in lacking a "plug."
301 I know of no such "plugs" on the stone lip cylinders of the ancient Tupinambá. Those found on the São Paulo coast and in the vicinity of Bahia, reproduced by H. von Ihering (apud Wegner 3, 34, Fig. 5), do not have any. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 79, p. 80, and the first two paragraphs on p. 81 are omitted.]

[109:81] To summarize, it may be said that among the Tapirapé, just as among the Tupinambá, Karajá, and Kayapó, the tembetá is an exclusively male ornament that varies in its shape and material according to the age of the wearer. The Tapirapé differ from the Tupinambá in that adults do not have the coin-shaped stone tembetá mentioned by Léry. As far as material, shape, and size are concerned, the differences between the Tapirapé, Karajá, and Kayapó tembetá are, on the whole, greater than the resemblances. The Central Tupi differ from the Tapirapé in not having any lip ornaments.

The arm and leg ornaments made of cotton dyed with urucú are a striking link between the Tapirapé and Karajá cultures. They are everyday ornaments worn by both sexes. Among the Karajá, according to [109:82] Krause (2, 226), they are "the distinctive badge of unmarried men, therefore used from earliest childhood until marriage, and in widowhood." The same author (ibid.) adds, however, that these bands may also be used by married men "if their wives are pleased with them."

Among the Tapirapé, I saw married men wearing the cotton ornaments called tamankurá in their language. This name covers three different kinds, namely, the bracelet, the garter, and the
[462] ankle band. They are all made by the women with the crochet
[412] needle (chuúnia, chu meaning "thorn"), which was originally made
[439] of bone and today, as a result of White imports, may also be of metal. Among the Karajá, this is also woman's work (cf. ibid.).

The bracelets (dexí in Karajá) are cylinders with reinforced, outcurving edges. Each of the two bracelets that had been worn by a Tapirapé man and are reproduced in Photograph 14b is 14 centimeters long, 19 centimeters in circumference at the upper end, and 17 at the lower end, while the upper edge is four centimeters wide and the lower one two and a half centimeters wide. The initial phase of their manufacture is shown in Photograph 11.

224 plots or at some task in the village, he would be on the lookout in the jungle or in the scrub forest. Some younger men also went hunting from time to time, but Kanchovani stood out as a specialist, a hunter par excellence.

Aside from individual hunting, there are collective hunts carried out by a few men (Photo. 24) or by the work groups.

The hunting weapons consist of bow and arrow and club. While traveling, the Indian usually takes along a bow and arrow, and often a club as well. On August 5, when we met a pair of jaguars as we marched from the village to the river, Kamairá and Chapokó ran after them with bow and club in hand. On July 14, a Tapirapé killed a wild pig with a club.

The bow (vuirampana) shown in Figure 13 and in Photographs
411 25, 26, 27, and 29 is typical [112:52] [Fig. 13 appears here.] [112:53] In the specimen shown in Photograph 29, the stave of patí palm wood (Syagrus botryophora), tantaú or tantayva in Tapirapé, is 175 centimeters long, and its circumference is eight centimeters in the center part, five centimeters near the notches at the ends, and three and a half at the tips, of which the upper one is four and a half and the lower one three and a half centimeters long. The cross-section is circular. The cord of vegetable matter (iniyma, ámayma) is 162 centimeters long. Sometimes it is rubbed with the greasy urucú paste, and this is done even more frequently to the bow stave and to the club. On certain bows made
[531] with special care, which are used by the dance leaders as decorative weapons and to mark time, the cord is whitened all over (Photos. 4, 68, 69).

Krause (2, 264) gives the length of the Karajá bow cord as
171 184-204 centimeters. Except for its size, this bow is identical to
411 that of the Tapirapé. In Meyer's (3, 8) classification, these bows belong to the "eastern Brazilian" type. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Krause (2, 262) writes as follows about the palm wood of which
439 the Karajá bow stave is made: "They say that this wood (olotó, woaluó) grows only in the Tapirapé area. In any case, according to their unanimous assertion, the Indians of the southern band obtain their bows, or the materials for them, from the Karajá of the northern band or from the Tapirapé themselves. As a result, I was able to acquire bows only from the northern band, for among the

[Text continues on p. 98]

439 southern band they were regarded as precious articles." This may explain why Nuerehí, a Karajá about 50 years old and an inhabitant of Beroromandú, a village located near Santa Teresinha, asked me to bring him a bow and a handful of arrows from the Tapirapé, stating that these objects were better in the Tupi tribe than in his own. I already mentioned in Chapter 2 that, accord- [101] ing to Krause (2, 456), the word uohú, with which the Karajá designate the Tapirapé, means "arrow." This may possibly refer to their capacity as arrow suppliers.

The arrows (oyva) of these Indians, shown in Photographs 27, 171 29, and 30, resemble the corresponding Karajá and Kayapó 411 arrows described by Krause (2, 264-270, 392-393). The corresponding arrows are the barbed ones and those with a simple, rounded, wooden tip. I have not seen any Tapirapé arrows like the two encountered by the same author (2, 411 and Fig. 270), of which one had a flat wooden tip with "barbs cut out on both sides and a double edge," while the other had a cane tip. Nor did I find [112:54] arrows with notched wooden tips among the Tapirapé, such as those Krause (2, 265) encountered among the Karajá. On the other hand, the bird arrow with a thick wax tip which that author (2, 247) noted in the same tribe is also used by the Tapirapé (see Photos. 25 and 26).

Like the Karajá, Kayapó (loc. cit., 267 and 392), and tribes of the Xingu headwaters (Von den Steinen 2, 229), the Tapirapé also make a kind of barbed arrow by fastening to the tip of the wooden part of the shaft, previously grooved laterally, a small piece of bone that is slightly curved and sharp at both ends. This [314] piece is tied on, and the whole binding is covered with black resin. In the barbed Tapirapé arrows tipped with the spine of the sting-ray, the barb is not made with the spine also, as Krause (2, 393 and Fig. 249h) asserts of a Kayapó arrow that is similar but made of wood. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The length of barbed arrows with bone or sting-ray tips is [237] roughly identical among the Karajá, Kayapó, and Tapirapé. The tip, on the average, is six centimeters long, the wooden part of the shaft from 35 to 50 centimeters, and the cane part about one meter long.

The wooden rod bearing the arrow point (oyvanchí, chi meaning "point") is inserted into the cane stem (angkamanchyva) and

171
411 secured there with resin. It was previously placed near the fire to be straightened out while still hot. As a rule, however, the rod becomes straight in general orientation only and remains crooked in one or several places. An essentially agricultural tribe like the Tapirapé does not make weapons with the care expended on such work by a hunting tribe, such as the Bororo, for example. The heat of the fire also serves to harden the wood, which is sometimes dyed red or black.

The section of the cane shaft that encircles the rod is bound [824] spirally with a narrow black strip of philodendron bark (vuamé) [314] glued on with resin. This covering is from nine to 16 centimeters long and makes the shaft stronger.

The feathered part (pepá or "wing," pe meaning "path," "direction," "forward motion," and pa meaning "hand") is, on the average, from 16 to 25 centimeters long. Like the Karajá and the Kayapó, the Tapirapé fasten two feathers in opposition to each [237] other at the extreme tip of the shaft. The feathers are usually those of macaws, hawks, or hoatzins. Their stems are tied to the shaft with cotton thread (inimá). The twisting of the feathers, which aims at spinning the arrow in flight, seldom covers a quarter of the shaft circumference and often does not even cover an eighth of it. The barbs of the feathers are crudely cut out ●[434] with scissors acquired from the Whites, and the half that juts out is broader than the other half. The stem of the feather is slit at the tip and glued to the cane covered with resin. Both spiral bindings of cotton thread are fastened to the shaft with resin. The front one is of [112:55] blackened cotton, about six centimeters long, and holds small red and sometimes yellow macaw breast feathers whose barbs extend backward, that is to say, inside the feathering. The rear binding is of white cotton, about one and a half centimeters long, and serves not only to secure the thinner part of the feather stems, but also to strengthen the tip of the arrow. This tip has an oblique notch (vuatachimeakáua), more than half a centimeter deep, that receives the bow cord. The binding reaches up to this notch, and its third function seems to be that of a tribal marking, for aside from the parallel threads it bears two crossed ones which are, as Krause (2, 270) heard among the Karajá, characteristic of the Tapirapé.

171 25 centimeters wide and 12 centimeters in circumference on the
411 above-mentioned Karajá club which is in my possession. Both specimens are made of heavy wood. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

In hand-to-hand fighting, to kill at a short distance, the club
411 is usually preferable to the arrow. The Tapirapé will also grab
[726] their clubs when quarreling with a member of their own tribe, but
[578] in spite of this menacing gesture the quarrel is usually limited to a string of verbal insults. While in daytime dances the men of
411 Tampiitaua held in their hands an arrow or bow, and only excep-
535 tionally a club, in the kaó, or great nocturnal group dance, they held clubs and bush knives. These weapons were not used largely to mark time, as was the case with the bow and arrow in the daytime dances. They were displayed to make clear the character of kaó, which, as shown also by the intonation of the accompanying chant and by other elements, is basically a martial one. Fur-
[721] thermore, when equipped with clubs and bush knives, the warriors stood ready every night to repel any dreaded attack by their Kayapó neighbors. As far as hunting is concerned, it must be re-
224 called that the density of the forest vegetation and the height of
411 the grass in the savanna frequently ruled against the use of bow and
[137] arrow and impelled the Indian to attack from a short distance, that is to say, to use the club. In spite of this, during the march between the village and the river I observed that all the men carried
[683] bows and arrows, while they did not all carry clubs. Another specialized function of the Tapirapé club is to kill those people who are regarded as evil sorcerers.

The Tapirapé spear (yvyra-hãia, "pointed stick," or mina,
114 "spear") may have been imported from the Karajá. There are no
411 references to spears among the ancient Tupinambá or among the
[439] upper Xingu tribes. In Montoya's work (2, II), however, we find
[171] the terms ibirãhaquãbae, "pointed stick" (haquã, "point") and my, "spear, prong." I did not see any spears while I was with the
[535] Tapirapé, but at Macauba on Bananal Island, Mr. Frederico Kegel showed me one that he had brought back from a previous visit to those Indians, and told me that they used it exclusively in their dances to mark the time, in the same manner as the above-men-
171 tioned weapons. This spear resembled the Karajá spear (donolí)
411 described by Krause (2, 272-273 and Fig. 126). It was likewise a

171 the new layer of charcoal, and repeat this until the tree is felled."
241 [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[113:194] I do not know whether the Tapirapé used the method described by Stradelli. I heard that they felled large trees by setting up a fire beneath the roots. If this is confirmed by the vestiges of carbonization on the roots of fallen trunks and in the holes lying around them, which were still visible in the old plots in 1935, not much time would have elapsed since fire was used for this purpose. Considering that the Tapirapé have owned
[177] iron axes for dozens of years, it should then be assumed that fire was used in connection with these products of our civilization.

In any case, I did not find stone axes among the Tapirapé,
174 nor did I find anyone in Tampiitaua who had used them, or anyone
412 who had found similar implements at sites formerly occupied by the tribe. Of course, there is no doubt that the Tapirapé did possess them in the past, and they may have been as small as those of the Ampanefi, according to the Tapirapé. It is certain, however, that
174 several generations ago the Tapirapé obtained iron objects
412 (itanchoa, "iron," "glass," from ita, "stone," and choa, "yellow")
●439 through the Karajá, and not only axes, but bush knives as well (kyché-eté, from kyché, "knife," and eté, "real," an augmentative, the term kiché being already mentioned in the Vocabulário da Língua Brasílica [Vocabulary of the Indigenous Brazilian Language] as quigce, by Montoya as quicé [author: i= y in our spelling], and by Stradelli as kicé). It is worth noting that the Tapirapé, who have
[177] used metal cutting tools for so long, cannot bring themselves to sharpen them, although this procedure has already been taught to them several times by the Whites, who also offered them sharpening stones. This is an illustration of the fact that the acceptance of foreign cultural traits does not necessarily imply the acceptance of all the procedures connected with them.

On July 30, I witnessed the felling of some trees, carried out
241 as a collective endeavor called apachirú by the Tapirapé (the
476 puchirum of the frontiersmen in the states of Pará and Amazonas). The leader, Tanuapanchoa, marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those places without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax. He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others. The other men selected their own trees around his as they pleased. They incised the small ones and finally

235 [113:198] I did not see any tamed animals in Tampiitaua. In my talks with the inhabitants, however, I gathered that, like Indians in general, they would have liked to have such animals, and that they had formerly owned various mammals and wild birds. The most important among these were the red-blue-and-green macaw (Ara chloroptera Gray, arara in Tapirapé), much rarer in the Araguaia basin than the blue-and-yellow macaw (Ara ararauna Lin., kaniné in Tapirapé), for the [113:199] former's red feathers are more highly prized as ornaments than the latter's blue and yellow ones. This is the case not only among the Tapirapé, 171 but also among the Karajá, and this is why shortly before my ar- 235 rival to the Araguaia a man of this tribe of canoemen had traded in a canoe, which at that time and in that area was worth from 50 to 100 milreis or one rifle, for the nestling of a red-blue-and- • 459 green macaw. At the time when the Karajá traded regularly with the Tapirapé, these nestlings were one of the chief commodities of trade.

This trade, through which the Tupi tribe received iron articles [412] in exchange for tamed macaws, urucú, hammocks, quartz tembetá, [241] and other products of their industry, actually played a decisive role in their subsistence, owing especially to the importance of the iron tools in farming. In this respect, it was fortunate for the Tapirapé that they established direct contact with the Whites shortly after they broke relations with the Karajá. For the lack of iron tools among people who had never worked with stone axes would probably have led either to rash behavior in their "foreign relations," or to intratribal conflicts.

Thus, as far as the subsistence of the Tapirapé is concerned, 797 their most important relations with the Whites are their contacts with [412] the Dominicans, which have occurred with some regularity every year or two since 1914 and which keep them supplied with the necessary tools. Actually, no real trading is involved in this case, since as a rule the Indians are not required to furnish any products of their industry in exchange for the materials, but only to pay attention to certain words and procedures peculiar to the Fathers. This 437 is not to say that they are ignorant of the concept of reciprocal trade 123 with the Whites. When I wanted to acquire an arrow for my collection, they not only knew how to set high prices, but also how to raise the value of the common object by calling it a "captain's

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



organization, in technology, in ceremonial and religious 177
life, in economics and, in fact, in almost all realms of life. In the space of a short paper it will be possible to indicate only a few of these modifications. One of the 177
most striking changes has to do with the relations of 574
the Tapirapé with their traditional enemies, the Carajá. 648
In 1940 the Tapirapé told of their fear of the Carajá who had attacked them several times in the past, and Tapirapé men traveling along the Araguaya River with the writer hid in the bottom of the boat in fear of their traditional foe. No Tapirapé would have dared enter a Carajá village without the protection of a Brazilian. But in 1953 the new Tapirapé village was situated within six or seven kilometers of a Carajá village. Two Tapirapé [582]
youths, for lack of Tapirapé women of marriageable age, had married Carajá girls, and following the rule of matrilocal residence which both Carajá and Tapirapé cultures share they lived in the Carajá village and worked with their in-laws. Each day during my 1953 visit there were Carajá visitors in the Tapirapé village. They came [434]
to exchange fish, game or other items for Tapirapé manioc — for the Tapirapé are by tradition better gardeners than the Carajá. A friendly Carajá even joined the Tapirapé men to dance and sing during one of their ceremonials, and one evening a group of Tapirapé accepted the invitation of the Carajá to attend their wrestling matches on the beach in front of the Carajá village. One must conclude that old and traditional enmities and antagonisms between peoples can fade out easily and quickly unless there are deep-seated economic or territorial bases for such antagonisms.

Another striking change between the Tapirapé in 177
1940 and those of 1953 was their recent adaptation to 481
canoe travel. In 1940, the Tapirapé might have been classified as "foot Indians". They neither made nor owned canoes. Many Tapirapé were unable to swim. They were all most inept when forced to travel by canoe. In 1953, six Tapirapé men owned canoes they had arquir- 177
ed from the Carajá, some had to make canoes, and 501

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



with so few people holding the status positions of aboriginal Tapirapé society much specialized knowledge will be lost. This is true of shamanism, as explained above, and it is true of the weaving of baskets for which Tapirapé men were justly famous before 1940. In 1953, only two men of the tribe knew the art of basket making. In aboriginal times, it was a technique which men learned after adolescence (Tapirapé boys were not expected to learn the manly arts), and with the death of so many older men and the disintegration of Tapirapé society, few young men were able to study. Both of the young men who did learn produced baskets which in 1940 would have been considered distinctly inferior and few of the young men in 1953 showed an inclination to learn the art. Like many other aspects of the culture, Tapirapé basketry will probably be a "lost art" within a generation.

Before 1940, one of the striking aspects of Tapirapé culture recorded by both Baldus and myself was the complex set of rules governing food taboos. According to aboriginal Tapirapé culture, women and children are forbidden to eat venison as well as many other specific meats. Nowadays the Tapirapé frequently have beef, which they receive by trade from the Brazilian around the Indian post. As might be suspected, beef is equated with venison and it is taboo to Tapirapé women. Likewise, Tapirapé men who are the fathers of small children may eat neither venison nor beef. One Tapirapé male explained that "Even when we were hungry our women would not eat beef." But in view of their experience with other cultures (i. e., Carajá and Brazilian), such taboos are growing weaker. Hidden from their husbands, several Tapirapé women tested beef for the first time when offered it by the wife of the Indian officer, and several females have taken to eating it (and even venison) at the Indian Post pleading that their secret be kept from their husbands. And one Tapirapé male, the father of an infant, argued while eating venison that the taboo was not a logical one. Food taboos are still kept but

/320 cont./

## 13. Political Conditions.

Wars seem to have taken place only because of the abduction of women, for it was always reported that the men of the foe were killed, but women and children were brought back to the village. The position of the Karajá with respect to their neighbors in this respect is the following: with Boroto and southern Kayapó they do not seem to come into contact. With Chavante battles occurred in which the Karajá always had the greater losses. With the Šavajé of Bananal Island they are on friendly terms, whereas the Canoeiros, likewise on Bananal, are at present their most feared enemies. With the Tapirapé the Karajá formerly had friendly trade relations; the Karajá furnished iron goods and in return obtained net coverings, bows, stone lip-plugs, food, araras, etc. The Karajá took advantage of the occasion of this trading on a sandbank in the Tapirapé River, far from the village, to slay off in the meantime women and children who were busy in the plantings. The Tapirapé did not know for a long time who was abducting their women. About six or seven years ago the Karajá had again abducted five or six women; on the way home, the latter fled, but the Karajá pursued them and killed all but one who came back to the Tapirapé and reported that the Karajá were the abducters of the women. When, in the following year, the Karajá again undertook their trade journey to the Tapirapé, the latter apparently agreed to the transaction, but then fell upon the Karajá and killed several men. Since then all communication between the two tribes has ceased; the Karajá no longer journey to the trading place and the Tapirapé, too, have moved farther upstream.

With the northern Kayapó the Karajá likewise seem to live on a hostile footing. I did not hear any reports about former combats. But the antagonistic, rejecting attitude that my Karajá displayed toward the minion Kayapó in Conceição was striking.

/403 cont./

T 175 114 are Karajá who are so named because they live on the lower course of the Tapirapé. On page 174 he mentions a village of the /404/ Tapirapé on the Fecho de Tapirapé and a village of the Karajá five days upward in the Tapirapé River; the one village consists of one house with ten occupants, the other, one house with 20 (p. 188). Here, therefore, the Tapirapé are regarded as a horde of the Karajá who live at the mouth of the river itself, and in the river, five days above the mouth, there is another village of Karajá! Coudreau was here the end of April; he encountered only a few places of the Karajá. His other reports are likewise very confused and uncertain, so that one may trace these, too, back to misunderstood information given by the Karajá.

C 115 2. Information obtained /Urkundetes/. The information that I obtained from the Karajá was the following:

T 131 [401] The Tapirapé (in Karajá: [illegible]) live six to nine days' journey *in a boat above the emptying of the river into the Araguaya.* From the landing place one is obliged to walk another half day, according to others two days, over the campo in order to reach their villages. T 105 They occupy three villages, and, to be sure, one large one and two smaller ones (according to one isolated statement, four villages). The men wear penis cuffs plaited out of palm leaves. Both sexes wear the hair hanging down to the small of the back. The men wear long lip-plugs of (reddish?) stone. Ear plugs are also customary. Their ornaments are similar to those of the Karajá. Tattooing occurs among the married women: they cut vertical lines into their chins and one line on either side of the corners of their mouths, obliquely downward; these lines are colored black. They obtain their food primarily by cultivating manioc; since they are very industrious, they cultivate large quantities. C [879] They are therefore considered rich by the Karajá. Of animals they keep dogs and, above all, araras, which the Karajá buy from them. Their weapons are bows and arrows, clubs, spears, and spear throwers. They know how to work with cotton. They wind the spun threads into big balls, like those of the Karajá. C T [439] The Karajá like to buy their large, firmly plaited, cotton net coverings with a wide, black center stripe.

T /404 cont./
105 center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language
C differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand
[147] each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé
C seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the
648 Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs,
[939] food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé,
opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the
C Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The
[921] Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret
the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has
been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally
a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago;
C since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far
[929] upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave
women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are
taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and
263 appear here./

C 3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the
162 Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys
T from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than
[142] /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black
T incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b
304 /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).
302

C In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the
439 Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near
126 the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (kĩwaã; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method
T of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very
303 regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The
T spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ
283 in any way from those of the Karajá.

T The club (ĩwĩrã, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round
411 clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved
and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of
cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the
handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and
depressions.

[Text Continues on P. 339]

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



of the Jesuits in 1759, the increased importation of African slaves into Maranhão eased the pressure for Indian slaves. Close relations with the missionaries, and later with the civil authorities and the rural Luso-Brazilian population, presented the Tenetehara with new culture patterns, new attitudes which either replaced aboriginal elements or were incorporated in their culture as alternative patterns. The missionaries urged larger families in order to have numerous innocents to baptize. Warfare was prohibited in the area. (4) The Tenetehara learned that children might be useful in collecting babassu nuts for sale to Luso-Brazilians. Steel instruments and new plants (such as rice, bananas, lemons, etc.) made agriculture more productive. The sale of babassu nuts, copaiba oil, and other forest products brought the Tenetehara imported products. Although Tenetehara culture and society were modified, the aboriginal and the borrowed elements slowly combined to form a new culture and a new social system which at least met the minimum requirements for survival.

Te 177 648 797 Te [439]

The Tapirapé, on the other hand, have had only intermittent contact with Luso-Brazilians. Since about 1911, the Tapirapé have had occasional contact with Luso-Brazilians. A few Tapirapé have visited Luso-Brazilian settlements and missionary stations on the Araguaya River and a few Luso-Brazilians have visited Tapirapé villages. Tapirapé contact with Luso-Brazilians has been limited to relatively short periods and to small groups of people. They have acquired a few axes, hoes, some salt, cloth, beads and other material objects from their occasional visitors but, on the whole, their culture was little modified by borrowed patterns and elements from Luso-Brazilians. Yet the presence of Luso-Brazilians brought about a crucial modification in their environment. With the arrival of Luso-Brazilians in the area, the Tapirapé were subjected to a series of foreign diseases. If the memory of older Tapirapé informants may be trusted, foreign disease (common colds, measles, and smallpox) came at first via the neighboring Karajá sometime before their first meeting with Luso-Brazilians. Since about 1911 to 1914, however foreign disease acquired directly from Luso-Brazilians, has steadily decimated the Tapirapé. Unlike the Tenetehara, before the Tapirapé were presented with a broad segment of Luso-Brazilians culture, which might have provided them with alternative patterns and values with which they might have made adjustments to their new circumstances, they have been practically wiped out.

Ta 177 648 Ta [439] Ta 61 164 648

Still, the difference in population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact of these two tribes cannot be explained entirely in terms of the differences in the contact continuum. The first fifty years of contact between the Tenetehara and Europeans was more violent than anything the Tapirapé have experienced. In the early 17th century organized slave raiding parties penetrated into Tenetehara territory and armed forces such as the one led

Te 177 648

(4) There are no indications that the Tenetehara shared the warfare-cannibalism complex of the Tupinambá, but the lower reaches of the Mearim-Grajaú-Pindaré River system and the Island of Maranhão at its mouth were inhabited by Tupinambá groups. Métraux (1948) p. 95 ff. See also Fernandes (1949).

Te [171] [101]

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953).1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



the possibility of comparison, of observing other forms of behavior which were formerly closed to them, now stimulates change in Tapirapé culture.

Numerous other modifications in the Tapirapé way of life might be reported. In 1953, a few Tapirapé collected money which they kept as they formerly kept red parrot feathers in a bamboo container, but they have only vague ideas of its value. Two men own rifles but they have little idea of how to keep them in order. Men wear trousers when they visit the Indian Post, but they might at any time calmly remove them in the presence of the missionaries, and women have learned quickly to put on a wrap-around skirt when Brazilian men approach. These and a series of other changes might be quickly noted as having occurred between 1940 and 1953.

Still, Tapirapé culture has remained remarkably stable in face of the violent disruption of Tapirapé society during this last decade. Tapirapé culture has been modified by borrowing and by loss of trait and pattern due to the reduction of population and the disorganization of the society. Tapirapé society, with fewer people and new influences, has now changed more than Tapirapé culture. Certainly society and culture are intimately related phenomena but the history of the Tapirapé during the last thirteen years indicates the value of distinguishing between social change on the one hand and culture change on the other. For a period the Tapirapé lived as members of a distinct society, but their culture persisted, and with this knowledge they have been able to recreate, at least temporarily, their organized social unit.

241 cut down the biggest one. Throughout this work, they only used
476 axes with rather long handles (Photos. 56 and 61). Each man hit the trunks at the level most convenient to him, so that the stumps varied in height from 30 to 90 centimeters. After extreme exertion for a while, each man would rest until he felt like resuming his task. They were all quite diligent. And as I watched those men, most of them [113:195] endowed with the physique of our adolescents, conquer piece after piece of the huge forest around them, I saw none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness or tedious-
[461] ness that characterizes so much of the collective work among us. Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side, as though they were performing a very amusing game.

Since the time when the trees are felled is the driest of the
221 year, the leaves and branches of the toppled trees wither more
241 rapidly and become easily combustible. The Tapirapé set fire to them and then do their planting between the felled and nearly carbonized trees as soon as the rains come to nurture the vegetation. Thus, the chief time for planting falls in November and December, but in certain areas of higher humidity it comes as early as October.

To plant yams, carã [Tr., another kind of yam], and manioc,
244 the Indians use the hoe to dig a funnel-shaped hole, from one to
[412] one and a half meters in diameter and depth at the center, in which they pile up the earth in the shape of a cone. They slip into this cone four or five yam protuberances or an equal number of carã knobs, that is to say, fragments or "eyes" of the respective tubers, or four or five manioc shoots. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195 and the first two lines of p. 196 are omitted.]

[412] [113:196] The dibble is used by the Tapirapé to plant maize,
241 peanuts, and cotton in straight lines that ride over the fallen trunks and other irregularities in the terrain and lie about four meters apart. In planting cotton, around December, they place several seeds in each hole and keep the holes about two meters apart; the distance is smaller when planting maize or peanuts. Weeding also begins in December. Maize, peanuts, and cotton are harvested from June to August. Manioc and bananas are gathered throughout the year. Bananas and maize are gathered when still green and hung under the house roof to ripen, for there are many forest animals interested in eating them. The plots,

264 476 however, is totally different from that of the tãtáupáũã. It is not a group organization for consumption, but for production. For this reason, also, the feasts in specific groups associated with this institution are merely accessory.

The social significance of apatxirú resides in the possibility of sharing a collective task in such a way that no member of the tribe will [461] feel discredited by an unfair assignment. This is done by turning work into a festive occasion and a sports competition.

"When there is a lot of water everywhere in the rainy season, the [776] [291] ãũvanaí 'shadows' live in the takána. Their headdress and breechcloth are of muriti leaves, but their headdress does not have any macaw [535] feathers. [96] They dance through the entire rainy season. At that time, there are no other 'shadows' (antxína) but them. Unlike other 'shadows,' these do not live in the hills or in the waters, but only in the takána. They do not sing, but only grunt in a low voice. During [261] the moons of the great rains, the belly does not get as full as during the dry season. But the ãũvanaí have to eat. Then they go to the gardens and 'steal.' They take what they stole to the takána, where they eat it. In the apatxirú, we prepare the gardens where they seek their food. They 'steal' only from those gardens that are prepared for them alone. The ãũvanaí are not evil. All Tapirapé men are ãũvanaí.

Such is, in summary, the information I received when I asked the purpose of the common gardens prepared in the apatxirú.

For the apatxirú, all Tapirapé men are divided into three work-groups called vuĩra. The word vuĩra means "bird," and the name of [551] each group designates a mythical bird which is represented not only by the group as a whole but by each of its individual members. They are called Tãnãvé, Anantxá, and Vuirantxinió.

The Tãnãvé group was the smallest one at the time of my visit, [624] but it included the individuals of highest social status: the principal chief, Kamairahó; the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ´; the chief and most [123] eminent sorcerer--medicine man, Urukumĩ´; and myself. (Naturally, Kamairahó stated immediately that I would be a Tãnãvé like himself.)

[97] Each of the three work groups has two leaders called ãntaĩva. 264 The ãntaĩva of the Tãnãvé were Vũãtanamĩ´ and Urukumĩ´. (Although 622 Kamairahó was also a Tãnãvé, he seemed to be the head of all three 476 groups in his capacity as principal chief. He is also the only one whose 651 private plot is prepared by the village inhabitants as a collective endeavor, while the private plots of other tribal members are prepared

476 under the leadership of the ãntaiva of the Anantxá, Tanupantxóa and Vuĩraí. Here the Anantxá were present in larger numbers than the other groups, for they were, so to speak, the contractors of this particular apatxirú. No division into three groups was evident, however, as the work progressed. All the Tãnãvé, Anantxá, and Vuirantxinió mixed together at random.

Tanupantxóa marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those spots without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax.
[554] He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others.

Ãntaĩva of other groups were also present and working, such as Urukumĩ of the Tãnãvé and Kamairá of the Vuirantxinió. Vũãtanamĩ
[578] had gone to his garden. As usual, he probably wanted to avoid meeting Kamairahó, whom he hated. Maninohó had stayed home. Kamairahó sat on a felled tree and watched.

[100] Each man, as soon as he felt the desire to work, chose a
313 tree for himself, as he pleased, in the vicinity of the ãntaĩva, and
476 the contest began. It did not seem to be a contest against the fellow workers, a fight to win over the others by achieving more, but a joyous contest against the timber and the big forest, against the forest as a whole, for it was not merely a matter of conquering each tree individually with the brute strength of the arms, but also a matter of strategy. First an incision in a good number of trees was made in such a way that they would all fall in the same direction when their tottering neighbor leaned against them from the opposite direction. Only then was a forest giant felled, and felled in such a way that it dragged with it to the ground its fellows weakened by the ax.

After extreme exertion for a while, each man would rest until he
461 felt like resuming his task. They were all quite diligent.

The Indian works according to a different rhythm than that followed by the men of our civilization. He does not carry out the same task every day, at a certain time and for a certain period of time, but gives himself up with all his senses and all his strength to whatever task seems to him most necessary at the moment and best suited to his creative urge. When he does this, he does not spare himself but persists in his heavy work until he is completely exhausted. For example, he gives himself to the felling of trees with such fanaticism that on the following day he can hardly get out of his hammock owing to the muscular pain. [101] As soon as he feels a little better, he carves a bow stave or weaves a basket. Suddenly, he feels a craving for

461 bananas. If he has no bananas left at home, the man goes to the garden to get a new supply. He returns staggering under an enormous load, for he brings as much as he can carry. And although by this [147] time he is already tired enough to lie down in the hammock again, he may fulfill his duties as a dancer and singer throughout the night, duties that demand of a single man the rested legs and lungs of five strong males. [Ed., the remainder of p. 101, pp. 102-194, and the first paragraph on p. 105 are omitted.]

[105] On the other hand, it is true that there are great differences among the various tribes as far as industriousness is concerned. The Tapirapé may be pointed out as being especially "diligent." At the [262] time of my stay among them, they had an abundance of food, and in spite of this they worked very hard in their gardens and gave themselves up with no less zeal and perseverance to their dances and songs. 177 In this tribe, which is still distant from our civilization, the introduction of iron tools that began dozens of years ago through their eastern 182 neighbors, the Karajá, and the lack of war-like activities or bent had an effect directly opposite to that generated [by the same factors] in the Indians civilized by us, that is to say, deprived of their cultural independence. These two factors did not hinder the vital force or impair the creative urge of the Indians, but in fact guaranteed their subsistence and increased their well-being. If, in spite of this, symptoms of degeneration are apparent among the Tapirapé, [106] the causes must be sought elsewhere. This, however, is not the proper context to discuss them. [Ed., all but the last sentence of the subsequent paragraph is omitted.]

476 When watching a collective task among the Indians, such as the 461 apatxirú of the Tapirapé, one has the impression that the joy with which it is done increases their strength.

As I watched the men, most of them endowed with the physique [147] of our adolescents, conquering piece after piece of the huge forest around them, I observed none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness and tediousness which characterize so much of the collective work among us. Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side.

Those who needed rest sat on the felled trunks. They sat very close together as they have the habit of doing. They talked, and some of [226] them smoked a pipe. Suddenly there would be a lot of shouting, they 476 would all scatter with a show of joy as the moan of live timber was heard, [107] and a green giant would lean slowly and crash with a

291 folding the strip in half, the men fold a small part of it obliquely, and then fold the strip once more so that the triangle is placed exactly over it. The strip is not folded stiffly, since owing to its natural toughness it has a tendency to unfold. As a result of this tendency, the tip folded in this fashion remains securely held in the knot along with the other tip.

As a rule, a man will prepare a new sheath as he gets up in the morning. The prepuce is pushed through the funnel in such a way that it projects beyond the smaller opening and is tied all around like the end of a sausage, remaining erect. Thus, the funnel is worn upside-down, that is to say, with the smaller opening on top and the larger rim facing toward the front (cf. Photos. 5, 63, and 68).

As may be seen in these photographs, the yellow color of the inner-bark strip stands out clearly against the skin. In view of [832] this, a desire to attract the attention of the opposite sex may be involved in the use of the sheath. At the same time, it is also [834] possible that the men assign to the sheath the same purpose that, [171] according to Krause (2, 204), the Karajá assign to their penis cord, that is to say, that of concealing the glans from the eyes of women. There is no doubt, however, that both sheath and cord serve as 751 protection against crustaceans and insects, such as ticks, for example. We have known cases where these parasites fastened their proboscis [105:85] right at the opening of the urethra. The [825] Tapirapé make no distinctions among these various kinds of little creatures and call them all tantevoga. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Small boys do not protect their member. Just as the Karajá 291 adolescents do not use the penis cord until their hair is cut for the [881] initiation, Tapirapé youths first use the sheath at the time of the [171] haircut.

The importance of the penis sheath to the Tapirapé is perhaps [524] made evident by the fact that even the dolls made for fun were supplied with such sheaths (Photo. 77). [Ed., the last half of p. 85, p. 86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted.]

[105:87] The waist cord is called anchekuakmán or [283] chikoangkohâua in Tapirapé. It is made of cotton threads twisted [462] by the women on their thighs, but it is used solely by the men. The latter wear it so that it lies a good distance below the navel

It should be pointed out further

304 that tattooing as a badge of the marriageable girl is found in
171 South America not only in such widely separated regions as Guiana
882 and Paraguay, but also among tribes belonging to such distinct linguistic families as the Karaib [Carib] and the Tupí. [Ed., end of Vol. 107.]

[108:121] Body painting is widely used among the Tapirapé.
302 In this respect, however, there are differences dictated by sex, age,
386 and the particular individual involved. The colors used are: black, obtained from the juice of the genipap (chenipáua in Tapirapé), the fruit of a tree of the Rubiaceae family (Genipa americana, Lin.); and red extracted from the pulp of urucú, the fruit of a shrub of the Bixaceae family (Bixa orellana, Lin.).
[192] The Tapirapé, too, call it urukú, lending the vowel a sound that lies between u and a closed o. The manufacture of the paste derived from this fruit is not as simple as the obtention of genipap juice and will be described in Chapter 10 [Tr., apparently not published].

The genipap is simply chewed, as Staden (v. 3) related of the
[171] Tupinambá, and the juice is left in a gourd. Among the Tapirapé,
[462] both men and women do this work, allowing the juice to run directly from their mouths into the container. The liquid is clear, like water, and turns black upon drying. The juice can only be used as a dye when the fruit is almost ripe, at the time when it stops growing, for the staining quality vanishes when the rind turns brownish and the pulp grows soft. This dye, according to Staden
302 (ibid.) and [108:122] Soares de Sousa (215), lasts for nine days on the skin and cannot be washed off before then. I must say, however, that on my skin it did not endure more than two or three days.

Among the women, body painting with genipap was so widespread that the absence of this painting gave me almost the same feeling as I get when I see a "civilized" lady in a negligee at the wrong hour. The design uniformly used by all members of the female sex, with the exception of children and old women, is completely different from the [Fig. 2 appears here] various types of body painting displayed by the men. It is called ioképaí, while
[192] kuantiana is the generic term for all designs, including those on plaited objects, gourds, etc. Straight lines stretch down obliquely from between the breasts to the belly and thighs. The latter are

302 are a characteristic decoration of the men (Photo. 68). I never saw a Tapirapé woman painted with urucú. [Fig. 6 appears here.] Only a few girls sometimes wore urucú designs on their bodies, for example, Kanuana, a pampered eight-year-old girl (Photo. 9). [531] [881] The girls' cotton ornaments are also dyed with this staining material, which also serves, incidentally, to plaster a girl's hair on the day when her first menstruation ends.

[462] As a rule, the women paint not only other members of the female sex, but also their sons, lovers, and husbands. I once saw a man painting a little girl, however.

Fig. 5. Kananchahó male body painting.

Genipap paintings, as well as those done with urucú, are applied simply with the hands, that is to say, without any implement (Photo. 7 and 8).

There are authors who regard the application of urucú on the 114 skin as a protection against the rays of the sun and against insect 302 bites. Experiments proved that one of the properties of urucú is its 751 failure to absorb solar heat in any but very modest amounts. The feet and lower part of the legs, that is to say, the places where

171
301

however, differ from those of the Tapirapé in lacking a "plug." I know of no such "plugs" on the stone lip cylinders of the ancient Tupinambá. Those found on the São Paulo coast and in the vicinity of Bahia, reproduced by H. von Ihering (apud Wegner 3, 34, Fig. 5), do not have any. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 79, p. 80, and the first two paragraphs on p. 81 are omitted.]

[109:81] To summarize, it may be said that among the Tapirapé, just as among the Tupinambá, Karajá, and Kayapó, the tembetá is an exclusively male ornament that varies in its shape and material according to the age of the wearer. The Tapirapé differ from the Tupinambá in that adults do not have the coin-shaped stone tembetá mentioned by Léry. As far as material, shape, and size are concerned, the differences between the Tapirapé, Karajá, and Kayapó tembetá are, on the whole, greater than the resemblances. The Central Tupi differ from the Tapirapé in not having any lip ornaments.

The arm and leg ornaments made of cotton dyed with urucú are a striking link between the Tapirapé and Karajá cultures. They are everyday ornaments worn by both sexes. Among the Karajá, according to [109:82] Krause (2, 226), they are "the distinctive badge of unmarried men, therefore used from earliest childhood until marriage, and in widowhood." The same author (ibid.) adds, however, that these bands may also be used by married men "if their wives are pleased with them."

Among the Tapirapé, I saw married men wearing the cotton ornaments called tamankurá in their language. This name covers three different kinds, namely, the bracelet, the garter, and the ankle band. They are all made by the women with the crochet needle (chuínia, chu meaning "thorn"), which was originally made of bone and today, as a result of White imports, may also be of metal. Among the Karajá, this is also woman's work (cf. ibid.).

[462]
[412]
[499]

The bracelets (dexí in Karajá) are cylinders with reinforced, outcurving edges. Each of the two bracelets that had been worn by a Tapirapé man and are reproduced in Photograph 14b is 14 centimeters long, 19 centimeters in circumference at the upper end, and 17 at the lower end, while the upper edge is four centimeters wide and the lower one two and a half centimeters wide. The initial phase of their manufacture is shown in Photograph 11.

572 not far from the door, and every quarter of an hour a pair of dancers, singing in loud voices and hammering the ground with their feet, pass before the opening. The other occupants of the house also have trouble getting an uninterrupted night's sleep. After midnight it turns increasingly cold. Then the Indian takes a piece of burning wood from the fire beside his net, breaks it into embers by striking it against the ground, and lays the pieces directly under his hammock. A small boy is asleep, curled up on a net that is already too small for him. He has no mother to make him a new one. His long rhea-bone tembetá hangs down into thin air. Suddenly the boy moans; the mosquitoes and the cold have awakened him. He gets up, heavy with sleep, squats by the nearly burned-out embers of his small fire, and blows until the flame revives. Then he sits in his hammock once more, rubs the soles of his feet together to remove the light grey dust of the floor, and swings while sighing once in a while, "Aky, tanchió (Ai, mosquito!)." When daylight breaks dimly into the house, everyone awakens. The women get up first, blow on the fire, [462] place the pots upon it, fetch cotton and spindle, sit beside their [283] still prone spouses, and spin for a while. Then they set the spindle aside to fetch a few bananas for their husbands and themselves, stir the pots while the men get up, and thus, gradually, all the occupants of the house start moving.

[110:200] When they are in the village and there are no festivities underway, both sexes usually spend not only most of the night, but most of the day at home. For a while before and after sundown, however, they sit in the space fronting their house, which is called takupé, or in the plaza in front of the takana. At the [945] time of my visit, the men's house served as permanent dwelling only for the few initiates and for one or two bachelors. Other men would go in only to "have a chat" or to dance a little, and never stayed there for hours on end as do Boróro married men in their men's house. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 110, pp. 200-202, and the first page, p. 105, of the section in Vol. 111, as well as the first paragraph on p. 106, are omitted. Vol. 110, pp. 200-202, and Vol. 111, p. 105, contain data on Tupinambá houses.]

[111:106] These data show a certain similarity between 711 Tupinambá villages and Tainpitiana in the arrangement of the 361

171 These Indians, like the Karajá (ibid.) and Kayapó (ibid., 393)
411 decorate the shaft section between the two cotton bindings with
531 one or more rings of red resin (totayga, chotahypryoga). In the Tupi tribe, the width of these rings varies from one to eight centimeters. The raw material is cooked in a pot with water by the [462] woman, since, according to the Tapirapé behavior pattern, all [252] cooking in pots is female work, while roasting falls to the men. The cotton thread is also made by the woman. Otherwise, the arrow, like other weapons and their component parts, is made by [422] the man, and usually the owner of the weapon was also its maker.

Thevet (I, 291) writes as follows of a tree called "Vhebehasou"
171 which is extremely tall, with leaves similar to those of a cabbage
314 and fruits over a foot long which never ripen because they are soon eaten up by wild bees: "In addition, it bears a red gum, suitable to many different ends, which they handle skillfully" [translated from French]. Could it be that the Indians visited by Thevet, that is to say, the Tupinambá of the sixteenth century, used the above-mentioned "red gum" for the same end as the Tapirapé use totayga?

227 The barbed arrow is better suited to the pursuit of large fish
411 than any other, since the barb, by fastening the weapon to the animal's body, not only prevents it from escaping and weakens and kills it, as also happens with mammals, but also facilitates the removal of the fish from the water. The conditions are different, however, when small fish are shot in shallow waters where the arrowpoint easily penetrates into the sand. In such cases the Tapirapé use a small bow (vuirampampf) and special arrows, 60 to 70 centimeters long, with simple rounded wooden points, ten to 20 centimeters long, which are inserted directly into the cane shaft. In harmony with the overall size of these arrows, parrot [237] feathers are used at the tip instead of the plumage of macaws and other large birds used on barbed arrows. In other respects, however, these two types of arrows are identical from the tip of the cane shaft, which is bound with a strip of philodendron bark, to the other tip where the bow cord rests upon the notch, and all the details of the feathered section are exactly the same. As far as the point is concerned, however, it is worth noting that sometimes the small arrows have up to three of those simple, rounded, wooden points instead of just one (see Photo. 30). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

241 incidentally, although separated from one another by strips of forest, are not provided with fences or scarecrows.

Gabriel Soares de Sousa (377) wrote of the sixteenth century
171 Tupi in Bahia: "When the Tupinambá go to their gardens, they
512 work only from seven in the morning until midday." Except for the apachirá, which involves afternoon work, this also applies to the Tapirapé. The couples leave the village early in the morning and return at the hottest hours. The Portuguese chronicler goes on to say (ibid.): "The males customarily clear the forest growth,
171 burn it, and dress the ground, while the females plant the food-
462 stuffs and weed them." Among the Tapirapé, not only do the men have the same duties as the ancient Tupinambá, but aside from this they also do the planting and weeding and carry the large baskets in which the farm produce is taken home. The women participate only in the planting of maize, peanuts, and cotton, that is to say, both sexes sow these plants and harvest them.

Krause wrote of the Karajá (2, 243): "They say that the planting of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, and urucú falls to the women." The division of labor among those Indians is exactly the same as among the Tapirapé, as far as the dressing of the ground, the planting of manioc and café, and the conveyance of the large baskets are concerned, for all those tasks devolve to the male sex in both tribes (cf. Krause ibid. and Plate 15).

Among the majority of other South American Indians, it is the woman who carries heavy burdens from the plot, as, for example, among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen 2, 214; Max Schmidt 2, 429) and among those of the Guianas and Venezuela (Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 50 and Plate 53). Von den Steinen's generalization (loc. cit.) is incorrect, however, when he states of the Indians in that Xingu region: "As in all of Brazil [113: 197], not only does the home preparation of manioc fall to the women, but so does its planting." I have already mentioned that this planting is male work among the Tapirapé and Karajá, and, according to Koch-Grünberg (loc. cit.), the same applies to the Taulipáng and their neighbors.

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé also cultivate various plants in large quantities. These will be listed in the following chapter.

When I was in Tampitaua, there were no domestic animals
231 aside from dogs and chickens. There were no vestiges of a pair of

262 the mangaba [Tr., fruit of the mangabeira] is "the best wild fruit"
824 in the Parecí Range and in many other localities of Mato Grosso and the northeastern part of Brazil.

The palm tree called pinana by the Tapirapé and macaba by my north-Brazilian camarada, with a nut, slightly larger than a cherry, that ripens in October or November. This nut is boiled
[252] until the flesh is softened and then rubbed on a strainer lying in a pot, so that the flesh is worked loose from the pit and falls into the pot where it is boiled in water. The end result is reminiscent of walnuts in flavor and is refreshing.

[114:195] The small nut of another tree, the tucuma palm or tucum-açu (Astrocaryum spec., chavana in Tapirapé) is prized for its oil content and is gathered in October.

The Tapirapé like to eat a kind of mushroom they call yvĩpé.

These Indians cultivate several other plants aside from those
243 mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Maize (Zea mays L.,
252 avandxí in Tapirapé) is harvested while still green, hung inside
262 the house to yellow, and then crushed and used to make porridge
824 or cauí. Its Tapirapé name corresponds to abati in Staden (c 2), anati in Léry (120), ubatim in Soares de Sousa (199), anatî in Stradelli (384), and abatí in Montoya (2, I, 357 and II, 10). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The seeds of peanuts (Arachis spec., monovĩ in Tapirapé) are
244 pounded and then added to certain manioc, or else roasted, pounded,
252 and eaten in this way, or roasted and eaten without being subjected
262 to the pestle, or chewed and spit into the pot to ferment and turn
824 into cauí. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195, p. 196, and the first paragraph on p. 197 are omitted.]

[114:197] In the previous chapter, we mentioned that the
262 Tapirapé women participate in sowing and harvesting only peanuts,
824 maize, and cotton. The observation by the sixteenth century
[462] Portuguese author [Gabriel Soares de Sousa] that peanuts are "very
[241] hot when eaten excessively," and harmful in certain cases, seems to agree with the idea expressed by the Tapirapé custom that re-
[751] quires father and mother to abstain from this food during their child's first two years so as not to endanger his life.

The peanuts I saw in large quantities among the Tapirapé seem
197 to be a variety of Arachis nambyquarae. This species was found
17 by Kuhlmann in 1919 among the Nambikuara [Nambicuara] of
247

171 252 writes: "The natives eat these cotton seeds crushed and then boiled into a mush which they call mingau."

At the time of my stays among the Tapirapé, the monovĩ-
272 kauĩ was the kind most frequently used and the one I myself took most often. I confess that I liked this drink so much and developed such nostalgia for it that in 1947, when I again met the people whose hammocks had hung beside mine 12 years earlier, the first wish I expressed was this, "Monovĩ-kauĩ." It is worth noting
114 that Gabriel Soares de Sousa (203), in describing the use of the
191 peanut among the Tupinambá, does not mention it in connection
272 with the preparation of a liquid. The same applies to squash, incidentally, of which, according to the sixteenth century Portuguese author (ibid., 201), "there are ten or 12 varieties" called gerumãs by the Tupinambá of Bahia. The Tapirapé drink made
272 with crumbled squash is called kuruã-kauĩ. Kuruã may not be
[137] one of the "varieties" of "gerumãs" known in Bahia, but like them, in any case, it belongs to the edible Cucurbitaceae.

The vegetable substances used in preparing the various kinds
•[462] of Tapirapé kauĩ are crumbled or mashed by the women in three different ways, namely, between the hands, in the mortar, and between the teeth. Squash and bananas go between the hands; maize and manioc, the latter previously soaked in water and then sun-dried, go into the mortar; while maize, manioc, peanuts, and cotton seeds are chewed. In the Tapirapé language, amatykã
[192] means "I chew," and andjahãk, "I pound." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 257, p. 258, and the first paragraph on p. 259 are omitted.]

[115:259] The custom of turning a food into mush by chewing
252 it is used by the Tapirapé not only to make cauĩ, but for the two
[757] following purposes: they chew peanuts to make a paste with which they anoint their bodies when they have been made ill by spoiled
[893] manioc, and they chew certain foods and give the mush to nursing children. These children are also given true cauĩ. It is to be supposed that observing the already considerable saccharification that takes place in chewing led the Indians to apply this procedure to the preparation of their favorite food. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 259 and p. 260, which concludes the section in Vol. 115, are omitted.]

272 [116:55] Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have three stages in the preparation of their masticated-fermented drink: (1) they

252 In the Tapirapé barbecues, the height at which the grille is fastened varies with its different functions. It is placed low to
[251] roast meat or fish, and higher to dry it.

171 The pot is held by three stones laid around the fire, as I also
252 noted among the Karajá and as Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 48) ob-
[359] served among the Taulipáng of the Rio Branco basin. What Karl von den Steinen (2, 218) said of the Xingu Indians, that is: "The men roasted [meat], but never boiled it," may be said also of the Tapirapé and of numerous other South American tribes (cf. Baldus 7, 142 and Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 91, 335, 351). Speaking of the Karajá, Krause (2, 253) amends this rule with the fact that "the men also know how to boil [meat]," as they show on trips whenever necessary. This cannot be said of the Tapirapé. They do
[481] not carry pots on their journeys since they go on foot, while those Indians travel by canoe and therefore can take along with them heavy and breakable cooking utensils. Aside from this, the
252 division of labor is so strict among the sexes that the Tapirapé man,
•462 if for some reason he does not have a wife, misses her simply from the fact that he cannot eat stew unless he is willing to take it from other families. On the other hand, the roasting of large animals is usually done by the men. It is only when game is killed close to the village that in some cases the women barbecue it. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

124 With the aim of setting up a Tapirapé zoological vocabulary, and also of finding out which animals were eaten by the inhabitants of Tampitíua or by certain groups among them, I repeatedly showed to numerous persons of different ages and sex the figures in Rodolpho von Ihering's book entitled Da vida dos nossos animais. Fauna do Brasil [The Habits of Our Animals. Brazilian Fauna] (Rotermund & Co., São Leopoldo, 1934). This gave them much pleasure, and I recommend this method to Indianists as a way of establishing rapport. It also makes rather strict controls possible, since each animal is identified by several if not by numerous experts, and its name is pronounced several times by many individuals. Of course, a single look is not always sufficient for the Indian to recognize the animal represented. It is often necessary to [117:93] add comments about its size, color, motions, cry, and habits. Concerning certain insects, for example, the size of the

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



ALL GROUP

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status are, today, called "capitaoes" (The Tapirape use the Portuguese word. There is no equivalent in their language.) These "capitaoes" are village elders (who were village "favorite children" in their youth, and therefore people of prestige), leaders of the warriors, age grades, and able shamans. Formerly, there were only two village elders, two warrior leaders, and, ideally, two favorite children in a village. Today, with congregation of people from all villages in one, several "noble" families are present and there is an oversupply of "capitaoes."

178 582 161

Marriage arrangements, too, have been affected by depopulation. At present, there are some ten men of marriageable age, for whom there are no possible wives, and immediate families are so broken up that there are no possible groups of women to care for these unattached men. A man must have a wife to cook for him and perform women's tasks. To do any woman's work would play complete havoc with a man's personal prestige, which is a matter of greatest importance. Most of these Tapirape men have solved their problem by contracting convenient "social" marriages with extremely young girls. They attach themselves to a household, in which they perform a man's customary economic duties, and, in turn, their mothers-in-law do women's work for them.

[462] [554]

178 161

Lack of time prevents mention of many other aspects of native life pertaining to marriage, kinship, and leadership, which have been profoundly affected by depopulation. Possibly, in other cultures, the effects of introduced disease have not been quite so disastrous, nor the loss of people so important to the social life, as in the case of the Tapirape. Without a doubt, however, wherever there have been sporadic contacts with Europeans, these or other alien factors have been introduced and have caused important changes in the structure of native life.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

## INTRODUCTION

The Tapirapé Indians are a Tupi-speaking tribe living in Central Brazil west of the Araguaya River. Their villages formerly extended some two hundred miles to the north of the Tapirapé River, an affluent of the Araguaya; but today their one remaining village lies west of the Araguaya, about forty miles north of the Tapirapé and 160 miles from the point of union of the two rivers. This settlement contains a total population that does not exceed 150 people, the residue of five villages that probably existed as late as the turn of the century and that are said to have had a population of about two hundred people each. A progressive population decline has followed the acquiring of diseases from contact with the neighboring Carajá Indians of the Araguaya River and from European visitors. Such contacts, however, have left their aboriginal culture little changed.

The Tapirapé are properly a forest people, maintaining an agricultural life on clearings hewed from the great tropical forest. Their cultivated fields are large producing manioc (both *Manihot manihot* and the sweet species *Manihot palmata aggi*), maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, yams, kará (*Dioscorea* sp.), cotton, and bananas.

The dry months of June through September of each year are devoted to clearing the garden sites. This work is done by men, frequently working individually, sometimes in communal labor formed by the men's society groups (1). When the clearing is done collectively, the large field is divided into individual plots which become individual property;

(1) There is an excellent description of this communal activity, called *ajuri* by the Tapirapé in Herbert Baldus, 1937. "Os grupos de trabalho e os grupos de trabalho dos Tapirapé", *in Revista do Etnologia Brasileira*, pp. 98-111, São Paulo.

[p. 61]
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4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



291 and planting, which begins after the first light rains of October, is done
462 individually and principally by the men. Cotton and peanuts, however,
[423] are women's crops. The women plant these in their husband's garden plots and harvest them themselves. While a new garden plot is cleared each year, a particular garden plot is generally used for two years and then abandoned. A man plants such crop as maize, beans, and peppers on the plot the first year and as they are harvested, he replants the plot with manioc. Maize is harvested from the end of December through February, the season of heaviest rains; while other crops are harvested at the end of the rains in May and June.

[291] Large gardens with many different crops guarantee to the Tapi-
263 rapé a variety and abundance of garden stuff, but meat and fish are
22 definitely luxuries. People in the village could not remember a time when there had been real hunger among them, but they were frequently hungry for meat and fish. This lack in the diet is supplied by frequent trips to the near-by Tapirapé River and the grass plains that border it where fish and game, principally wild pork (*Tagassu pecari*), deer, peccary (*Tagassu tajacu*), water fowl, and tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*) are found in abundance. During the dry season these plains abound in piqui (*Caryocar villosum*), palm nuts especially andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), used for body oil — and other wild fruits.

556 Among the Tapirapé wealth is not reckoned in terms of basic sub-
435 sistance, for these goods are so easy to obtain as to be considered with little regard. The possessions that lend real distinction of wealth are such luxury articles as the breast and tail feathers of the red parrot (*Ara chloroptera ?*), beads, and pieces of hardware acquired through contact with white men or trading with other Indians. These goods are accordingly the most valued media of exchange in the community. Other goods used for a medium of exchange were urucú (*Bixa orellana*), tobacco, extra hammocks, decorated gourds, string for binding feathers to arrows, and cane arrow shafts.

361 The houses of a Tapirapé village form a circle around a great central ceremonial men's house. There are nine of these large thatch dwellings with rounded roofs in the modern Tapirapé village; four to eight simple families (father, mother, and children) share a house. Each simple family
591 has a section of the unpartitioned house where they lead a domestic life
592 separate from the others. Residence is matrilocal and the women of such a household are ideally related by kinship; yet each large household has

[92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets. These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kanukoí, owing to their small numbers, had joined the Awaiki" to form a single group. All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group. There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of karí [Tr., a kind of yam], peanut hauí, etc. Before that, there was a great distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted together, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they pleased. Kamairahó, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother. We called each other "Tkankanípéra," and Ampinfoya, his little adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Anií Tkankanípéra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other groups also called me "Tkankanípéra," and I called them by the name of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

[93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken hauiní and vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness, the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season with its "good shadows," summer.

They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tatiapéra of an eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Awaiki had killed with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group. In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts,

only by their respective owner. I do not know, however, whether the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the preparation of the principal chief's garden.)

The ãntaiva of the Anantxã were the chief Tampanxõa and Vuiraf, and those of the Vuirantxiniõ were the chief Kamairã and the sorcerer--medicine man Maninohõ.

In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were called Vuananhõra, Vuirantxõha, and Vuirantxinof. The last one is now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tãnãvé or Anantxã belong to the first one, and the sons of the Vuirantxiniõ to the second one. The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were Vuirantxiniõ. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work-group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution, for "the women and girls stay home when the men do collective work."

[98] They say that each apatxirã group has its specific ornament for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I was not with the Tapirapé. The Tãnãvé wear three large red macaw feathers hanging from the head onto the back. The Anantxã also wear three large macaw feathers in the same fashion, but two are from the blue and yellow macaw and only the middle one is red; in addition, they wear on their arms the white breast fluff of the king vulture. The Vuirantxiniõ are not differentiated from the Tãnãvé. The Vuananhõra wear smaller red feathers from the tail of the macaw, hanging from the head onto the back. The Vuirantxõha are similarly adorned and also wear macaw fluff on their arms.

Concerning the word apatxirã, Curt Nimuendajú wrote me as follows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word apatxirã is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is omitted.]

[98] On July 30, Kamairahõ invited me to go with him to the apatxirã. On the previous day, Chief Tampanxõa had already begun the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working

476 thundering noise, dragging along in its fall its weaker companions.

Every once in a while, a voice was heard behind the trees. One [222] could not see who it was, but the call sounded very close. Immediately, the boys rushed to the spot where the voice came from. Soon they returned with their arm full of bananas. They ran jubilantly toward us and distributed them.

These bananas reached a length of 30 centimeters and a middle [187] circumference of 15 to 20 centimeters. The men brought them in [482] hampers close to the working area, but never came out of the woods into the garden with their load.

The skin of the bananas was black, and their flesh was already 252 brownish and too soft. This is the condition in which the Tapirapé 262 like them best. The fruits are gathered when green and buried at the [222] spot where they grew. The Karajá do the same thing. In the sun- [171] heated ground, the bananas reach the desired state of rottenness more quickly than if they were kept at home. Then, too, they are warm when taken out of the ground, and this endears them further to the Indians.

They are not peeled in order to be eaten. The tough skin is 264 opened a little at one of the tips, the tip is placed between the lips, and the skin slowly emptied by squeezing it with the fingers so that the pulp gradually enters the mouth. Kamairahó ate one banana after another. As for myself, I found them nauseating.

264 [108] The sun was already quite low when we left. We forged 476 ahead at a rapid pace, one behind the other on the narrow trail. We 482 were not far from the village when the path opened onto a small, 574 cleared, triangular space. The women sat in the corners of this space and watched us in silence. The women and girls had split into three groups which tallied with the work groups of their husbands and fathers. They had placed pots of food in the area in the same arrangement. [262] There were bananas kanã, peanut kanã, cottonseed kanã, toasted kanã, and many other good things. Each group ate only from the pots placed for it at a specific spot. There were smaller quantities for the Tãnãvé, because they were fewer. I was invited from all sides, and since I [123] was very hungry I did not spare the other two groups. Only when I was beginning to be satiated did I put down, with a great show of surprise, the pot of banana soup of the Anamxã from which I had just partaken, and declared that I was a Tãnãvé. This fact, however, did not seem to be of great importance to my hosts.

264 The pots were soon emptied. Then the women and girls came,
462 picked them up, and took them home. The men followed, The
476 Anantxí walked first, with the Vuirantxiniõ behind them and the
Tãnãvé last. They kept this order, and sent me back to the rear when
[123] I stepped--not unintentionally--in the midst of the Vuirantxiniõ.

[109] As soon as the village was in sight, things began to move.
535 The men ran straight to the takína and paired up for the dance. The
women and girls showed no interest in this and for the most part had
already gone to their huts.

The dancing pairs stood in a dense cluster in front of the entrance. In each pair, as was customary, one of the men held his arm across the other's shoulders, while his companion held his arm across the other's hips. Both held a club, bush knife, or bow in the other hand. In the midst of the group stood the leading pair, Tampantxõa and Vuirai, the ãntaĩva of the Anantxí. The Anantxí had now mixed with the Vuirantxiniõ. Of the Tãnãvé, only Kamairahõ, Urukumĩ', and I had come. We stayed nearby as onlookers.

First, the men danced for a while on the same spot. As usual, they pawed the ground, all at the same time and always with the same foot, alternating from right to left, keeping their knees slightly bent and the middle part of the body slightly bent forward. Then the leading pair gradually moved away from the spot. They danced with small steps out of the takína. The others followed in the same fashion. They all moved, one pair after the other, slowly, toward the house of Vũãtanamĩ', singing with sounds and shouts rather than words.

When they reached the house of the second leader, the procession broke up. They did not scatter, however, but remained close to-
526 gether. [110] The race began. It is called ãhũĩ, which means "I
883 run." The adolescents, who were in their initiation year and hence had their faces and bodies completely blackened with genipap, ran two at a time in a straight line across the dance plaza to the back of Kamairahõ's house. Actually, there was no spot to be reached first by the winner, and there was no applause from the spectators. It might almost be said that there was no winner. As a rule, indeed, the
[124] desire to be singled out or to single out someone is not manifested by these Indians and is probably even regarded by them as a danger to the harmony of the community. These races seemed to be merely runs to be made as fast as possible across the plaza to convince the boys themselves of their own ability. As soon as the two runners reached

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462
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Plate 31.

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Tapirapé Woman
Pounding Urucú.

Plate 32.

Tapirapé Masked Dancer.

101 [16] The Tapirapé Indians live in central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a left tributary of the Araguaia located in the extreme south of the state of Pará. They speak a dialect of Tupi-Guarani, the most widespread aboriginal tongue in Brazil. In spite of a great decline in their population, they still possess a rich cultural tradition which is peculiar to them and which distinguishes them [173] from other tribes. Their customs and traditions are transmitted orally with great care from generation to generation. One of the most 861 interesting among them is the ceremony in which the youth assumes the status of a grown man. This change in status is marked by nearly all peoples. Among us, when a young man reaches the age of 21, he can vote, marry, sign documents, etc.; among many primitive groups, the youth proves that he has become an adult by undergoing torture or achieving success in the hunt.

Among the Tapirapé, this tradition is observed with a festival [302] of song and dance called "hair-tying," for henceforth the young man will wear his hair tied at the back of the neck in adult fashion. For 858 several years before the ceremony, the boy keeps his body painted [302] black with genipap, wears his hair cropped close to the head--"like a monkey," in the words of the Tapirapé-- is subjected to food restrictions, [304] and has his arms and legs scarified until they bleed so he [856] will "grow strong." When he reaches 14 or 15 years of age, his family decides that the time has come for him to become an adult.

88 At the close of the rainy season, the time of harvesting and [221] thus of plenty for the tribe, the "hair-tying" ceremony is carried out. For months beforehand, the youth allows his hair to grow until it comes [302] down to his shoulders. Meanwhile, mother and aunts weave threads [462] (cords) to adorn him, while father and uncles collect feathers with [283] which they make elaborate ornaments. All Tapirapé youths become [237] adults through this rite; the sons of important men, however, and [554] those who were "favorite sons" (the Tapirapé elect certain children to preferential treatment) are much more richly attired than the others. The ceremony is costly to the family, and much time is needed beforehand to gather the necessary materials--macaw tail feathers, short [237] feathers of the blue macaw and parrot, breast fluff of wild ducks, [556] cotton threads for the ornaments, and beads. All these items are [455] valuable to the Tapirapé, who gauge their own wealth in these terms.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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## CULTURE

### SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

137 The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth
133 and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive
132 rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

**Farming.**—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their
291 villages, travelling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their
[194] large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, carú (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

[221] Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for
291 their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also
616 it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work
78 festival (apaliri). When communally prepared, the large clearings are afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, gener-
[123] ally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apaliri, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaó) at the end
291 of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as
[142] the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, carú, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout
[422] the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted
[56] with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clearings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

52 Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is
252 the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupí* groups, however, the

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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592 from many villages in the one village, many combinations of relatives now form residential groups.

### DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Both sexes are nude. Men tie the prepuce over the glans penis with a
902 palm fiber. Both men and women pull out pubic, axillary, and all facial hair. Even eyebrows are considered ugly. Men wear cotton string ligatures around their legs, just below the knee. Men, and sometimes women,
301 wear large cotton wrist bands crocheted directly on to their arms. Young boys and girls sometimes wear similar ornaments on their ankles; these ornaments are painted with a thick coat of red urucú dye and have round cuffs, often 2 to 3 inches (5 to 7.5 cm.) wide. Necklaces of beads given by Neo-Brazilians are highly valued and used almost to excess. Men
[302] paint their feet and the calves of their legs red with urucú; both men and women trace a multitude of patterns on their body with black genipa dye.

304 Men have their lower lip pierced and wear a small wooden lip plug. Two years or so after women have begun sexual life, patterns in the form of a three-quarter moon are made on their faces by scarification with a paca
[306] (*Cuniculus paca*) tooth knife. Charcoal and plant juices are rubbed into the wounds to leave dark blue designs.

### TRANSPORTATION

[501] The *Tapirapé* do not have canoes. All cargoes are carried by the men
492 in a carrying knapsack made from buriti-palm fibers strapped to their backs.

### MANUFACTURES

286 Weaving.—Hammocks are made by women from native cotton spun on
482 wooden spindles. The technique used is the simple twine weaving used by the *Tupinamba* and other *Tupi* groups.

223 Ceramics.—At present, the art of ceramics is declining. Pottery is
482 usually for cooking, and is made by women. Sometimes it bears incised
531 geometrical decorations.

531 Gourds.—Gourds are decorated with geometric incisions.

Basketry.—The most highly developed basketry techniques among the
285 *Tapirapé* are woven and twilled. Two types of baskets are flexible and nonflexible cases; both are of buriti fiber. They generally have a quadrangular base and a narrow, round top, and are used mostly to store manioc or maize flour. Flat, round baskets are used as cotton containers
[533] or flour sifters. They are usually ornamented with motifs originating in the weave itself; frequently the finished basket is smeared with black genipa and odd strands are scraped off, giving a negative decorative effect.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the personal names—such as Opruntui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Mariapawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let alone pronounce.

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the widespread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poisonous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm-thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on their bodies with *urucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversations that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

351 lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the vil-
lage square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstruc-
[972] tions. The trunks served as seats and, bit by bit, as firewood.
They lay in such numbers over the vast area stretching between
the houses and the edge of the forest, and were so entangled and
[114] entwined by their branches, that the imaginative Madame de
[712] la Falaise (196), who visited Tampiitaua on August 23, 1935, that
is to say, shortly after my departure, went so far as to write the
following: "We proceeded toward the village, where the tribe,
for fear of armed aggression, has fortified the surroundings. The
felled, tangled trees, the traps and ingenious obstacles, are dis-
couraging. The boldest aggressor would break his neck long be-
fore he got the better of them" [translated from French].

361 In this respect, however, I must confess that the only serious
712 obstacles I encountered daily on crossing the area in question were
114 the products of the tribal digestive processes, for the supposed
[514] fortification held no role other than that of a huge toilet. [110:
191] I do not wish to determine whether such obstacles may be
termed "ingenious," but I wish to emphasize that they did not
discourage me. The truth is that the Tapirapé do not fortify their
[711] village in any way, and differ in this respect from the Tupinambá,
who surrounded their villages (Jean Parmentier apud J.P. de
Almeida Prado, 180; Hans Staden, p. 3; Gabriel Soares de Sousa,
366). The "traps and ingenious obstacles" mentioned above exist
only in the imagination of the author. Even the act of placing
[721] sentries, a precaution referred to in Chapter 5, is strikingly incon-
sistent with the natural bent of the Tapirapé.

Toward the east a stream meandered, a few paces from the
361 village. Its clear, fresh waters ran free of the thick forest for only
[512] a short stretch, which was used at the same time as bathroom and
[515] drinking fountain, and as a spot for fishing and for washing the
[722] sleeping hammocks. A well-beaten path led from it to the vil-
[787] lage plaza, skirting a plot of sugar cane to the left. According to
211 what Reverend Kegel told me, this plot resulted from collective
● 776 labor performed for Kamaiabó. The latter had ruled on the site
of the plot and concurrently on that of the village, which had been
built later beside the communally prepared garden. It was, so to
speak, a luxury plot, for it contained nothing but the sweet gram

that the Indians suck. It was, incidentally, the only cultivated plot within the clearing where Tampitawa stood.

The center of Tampitawa was the takana, the large men's house. Eight communal huts were grouped around it, with their entrances set in such a way that it was impossible to look from the inside of one hut into that of another (cf. Fig. 8, in which the chief entrances are represented with black rectangles and the secondary ones with blank rectangles). The village plaza stretched between the front of the takana and the semicircle formed by the houses on the east side of the settlement, and it was the setting for dances, singing, games, races, speeches, and banquets.

The "village of the tapir," however, had not always stood in the clearing where I found it, nor did it remain there after my departure (cf. Ch. 8). At certain times, the Tapirapé move far away. At regular intervals varying from two to five years, however, they move the village to a spot only one or a few leagues away. When they abandoned the village located on the banks of the lower Tapirapé, the distance they covered was considerable, that is to say, probably a few dozen kilometers. Long distances were also covered at various times when villages split up or joined together, as a result, in the former case, of internal dissensions, and in the latter case of dwindling population [Fig. 8 appears here] [110:193] or lack of shamans. The chief causes for the smaller, habitual moves are the plagues of cockroaches and the number of graves within the hut. The unchecked proliferation of Blattella germanica L. compels the Indians to abandon and burn down all their houses every few years. The recurrence of this event is ensured by the carelessness of the Indians, for after the village has been destroyed the household goods carried to the new site are never sufficiently free from cockroaches to prevent them from soon swarming all over the dwellings. When epidemics cause the floors of the hut to fill rapidly with graves, this manner of burial may entail the erection of a new village within an even shorter period of time.

Not only does the settlement change as to site, however, but it also changes in size. I have already mentioned in Chapter 5 the data furnished by Reverend Kegel, according to which Tampitawa consisted of about 14 houses in August, 1932. The

[Text continues on p. 79]

interested would remain where it is. Also, I have already mentioned the enthusiastic battling of the chickens against roaches, which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (159-160), incidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Araners by the savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked and poorly wrapped at night, these Araners gnawed them to the bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning" [translated from French].

The word written araners in the French spelling of the sixteenth century author tallies perfectly with the anavé, anaué, and araué with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient coastal Tupi in not fortifying their village with fences and in possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most typically Tupi are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial, and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Kaingáng in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupi name they give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings, in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:118] of houses around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

171 the new layer of charcoal, and repeat this until the tree is felled."
241 [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[113:194] I do not know whether the Tapirapé used the method described by Stradelli. I heard that they felled large trees by setting up a fire beneath the roots. If this is confirmed by the vestiges of carbonization on the roots of fallen trunks and in the holes lying around them, which were still visible in the old plots in 1935, not much time would have elapsed since fire was used for this purpose. Considering that the Tapirapé have owned
[177] iron axes for dozens of years, it should then be assumed that fire was used in connection with these products of our civilization.

In any case, I did not find stone axes among the Tapirapé,
174 nor did I find anyone in Tampitiaua who had used them, or anyone
412 who had found similar implements at sites formerly occupied by the tribe. Of course, there is no doubt that the Tapirapé did possess them in the past, and they may have been as small as those of the Ampanef, according to the Tapirapé. It is certain, however, that
174 several generations ago the Tapirapé obtained iron objects
412 (itanchoa, "iron," "glass," from ita, "stone," and choa, "yellow")
439 through the Karajá, and not only axes, but bush knives as well (kychó-etó, from kychó, "knife," and etó, "real," an augmentative, the term kichó being already mentioned in the Vocabulário da Língua Brasílica [Vocabulary of the Indigenous Brazilian Language] as quiçce, by Montoya as quicó [author: i= y in our spelling], and by Stradelli as kicó). It is worth noting that the Tapirapé, who have
[177] used metal cutting tools for so long, cannot bring themselves to sharpen them, although this procedure has already been taught to them several times by the Whites, who also offered them sharpening stones. This is an illustration of the fact that the acceptance of foreign cultural traits does not necessarily imply the acceptance of all the procedures connected with them.

On July 30, I witnessed the felling of some trees, carried out
241 as a collective endeavor called apachirá by the Tapirapé (the
● 97% puchirum of the frontiersmen in the states of Pará and Amazonas). The leader, Tamapanchoa, marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those places without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax. He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others. The other men selected their own trees around his as they pleased. They incised the small ones and finally

241 cut down the biggest one. Throughout this work, they only used
476 axes with rather long handles (Photos. 56 and 61). Each man hit the trunks at the level most convenient to him, so that the stumps varied in height from 30 to 90 centimeters. After extreme exertion for a while, each man would rest until he felt like resuming his task. They were all quite diligent. And as I watched those men, most of them [113:195] endowed with the physique of our adolescents, conquer piece after piece of the huge forest around them, I saw none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness or tedious-
[476] ness that characterizes so much of the collective work among us. Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side, as though they were performing a very amusing game.

Since the time when the trees are felled is the driest of the
221 year, the leaves and branches of the toppled trees wither more
241 rapidly and become easily combustible. The Tapirapé set fire to them and then do their planting between the felled and nearly carbonized trees as soon as the rains come to nurture the vegetation. Thus, the chief time for planting falls in November and December, but in certain areas of higher humidity it comes as early as October.

To plant yams, cará [Tr., another kind of yam], and manioc,
244 the Indians use the hoe to dig a funnel-shaped hole, from one to
[412] one and a half meters in diameter and depth at the center, in which they pile up the earth in the shape of a cone. They slip into this cone four or five yam protuberances or an equal number of cará knots, that is to say, fragments or "eyes" of the respective tubers, or four or five manioc shoots. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195 and the first two lines of p. 196 are omitted.]

[412] [113:196] The dibble is used by the Tapirapé to plant maize,
241 peanuts, and cotton in straight lines that ride over the fallen trunks and other irregularities in the terrain and lie about four meters apart. In planting cotton, around December, they place several seeds in each hole and keep the holes about two meters apart; the distance is smaller when planting maize or peanuts. Weeding also begins in December. Maize, peanuts, and cotton are harvested from June to August. Manioc and bananas are gathered throughout the year. Bananas and maize are gathered when still green and hung under the house roof to ripen, for there are many forest animals interested in eating them. The plots,

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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a male leader, a man of prestige, who is usually the husband of one the older women of the female kinship group. Apart from these residential groupings, the Tapirapé are divided in two other ways. 591 592

First, all Tapirapé men belong to one of the two patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties (2) and each moiety is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths, two groups of adult men of warrior age, and two groups of older men. Each of these groups bears the name of a mythical bird, the word *wirá* — bird — itself being used as the generic name for the groups. These *wirá* function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites: parallel groups also dance against one another in the ceremonials and offer reciprocal feasts to each other. The warrior-age group of each of these moieties has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and other communal work and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. 561 616 [476] [535] [574]

Both men and women of the Tapirapé are also divided into eight "feasting" groups called *ritáipawá* — literally "fire all to eat" (3). Men belong to their father's feasting group and women to their mother's. Feasting groups are not only non-exogamic but people prefer to marry with their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry names of the mythological heads of the legendary original eight households of the first Tapirapé village. On occasion during the dry season the feast groups meet at sunset on the dance plaza for a ceremonial feast, each member bringing his or her contribution to the common meal (4). 574 591 582 [773]

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(2) Baldus (op. cit. pp. 95-96) did not recognize these *wirá* groups as age groups of men's ceremonial moieties. He calls them *grupos de trabalho* (work groups). He reports these with groups among the adult men and writes that formerly there had been these corresponding groups among the boys of the tribe. Nowadays the Tapirapé are so few that lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's *wirá* group in order to give the necessary balance for ceremonials. This presents the picture of several groups of equal age; thus accounting, perhaps, for the divergence of opinion on this subject. Careful checking with informants, and observation of dances, hunts, wars and wrestling matches when Tapirapé men were grouped according to moiety divisions led me to the definite conviction that there are age groupings of men's ceremonial moieties as described above. [394]

(3) Baldus (op. cit., p. 90).

(4) Baldus calls the *ritáipawá* "grupos de comer" (eating groups). He reports seven feast groups functioning in 1937. He vividly describes a ceremonial meal on pages 91 to 95 of his work already cited.

128 [Ed., p. 86 and all but the last two lines of p. 87 are not translated.]

[87] In the pages that follow I wish to discuss a social institution
121 of the Tapirapé, the like of which I have not yet found [88] either among the other tribes I have visited or in the literature. I call it "eating groups." [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

The social significance of this organization into "eating groups"
264 derives from their purpose, which is as follows. Sometimes it happens
224 that the produce of the hunt or of the harvest, which among these Indians may be eaten by either sex and also by the children (for exam-
[262] ple, wild pig, curassow, guan, turtle, honey, etc.), is too sizable for the hunter's family and not sizable enough to be shared justly and advantageously with the entire population of the village. In such a case, to avoid a less equitable act, the distribution is made among the mem-
574 476 bers of the eating group to which the hunter belongs.

At the time of my stay among the Tapirapé, they were divided
264 551 into seven eating groups [89]. They say that in the old days the groups were more numerous. The names of the existing groups are Txankanépéra [Tr., the Portuguese x equals English sh], Pananivũína, Maniitivuéra, Kãũanõĩ, Tãũaupéra, Ãmpirampé, Ãvãinki'. Whenever I asked for an explanation of their meaning, I was merely given the word tãtáupãũa. Undoubtedly, however, some of the group names are related to the names of animals and plants, Txankanépéra with txankané (alligator), Maniitivuéra with mandiivũnã (a variety of manioc), Ãvãinki' with vũaiki'rã (a variety of manioc). This may be
[771] a vestige of totemic ideas, although they are not manifested in the behavior of the group members. For example, the attitude of the Txankanépéra group members toward the alligator is no different from that of the members of other groups. It is true that at the common
551 feasts each person is called by the name of the group and also is what
476 the name represents. Thus, for example, a member of the
264 Txankanépéra group will say, "Txe Txankanépéra," which means both "I am called Txankanépéra" and "I am Txankanépéra," and says to his group-fellow, male or female, "Ané Txankanépéra ('You are called Txankanépéra,' or 'You are Txankanépéra')."

192 Tãtáupãũa designates both the common feast of a group and the
574 institution of eating groups in general. When I asked the Tapirapé what
476 they called themselves as a community, I got the answer "Ampiãũa"
264 (a word that means "man" in the Tupí of the Amazon) and the statement
[101]

that all participants in the tãtãupãũã [90] are called thin. Nothing could point up the importance of the institution more effectively than this observation. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The word tãtã is used both by the Tapirapé and by the Karajá [Caraja] to designate cultivated bananas in general. It also means "fire" in their language, as in all Tupí-Guaraní tongues, and it differs from these only in its nasalization, an element which is peculiar to the Tapirapé language as a whole.

The word upãũã means "everything eaten."

The word tãtãupãũã may mean that the fire went out, or that everything that was near the fire was eaten.

Every individual belongs to the same eating group through life. Sons belong to their father's group, daughters to their mother's.

The eating groups are not important to marriage; some of the men belong to the same group as their wives, while others belong to a different group.

[91] The principal chief, Kamairabó, was a Txankanépéra, while the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ', was a Panaĩvũãna. As I lived in Kamairabó's household and belonged, in a way, to his family, I also became a Txankanépéra, and they explained to me that as a consequence my own relatives, although absent, had also become Txankanépéra.

Within their group, all members regard one another as brothers and sisters.

Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life, namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group companions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond occasionally bringing together the inhabitants of different houses from birth to death.

At certain times the entire population of the village gathers together for the tãtãupãũã, which at such times is not really a feast carried out to meet the obligations imposed by the consumption-group organization, but a veritable banquet.

On July 3, the time of the kãũibó, or "bad kãũĩ" (literally, "big kãũĩ" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kãũĩ, which formerly was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was warm and so good that I ate my fill.

264 [ 92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of
574 various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets.
476 These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kaumanõ', owing to
their small numbers, had joined the Ãvãinkĩ' to form a single group.
All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group.
[262] There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce
and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of karã [Tr.,
a kind of yam], peanut kauĩ', etc. Before that, there was a great
431 distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom
574 he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such
[622] as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of
[177] this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better
use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay
264 the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted to-
476 gether, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they
574 pleased. Kamairahõ, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk
[554] of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother.
123 We called each other "Txankanõpéra," and Ampitãnya, his little
adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Anõ Txankanõ-
[597] péra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other
groups also called me "Txankanõpéra," and I called them by the name
of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

264 [ 93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that
574 there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots
535 and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The
plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the
[776] good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kauihõ and
vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness,
132 the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season
with its "good shadows," summer.

574 They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they
796 also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tãtãupãua of an
224 eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Ãvãinkĩ' had killed
264 with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting
476 the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group.
574 In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts
[462]

264 476 574 [214] much as the head and legs, which they gave to those members of their family who did not belong to the same eating group.

The feasting had already begun before the sun was up. In the [345] [562] [352] takána, the large dance house, which is essentially a men's house and thus as a rule not visited by women, the Ãwãinki˝ of both sexes sat [94] on straw mats stretched for the purpose around large pots containing the roasted pig. The animal was cut up in such a way that the pieces could easily be held in the hand.

When I appeared, they all graciously invited me to help myself. [123] I declined, stating that I was a Txankanépéra, and in view of this they did not insist further.

Naturally, members of other eating groups may ask the feast participants for a piece. Custom, however, demands that they withdraw after receiving what they requested. Only members of the same group may sit in the circle surrounding the pots. As a rule, however, a member of another group does not come to the people who are feasting and ask for a piece.

123 264 476 574 In any case, I did not want to carry my pride in being a Txankanépéra too far, and therefore I accepted the invitation of a special friend, Vuãnomantxí, whose wife had prepared the bulk of the food for the Ãwãinki˝ and thus earned the pig's head for her family. While she sat with her group-fellows in the takána, her husband and son, and a few other persons who were not relatives but who belonged to the family, so to speak, because they were the only other occupants of the small hut, lay across their hammocks and chewed contentedly. When I came in, Vuãnomantxí tore from the pig's head the piece that he considered the best and offered it to me. I began to chew on it, and this required much fortitude because the meat was very tough. [95] When my chin began to hurt badly and I was certain that I had swallowed enough of those awful bites, I craved a bonus and asked for the brains. My friend smiled--he always had a friendly smile for me, thoroughly joyous and relaxed--and gave me to understand that my tastes were not inferior to those of the most illustrious Tapirapé. Then, with his athletic strength, he broke open the skull, handed me the bulk of the brains, and stuffed the rest into his mouth.

Before the sun was up, only the pig's bones remained in Vuãnomantxi house and in the takána. 264 476

Aside from the tatãupsũã, there is another institution which also [574] [611] involves eating in hereditary groups. It is called apatxirã. Its purpose,

264 476 however, is totally different from that of the tãtãpũã. It is not a group organization for consumption, but for production. For this reason, also, the feasts in specific groups associated with this institution are merely accessory.

The social significance of apatxirã resides in the possibility of sharing a collective task in such a way that no member of the tribe will [461] feel discredited by an unfair assignment. This is done by turning work into a festive occasion and a sports competition.

"When there is a lot of water everywhere in the rainy season, the [176] [291] ãũvanaĩ 'shadows' live in the takãna. Their headdress and breechcloth are of muriti leaves, but their headdress does not have any macaw [535] feathers. [96] They dance through the entire rainy season. At that time, there are no other 'shadows' (antxãna) but them. Unlike other 'shadows,' these do not live in the hills or in the waters, but only in the takãna. They do not sing, but only grunt in a low voice. During [261] the moons of the great rains, the belly does not get as full as during the dry season. But the ãũvanaĩ have to eat. Then they go to the gardens and 'steal.' They take what they stole to the takãna, where they eat it. In the apatxirã, we prepare the gardens where they seek their food. They 'steal' only from those gardens that are prepared for them alone. The ãũvanaĩ are not evil. All Tapirapé men are ãũvanaĩ.

Such is, in summary, the information I received when I asked the purpose of the common gardens prepared in the apatxirã.

For the apatxirã, all Tapirapé men are divided into three work-groups called vuĩra. The word vuĩra means "bird," and the name of [551] each group designates a mythical bird which is represented not only by the group as a whole but by each of its individual members. They are called Tãnãvé, Anantxã, and Vuizantxinió.

The Tãnãvé group was the smallest one at the time of my visit, [624] but it included the individuals of highest social status: the principal chief, Kamairahó; the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ´; the chief and most [123] eminent sorcerer--medicine man, Urukumĩ´; and myself. (Naturally, Kamairahó stated immediately that I would be a Tãnãvé like himself.)

[97] Each of the three work groups has two leaders called ãntaĩva. 264 The ãntaĩva of the Tãnãvé were Vũãtanamĩ´ and Urukumĩ´. (Although 622 Kamairahó was also a Tãnãvé, he seemed to be the head of all three 476 groups in his capacity as principal chief. He is also the only one whose 651 private plot is prepared by the village inhabitants as a collective endeavor, while the private plots of other tribal members are prepared

only by their respective owners. I do not know, however, whether the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the preparation of the principal chief's garden.)

The ãnaiva of the Anantxí were the chief Tanupanxóa and Vuíxaí, and those of the Vuiranxinió were the chief Kamairó and the sorcerer--medicine man Maninohó.

In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were called Vuanankóra, Vuirantxína, and Vuiranxinoí. The last one is now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tãnãvé or Anantxí belong to the first one, and the sons of the Vuiranxinió to the second one. The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were Vuirantxinió. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work-group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution, for "the women and girls stay home when the men do collective work."

[98] They say that each apatxirú group has its specific ornament for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I was not with the Tapirapé. The Tãnãvé wear three large red macaw feathers hanging from the head onto the back. The Anantxí also wear three large macaw feathers in the same fashion, but two are from the blue and yellow macaw and only the middle one is red; in addition, they wear on their arms the white breast fluff of the king vulture. The Vuirantxinió are not differentiated from the Tãnãvé. The Vuanankóra wear smaller red feathers from the tail of the macaw, hanging from the head onto the back. The Vuirantxína are similarly adorned and also wear macaw fluff on their arms.

Concerning the word apatxirú, Curt Nimuendajú wrote me as follows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word apatxirú is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is omitted.]

[99] On July 30, Kamairahó invited me to go with him to the apatxirú. On the previous day, Chief Tanupanxóa had already begun the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working

•47% under the leadership of the ãnaiva of the Anamxuí, Tampamxúa and Vuizuí. Here the Anamxuí were present in large numbers than the other groups, for they were, so to speak, the contractors of this particular apaxiríd. No division into three groups was evident, however, as the work progressed. All the Tãnavé, Anamxuí, and Vuizamxiniõ mixed together at random.

Tampamxúa marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those spots without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax.
[554] He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others.

Ãnaiva of other groups were also present and working, such as Urukumã of the Tãnavé and Kamairá of the Vuizamxiniõ. Vũstanami
[576] had gone to his garden. As usual, he probably wanted to avoid meeting Kamairabó, whom he hated. Maninchó had stayed home. Kamairabó sat on a felled tree and watched.

3/3 [100] Each man, as soon as he felt the desire to work, chose a
•47% tree for himself, as he pleased, in the vicinity of the ãnaiva, and the contest began. It did not seem to be a contest against the fellow workers, a fight to win over the others by achieving more, but a joyous contest against the timber and the big forest, against the forest as a whole, for it was not merely a matter of conquering each tree individually with the brute strength of the arms, but also a matter of strategy. First an incision in a good number of trees was made in such a way that they would all fall in the same direction when their tottering neighbor leaned against them from the opposite direction. Only then was a forest giant felled, and felled in such a way that it dragged with it to the ground its fellows weakened by the ax.

4/4 After extreme exertion for a while, each man would rest until he felt like resuming his task. They were all quite diligent.

The Indian works according to a different rhythm than that followed by the men of our civilization. He does not carry out the same task every day, at a certain time and for a certain period of time, but gives himself up with all his senses and all his strength to whatever task seems to him most necessary at the moment and best suited to his creative urge. When he does this, he does not spare himself but persists in his heavy work until he is completely exhausted. For example, he gives himself to the felling of trees with such fanaticism that on the following day he can hardly get out of his hammock owing to the muscular pain. [101] As soon as he feels a little better, he carves a bow stave or weaves a basket. Suddenly, he feels a craving for

461 bananas. If he has no bananas left at home, the man goes to the
garden to get a new supply. He returns staggering under an enormous
load, for he brings as much as he can carry. And although by this
[147] time he is already tired enough to lie down in the hammock again,
he may fulfill his duties as a dancer and singer throughout the night,
duties that demand of a single man the rested legs and lungs of five
men. [Ed., the remainder of p. 101, pp. 102-104, and the
first paragraph on p. 105 are omitted.]

[105] On the other hand, it is true that there are great differences among the various tribes as far as industriousness is concerned. The Tapirapé may be pointed out as being especially "diligent." At the
[262] time of my stay among them, they had an abundance of food, and in spite of this they worked very hard in their gardens and gave themselves up with no less zeal and perseverance to their dances and songs.
177 In this tribe, which is still distant from our civilization, the introduction of iron tools that began dozens of years ago through their eastern
182 neighbors, the Karajá, and the lack of war-like activities or hent had an effect directly opposite to that generated [by the same factors] in the Indians civilized by us, that is to say, deprived of their cultural independence. These two factors did not hinder the vital force or impair the creative urge of the Indians, but in fact guaranteed their subsistence and increased their well-being. If, in spite of this, symptoms of degeneration are apparent among the Tapirapé, [106] the causes must be sought elsewhere. This, however, is not the proper context to discuss them. [Ed., all but the last sentence of the subsequent paragraph is omitted.]

476 When watching a collective task among the Indians, such as the
461 apatxirá of the Tapirapé, one has the impression that the joy with which it is done increases their strength.

As I watched the men, most of them endowed with the physique
[147] of our adolescents, conquering piece after piece of the huge forest around them, I observed none of the sometimes gloomy seriousness and tediousness which characterize so much of the collective work among us. Joyous shouts echoed and peals of laughter rang out on every side.

Those who needed rest sat on the felled trunks. They sat very close together as they have the habit of doing. They talked, and some of
[276] them smoked a pipe. Suddenly there would be a lot of shouting, they
476 would all scatter with a show of joy as the moan of live timber was heard, [107] and a green giant would lean slowly and crash with a

476 thundering noise, dragging along in its fall its weaker companions.

Every once in a while, a voice was heard behind the trees. One could not see who it was, but the call sounded very close. Immediately, the boys rushed to the spot where the voice came from. Soon they returned with their arms full of bananas. They ran jubilantly toward us and distributed them.

[252]

These bananas reached a length of 30 centimeters and a middle circumference of 15 to 20 centimeters. The men brought them in hampers close to the working area, but never came out of the woods into the garden with their load.

[192] [482]

The skin of the bananas was black, and their flesh was already brownish and too soft. This is the condition in which the Tapirapé like them best. The fruits are gathered when green and buried at the spot where they grew. The Karajá do the same thing. In the sun-heated ground, the bananas reach the desired state of rottenness more quickly than if they were kept at home. Then, too, they are warm when taken out of the ground, and this endears them further to the Indians.

252 262 [322] [171]

They are not peeled in order to be eaten. The tough skin is opened a little at one of the tips, the tip is placed between the lips, and the skin slowly emptied by squeezing it with the fingers so that the pulp gradually enters the mouth. Kamairahó ate one banana after another. As for myself, I found them nauseating.

264

[198] The sun was already quite low when we left. We forged ahead at a rapid pace, one behind the other on the narrow trail. We were not far from the village when the path opened onto a small, cleared, triangular space. The women sat in the corners of this space and watched us in silence. The women and girls had split into three groups which tallied with the work groups of their husbands and fathers. They had placed pots of food in the area in the same arrangement. There were banana kãuí, peanut kãni, cottonseed kãuí, toasted karí, and many other good things. Each group ate only from the pots placed for it at a specific spot. There were smaller quantities for the Tãnãvé, because they were fewer. I was invited from all sides, and since I was very hungry I did not spare the other two groups. Only when I was beginning to be satiated did I put down, with a great show of surprise, the pot of banana soup of the Anantxá from which I had just partaken, and declared that I was a Tãnãvé. This fact, however, did not seem to be of great importance to my hosts.

264 476 462 574 [262] [123]

264 The pots were soon emptied. Then the women and girls came,
462 picked them up, and took them home. The men followed. The
476 Anaxxxí walked first, with the Vuirazxiniõ behind them and the
Tãnãvé last. They kept this order, and sent me back to the rear when
[129] I stepped--not intentionally--in the midst of the Vuirazxiniõ.

[109] As soon as the village was in sight, things began to move.
535 The men ran straight to the takína and paired off for the dance. The
women and girls showed no interest in this and for the most part had
already gone to their huts.

The dancing pairs stood in a dense cluster in front of the entrance. In each pair, as was customary, one of the men held his arm across the other's shoulders, while his companion held his arm across the other's hips. Both held a club, bush knife, or bow in the other hand. In the midst of the group stood the leading pair, Tamupanxóa and Vuiraí, the ãntaíva of the Anaxxxí. The Anaxxxí had now mixed with the Vuirazxiniõ. Of the Tãnãvé, only Kamairahõ, Urulumi', and I had come. We stayed nearby as onlookers.

First, the men danced for a while on the same spot. As usual, they pawed the ground, all at the same time and always with the same foot, alternating from right to left, keeping their knees slightly bent and the middle part of the body slightly bent forward. Then the leading pair gradually moved away from the spot. They danced with small steps out of the takína. The others followed in the same fashion. They all moved, one pair after the other, slowly, toward the house of Vuãtanami', singing with sounds and shouts rather than words.

When they reached the house of the second leader, the procession broke up. They did not scatter, however, but remained close to-
526 gether. [110] The race began. It is called ãhéui, which means "I
883 run." The adolescents, who were in their initiation year and hence had their faces and bodies completely blackened with genipap, ran two at a time in a straight line across the dance plaza to the back of Kamairahõ's house. Actually, there was no spot to be reached first by the winner, and there was no applause from the spectators. It
[150] might almost be said that there was no winner. As a rule, indeed, the desire to be singled out or to single out someone is not manifested by these Indians and is probably even regarded by them as a danger to the harmony of the community. These races seemed to be merely runs to be made as fast as possible across the plaza to convince the boys themselves of their own ability. As soon as the two runners reached

Ta 526 883 Kamaiahd's house, they renewed their mutual holds and smiled graciously at each other (1).

Ta 11 [111] Ta 526

1. In a letter of February 20, 1936, Curt Nimuendajú wrote to me about the Timbira, a Gê tribe: "The Timbira also have a paired race across the village plaza (which is 300 meters in diameter). It is usually held following a more important ceremony. It is called ka-kaipda (ka, 'village plaza,' and kaipda, 'across')."

Ta 526 Later, some of the men also took part in the test, even the "old hunter" Kanzovanã. When darkness fell, they all went home. Only a dozen pairs had run altogether, for they had started out when the sun had already sunk behind the forest.

Ta 496 [535] [526] [111] On the following afternoon there was another apatxirã at a different spot. The participants were so few that there was no dancing or racing. Two days later, a bigger apatxirã was held with all the features, this time to the northwest of the village. Thus, apatxirã are held on different days and at different places. Not all the men take part. Some work for themselves in their gardens, and others stay home. [Ed., Plates 1-26 are omitted since they concern tribes other than the Tapirapé.]

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1948)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 20 6



Te 362 Tc 222 169 "hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is land was in the past just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size.

Ta 168 189 362 Population control among the Tapirapé seems as to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

Ta 161 169 182 [165] This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times at a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new diseases for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population

Te 161 169 182 [165] during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Te Ta 596 591 612 Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapé, on the other

Ta 616 561 hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial moieties limited to men. Each moiety was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the Ta-

Ta 476 264 574 616 [796] [595] pirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's moieties and age grades and the "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic production and distribution. The masked dances with impersonation of

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



Ta [555]

forest spirits performed by the men during the dry season were a function of the men's societies. The "Feast Groups" met at intervals during the dry season at their traditional stations in the central plaza for ceremonial meals. At such times, as Herbert Baldus has shown, these "Feast Groups" functioned as a mechanism for food distribution in a season when more food was available than a family would normally consume. (7) The "Feast Groups" sometimes turned to collect honey and to hunt. The age grades of the men's societies also frequently acted together economically; they organized work parties for clearing of large garden sites and they went out on large cooperative hunts after herds of wild pigs.

Ta 248 579 476 [194]

Ta 224 561 616

In aboriginal Tapirapé society ceremonial life and many important cooperative subsistence activities were based upon this balanced set of associations. A Tapirapé village in order to ensure adequate representation in the various age grades of the men's societies as well as in the "Feast Groups" by necessity had to consist of about 200 people or more. A small village of fifty to a hundred people, for example, would not have provided sufficient number of males of the proper ages to allow the age graded societies to carry out their ceremonials nor to organize their cooperative subsistence activities. Tapirapé village organization was therefore not conducive to a process of "splitting off" of groups from one village to form another. The size of Tapirapé villages was limited by their technological equipment within their tropical forest environment yet the social structure made the formation of numerous small villages difficult. In contrast, the less formalized social structure of the Tenetehara allowed for villages of varying size within the limits of their ecological adjustment. Extended family groups easily might break off from a larger village to form a new settlement fully able to carry out the cooperative economic activities and even ceremonials of the society. This process is constantly occurring in contemporary Tenetehara society. When tensions arise between extended families, one group simply splits off from the parent village to join another or to form a separate village without serious effects on the ceremonial or economic system. Tenetehara social structure offered a favorable condition for an expanding population after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected population.

Ta 182 621 576 561 616

Te 182 621

Te [578]

Te [161]

Tapirapé social structure seems also to have been more vulnerable to disorganization in face of a rapid change in population size. Rapid depopulation after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected the normal functioning of their highly segmented and balanced social structure. By 1940, the lack of men had thrown the system of reciprocal and competitive activities of the men's age-graded moieties out of balance. There were not enough men of the "older" age-grade of either moiety nor of the young men "warrior" age-grade of one moiety to form functioning units to reciprocate in cooperative garden clearing and to participate in group hunts. Several of the "Feast Groups" had been disbanded for lack of numbers

Ta 182 [61]

Ta [561] [616] [476] [574] [264]

(7) Baldus (1937) p. 10 ff.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



## CULTURE

### SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

**Farming.**—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, cará (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work festival (apaĩrá). When communally prepared, the large clearings are afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, generally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apaĩrá, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaô) at the end of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, cará, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clearings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupí* groups, however, the

[97:45] Chapter 1

## The Tapirapé River

000 [Ed., pp. 45-47 and most of p. 49 are omitted; Map 2 appears on p. 48 in the original text.]

### [97:49] Topography of the Surrounding Area

133 137 The Tapirapé River flows through a vast savanna region which is separated from it, along most of its course, by a strip of forest quite irregular in width. This savanna, as a rule, extends [97:50] over such flat ground that the horizon would be very wide if it were not for the trees, two or three meters high, which stand a few paces from each other and make up what is called the campo cerrado [Tr., savanna with scattered scrub forest]. It is true that sometimes the distance between the trees increases, and they become better developed and a few meters higher. There are also large empty areas, that is to say, grassland completely free of arboreal growth. Sometimes these stretches are crossed by a narrow forest strip of high trees concealing a small stream, or they are broken by swampy groves of muriti palms. This does not prevent large areas of empty grassland from remaining flooded during the dry season, when their black soil [134] is often so slippery that it well deserves the name of "soap" which I gave these places of involuntary gymnastics as I skated over them.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that most of the grasslands surrounding the Tapirapé River dry out at that time of year to such a point that they become easily inflammable. On June 15, 1935, while I was in Tampîtana [later referred to as Tampiitaua], the village of the Tapirapé Indians, I saw pillars of smoke rising to the north, southwest, and east, and this brought to my attention the existence of grasslands and people in those parts. The soil of the dry grasslands can be 134 so hard that the Indians massage their feet and legs after having walked [491] several hours over it. Only rarely, however, is this soil rocky. I found it covered with small, round, brownish-red stones in only a few restricted areas, especially in small stretches of campo cerrado close to the forest inhabited by the Tapirapé.

[Text continues on p. 6]

114 I left at 6:30 the following morning. Everything was wet with
133 dew. I skated over a stretch of black earth, damp and slippery
[132] ("sump"). I saw jaguar tracks. At eight o'clock, I reached a flooded
[134] forest strip which I had to ford. The same thing happened after walk-
ing another ten minutes. At ten o'clock I reached a traditional
Tapirapé resting place located in a small patch of forest which con-
tains fresh water. I rested there until four in the afternoon, and then
set out again and waded through a swampy area. At 5:30 I reached
dry scrub land where I was able to set up camp for the night. Before
[134] going to sleep, I heard frequent jaguar calls.

When I awoke on the twenty-first my clothes were soaked
through with dew. I set out at six o'clock. Half an hour later, I was
lost in a large and swampy muriti grove. At seven o'clock I reached
dry scrub land, and at 9:15 the great forest. During the first 15
minutes of walking, the ground of the forest was more or less dry, but
after that it became completely flooded. I walked for an hour and a
half in water, which flowed in several places. At 11:30 [97:52] I
found manioc in a brook. I then crossed four gardens separated from
[241] each other by strips of forest. At a quarter before one, I met four
[361] youths of the Tapirapé tribe, and half an hour later, still walking
through the immense forest, I spotted in its midst the village of those
Indians.

When I returned from the village to Porto Salvação on August 5
•481 of the same year, I made the whole trip in a single day. I left at
dawn with a Tapirapé youth. Although these Indians, as a rule, walk
a little more slowly than the local Brazilian frontiersmen, their pace
is still quite rapid and very even so that they proceed at the same
speed through forest and grassland, and since they hardly stop to rest in
the daytime, they may walk 40 or 50 kilometers a day.

On the way back, we took a different course through the forest.
133 The area we had gone through on the way out was still flooded. We
487 walked on ground that was quite dry, making a wide curve to the west.
We reached the grassland within two hours. In many areas the Indians
[241] had already burned the grass, and our feet and legs were free of that
hindering growth which adds so much to the traveler's weariness. Once
in a while, a fresh breeze blew upon us. We walked four hours through
[137] open grassland and scrub forest, with frequent glimpses of pairs of deer,
[136] until we reached the traditional Tapirapé resting place in the small
[484] patch of forest containing fresh water. There we found Reverend Kegel

[164] apparently was aggravated by pneumonia. During the rainy season
731 that followed, this epidemic caused great mortality throughout
[165] the tribe, also killing Ikaranché and his wife. Then the separa-
[166] tism returned to Tampiitsua.

The eighteenth century map reproduced in this work points
361 out with three triangles the "Aldeas do Gentio Tapirapé [villages of the Tapirapé people]." In his account of Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira's 1911 expedition, Angyone Costa (222-223) writes as follows about the Tapirapé of the time: "These Indians occupy three villages, the first one located two days' journey from the riverbank, the second one three days' away. The explorer did not visit the third one."

The following appears in the account of the Dominican ex-
[113] pedition of 1914 printed in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosário (317): "The Tapirapé form three groups, or rather three malocas [villages], five days' journey apart. The Indians can walk 50 kilo-
[481] meters a day. This shows how huge is the region inhabited by such a relatively sparse tribe. The village we visited had 16 huts,
[592] each one sheltering several families. It is true that when the
[609] Fathers drew near, some of the huts were emptied, and families, urged on by a suspicious Chief, ran to hide in the forest. The peo-
[161] ple we found did not exceed 160 souls, and from this it may easily be inferred that the tribe does not include more than about a thousand members."

[103:186] The note published in 1912 about Dr. Francisco
621 Mandacaru's journey states that the Tapirapé village visited by
[161] this explorer contained 268 inhabitants and that "almost invariably, a village merely consists of a single and numerous family." The number of villages, however, is not mentioned (cf. Kissenberth 2, 43-44).

[161] The same applies to the account of the trip by the inspector of the Indians, mentioned earlier, which only states that "some 1,000 or 1,500" Tapirapé were found (Glass, 139).

Reverend Kegel told me that in August of 1932 he found in
[161] Tampiitsua some 14 houses with slightly more than 220 occupants. These people, as we have already mentioned, split up in September, but were together again when we visited them the following
[165] year. From 50 to 60 of them died during the 1932-1933 rainy season, and only three or four children born at that time were seen by this missionary.

252 In the Tapirapé barbecues, the height at which the grille is fastened varies with its different functions. It is placed low to [251] roast meat or fish, and higher to dry it.

171 The pot is held by three stones laid around the fire, as I also 252 noted among the Karajá and as Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 48) ob- [354] served among the Taulipáng of the Rio Branco basin. What Karl von den Steinen (2, 215) said of the Xingu Indians, that is: "The men roasted [meat], but never boiled it," may be said also of the Tapirapé and of numerous other South American tribes (cf. Baldus 7, 142 and Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 91, 335, 351). Speaking of the Karajá, Krause (2, 253) amends this rule with the fact that "the men also know how to boil [meat]," as they show on trips whenever necessary. This cannot be said of the Tapirapé. They do [481] not carry pots on their journeys since they go on foot, while those Indians travel by canoe and therefore can take along with them heavy and breakable cooking utensils. Aside from this, the 252 division of labor is so strict among the sexes that the Tapirapé-man, 462 if for some reason he does not have a wife, misses her simply from the fact that he cannot eat stew unless he is willing to take it from other-families. On the other hand, the roasting of large animals is usually done by the men. It is only when game is killed close to the village that in some cases the women barbecue it. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

124 With the aim of setting up a Tapirapé zoological vocabulary, and also of finding out which animals were eaten by the inhabitants of Tampiitáua or by certain groups among them, I repeatedly showed to numerous persons of different ages and sex the figures in Rodolpho von Ihering's book entitled Da vida dos nossos animais. Fauna do Brasil [The Habits of Our Animals. Brazilian Fauna] (Rotermund & Co., São Leopoldo, 1934). This gave them much pleasure, and I recommend this method to Indianists as a way of establishing rapport. It also makes rather strict controls possible, since each animal is identified by several if not by numerous experts, and its name is pronounced several times by many individuals. Of course, a single look is not always sufficient for the Indian to recognize the animal represented. It is often necessary to [117:93] add comments about its size, color, motions, cry, and habits. Concerning certain insects, for example, the size of the

1:Baldus--178 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

142
411
481

Photo. 24

Men leaving for the hunt.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



organization, in technology, in ceremonial and religious 177
life, in economics and, in fact, in almost all realms of life. In the space of a short paper it will be possible to indicate only a few of these modifications. One of the 177
most striking changes has to do with the relations of 574
the Tapirapé with their traditional enemies, the Carajá. 648
In 1940 the Tapirapé told of their fear of the Carajá who had attacked them several times in the past, and Tapirapé men traveling along the Araguaya River with the writer hid in the bottom of the boat in fear of their traditional foe. No Tapirapé would have dared enter a Carajá village without the protection of a Brazilian. But in 1953 the new Tapirapé village was situated within six or seven kilometers of a Carajá village. Two Tapirapé [582]
youths, for lack of Tapirapé women of marriageable age, had married Carajá girls, and following the rule of matrilocal residence which both Carajá and Tapirapé cultures share they lived in the Carajá village and worked with their in-laws. Each day during my 1953 visit there were Carajá visitors in the Tapirapé village. They came [434]
to exchange fish, game or other items for Tapirapé manioc — for the Tapirapé are by tradition better gardeners than the Carajá. A friendly Carajá even joined the Tapirapé men to dance and sing during one of their ceremonials, and one evening a group of Tapirapé accepted the invitation of the Carajá to attend their wrestling matches on the beach in front of the Carajá village. One must conclude that old and traditional enmities and antagonisms between peoples can fade out easily and quickly unless there are deep-seated economic or territorial bases for such antagonisms.

Another striking change between the Tapirapé in 177
1940 and those of 1953 was their recent adaptation to 481
canoe travel. In 1940, the Tapirapé might have been classified as "foot Indians". They neither made nor owned canoes. Many Tapirapé were unable to swim. They were all most inept when forced to travel by canoe. In 1953, six Tapirapé men owned canoes they had acquir- 177
ed from the Carajá, some had to make canoes, and 501

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



of fish, of insects, and several natural phenomena, especially thunder, have children: that is, they are thought to control "spirits of children" (20). A shaman steals, or more simply, takes spirits of children from these sources and brings them to a woman while she sleeps. Parents who wish children can bring presents to a *pancé* to "make him dream and bring a child to them". Most Tapirapé parents can identify the source of their children and the shaman who brought them. One father explained that he had taken honey to the *pancé* Urukumu, making him dream, and that Urukumu had then traveled to the house of Thunder and brought back a child to his wife. Another gave a present of fish to a shaman who brought back a child from the small fish called piau (*Leporinus* sp.): and yet another gave honey to a *pancé* who brought back a child from the horsefly (Tabanidae). 756 82 842

To the Tapirapé all good and likewise all evil can be laid at the door of the shaman. Consequently a phenomenon such as barrenness is always the fault of the shaman. A barren woman or a man with no children by his wife must have "quarrelled much with the *pancé*". For example, it was clear to Kamairaho that his failure to have children by the three wives with whom he had lived during his lifetime was due to the shaman: "They do not want me to have a child", he said. He had no suspicion concerning his own sterility, even though his present and third wife had had a daughter by her first husband; for according to Tapirapé belief, all men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are biological fathers of child, and Kamairaho was in this manner the "father" of several children. 756 842 [837]

The safety of Tapirapé men depends upon the power of their shaman during the period each October and November when they must swim while they fish and shoot turtles; for in this region of Brazil rivers are infested with alligators, sting rays (*Potamotrygon histrix*), and the carnivorous fish called piranha (Serrasalminae). The Tapirapé also believe that large snakes lurk in deep pools of the rivers ready to wrap themselves around men and pull them beneath the water. During the year men will not swim in deep water unless it is absolutely necessary 225 756 481 825

(20) Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, jacú (*Penelope* sp.), jakamí (*Psophia* sp.), fish so called tukunare (*Cichla ocellaris*), pacú (*Mylinae* sp.), and piranha (*Pygocentrus*), and jakiri (*Prochilodus* sp.), were listed as sources of "spirits of children".

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



225 and they will fish only in shallow clear rapids. When they must swim
481 to catch turtles, a shaman guarantees their safety. A powerful shaman
756 dreams. He travels to the river, ties he jaws of the alligators with wires,
825 strikes the *piranha* across their teeth so they cannot bite, and ties up the large snakes into knots with their own tails.

756 The abundance of the food supply may also become the respon-
825 sibility of the shaman. Some powerful shamans have the ability to control the movements and the increase of the bands of pigs. These
[787] shamans visit in their dreams the "home of wild pigs" near the Tapi-
[103] rapé River on a hill called by them *Towaiyawá* — Ringed tail of the coati (*Nasua* sp.). There the shaman has sexual intercourse with female pigs, causing large increase in the bands. Those pigs that run fastest and are hardest to kill are these "children of the *pancé*". The
[776] shaman's control over the movement of bands of pigs comes through his control over the *ancúnga* called *ampukáya* — "crying spirits". Wild pigs are said to be "pets" of these spirits and follow them about.
[224] Shamans who are powerful enough capture these spirits and take them, followed by their pets, to an appointed place where Tapirapé men wait to kill the pigs. None of the living shamans was believed to be capable of these controls over the wild pigs and several of the Indians blamed the recent lack of sucess of hunting expeditions and the apparent scarcity of pigs on the declining power of the shamans.

756 The dream journeys of the shamans also give them the power of
787 prophecy, as was indicated by Panteri's vision of the fever in the village of the *peropi áwa*. Such dream experiences are not limited to the demonic world but sometimes occur in other earthly regions. The shaman may visit Carajá villages or Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya, where he sometimes learns facts of great interest or importance to his fellow-tribesmen. When Panteri visited the Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya River for the first time, he said that he recognized faces that he saw for he had been to these places many times in his dream. When I returned to the Tapirapé village after three months' absence, one shaman claimed to have prophecied my arrival to the day. He had traveled in his dream, he said, to the Araguaya River and had seen my canoe moving up the Tapirapé River. Another in the same way foresaw the arrival of a young Tapirapé who was returning from se-

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



A man now points to the
southwestern horizon and says, "Ware killed all spirits there; they are only 773
spirit souls now." (To the north and east, however, many demon spirits 776
are still alive and active.) Ware engaged in a constant battle of wits with [823]
the spirit world. He killed many of the dangerous variety by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed behind them, and he also killed off another group of beings which clubbed men to death and drank their blood.

Sometimes shamans (*panche*) see malevolent beings in their dream 756
travels, and may even become friendly with them or receive their aid. For 776
example, one shaman told of wandering far in an unknown forest as he 787
dreamed, and of coming upon the spirits called *orrya*, who have long hair wound in a mass, and who carry only one arrow with which they can kill a man. They were about to shoot him but he shouted "No, I am a shaman!" and they left him alone, gave him food and aided him to return. Only shamans can have such relations with these supernaturals. Tapirape laymen are afraid to dream.

The shaman is indispensable to Tapirape living, not only because he has 756
dealings with the spirit world, and through his wanderings enriches the 842
knowledge of men, but also because he is of value in many practical ways. Thus he controls the pregnancy of women. Pregnancy is known to relate to sexual intercourse, but conception comes only when a shaman brings a child to a woman. Thunder, and several types of birds, animals and fish, [825]
have "children," that is, spirits of children. The shaman brings one of these "spirits" to a woman, putting it inside her while she sleeps. A woman who wants a child can, for example, bring honey to a shaman. This will make [787]
him dream, and he will bring her a child. Similarly, a barren woman presumably "had quarrelled much with the shaman."

When Tapirape swim, while fishing and shooting large turtles in the 756
Tapirape River, their safety depends upon the shaman. In this section of 825
Brazil, rivers are full of alligators, *piranha* (carnivorous fish) and sting 751
rays, and according to Tapirape belief, large snakes lurk in deep pools. [481]
Before men may swim safely the shaman must tie the jaws of the alligators, strike the *piranha* across their teeth so they will not bite, and tie up the tails of the large snakes. When Tapirape go hunting, it is up to the [224]
shaman to tell them where packs of wild pigs will be found, or to lead them down to a good spot in the plains country.[23] Danger may lurk in all food; thus Tapirape often take new corn, fresh meat, or any food, to have danger "blown" out of it by the shaman.

The universe for the Tapirape is not finite or entirely known; it is 772
dangerous. Tales of culture heroes and experiences of shamans provide a 756
773

[23] When the Tapirape have made kills of wild pigs, which are "pets" of Thunder he will [821]
be angry and send a sudden rain or clouding of the sky. If a Tapirape sees an unexpected [776]
rainbow in the sky he will say, "The shaman has been successful against Thunder" (i.e., in finding game).

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



the next two months we had daily sessions, some very brief and others lasting two or more hours.

In October of 1939, some six months after my arrival, I found it necessary to leave the Village of the Tapirs to go to Furo de Pedra for supplies and to collect mail that was held there for me. Valentim Gomes and I had come up the Tapirapé River, a tributary of the Araguaia, pulled by an outboard motor belonging to an anthropological colleague who had since returned to the United States. Now we had to paddle ourselves downstream. We could expect little help from the sluggish current and since the river was so low, it might be necessary to haul our canoe through shallows. Malaria had left me weak and I doubted that I was equal to this strenuous task. Several Tapirapé men, including Champukwi, were anxious to accompany us, but having Indians with us in Furo de Pedra was not advisable. First, they were susceptible to the common cold, which among relatively uncontaminated peoples such as these American aborigines often turns into a serious, and even fatal, disease. Second, unaccustomed to clothes, money, many foods, and other Brazilian customs and forms of etiquette, they would be totally dependent upon us during our stay in this frontier community. Nevertheless, the temptation to have my best informant with me during the trip and during our stay in Furo de Pedra was great and so we agreed to take Champukwi.

The trip was made slowly. Two good frontiersmen in a light canoe could have made it in three days, but we took eight. Champukwi was of little help in the canoe; unlike the riverine tribes the Tapirapé are a forest people who know little about the water, and few of them had ever traveled by canoe. Champukwi was unusual in that he could swim. Although he had more endurance than I, his efforts at paddling endangered the equilibrium of our canoe. However, he could shoot fish with his bow and arrow. The dry season had driven game from the open savanna which borders the Tapirapé River so that we were able to kill deer, *mutum* (another species of large forest fowl), and a wild goose to supplement the less palatable fare we had brought with us. Each night we camped on a beach from which we were able to collect the eggs of a small turtle, the *tracaja*, that had been buried in the sand. Only the mosquitoes which swarmed during sundown and early evening marred our trip. The experience remains one of the most memorable

115 He was always pleased when
123 we came to listen, particularly if we made the motions of joining in.
[526] He was an excellent wrestler in Tapirapé style, in which each opponent takes a firm grip on the pigtail of the other and attempts to throw him to the ground by tripping. Our wrestling match was brief although I was much taller than he; and his match with Valentim Gomes, who outweighed him by more than forty pounds, was
[186] a draw. Unlike so many who get a glimpse at a seemingly "superior" cultural world, Champukwi never became dissatisfied with his own way of life.

122 In June of 1940, my period of residence among the Tapirapé
123 Indians ended. The waters on the savanna which had to be crossed
[101] afoot to get to the Tapirapé River where our canoe was moored had not completely receded. Many Tapirapé friends, among them Champukwi, offered to carry our baggage, made lighter after a final dis-
122 tribution of gifts, down to the river. The night before our departure
123 a festival with the usual songfest was held to celebrate the final phase
881 of a ceremony during which a youth, this time the nephew of Kamiraho, became a man. Some Brazilian tribes make this occasion
[101] an ordeal by such means as applying a frame of stinging wasps to
[301] the body of the novice, but it is characteristic of the Tapirapé that
[302] the "ordeal" consists only of decorating the youth with a headdress of magnificent red macaw feathers, painting his body elaborately, and making him the center of dancing and singing—although the youth must himself dance continuously for a day and a night. Cham-
122 pukwi led the singing most of the night, but at dawn he came to
123 our house to supervise the packing of our belongings into the basket-like cases made of palm which are used for carrying loads of any kind. He divided the baggage among the younger men. Even some of the older household leaders decided to accompany us but they, of course, did not carry anything. Our trip was slow because everyone was tired after the all-night festival and because of the water through
[501] which we had to wade. At one point, rafts had to be made to trans-
[481] port our baggage across a still-swollen stream. Since the Tapirapé do not swim—or, like Champukwi, they swim but poorly—it was the job of the *tori* to swim and push the rafts. I had the honor of swimming across the stream, pushing the respected chieftain, Kamiraho. (How he got back, I shall never know.) After a day and a half, we reached the landing on the Tapirapé River, and the next

291 (cf. Photos. 5, 25, 69). This may corroborate the conjecture of
[114] the evolutionist Von den Steinen (2, 192) that the waist cord for-
[174] merly had the function of the penis sheath. Among present-day
Tapirapé this cord may be regarded, along with the tembetá, as
[982] a prerogative of the males. It is rarely used to carry [105:88]
[412] things. Occasionally they will hang a comb from it, or in recent
times a pair of scissors as well.

Dr. Charles Wagley told me that in 1939 he found straps for
114 carrying children that were worn by the Tapirapé women over the
854 shoulder and across the chest. In 1937, Dominican missionaries
177 had gone up the Tapirapé River with large quantities of fabrics.
The straps were made of those fabrics. It is interesting to note
that in 1935 there were no such objects in existence. It is inter-
esting because it would have been possible to carry the children
in small hammocks. Furthermore, I had given away many pieces
of cloth which could have been used as straps for carrying children.
[171] Such straps not only are used by the neighboring Kayapó (Krause,
2, 394) but are also a typical cultural trait of the Tupí Indians.
[Ed., two sentences are omitted.] It is worth noting, however,
that straps for carrying children are not used by the eastern neigh-
bors of the Tapirapé, that is to say, the Karajá (Krause 2, 276
and Plates 12, 37, and 42).

In the case of the Tapirapé, it was apparently the numerous
pieces of fabric brought by the Dominicans in 1937 that played a
decisive role in the introduction of straps for carrying children. In
291 1935, all the fabrics and cloth articles coming from our factories
177 had a merely decorative function among those Indians. The men
[562] alone used them, since most adornments are prerogatives of their
[301] sex and such impressive ornaments as those made of feathers and
claws are worn only by them. Kamairahó, the most important
chief, liked best of all to wear a red dress which his wife had re-
ceived as a gift. Thus, the aim the giver had in mind, probably
inspired by catechizing hopes, was missed entirely for the lady
remained altogether naked while her husband was covered down to
177 the knees and below. It is worth noting, however, that in the even-
291 ing, when Kamairahó retired, he would undress and carefully fold
513 the garment. Thus, at an hour when every protection against the
mosquitoes and the cold would have seemed to me exceedingly

361 size of the houses also varies, of course, with the number of their
[342] occupants. The ground plan of the village (Fig. 8) shows this numerical distribution, listed in Chapter 5, as it stood at the time of my visit.

342 Since I did not witness the construction of houses (avuyra-ham, "to build a house"), the following description of the procedure is based on what my companion, Mr. Kegel, observed on a previous visit. In August, during the day, the men cut down tree trunks of
[313] varying thickness in the forest, as well as leaves of the so-called "wild banana" (Heliconia spec.) and of the palm called macaba by the frontiersmen of the Araguaia. These provide the beams, poles, and thatch for the houses. The Indians carry these mate-
•[482] rials to the site of the future village in the late afternoon, thus avoiding the daytime heat which would cause the "banana" leaves to curl in transit and the bearers to tire unduly.

The construction work begins around four or five in the afternoon. First, the framework of beams is erected. The vertical shafts are laid out in three parallel rows, both outer rows being of the same height and the middle one being higher. Thus, in house a (Fig. 10), the outer shafts are about 1.60 meters high while the inner ones are about 3.80 meters high, and this represents a general average for all the houses except the takana. In house a, the outer rows stand about 2.75 meters from the inner one, and the intervals between the shafts in each row (marked with circles in Fig. 9) are one meter, 3.40 meters, 3.90 meters, 3.25 meters, 3.50 meters, and 1.30 meters, respectively. Since these intervals are the same in all three lines, seven other rows of shafts result, which stand perpendicular to the others and divide the house into rectangular quadrilaterals. This division, which is
[592] socially important because it reflects the distribution of the occupants [110:194] into couples and nuclear families, is emphasized further by crossbeams that form the sides of the quadrilaterals and
[283] are tied with embira cord [Tr., bast fiber yielded by a tree] at a height of 1.60 meters when they do not rest on the forked tips of the outer vertical shafts (cf. Fig. 10 and Photos. 3 and 48). In addition, the inner vertical shafts are connected to one another with several poles (marked with circles in Fig. 10) at a height varying from 3.20 to 3.80 meters.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



291
482
593
786
796
756

Fig. 9

Sempre que um pagé caia inconciente, os jovens que o acompanhavam lhe removiam ràpidamente o ornamento da cabeça e o levantavam nos ombros para carregá-lo através do circuito da aldeia. Nessa ocasião, a espôsa de Kamairaho estava preocupada com êle e veio apalpar-lhe a face.

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Whenever a shaman fell unconscious, the young men accompanying him quickly removed the headdress and raised him upon their shoulders to carry him through the village circle. On this occasion, Kamairaho's wife was worried about him and came to feel of his face.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



342
417
482
756
796
786

Fig. 10

O corpo da maioria dos pagés ficava rigido, quando, em estado de inconciência, eram carregados pelo circuito da aldeia, de volta à casa em que se iniciara a cerimônia. Nesta fotografia, três rapazes carregam fàcilmente o corpo rigido de Panteri, um dos poderosos pagés, após, ter sido abatido pelos seres do Trovão.

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The bodies of most shamans were rigid in their unconscious state as they were being carried through the village circle back to the first house. In this picture, three young men easily carry the rigid body of Panteri, one of the powerful shamans, after he had been stricken by the beings of Thunder.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



482
756
796
786

Fig. 11

Os mesmos rapazes carregando Panteri.

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The same young men carrying Panteri.

476 thundering noise, dragging along in its fall its weaker companions.

Every once in a while, a voice was heard behind the trees. One [222] could not see who it was, but the call sounded very close. Immediately, the boys rushed to the spot where the voice came from. Soon they returned with their arms full of bananas. They ran jubilantly toward us and distributed them.

These bananas reached a length of 30 centimeters and a middle [197] circumference of 15 to 20 centimeters. The men brought them in [482] hampers close to the working area, but never came out of the woods into the garden with their load.

The skin of the bananas was black, and their flesh was already 252 brownish and too soft. This is the condition in which the Tapirapé 262 like them best. The fruits are gathered when green and buried at the [222] spot where they grew. The Karajá do the same thing. In the sun- [171] heated ground, the bananas reach the desired state of rottenness more quickly than if they were kept at home. Then, too, they are warm when taken out of the ground, and this endears them further to the Indians.

They are not peeled in order to be eaten. The tough skin is 264 opened a little at one of the tips, the tip is placed between the lips, and the skin slowly emptied by squeezing it with the fingers so that the pulp gradually enters the mouth. Kamairahó ate one banana after another. As for myself, I found them nauseating.

[108] The sun was already quite low when we left. We forged 264 ahead at a rapid pace, one behind the other on the narrow trail. We 476 were not far from the village when the path opened onto a small, 462 cleared, triangular space. The women sat in the corners of this space 574 and watched us in silence. The women and girls had split into three groups which tallied with the work groups of their husbands and fathers. They had placed pots of food in the area in the same arrangement. [262] There were banana kãũí, peanut kãũi, cottonseed kãũí, toasted karã, and many other good things. Each group ate only from the pots placed for it at a specific spot. There were smaller quantities for the Tãnãvé, because they were fewer. I was invited from all sides, and since I [123] was very hungry I did not spare the other two groups. Only when I was beginning to be satiated did I put down, with a great show of surprise, the pot of banana soup of the Anantxã from which I had just partaken, and declared that I was a Tãnãvé. This fact, however, did not seem to be of great importance to my hosts.

303
415
531
171

1. Comb.

2. Whole-gourd vessel.

3 4

Half-gourd vessels.

285
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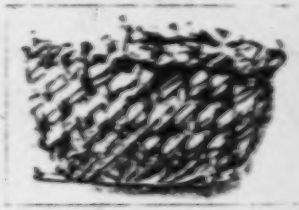
6

5. Back-basket.

7



8

6-8. Rectangular transport bags.

9. Elastic transport bag.

/409 cont./

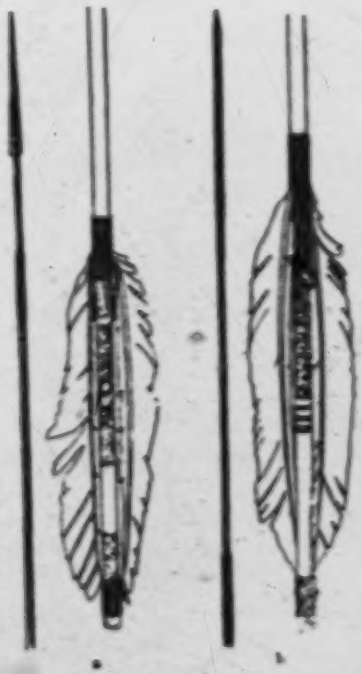
252 were lashed together with bast. They were obviously cut to size
[812] with stone axes, whereas thinner branches showed sharp knife cuts. Thus, iron knives have made their appearance here as a result of the carrying trade, even before a white man has seen the people themselves.

251 The roasted booty is apparently taken along by the Indians
482

252

411

Ill. 269 a-c. Grills from the large roasting place of the Tapirapé.



Ill. 270 a, b. Arrows.

251 on their further expeditions to other water places. For this purpose
482 they use transport back-baskets as well as smaller carrying bags, of which I brought along a selection from the specimens lying about at the roasting places.

/409 cont./

482 185 [171] The back baskets are similar in construction to those of the Karajá, but considerably smaller. One back-basket is plaited out of two palm fronds, like those of the Karajá; /410/ the ribs form the two longitudinal poles, the interwoven inner part of the fronds the bottom, the outer part the open-work edge. Their dimensions are 87 centimeters in length, 26 centimeters in width, 14 centimeters in height. Carrying bands are absent. The other back basket (Pl. 69, Ill. 5), by contrast, is made of only one frond in that the rib is broken twice and in this way forms the two longitudinal poles and the bottom cross-pole. To strengthen the longitudinal poles, two separate poles are tied on. The bottom plaiting and the lateral rods are /Ills. 269 and 270 appear here/ made considerably more neatly than in the previous one. It is only 68 centimeters long, 25 centimeters wide, and 15 centimeters high.

The bags are all made out of one palm frond in such a way that the rib forms the lower cross-edge, above which the bag, plaited out of pinnae, is built up (Pl. 69, Ills. 6-8). It is rectangular in shape throughout and is made with a simple one-up-one-down plaiting. Where carrying bands are present, they are fastened to the long side or the transverse side. /411/ Only one bag (Pl. 69, Ill. 9) is different in shape; its upper edge is drawn together tightly, so that only a small round opening remains, below which the bag bulges out in all directions. The measurements of the bag are: 10-16 centimeters high, 15-37 centimeters long.

301 Concerning other finds, there are still to be mentioned: a tassel of red cotton yarn that corresponds exactly to a cut-off, 411 youth's neck-tassel from the Karajá. And then two arrows. One of these (Ill. 270a) has a flat wooden point 43 centimeters long with barbs cut out on two sides and double-edged sharpness. The taquara shaft is 110 centimeters long and bears in back the two-part feathering, the twist of which makes a quarter turn and which is fastened only at the upper and lower end by winding. The upper winding consists of black cotton; into it little red feathers are tied toward the inside. The space between the feathers is

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



592 from many villages in the one village, many combinations of relatives now form residential groups.

### DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Both sexes are nude. Men tie the prepuce over the glans penis with a
302 palm fiber. Both men and women pull out pubic, axillary, and all facial hair. Even eyebrows are considered ugly. Men wear cotton string ligatures around their legs, just below the knee. Men, and sometimes women,
301 wear large cotton wrist bands crocheted directly on to their arms. Young boys and girls sometimes wear similar ornaments on their ankles; these ornaments are painted with a thick coat of red urucú dye and have round cuffs, often 2 to 3 inches (5 to 7.5 cm.) wide. Necklaces of beads given by Neo-Brazilians are highly valued and used almost to excess. Men
[302] paint their feet and the calves of their legs red with urucú; both men and women trace a multitude of patterns on their body with black genipa dye.

304 Men have their lower lip pierced and wear a small wooden lip plug. Two years or so after women have begun sexual life, patterns in the form of a three-quarter moon are made on their faces by scarification with a paca
[386] (*Cuniculus paca*) tooth knife. Charcoal and plant juices are rubbed into the wounds to leave dark blue designs.

### TRANSPORTATION

[501] The *Tapirapé* do not have canoes. All cargoes are carried by the men
462 in a carrying knapsack made from buriti-palm fibers strapped to their backs.

### MANUFACTURES

286 **Weaving.**—Hammocks are made by women from native cotton spun on
462 wooden spindles. The technique used is the simple twine weaving used by the *Tupinamba* and other *Tupi* groups.

323 **Ceramics.**—At present, the art of ceramics is declining. Pottery is
462 usually for cooking, and is made by women. Sometimes it bears incised
531 geometrical decorations.

531 **Gourds.**—Gourds are decorated with geometric incisions.

**Basketry.**—The most highly developed basketry techniques among the
285 *Tapirapé* are woven and twilled. Two types of baskets are flexible and nonflexible ones; both are of buriti fiber. They generally have a quadrangular base and a narrow, round top, and are used mostly to store manioc or maize flour. Flat, round baskets are used as cotton containers
[531] or flour sifters. They are usually ornamented with motifs originating in the weave itself; frequently the finished basket is smeared with black genipa and odd strands are scraped off, giving a negative decorative effect.

114 I left at 6:30 the following morning. Everything was wet with
133 dew. I skated over a stretch of black earth, damp and slippery
[132] ("soap"). I saw jaguar tracks. At eight o'clock, I reached a flooded
[134] forest strip which I had to ford. The same thing happened after walking another ten minutes. At ten o'clock I reached a traditional Tapirapé resting place located in a small patch of forest which contains fresh water. I rested there until four in the afternoon, and then set out again and waded through a swampy area. At 5:30 I reached
[136] dry scrub land where I was able to set up camp for the night. Before going to sleep, I heard frequent jaguar calls.

When I awoke on the twenty-first my clothes were soaked through with dew. I set out at six o'clock. Half an hour later, I was lost in a large and swampy muriti grove. At seven o'clock I reached dry scrub land, and at 9:15 the great forest. During the first 15 minutes of walking, the ground of the forest was more or less dry, but after that it became completely flooded. I walked for an hour and a half in water, which flowed in several places. At 11:30 [97:52] I
[241] found manioc in a brook. I then crossed four gardens separated from each other by strips of forest. At a quarter before one, I met four
[361] youths of the Tapirapé tribe, and half an hour later, still walking through the immense forest, I spotted in its midst the village of those Indians.

When I returned from the village to Porto Salvação on August 5
481 of the same year, I made the whole trip in a single day. I left at dawn with a Tapirapé youth. Although these Indians, as a rule, walk a little more slowly than the local Brazilian frontiersmen, their pace is still quite rapid and very even so that they proceed at the same speed through forest and grassland, and since they hardly stop to rest in the daytime, they may walk 40 or 50 kilometers a day.

On the way back, we took a different course through the forest.
133 The area we had gone through on the way out was still flooded. We
487 walked on ground that was quite dry, making a wide curve to the west. We reached the grassland within two hours. In many areas the Indians
[241] had already burned the grass, and our feet and legs were free of that hindering growth which adds so much to the traveler's weariness. Once in a while, a fresh breeze blew upon us. We walked four hours through
[137] open grassland and scrub forest, with frequent glimpses of pairs of deer,
[136] until we reached the traditional Tapirapé resting place in the small
[484] patch of forest containing fresh water. There we found Reverend Kegel

133 and our camarada [Tr., guide or hired hand], as well as several
487 Indians, and we set out again after a brief rest.

Two hours later we crossed another body of water surrounded by trees. Since Reverend Kegel was taken with leg cramps and also had to vomit several times because he had drunk water too quickly, we stayed there for about two hours.

Then we set out again in a long file, one behind the other. The sun burned down, but fortunately there was a breeze from time to
[484] time. To make their return journey easier, the Indians set fire to all the grass they found. Suddenly, in an unburned patch of grassland, we saw a pair of spotted jaguars engaged in amorous play. My camarada Daniel shot at them with his gun. Both animals ran away, one of them bleeding. Daniel with the gun and two Indians with bow
[231] and club vainly ran after them. The two Tapirapé dogs who were with us behaved in rather sorry fashion. One of them jumped about a little and barked, while the other did not even find courage for that.

Two hours later we reached Lake Tucunaré, where we found
[136] numerous mosquitoes. It took us three or four hours to go from there to Porto Salvação, along an old Indian trail on very hard and hot ground.

[97:53] It took us, therefore, 13 or 14 hours to return from the village to the river, and this was more or less the time we spent walking on the way out.

## Names of the River and its Tributaries

[Ed., one paragraph omitted.]

103 The Tapirapé Indians call the Tapirapé River aviohy (or aviuhy), which means "fluff water," hy being "water." They are very fond of
[301] the fluff of the jabiru, duck, and vulture for body ornamentation, and
[237] they find it chiefly on this river. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 97, pp. 53-54, is omitted.]

171 decorative object used on festive occasions and equipped with a
411 large bone point superposed on the shaft and adorned with tufts of pendant feathers. On the Karajá spear, however, these tufts are secured between the bone point and a braided ornament that covers the front part of the shaft along a length of 50 to 80 centimeters, while in the Tapirapé photographs published in the article "A civilização dos indios de Goyaz" [The Civilization of the Goiás Indians] (Revista [112:58] da Semana), they are fastened behind (or, if the spear is held vertically, under) the two-tone braiding. The Karajá told Krause (loc. cit.) that in olden times, when the spear was used to hunt jaguars, the tufts served to frighten the animal. Speaking of the Kayapó, the same author (2, 390) writes that he observed a few spears similar to those of the Karajá in the course of a ceremony.

Judging by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use hunting traps
224 and differ in this respect from the ancient coastal Tupi whose
171 traps are mentioned by several authors, for example, by Léry (134, 143) in the sixteenth century and by Vasconcellos (p. LXXVII) in the seventeenth. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

During our march to the river, the Tapirapé set fire to the
311 high, dry grass. According to them, they did this to make walking
● 484 easier on the return journey. This reason differs from that indi-
171 cated to me by the Brazilian frontiersmen when they set grass fields
224 on fire. They said that new grass would grow as a result of the burning and would attract deer and other animals, thus improving hunting conditions. Krause (2, 247) got the same explanation from the Karajá, who also liked to set fire to the grass fields. It may be
224 that the reason given by the Tapirapé reflects their lack of inclination for hunting. To my knowledge, they do not set fire to the fields for the purpose of killing the animals who run away from the fire and of gathering the small rodents who die in the flames, like, for example, the Chamakoko [Chamacoco] of the Chaco (Baldus 1, 32) and the Paressi of Mato Grosso (Roquette Pinto 126).

Among the dozen dogs (chavuana) in Tampiitaua, I did not
224 find a single one specialized for a certain type of game. The two
231 dogs who were with us when we encountered the pair of jaguars were immediately frightened by the animals and dared not run after them even in the company of the Indians. On the other hand, the wild

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

# WORLD VIEW OF THE TAPIRAPE INDIANS

By Charles Wagley

The Tapirape live in Central Brazil north of the Tapirape River, a western affluent of the Araguaya River. They are a Tupi-speaking people isolated from other peoples speaking the same language. Culturally they are related more closely to the Tupi-speaking people of the coast than to those of the head waters of the Xingu River. The only peoples with whom they have had contacts within historic times are their northern neighbors, the Gês-speaking Northern Kayapo and the Carajá (including the Javahe branch) of the Araguaya. Because of hostility with both these neighboring peoples, the Tapirape have withdrawn farther from the Araguaya and have contacts at present with the Carajá only through occasional European visitors. Introduced disease, acquired from these visitors and earlier from the Carajá, have reduced the Tapirape from five large villages (originally more than two hundred per village) to one with less than 150 people. Contacts with Europeans, however, have been short and few, leaving the Tapirape aboriginal culture little changed.

According to Tapirape tradition, they came to their present home from the north and east.[1] One group of them lived on the Araguaya and for a time shared a common village with the Javahe branch of the Carajá. The Tapirape are traditionally interested in country to the east, not to the west. It is to the east that Maratawa, the "home of the gods," lies, and in this direction, too, is the home of two legendary peoples: the Wanchira, a cannibalistic tribe which ate a famous mythical ancestor of the Tapirape, and the "other Tapirape," speaking the same language and sharing the same culture. East of the Araguaya River there is said to be another large river and great mountains where various supernaturals live.

Formerly, Tapirape who were captives of the Carajá returned to tell of that country and people, and in modern times Tapirape have visited both Carajá and Kayapo, as well as various Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya. No foreign or hostile tribes prevent them from wandering westward into the open country toward the Xingu River, but it is a region of little interest to them, and they never travel far in this direction. Of the Xingu River and people, they know only what Brazilian visitors have told

[1] According to Métraux, the Tapirape were known to have been on the Araguaya as early as the 18th century. He believes the Tapirape to be fugitives from the coast of Brazil, probably from the vicinity of Rio, possibly from the Tamoyo. Certainly they came from the east, but my material points to a migration from the northeast rather than from the southeast, as would be the case if migration had been from the forests of Rio. Métraux, Alfred, Migrations Historiques des Tupi-Guarani, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N.S.* 19, 34 (1927).

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



them. "Is it true," they ask, pointing westward, "that there is another Ara- 823
guaya (large river) there?"

The Tapirape know well their traditional country—that territory north of the Tapirape River to the River Preto, and west to the Araguaya. They know the plains country which borders the Tapirape River and the tropical forest to the north where formerly their five villages stretched in a line [361] some fifty to seventy-five miles apart. At least once during a man's life it was customary to visit all these villages, and before setting out he would [574] acquaint himself with the rivers, hills, and good hunting places along the trail. At the present time, since the Tapirape are a sedentary agricultural [241] people, depending upon large gardens of manioc, corn, yams, and bananas, rather than upon hunting as the chief basis of their food supply, and since [484] they have no trade, they do little travelling. The spatial limit of their direct experience is small.

Knowledge of the horizons beyond their direct experience—of far off 773
places and people, of the supernatural and spirit worlds, of the heavens, of the origins of peoples and things, comes to them only through stories of their legendary heroes, or through experiences of their shamans. Myths relate the creation, adventures, and travels of a series of ancestor culture heroes who took the form of civilizing gods.[2] Tapirape shamans travel [756] widely in their dreams; they whisk off to far places—to the Araguaya, to [787] the heavens, to the home of Thunder (see p. 257)—in their "canoes" [415] (opened gourds used as eating utensils by the Tapirape), or they may take the form of a bird as they travel in dreams. Since a Tapirape has this great wealth of vicarious experience to draw upon, he never answers for himself [823] when asked of those realms beyond his knowledge. Instead he tells of the exploits of a legendary culture hero, or of the travels of a shaman "who has been there."

The Tapirape are thus equipped with a wide range of second-hand ex- 772
perience. They have no concept of a closed or limited universe. New 823
knowledge either adds to, or fits into, their second-hand knowledge of a broad universe. Thus a Tapirape youth, seeing for the first time the large rock formation at the mouth of the Tapirape River, identified it as the place in which Panchai, a contemporary shaman, had seen the tremendous red parrots from which the supernaturals pluck feathers. Similarly, one travelling on the Araguaya recognized the large rapids below Santa Maria do Araguaya as those created by Kaowahu, a culture hero, to com-

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[2] Métraux, Alfred, La Religion des Tupinamba (1928), p. 7: "Pour les Tupinamba, comme pour la plupart des tribus sudaméricaines, certains personnages doués d'une puissance supérieure à celle du commun des magiciens ont été les artisans du monde tel qu'il se présentait à leurs yeux, mais ils en ont été souvent moins les créateurs que les transformateurs. Je veux dire par là que, même s'ils ont créé le ciel, les astres, et la terre leur œuvre est toujours partielle et incomplète, ne s'achevant que postérieurement à la suite d'incidents divers."

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



## CULTURE

### SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

137 The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive 133 132 rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

**Farming.**—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their 241 villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their [484] large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, cará (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

[221] Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also 241 it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work 616 festival (apačirú). When communally prepared, the large clearings are 476 afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, gener- [423] ally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apačirú, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaô) at the end 241 of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as [462] the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, cará, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout [422] the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clear- [361] ings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

262 Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is 252 the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupí* groups, however, the

13:, Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



the next two months we had daily sessions, some very brief and others lasting two or more hours. 115 123 124

In October of 1939, some six months after my arrival, I found it necessary to leave the Village of the Tapirs to go to Furo de Pedra for supplies and to collect mail that was held there for me. Valentim Gomes and I had come up the Tapirapé River, a tributary of the Araguaia, pulled by an outboard motor belonging to an anthropological colleague who had since returned to the United States. Now we had to paddle ourselves downstream. We could expect little help from the sluggish current and since the river was so low, it might be necessary to haul our canoe through shallows. Malaria had left me weak and I doubted that I was equal to this strenuous task. Several Tapirapé men, including Champukwi, were anxious to accompany us, but having Indians with us in Furo de Pedra was not advisable. First, they were susceptible to the common cold, which among relatively uncontaminated peoples such as these American aborigines often turns into a serious, and even fatal, disease. Second, unaccustomed to clothes, money, many foods, and other Brazilian customs and forms of etiquette, they would be totally dependent upon us during our stay in this frontier community. Nevertheless, the temptation to have my best informant with me during the trip and during our stay in Furo de Pedra was great and so we agreed to take Champukwi. 122 [164] [177]

The trip was made slowly. Two good frontiersmen in a light canoe could have made it in three days, but we took eight. Champukwi was of little help in the canoe; unlike the riverine tribes the Tapirapé are a forest people who know little about the water, and few of them had ever traveled by canoe. Champukwi was unusual in that he could swim. Although he had more endurance than I, his efforts at paddling endangered the equilibrium of our canoe. However, he could shoot fish with his bow and arrow. The dry season had driven game from the open savanna which borders the Tapirapé River so that we were able to kill deer, *mutum* (another species of large forest fowl), and a wild goose to supplement the less palatable fare we had brought with us. Each night we camped on a beach from which we were able to collect the eggs of a small turtle, the *tracaja*, that had been buried in the sand. Only the mosquitoes which swarmed during sundown and early evening marred our trip. The experience remains one of the most memorable 115 484 [487] [226] [224] [222] [136]

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
[P. 404] SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Champukwi on the Trip to Furo de Pedra.

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of my life, a feeling that was shared, I believe, by Valentim Gomes and by Champukwi.

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Champukwi adjusted to Furo de Pedra with amazing rapidity. His short visit as a youth to the mission station undoubtedly contributed to his quick adaptation although, to be sure, there were minor problems and incidents. The Brazilians of Furo de Pedra were accustomed to Indians, for nearby there was a village of semi-civilized Caraja Indians who frequently visited and traded in the settlement. Yet, Champukwi was a bit of a curiosity—the townspeople had seen only one other Tapirapé. The local Brazilians invited him into their homes and offered him coffee and sweets. Both Valentim Gomes and I watched over his movements with all the anxiety of overprotective parents for fear that he might be exposed to a respiratory infection (he did not contract any) or that the hospitality of the local Brazilians might persuade him to drink *cachaça* (sugar cane *aguardiente*). Alcoholic beverages were unknown to the Tapirapé who are unlike most South American groups in this respect.

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[273]

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137 The savanna of the hinterland beyond the left bank of the river
241 is bounded on the north by this huge forest, in which many generations of Tapirapé Indians have found enough virgin growth to prepare annually new plots that provide them with an abundance of bananas, maize, peanuts, gourds, beans, manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, peppers, tobacco, and cotton. This forest, aside from being flooded
133 extensively even in the dry season, contains small streams flowing
312 on wide beds of clear sand, which offer the Indians cool, limpid
226 water for drinking and bathing, and abundant fish, large and small, that play an important part in their diet.

The only man-made trails that we know of so far in the vicinity
●487 of the Tapirapé River are the more or less deeply marked footpaths of the Tapirapé Indians. On the savanna, they are about 20 centimeters wide and follow the sinuous line involuntarily produced by human beings when they walk on flat ground. [97:51] We can verify this sinuosity, for example, on a long beach, when we attempt to reach a certain point directly and later look at the trail left by our feet. We notice that it meanders and thus differs from all animal tracks, those of the jaguar or water cavy as well as those of birds, which always run in a straight line unless they curve out deliberately.

To give an idea of a specific part of the river environs at a
114 specific time of year, I shall now describe my land journey toward the
133 north, from Porto Salvação to Tampũtána. I left on June 19, 1935, at 3:30 in the afternoon, carrying on my back the requisite sleeping and eating equipment. I walked at the rapid pace used by the local frontiersmen on long hikes, making about five kilometers an hour on flat, unobstructed ground. I went through dry grassland with a scatter-
[137] ing of medium-sized trees which sometimes stood dozens of meters apart. After a walk of nearly three hours, I reached Lake Tucunaré,
[103] so called because of its abundant fish of the same name which attract
[136] the Tapirapé Indians to the place every year. At the time of my passage, Lake Tucunaré was a slow and deep brook which I had to cross up to my waist in water. They say that it connects with the Tapirapé River during the rainy season. It is surrounded by trees, and the water is full of them. After wading through it, I reached a place on the shore where those Indians often set up their sleeping hammocks and
[136] where I spent the night. There were quite a few mosquitoes. The
[132] chief plague of the day, however, in spite of my deliberately late start, was the heat.

114 I left at 6:30 the following morning. Everything was wet with
133 dew. I skated over a stretch of black earth, damp and slippery
[132] ("soap"). I saw jaguar tracks. At eight o'clock, I reached a flooded
[134] forest strip which I had to ford. The same thing happened after walking another ten minutes. At ten o'clock I reached a traditional Tapirapé resting place located in a small patch of forest which contains fresh water. I rested there until four in the afternoon, and then set out again and waded through a swampy area. At 5:30 I reached
[136] dry scrub land where I was able to set up camp for the night. Before going to sleep, I heard frequent jaguar calls.

When I awoke on the twenty-first my clothes were soaked through with dew. I set out at six o'clock. Half an hour later, I was lost in a large and swampy muriti grove. At seven o'clock I reached dry scrub land, and at 9:15 the great forest. During the first 15 minutes of walking, the ground of the forest was more or less dry, but after that it became completely flooded. I walked for an hour and a half in water, which flowed in several places. At 11:30 [ 97:52] I
[241] found manioc in a brook. I then crossed four gardens separated from each other by strips of forest. At a quarter before one, I met four
[361] youths of the Tapirapé tribe, and half an hour later, still walking through the immense forest, I spotted in its midst the village of those Indians.

When I returned from the village to Porto Salvação on August 5
481 of the same year, I made the whole trip in a single day. I left at dawn with a Tapirapé youth. Although these Indians, as a rule, walk a little more slowly than the local Brazilian frontiersmen, their pace is still quite rapid and very even so that they proceed at the same speed through forest and grassland, and since they hardly stop to rest in the daytime, they may walk 40 or 50 kilometers a day.

On the way back, we took a different course through the forest.
133 The area we had gone through on the way out was still flooded. We
●487 walked on ground that was quite dry, making a wide curve to the west. We reached the grassland within two hours. In many areas the Indians
[241] had already burned the grass, and our feet and legs were free of that hindering growth which adds so much to the traveler's weariness. Once in a while, a fresh breeze blew upon us. We walked four hours through
[137] open grassland and scrub forest, with frequent glimpses of pairs of deer,
[136] until we reached the traditional Tapirapé resting place in the small
[484] patch of forest containing fresh water. There we found Reverend Kegel

133 and our camarada [Tr., guide or hired hand], as well as several
487 Indians, and we set out again after a brief rest.

Two hours later we crossed another body of water surrounded by trees. Since Reverend Kegel was taken with leg cramps and also had to vomit several times because he had drunk water too quickly, we stayed there for about two hours.

Then we set out again in a long file, one behind the other. The sun burned down, but fortunately there was a breeze from time to
[484] time. To make their return journey easier, the Indians set fire to all the grass they found. Suddenly, in an unburned patch of grassland, we saw a pair of spotted jaguars engaged in amorous play. My camarada Daniel shot at them with his gun. Both animals ran away, one of them bleeding. Daniel with the gun and two Indians with bow
[231] and club vainly ran after them. The two Tapirapé dogs who were with us behaved in rather sorry fashion. One of them jumped about a little and barked, while the other did not even find courage for that.

Two hours later we reached Lake Tucunaré, where we found
[136] numerous mosquitoes. It took us three or four hours to go from there to Porto Salvação, along an old Indian trail on very hard and hot ground.

[97:53] It took us, therefore, 13 or 14 hours to return from the village to the river, and this was more or less the time we spent walking on the way out.

## Names of the River and its Tributaries

[Ed., one paragraph omitted.]

103 The Tapirapé Indians call the Tapirapé River aviohy (or aviuhy),
which means "fluff water," hy being "water." They are very fond of
[301] the fluff of the jabiru, duck, and vulture for body ornamentation, and
[237] they find it chiefly on this river. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 97, pp. 53-54, is omitted.]

351 lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the village square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstruc-
[372] tions. The trunks served as seats and, bit by bit, as firewood. They lay in such numbers over the vast area stretching between the houses and the edge of the forest, and were so entangled and
[114] ensnarled by their branches, that the imaginative Madame de
[712] la Falaise (196), who visited Tampiitaua on August 23, 1935, that is to say, shortly after my departure, went so far as to write the following: "We proceeded toward the village, where the tribe, for fear of armed aggression, has fortified the surroundings. The felled, tangled trees, the traps and ingenious obstacles, are discouraging. The boldest aggressor would break his neck long before he got the better of them" [translated from French].

361 In this respect, however, I must confess that the only serious
712 obstacles I encountered daily on crossing the area in question were
114 the products of the tribal digestive processes, for the supposed
[514] fortification held no role other than that of a huge toilet. [110: 192] I do not wish to determine whether such obstacles may be termed "ingenious," but I wish to emphasize that they did not discourage me. The truth is that the Tapirapé do not fortify their
[171] village in any way, and differ in this respect from the Tupinambá, who surrounded their villages (Jean Parmentier apud J.F. de Almeida Prado, 180; Hans Staden, p. 3; Gabriel Soares de Sousa, 366). The "traps and ingenious obstacles" mentioned above exist only in the imagination of the author. Even the act of placing
[721] sentries, a precaution referred to in Chapter 5, is strikingly inconsistent with the natural bent of the Tapirapé.

Toward the east a stream meandered, a few paces from the
361 village. Its clear, fresh waters ran free of the thick forest for only
[312] a short stretch, which was used at the same time as bathroom and
[515] drinking fountain, and as a spot for fishing and for washing the
[226] sleeping hammocks. A well-beaten path led from it to the vil-
[487] lage plaza, skirting a plot of sugar cane to the left. According to
249 what Reverend Kegel told me, this plot resulted from collective
476 labor performed for Kamairahó. The latter had ruled on the site of the plot and concurrently on that of the village, which had been built later beside the communally prepared garden. It was, so to speak, a luxury plot, for it contained nothing but the sweet grass

648 carried out, would bring about the certain annihilation of this peaceful Tupi tribe" (Sociologia, Vol. 4, p. 407). In this respect, indeed, the Tapirapé are unlike the true masters of the Araguaia, namely, the Karajá, who have been in contact with the Whites for centuries and who have seemingly developed, at least to some extent, a certain physical and mental resistance to them.

The impracticality of settling the Tapirapé at the mouth of the river of the same name does not imply the abandonment of the Heloisa Alberto Torres post. This post is indispensable not only to protect the northern Karajá group that is settled there and the other groups living down the Araguaia, but also to control the entrance to the Tapirapé River.

As a location for the future protective post of the Tapirapé, I would suggest the spot on the left bank called Pôrto Frederico by the frontiersmen in memory of my traveling companion of 1935, a British missionary who built a shelter there. It is located on a steep bank half a league from São Domingos, the spot where the Dominicans from Conceição do Araguaia usually land on their apostolic journeys. It is the last place where it is possible to moor a boat on the navigable stretch, for there is a waterfall not far above it. Here the trail begins, [487] perhaps several centuries old, that connects the river with the great forest inhabited by the Tapirapé from distant times, the edge of which may be reached in one day on foot or horseback during the dry season. A canoe with a motor at the stern takes two days, traveling from morning to nightfall, from Pôrto Frederico down to the mouth of the river, and usually takes no longer going up since the current is weak. Pôrto Velho is reached similarly in one day.

Apparently, Mr. Lucio Penna da Luz also noticed the advantages of Pôrto Frederico. When we arrived there on July 17, 1947, we found two families of vaqueros who had arrived on the previous day. On the orders of that rancher, they had already erected the framework of their future dwelling and they were preparing palm leaves to cover it. They explained that they had come to set up a ranch on these lands, and that their master intended to establish yet another one up-river, so that the entire margin of the Tapirapé River which has belonged so far to the Indians of the same name would now be occupied.

An Indian post established at Pôrto Frederico or its vicinity would not serve only to guard the territory set aside for the Tapirapé and to

5: Krause--26 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

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Ill. 6. Tortoise cages of the Karajá. Tapirapé River.
(Drawn from a photograph.)
/Ill. 6 appears on p. 119./

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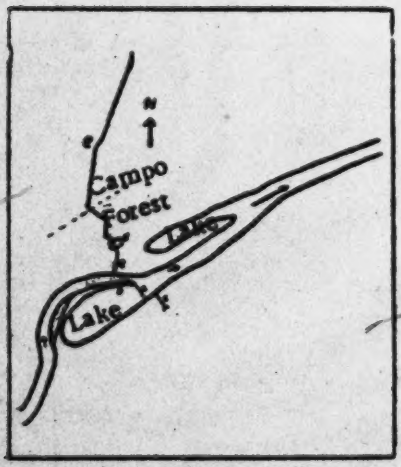



a: Fish fence
b: Sandbank
c: Path to the place where trees are felled.
d: Roasting place.
e: Path to the roasting place and to the villages.

Ill. 7.
Sketch map of the fish-lakes in the Tapirapé River.
/Ill. 7 appears on p. 122./

/406 cont./

114 On the campo path from the first roasting place, which was later
[487] joined by the second coming from the left, we reached a large
[361] village on the second day of the land march, two smaller villages
[312] on the third day, all three abandoned and in utter ruins. Water was not to be found on the campo on which the villages were located; the swamps and brooks to which paths led were dried out and, when excavated, in part to a depth of one meter, did not even yield moist earth, to say nothing of water.

131 On the basis of the discoveries and observations that I
133 made at these places, I formed the following opinion. The tribe lives on the high campo that extends from the southern bend of the Tapirapé to the north as far as the high mountains (or plateau borders) that enclose it in the north and west. In front of these borders there extends a tremendous trough, apparently the source region of the Tapirapé, which from there flows around out of the high campo in the west and south, then turns off to the north-
[361] east. /407/ Here, approximately 130 kilometers due west from
[162] the Tapirapé mouth, the tribe lives in one large and two smaller
361 villages during the rainy season. The large village seemed to have had three to four houses; the second, smaller one, two to
[342] three; the third perhaps the same number. The houses were in such a state of ruin that their construction was no longer recognizable; apparently they were large rectangular buildings with a pointed gable roof. The villages lie close to the large forest
[133] area that accompanies the trough in front of the mountains. All around in smaller troughs extend large swamps to which brooks
221 lead. During the dry season these water areas dry up completely, so that even holes up to a meter deep in the brook bed do not yield moist earth. As a result, the Indians are compelled to migrate to water areas, and apparently they then first seek the
[437] upper Tapirapé. In former times they seem to have come farther downstream to a certain place where they met the Karajá, who extended their fishing expeditions this far, and traded with them. This trading place lies about 30 kilometers southeast of the first village (34 kilometers from the second and third). As
[226] a result of the conflicts with the Karajá, they now avoid this

/407 cont./

221 region and come to the river farther upstream, before it turns
226 toward the northeast. Here, by means of poisonous cipo, they
[252] fish successive lakes blocked off by fences. They seem to travel from upstream downward, for the upper roasting place showed only a few new beams among very old ones, whereas the lower one was apparently quite recently built. This lower one, beside which they fished from the middle to the end of August 1908, lies about 16 kilometers south-southwest of the first village (24 kilometers
[487] from the second and third). The well-worn paths that go from the two roasting places, join, and lead by way of the first village to the other two, seem to indicate that the Indians visit this spot annually. Where they go from here I was unable to find out; perhaps they went across the Tapirapé to the south. In any case a campo lake abounding in fish, several kilometers away from the trading place, showed no traces of human beings.

161 These people seem to be very numerous. The number of
[342] houses is small, to be sure, but their dimensions seemed to be
[252] quite considerable. The 26 huge grills at the first roasting place and 10-15 at the second, the sandbanks completely trodden down with footprints beside the first fish lake, certainly lead one to
513 conclude that there is a large crowd of people. Sleeping is
352 apparently done in hammocks. This is indicated first by the net coverings that the Karajá buy from them, and then by the complete absence of sleeping places beside the roasting place, which was certainly used for many days.

241 Besides manioc (according to the account of the Karajá), these people also plant maize, as is indicated by many, partly
231 charred corncobs at the roasting place. As domestic animals they keep dogs, the traces of which were numerous on the sand-
224 banks. It may surely be assumed that they devote themselves to
[136] hunting. The campo is extremely rich in deer, the forests in wild pigs. Certainly they will not forgo these sources of meat.

226 In addition, fishing is practiced on a large scale through poisoning the /408/ /Ill. 267 appears here/ /409/ water of blocked-off lakes. We saw barrier poles everywhere in the territory of this tribe in front of lake outlets. The first lake that we came across was completely blocked off by a fence that was

[Text continues on p. 344]

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

**Champukwi of the Village of the Tapir**

Champukwi sketched for me the stories of Petura, the Tapirapé ancestral hero who stole fire from the King Vulture, daylight from the night owl, *genipa* (used for dye) from the monkeys, and other items for the Tapirapé. However, he persuaded Maeumi, an elder famous for his knowledge of mythology, to relate the details although he himself helped considerably to clarify for me the meaning of native phrases and to make the stories told by Maeumi more fully understandable. Champukwi also forewarned me of events that I might want to witness, events that without his warning I might have missed. Such were the wrestling matches which took place upon the return of a hunting party between those men who went on the hunt and those who remained at home. He told me of a particularly handsome basket a man had made, which I might want to add to my collection for the Brazilian National Museum. He came to tell me that a young woman in a neighboring house was in labor, thus enabling me to get a photograph of the newborn infant being washed in the stream, and he urged the men to celebrate for my benefit a ceremony which might easily have been omitted. Champukwi was no longer merely an informant. He became a participant in ethnographic research although, of course, he never thought of it in these terms. He seemed somehow to understand the anthropologist's task in studying his culture, and in the process he gained considerable objectivity about his own way of life.

Yet it must be said that Champukwi did not seem to discredit the norms, institutions, and beliefs of his own people. Although he saw Valentim and me walk safely down the path through the forest late at night, he steadfastly refused to do the same; for the path was a favorite haunt of the lonely ghosts of deceased Tapirapé who might harm the living. He reasoned that the *tori* were probably immune to this danger. When he was ill, he took the pills we urged upon him but he also called in the shaman. His curiosity about airplanes, automobiles, and "gigantic canoes" (passenger boats) which he saw pictured in the magazines we had brought with us, was great; but he boasted that the Tapirapé could walk farther and faster than any *tori* or even the Caraja (who are a canoe people). In fact, his interest in, and enthusiasm for, certain Tapirapé activities seemed to be heightened by our presence. Almost all Tapirapé ceremonials involve choral singing and Champukwi was a singing leader of one of the sections of the men's societies. He was always pleased when

175 villages, asking them to come and visit the Whites who were with
648 them. The 30 men, wary and afraid that some treachery might be afoot, resolved not to stay long in those parts. They sang the praises of the Whites, asked the Indians to come with them to São Paulo where they would be near their churches and all that was necessary for their salvation, but they did all this deceitfully, in a professional backwoods way. They stirred 3,000 souls. And since the
[241] Indians not long before had changed the site [of their gardens] and the provisions of manioc flour from the plots they had abandoned
[501] were almost exhausted, they embarked four days later in 300 canoes out of the many they owned. On embarking, the 30 men managed to take from them all their bows and arrows. They proceeded up-river, touching ground every day to rest and sleep. Among the 3,000 souls was an Indian woman (who must have been the daughter of one of the seven Frenchmen, whose progeny was numerous), the wife of the son of a certain chief who had followed our men. This woman (who had been neatly endowed by nature, according to the informant, with all the parts requisite to a perfect body) was given by the captain to one of his henchmen. The latter, either to rid himself of the worry caused by the presence of the woman's husband, or perhaps to add to it still further, returned the woman to the captain. The wretched Indian was so deeply affected by the usurpation of his rightful matrimony, and the others by the fact that within a few days they would all be separated, that at a certain time and place they got together and rose against the 30 men, killing 16 and a few of the Indians they had taken with them. Satisfied with the death of these men, they turned back toward their villages in the same canoes. The 14 men who got away, but whom the Indians could have killed, proceeded up-river with only two of the aforementioned Caatingas, who either would not or could not follow the other Indians. They reached the São Paulo settlement, which they had left 19 months earlier..."

174 The identification of their language with Lingua-geral [Tr., 181 the Tupi lingua franca] characterizes the "Caatingas" as Tupí. To
[197] my knowledge, there is no evidence of the existence of other Tupí Indians, besides the Tapirapé, along the part of the Araguaia that stretches between its confluence with the Tocantins and the northern part of Bananal Island. We must take into account, however, that

101 relatively close to this confluence, that is to say, to the north of
174 it, there lived such Tupí tribes as the Anambé of the lower Tocantins mentioned by Couto de Magalhães (2, 267) and Ehrenreich (1 and 3, IV), the Manajé of the Ararandéua River studied by Nimuendajú (2), and the Urubú cited by Rice and Raimundo Lopes (2).

[98:109] The fact that the "Caatingas" owned many canoes
101 does not rule in any way against their identification with the
●50/ Tapirapé. The latter, although at present they are not navigators
174 like their neighbors the Karajá [Caraja] or the old-time Tupinambá, still retain the Tupí word for canoe, yana in Tapirapé pronunciation. Furthermore, in 1935, I saw on the Tampiitáua village stream a tree trunk hollowed out in the shape of a dugout. It is true that apparently it had been made just for fun, since it lay with the opening facing downward and was not used as a boat even in play. This, however, does not make it unlikely that the Tapirapé should have owned many traveling canoes in former times.

101 Caatinga, a Tupí word consisting of caá, "bush," and tinga,
174 "white, whitened," may refer to the region inhabited at the time
[137] by the Indians of that name, for it is known that the forests of gnarled, stunted trees that shed nearly all of their leaves during the dry season, forests called catingas or matos secos [dry bush], extend to the north of the state of Goiás (cf. Bernardino José de Souza 120-121). In any case, this designation does not rule against the identification of the "Caatingas" Indians with the Tapirapé or any other tribe with a different name. [Ed., the remainder of this page and part of the first paragraph on p. 110 are omitted.]

[98:110] The Tapirapé appear in the eighteenth century as
101 "Tapuytapé" and "Tapirasse," in the nineteenth century as "Tappiraques" and "Tapirapeques" and in the twentieth century as "Itapirapés," there being even a street by this name in the city of São Paulo (see Alrosa 2, 152). This leads us to assume that the name of the tribe changed over these four centuries in accordance with variations in pronunciation. In any case, I agree with the
101 opinion of Nimuendajú (ibid. [letter of October 12, 1935]) accord-
114 ing to whom it is more probable that the "Pirapêx" of Beato Maciel
174 Parente [cited apud Mendes de Almeida II, 35-37] should be

227 consists of cane internodes, slit lengthwise in such a way that a ring of the same material placed across the middle of each internode constitutes, so to speak, the common base of two cones formed by the splayed and distended strips, which remain joined only at the tips of the internode, that is to say, at the two nodes (Photo. 31). The Tapirapé name for this "rod-trap" is chekiã-
[192] nayngaua, and the name of the material used is angkamanchyva, the same kind of cane that is used in making arrows. I must
171 confess that I never saw the chekiã-nayngaua in use and have not
227 heard of its existence in other tribes. Among the eastern Bororo, however, there are hair ornaments consisting of cane internodes which are also distended with a ring of the same material and adorned with feathers. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

The strainer (yrupema) of cane strips is used by children and
227 adults of both sexes to catch small fish, as I frequently observed at the village stream. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[112:61] There are couples who go to the fishing waters at
226 night with burning sticks. The fish are drawn by the light, and they are killed easily with a club or bush knife or caught with the hand. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not see any fishing with nets among the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

I did not witness any harpoon fishing among the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, I did not see any fishing with the im-
171 plement of small pointed sticks arranged in the shape of a truncated
227 cone, which is called kutu by the Bakairi (Von den Steinen 2, 73, 74, and 236). It is also used by the Tembé (Nordenskiöld 6, 102 and Map 11), but is not found among the Karajá and Kayapó.

To judge by what I saw, the Tapirapé do not use fishhooks and
227 do not care much for them as gifts. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

On a lake whose waters had been poisoned by the Tapirapé,
114 the same author [Krause] (2, 409) saw a few light tree trunks
● 501 bound together, which he assumed had been used for navigation. As I already mentioned in Chapter 2, I found on the Tampiitaua stream a trunk hollowed out in the shape of a canoe, but lying with

114 its opening facing downward. As a result, it served us nicely to
●501 wash our clothes on. It had apparently been made just to pass the time and did not seem to have any further purpose. The
171 Tapirapé do not usually travel in boats, differing in this respect
501 from the Tupinambá and from most of the present-day Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 207-211), from the Xingu Indians (Von den Steinen 2, 234), and from the Karajá (Krause 2, 276), but not from the Kayapó (ibid., 393). The Chavante, who do not have canoes either, cross the Rio das Mortes on the crude rafts described by Szaffka. It is worth noting, however, that the Tapirapé retain
[192] the old Tupi word for "canoe," that is, yana, written yara by Stradelli and considered by him (715) "a contraction of y, 'water,' and iara, 'mistress,' 'mistress of the water.'" In any case, it is not impossible that the Tapirapé formerly possessed canoes for navigation.

As far as fishing is concerned, let us also mention Manggambí's
787 "dream." The people of Tampiitaua often say that they dreamed
776 of something which they actually suspect or know about. Manggambí
226 was the fattest Tapirapé at the time of my visit. He dreamed of an abundance of fish at a specific spot in a certain stream, [112:62] which held so many fish that the anchinga would be able to eat them
[535] in large quantities. The name anchinga is applied not only to certain spirits, but also to the masked dancers who represent them. All the anchinga who inhabit the hills and waters feed on fish. This
[182] Tapirapé belief, incidentally, is a token of the importance of fishing. Manggambí said that "all" the men should go and fetch the fish he had dreamed of. What Tampiitaua regards as "all" the men did go. They were Manggambí himself and eight companions. When they returned, Manggambí held a large basket full of tiny fish, which were cooked and eaten shortly before dawn in the ceremonial house by the men and adolescents who had impersonated [in the dance] anchinga, chankuí [a bird], and irangchá [a fish]. [Ed., end of Vol. 112.]

[113:191] Although fishing is one of their chief means of sub-
105 sistence, the Tapirapé cannot be regarded essentially as a fishing tribe, as their neighbors the Karajá might fittingly be described. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua do not lead the amphibian life of those big-river navigators. They are forest Indians and cultivators par excellence. In this respect, they remain typical Tupi Indians.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



organization, in technology, in ceremonial and religious 177
life, in economics and, in fact, in almost all realms of life. In the space of a short paper it will be possible to indicate only a few of these modifications. One of the 177
most striking changes has to do with the relations of 574
the Tapirapé with their traditional enemies, the Carajá. 648
In 1940 the Tapirapé told of their fear of the Carajá who had attacked them several times in the past, and Tapirapé men traveling along the Araguaya River with the writer hid in the bottom of the boat in fear of their traditional foe. No Tapirapé would have dared enter a Carajá village without the protection of a Brazilian. But in 1953 the new Tapirapé village was situated within six or seven kilometers of a Carajá village. Two Tapirapé [582]
youths, for lack of Tapirapé women of marriageable age, had married Carajá girls, and following the rule of matrilocal residence which both Carajá and Tapirapé cultures share they lived in the Carajá village and worked with their in-laws. Each day during my 1953 visit there were Carajá visitors in the Tapirapé village. They came [434]
to exchange fish, game or other items for Tapirapé manioc — for the Tapirapé are by tradition better gardeners than the Carajá. A friendly Carajá even joined the Tapirapé men to dance and sing during one of their ceremonials, and one evening a group of Tapirapé accepted the invitation of the Carajá to attend their wrestling matches on the beach in front of the Carajá village. One must conclude that old and traditional enmities and antagonisms between peoples can fade out easily and quickly unless there are deep-seated economic or territorial bases for such antagonisms.

Another striking change between the Tapirapé in 177
1940 and those of 1953 was their recent adaptation to 481
canoe travel. In 1940, the Tapirapé might have been classified as "foot Indians". They neither made nor owned canoes. Many Tapirapé were unable to swim. They were all most inept when forced to travel by canoe. In 1953, six Tapirapé men owned canoes they had acquir- 177
ed from the Carajá, some had to make canoes, and 501

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



177 several had become excellent canoe-men. Small Tapirapé
[501] boys spent a large part of the day, as do Carajá boys, swimming in the nearby river. Thus, within about a decade, the Tapirapé had shifted from "foot Indians" (one of the criteria for Marginal Cultures, according to the *Handbook of South American Indians*[4]) to "canoe Indians" (a criterion for Tropical Forest Cultures according to the same source). Such criteria as the mode of transportation obviously have little historical depth and are thus of little value for classificatory purposes.

177 In 1940, the most important individuals in Tapirapé
756 society were the shamans or *pančes*; the tribe depended upon them for protection against dangerous supernaturals, cures for illness, and even bringing the spirits of children so that women would conceive. But in 1953 not one individual in the Tapirapé village would admit that he was a *panče*. Opronunxui and Antonio Pereira, two Tapirapé men between 30 and 40 years of age, were said to be able to "cure" a little, but they had none of the formidable powers of the old *pančes*. "The *pančes* have ended," said the Tapirapé. As a result, they are today more vulnerable to the dangerous supernaturals, but they are also free from the deadly effects of sorcery which they believed the old shamans practiced and had caused their rapid population decline. In fact, the suspicion of shamans and the relatively frequent execution of those suspected of sorcery made shamanism such a dangerous occupation that no one wishes to take up that once honored profession.
[771] But without shamans Tapirapé religion has lost its central figures, and much of the old religious knowledge will be
[797] lost to Tapirapé culture. Without the full knowledge of their own religion, the Tapirapé are today more vulnerable to the teachings of missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, who are now active among them.

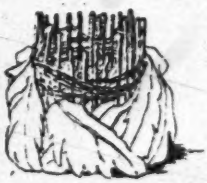
177 With so few members, Tapirapé culture is "passing through a narrow funnel" so to speak; in other words,

[4] Bulletin 143, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. I, 1946; also see Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 678, 1949.

/409 cont./

226 still green. The location of the fence is shown in Ill. 7. The fence extends from the lake shore to the sandbank that separates it from the river. Vertical posts are driven in and joined together by a horizontal beam floating on the water. They are supported on either side by diagonal struts. Inside, dense foliage is tied on, which is supposed to prevent the stupefied fish from being carried out (Ill. 267). The posts had been cut nearby in the forest on the southern bank. The water was poisoned with poisonous cipo that lay in quantities on the sandbank and at the rear end of the lake; it had been fetched from the forest at the end of the lake. The Indians apparently do not have boats for traveling on the lake. Serving for this were a few light tree trunks that lay tied together in the lake beside the sandbank. In this way they had caught all kinds of fish, even pirarucús, obviously in large quantities, as the large number of grills (26) shows. They also caught turtles and kept them alive. They had built a sort of cage, in the shade of which the turtles were able to survive the hot part of the day (Ill. 268). Sticks about a meter high were stuck in the ground in a circle three-fourths of a meter in diameter, interwoven with leaves, and joined together by cipo winding.

[501] [225]



Ill. 268.
Turtle cage.

225

252 The preparation of food seems to be done by boiling and roasting. The fire is transported with large blocks of wood that lay about everywhere. Cooking is obviously done in clay vessels, the shards of which lay scattered around at the first roasting place and beside the paths. Chiefly, however, the yield from the fishing expeditions seems to be roasted, perhaps for stores, for the entire layout of the roasting places and the numerous back-baskets indicated large-scale activity. Roasting was done near the lakes in the forest on large sites on which huge grills were found. These had a triangular or rectangular form, a roasting surface as large as four square meters, and were mounted to the trees of the forest. Often several, with their frames, were joined (see Ill. 269 a-c /see p. 346; Pl. 29 /see p. 18/, Ill. 2). The beams of these racks

Plate 6.

857
501

Fig. 11. Tapirapé children playing on the beach at Pôrto Velho.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



592 from many villages in the one village, many combinations of relatives now form residential groups.

### DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Both sexes are nude. Men tie the prepuce over the glans penis with a palm fiber. Both men and women pull out pubic, axillary, and all facial
302 hair. Even eyebrows are considered ugly. Men wear cotton string ligatures around their legs, just below the knee. Men, and sometimes women,
301 wear large cotton wrist bands crocheted directly on to their arms. Young boys and girls sometimes wear similar ornaments on their ankles; these ornaments are painted with a thick coat of red urucú dye and have round cuffs, often 2 to 3 inches (5 to 7.5 cm.) wide. Necklaces of beads given by Neo-Brazilians are highly valued and used almost to excess. Men
[302] paint their feet and the calves of their legs red with urucú; both men and women trace a multitude of patterns on their body with black genipa dye.

304 Men have their lower lip pierced and wear a small wooden lip plug. Two years or so after women have begun sexual life, patterns in the form of a three-quarter moon are made on their faces by scarification with a paca
[386] (*Cuniculus paca*) tooth knife. Charcoal and plant juices are rubbed into the wounds to leave dark blue designs.

### TRANSPORTATION

[501] The *Tapirapé* do not have canoes. All cargoes are carried by the men
482 in a carrying knapsack made from buriti-palm fibers strapped to their backs.

### MANUFACTURES

386 **Weaving.**—Hammocks are made by women from native cotton spun on
462 wooden spindles. The technique used is the simple twine weaving used by the *Tupinamba* and other *Tupí* groups.

323 **Ceramics.**—At present, the art of ceramics is declining. Pottery is
462 usually for cooking, and is made by women. Sometimes it bears incised
531 geometrical decorations.

531 **Gourds.**—Gourds are decorated with geometric incisions.

**Basketry.**—The most highly developed basketry techniques among the
285 *Tapirapé* are woven and twilled. Two types of baskets are flexible and nonflexible ones; both are of buriti fiber. They generally have a quadrangular base and a narrow, round top, and are used mostly to store manioc or maize flour. Flat, round baskets are used as cotton containers
[53] or flour sifters. They are usually ornamented with motifs originating in the weave itself; frequently the finished basket is smeared with black genipa and odd strands are scraped off, giving a negative decorative effect.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



He was always pleased when
115 123 we came to listen, particularly if we made the motions of joining in. He was an excellent wrestler in Tapirapé style, in which each op-
[526] ponent takes a firm grip on the pigtail of the other and attempts to throw him to the ground by tripping. Our wrestling match was brief although I was much taller than he; and his match with Valentim Gomes, who outweighed him by more than forty pounds, was
[186] a draw. Unlike so many who get a glimpse at a seemingly "superior" cultural world, Champukwi never became dissatisfied with his own way of life.

122 In June of 1940, my period of residence among the Tapirapé
123 Indians ended. The waters on the savanna which had to be crossed
[101] afoot to get to the Tapirapé River where our canoe was moored had not completely receded. Many Tapirapé friends, among them Champukwi, offered to carry our baggage, made lighter after a final dis-
122 tribution of gifts, down to the river. The night before our departure
123 a festival with the usual songfest was held to celebrate the final phase
881 of a ceremony during which a youth, this time the nephew of Kamiraho, became a man. Some Brazilian tribes make this occasion
[171] an ordeal by such means as applying a frame of stinging wasps to
[301] the body of the novice, but it is characteristic of the Tapirapé that
[302] the "ordeal" consists only of decorating the youth with a headdress of magnificent red macaw feathers, painting his body elaborately, and making him the center of dancing and singing—although the youth must himself dance continuously for a day and a night. Cham-
122 pukwi led the singing most of the night, but at dawn he came to
123 our house to supervise the packing of our belongings into the basket-like cases made of palm which are used for carrying loads of any kind. He divided the baggage among the younger men. Even some of the older household leaders decided to accompany us but they, of course, did not carry anything. Our trip was slow because everyone was tired after the all-night festival and because of the water through
● [501] which we had to wade. At one point, rafts had to be made to trans-
[481] port our baggage across a still-swollen stream. Since the Tapirapé do not swim—or, like Champukwi, they swim but poorly—it was the job of the *tori* to swim and push the rafts. I had the honor of swimming across the stream, pushing the respected chieftain, Kamiraho. (How he got back, I shall never know.) After a day and a half, we reached the landing on the Tapirapé River, and the next

352 bananas ripe for eating. The storeroom proper begins there and
415 extends to the upper crossbeams, from which hang large quanti-
[251] ties of bananas. Similar strips [of bark] tied to the roof just within the reach of a standing adult support small baskets, gourds, and small bags whose contents (usually manioc flour), like all foodstuffs, must be protected from the voracity of cockroaches and
[342] dogs. The floor of the house is of light grey, beaten earth. Low,
[764] oblong mounds mark the graves. The smoke that always fills the
354 house gives the inner side of the entire thatch cover a shiny black

[345]

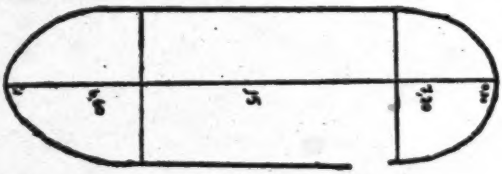


Fig. 11. Plan of the takana.

hue. The half-light maintained through the night by the fires burning beside the hammocks becomes a little brighter when daylight filters in through the slits in the lower part of the walls and through the doors.

Here is a nocturnal scene in house a.

512 The chickens roosting upon the roof keep moving unceasingly,
[231] and from all sides comes the rustling of myriads of scuttling roaches.
[136]

[345]

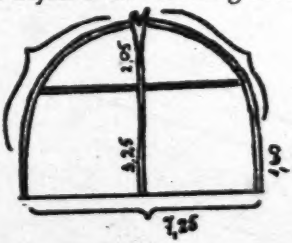



Fig. 12. Cross-section of the takana.

The swinging of hammocks makes the crossbeams creak. The
[516] smoke from the fires is not sufficient to protect the naked bodies from mosquitoes, and because of this, the Tapirapé swings his hammock, pushing his hand or foot against a rope stretched at his side or hanging one leg outside the hammock and pushing with it against the floor. He swings in this fashion until he goes to sleep.

●512 Hens and their chicks walk about the floor through the night eating cockroaches, and so do chickens who from infancy are used to the role of nocturnal birds around the fires. From time to time, a dog [231] walks leisurely about, patiently investigating the gastronomic possibilities. The large jars of cauí are closed tight, however, [251] and all other foods are hung out of reach. The dog yawns, urinates from habit against a beam, and lies down again near the fire. Sometimes one of the fires flares up, illuminating brightly the whole house, everything that is moving about, and everything that is making a sound. As far as noises are concerned, it must be said that the human beings do not show any constraint either, and this becomes more apparent as the talk dies down. As a rule, two or three hours after sundown, everyone has stopped talking. It is true that those who turn in later, around midnight perhaps, after dancing outside or becoming cold while sleeping in the takana, speak up freely so that some people awaken and the talk is resumed for a moment. I remain lying for a long time, unable to go to sleep. It is impossible to put up a mosquito net because of the smoke, which would come in [110:199] and accumulate, unable to escape. Then, too, there is not enough space in the house to stretch out this strange object. So I pull the woolen blanket over my head, and when I am on the point of suffocation and bathed in sweat, I surrender once more to the mosquitoes (Anopheles brand) and to the smoke. This is repeated I know not how many times. The cockroaches that visit me have already ceased to arouse any reaction on my part. Sometimes, however, the shirt I have folded up to serve as a pillow falls onto the grave where, separated vertically from me by a meter and a half of air and earth, lies the corpse of one of the occupants of the house. After I have picked it up, I shake it to remove the dust, trying not to think of the human spittle, the dog urine, and the chicken excrement, and set it again under my head. While I do this, I must be careful not to knock down the revolver and flashlight that I keep in my hammock to defend Tampiitaua against nocturnal Kayapó attacks. All of a sudden, a roar echoes very close to my ear. My hammock neighbors, the two [755] sorcerers--medicine men, Kamairahó and Urukumy, are commonly consulted during the night, and the fierce retching and other sounds associated with vomiting are part of their therapy. My hammock is

512 not far from the door, and every quarter of an hour a pair of dancers, singing in loud voices and hammering the ground with their feet, pass before the opening. The other occupants of the house also have trouble getting an uninterrupted night's sleep. After midnight it turns increasingly cold. Then the Indian takes a piece of burning wood from the fire beside his net, breaks it into embers by striking it against the ground, and lays the pieces directly under his hammock. A small boy is asleep, curled up on a net that is already too small for him. He has no mother to make him a new one. His long rhea-bone tembetá hangs down into thin air. Suddenly the boy moans; the mosquitoes and the cold have awakened him. He gets up, heavy with sleep, squats by the nearly burned-out embers of his small fire, and blows until the flame revives. Then he sits in his hammock once more, rubs the soles of his feet together to remove the light grey dust of the floor, and swings while sighing once in a while, "Aky, tanchió (Ai, mosquito!)." When daylight breaks dimly into the house, everyone awakens. The women get up first, blow on the fire, [462] place the pots upon it, fetch cotton and spindle, sit beside their [283] still prone spouses, and spin for a while. Then they set the spindle aside to fetch a few bananas for their husbands and themselves, stir the pots while the men get up, and thus, gradually, all the occupants of the house start moving.

[110:200] When they are in the village and there are no festivities underway, both sexes usually spend not only most of the night, but most of the day at home. For a while before and after sundown, however, they sit in the space fronting their house, which is called takupé, or in the plaza in front of the takana. At the [345] time of my visit, the men's house served as permanent dwelling only for the few initiates and for one or two bachelors. Other men would go in only to "have a chat" or to dance a little, and never stayed there for hours on end as do Boróro married men in their men's house. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 110, pp. 200-202, and the first page, p. 105, of the section in Vol. 111, as well as the first paragraph on p. 106, are omitted. Vol. 110, pp. 200-202, and Vol. 111, p. 105, contain data on Tupinambá houses.]

171 [111:106] These data show a certain similarity between 361 Tupinambá villages and Tampiitaua in the arrangement of the

241 incidentally, although separated from one another by strips of forest, are not provided with fences or scarecrows.

171 Gabriel Soares de Sousa (377) wrote of the sixteenth century Tupi in Bahia: "When the Tupinambá go to their gardens, they
512 work only from seven in the morning until midday." Except for the apachirú, which involves afternoon work, this also applies to the Tapirapé. The couples leave the village early in the morning and return at the hottest hours. The Portuguese chronicler goes on to say (ibid.): "The males customarily clear the forest growth,
171 burn it, and dress the ground, while the females plant the food-
462 stuffs and weed them." Among the Tapirapé, not only do the men have the same duties as the ancient Tupinambá, but aside from this they also do the planting and weeding and carry the large baskets in which the farm produce is taken home. The women participate only in the planting of maize, peanuts, and cotton, that is to say, both sexes sow these plants and harvest them.

Krause wrote of the Karajá (2, 243): "They say that the planting of cotton, maize, sweet potatoes, and urucú falls to the women." The division of labor among those Indians is exactly the same as among the Tapirapé, as far as the dressing of the ground, the planting of manioc and cará, and the conveyance of the large baskets are concerned, for all those tasks devolve to the male sex in both tribes (cf. Krause ibid. and Plate 15).

Among the majority of other South American Indians, it is the woman who carries heavy burdens from the plot, as, for example, among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen 2, 214; Max Schmidt 2, 429) and among those of the Guianas and Venezuela (Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 50 and Plate 53). Von den Steinen's generalization (loc. cit.) is incorrect, however, when he states of the Indians in that Xingu region: "As in all of Brazil [113: 197], not only does the home preparation of manioc fall to the women, but so does its planting." I have already mentioned that this planting is male work among the Tapirapé and Karajá, and, according to Koch-Grünberg (loc. cit.), the same applies to the Taulipáng and their neighbors.

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé also cultivate various plants in large quantities. These will be listed in the following chapter.

When I was in Tampiitaua, there were no domestic animals
231 aside from dogs and chickens. There were no vestiges of a pair of

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



114 and evenings suspended in a large Brazilian hammock. In this state of enervation, I must have been the very picture of the languid white [123] man in the tropics. Each late afternoon our house became a gather- [574] ing place for the Tapirapé villagers, who came not only to visit with me (communication was still difficult) but also with each other, and 123 to gaze upon the belongings of the *tori* (non-Indian). My illness 538 proved to be a boon for ethnographic research. People were more patient with the sick anthropologist than with the well one. They told stories, not only for my benefit, but also to entertain each other. [703] In attempting to explain to me about a mythological culture hero, a man would find himself telling a myth to the attending audience. Thus, I heard (and saw) Tapirapé stories told as they should be—as dramatic forms spoken with vivacity and replete with mimicry of the animals that are so often characters in these folktales. With my still imperfect knowledge of Tapirapé I inevitably lost the thread of the story and it had to be retold to me more slowly.

115 Champukwi was a frequent visitor during these days of my con- 123 valescence. He came each morning on the way to his garden and 124 he became accustomed to drinking morning coffee with us. And, [512] each late afternoon after he had returned from his garden, he came "to talk"—often slowly retelling the stories and incidents that I had difficulty understanding the evening before. Several days during this period he did not work in his garden but sat for two or three hours talking. He learned when he should pause or repeat a phrase or [212] sentence in order that I might take notes. He came to understand what writing meant, discovering that what I wrote in my notebook I could repeat to him later. In time he appreciated the fact that I was not so much interested in learning the Tapirapé language as I was in comprehending the Tapirapé way of life. As so often is the case when a person understands and speaks a foreign language poorly, one communicates best with but a single person who is accustomed to one's mistakes and one's meager vocabulary. Thus, I could understand and make myself understood to Champukwi better than any [192] other Tapirapé. Moreover, because he spent long hours in our house, [126] he was learning Portuguese from Valentim Gomes, and this was an aid in helping me translate newly learned words and phrases in Tapirapé and even helped me understand his explanations of Tapirapé culture patterns. Champukwi thus consciously became my teacher, and others came to realize that he was teaching me. During

291 (cf. Photos. 5, 25, 69). This may corroborate the conjecture of
[114] the evolutionist Von den Steinen (2, 192) that the waist cord for-
[174] merly had the function of the penis sheath. Among present-day
Tapirapé this cord may be regarded, along with the tembetá, as
[482] a prerogative of the males. It is rarely used to carry [105:88]
[412] things. Occasionally they will hang a comb from it, or in recent
times a pair of scissors as well.

Dr. Charles Wagley told me that in 1939 he found straps for
114 carrying children that were worn by the Tapirapé women over the
854 shoulder and across the chest. In 1937, Dominican missionaries
177 had gone up the Tapirapé River with large quantities of fabrics.
The straps were made of those fabrics. It is interesting to note
that in 1935 there were no such objects in existence. It is inter-
esting because it would have been possible to carry the children
in small hammocks. Furthermore, I had given away many pieces
of cloth which could have been used as straps for carrying children.
[171] Such straps not only are used by the neighboring Kayapó (Krause,
2, 394) but are also a typical cultural trait of the Tupí Indians.
[Ed., two sentences are omitted.] It is worth noting, however,
that straps for carrying children are not used by the eastern neigh-
bors of the Tapirapé, that is to say, the Karajá (Krause 2, 276
and Plates 12, 37, and 42).

In the case of the Tapirapé, it was apparently the numerous
pieces of fabric brought by the Dominicans in 1937 that played a
decisive role in the introduction of straps for carrying children. In
291 1935, all the fabrics and cloth articles coming from our factories
177 had a merely decorative function among those Indians. The men
[562] alone used them, since most adornments are prerogatives of their
[301] sex and such impressive ornaments as those made of feathers and
claws are worn only by them. Kamairahó, the most important
chief, liked best of all to wear a red dress which his wife had re-
ceived as a gift. Thus, the aim the giver had in mind, probably
inspired by catechizing hopes, was missed entirely for the lady
remained altogether naked while her husband was covered down to
177 the knees and below. It is worth noting, however, that in the even-
29 ing, when Kamairahó retired, he would undress and carefully fold
● 513 the garment. Thus, at an hour when every protection against the
mosquitoes and the cold would have seemed to me exceedingly

177
291 welcome, this important man lay in his small hammock without
[513] the slightest intention of hiding his skin, which was occasionally illuminated by the wavering flames.

[105:89] The same was true with regard to all other clothing of similar provenience. Kamairahó also possessed a large piece of fabric which he used as a sort of cloak, but only during the day and not as frequently as the dress. Vuatanamy, another influential leader, wrapped himself during the hottest hours of the day in a heavy poncho, which was of such good quality that I tried to find out the name of the person who had given out such presents (cf. Photo. 58). Then the evil tongues told me that this Gaucho gar-
[797] ment had belonged to a missionary, who lost it unwittingly with the full cooperation of Vuatanamy. The former owner may derive some consolation from the fact that his unintended beneficiary continued to sleep naked through mosquito bites and cold spells.

The shirts, vests, and trousers that I gave to some of the young men were also restricted to daytime use. The enthusiasm for this kind of ornament lasted only a few days. Then the law of the least effort prevailed, and the pieces were put away in a corner of the house. Incidentally, of all my gifts, the vests were the least valued. Their new owners noted signs of wear with obvious displeasure, and perhaps also felt that since the vests had no sleeves they were mere fragments of jackets and thus scorned by the Whites.

The aim of these Indians, however, was to be esteemed by the
648 Whites by conforming to their behavior. I do not mean to say that
177 this was the aim of every Tapirapé. There were some, however, who made it quite clear. There was, for example, Kamairá, the tallest and sturdiest man in Tampiitáua and a leader on certain occasions. Kamairá sometimes liked to use a rather dirty rag as a loincloth. This was the only loincloth I saw in the tribe, and its
[797] use was probably inspired by a desire to reach the ideal proclaimed by some missionary with highly modest sentiments.

177 Such propensities for adaptation, however, did not preclude
291 the use of ornaments furnished by us, even when such objects had
301 never appeared on our own bodies. Thus, Vuatanamy wore a multicolored cap (cf. Photo. 68); Kamanané, the song leader, liked to wear a piece of brightly colored cloth on his head; the
177 red and black cardboard wrapper of my soap contributed to the
301 mosaic of bird feathers that adorned a dance mask; and beads were

302 covered, in addition, with a number of irregular lines, and so is the leg from the knee to the ankle, and sometimes the arm and forearm as well (Photos. 3, 4, 7, 8, 48, 67). The woman is not
[841] painted during menstruation. [108:123] As soon as the blood stops flowing, however, the characteristic lines on the belly and thighs are renewed. Photograph 67 shows a girl of about 13 who has not yet menstruated, but who nevertheless wears the women's painting.
[513] This is because she shares her sleeping hammock with a 20-year-old boy.

The chief genipap paintings used by the men are, with slight

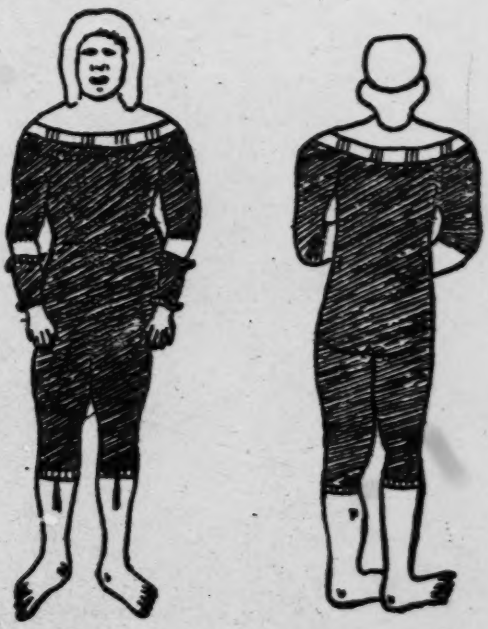


Fig. 2. Vuangkané male body painting.

[825] variations, (1) vuangkané (Fig. 2), the name of a water bird, [Fig. 3 appears here] possibly a kingfisher (Ceryle spec.); (2) ipihauáua (Fig. 3), the name of a fish; (3) chankoaka (Fig. 4), the name of an anchinga, a spirit seen by a sorcerer--medicine man; (4)
[101] kananchahó (Fig. 5), the name by which the northern Kayapó are known (cf. Ch. 4). It is doubtful that the name of this latter painting alludes to its origin. Krause (2, 386) found nothing similar
[171] among the Kayapó. [Ed., the last sentence on p. 123 and the first paragraph of p. 124 are omitted.]

114 in this house with No. 48, that is, the husband's mother (the hus-
591 band's father and the wife's parents were dead); (6) couple 35 and 40, in the same house, did not live with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother, who lived in house d (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (7) couple 51 and 58, in house d, lived in this house with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (8) couple 85 and 92, in house f, did not live with No. 22, that is, the husband's mother, in house a (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead). As we can see, these data do not permit us to mention the existence of either a matrilocal or a patrilocal pattern among the Tapirapé in 1935, nor do they contribute any answer to the question as to whether these Indians were formerly patrilocal or matrilocal. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 108, p. 109, and the first paragraph of p. 110 are omitted.]

[111:110] Thus, while the villages of various tribes at the
171 headwaters of the Xingu resemble Tampiitaua in their inclusion
361 of a ceremonial house and in the arrangement of the dwellings around it, they differ from it in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of dwellings and ceremonial houses. In that
171 region of the Xingu basin, the houses do not have, like those of the
342 Tapirapé, a rectangular plan. They are elliptical or round, and similar in their beehive shape to the hemispherical houses of the Rio das Mortes Chavante rather than to the elongated dome (cf. Max Schmidt 3, 460-461; Meyer, 1, 62; and the figure in Von den Steinen 1, 124). There, in addition, the ceremonial house
171 is not larger than the family dwellings around it, as is the takana
345 at Tampiitaua, but as a rule is actually smaller (Max Schmidt 3, 462). [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 110, p. 111, and all but the last two paragraphs on p. 112 are omitted.]

[101] [111:112] The use of a sleeping hammock also points out the
171 kinship of the Tapirapé with the Tupinanbá and with the Tupi fam-
●513 ily as a whole (cf. Métraux 2, 60-62). Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá also slept naked and without blankets, maintaining a fire beside the net through the night (cf. Staden p. 4; Dialogos
114 das grandezas do Brazil [Dialogues on the Grandeurs of Brazil] 270;
171 Salvador 35). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] While according to
513 Father Vicente de Salvador (35), the Tupinambá husband usually

114 slept with his wife in the same net, this also being the custom
171 among the Tapirapé with certain exceptions, couples in the region
513 of the Xingu headwaters, according to Herrmann Meyer's diary (1, 64), sleep separately in nets set up one above the other. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá, according to Léry (276), took their nets along when they went hunting and fishing, hanging them from trees when it was time to sleep.

171 The Tapirapé custom of swinging the hammock was also
516 found among Indians of the eastern Bolivian forest. Each of the following words by Richard N. Wegner (1, 70) about the Siriono may be applied to many inhabitants of Tampiitana: [111:113] "Both naked Siriono lay in short hammocks. Only the buttocks and the head more or less fitted in. The right foot was balanced on the cord that held up the net, while the left leg, which hung out even in sleep, kept the net swinging throughout the night."

The menstruation net is a peculiarity of Tapirapé culture.
352 Certain hammocks have an opening at the spot where the woman's
513 buttocks lie. As a rule, these nets are also used at other times.
841 In house d, however, the couple consisting of Techipy and Manchiró slept with Marekantú, their three-year-old daughter, in the same net, and also possessed a menstruation hammock. The latter, however, was used by Manchiró only at the time for which it was intended, and this is why I left it blank in Figure 8. I have never heard of the existence of menstruating nets in other cultures. It is possible, of course, that they may exist among other peoples and go unnoticed by explorers.

The net in house c, which I left blank on the same figure,
231 was tiny because it belonged to a small dog. It was the bed of a "dog child," in the words of the Tapirapé.

In their use of the hammock, these Indians differ from their
171 eastern, northern, and probably also their southern neighbors.
513 The Karajá and Kayapó sleep on the ground (cf. Krause 2, 198
352 and 373), and the same must be assumed of the Rio das Mortes Chavante, among whom many mats have been found, but to my knowledge no sleeping hammocks.

114 The small bench was an article of which only one specimen
171 existed in Tampiitana. We read in Métraux (2, 63): "No cultural
352

855 [784] respected by the latter through abstentions to which they submit for the child's sake over a long period of time, and not only when the child is sick. The period of physical contact also lasts longer 853 than among us. Although the statement of Father Vicente de [114] Salvador (37), according to which certain Tupinambá mothers [171] nursed their children "seven or eight years" is exaggerated, we may assume that the same thing occurred among those Tupi as we observed among the Tapirapé and numerous other Brazilian tribes, that is to say, a child who already plays and runs about with other children without adult supervision and who still nurses at his mother's [171] breast. According to Lipkind (2, 187), Karajá children sleep with their mother until they stop nursing. In Tampiitaua, I found one •513 boy and one girl, each a year old, two girls of three years, and one girl of four years who slept with both parents in the same net in 1935, and two girls of one year who did so in 1947. In 1935, I found one girl of a few months, one girl of less than a year, one girl a little over a year, and one boy of three who slept with their mother, and in 1947 I found one boy of one year, one boy of two, and one boy of four who did the same. I found one girl and one boy of four and one girl of six who slept with their father in 1935 (the mother slept in an adjoining hammock with a smaller child) and one boy of two who did so in 1947. In that same year, a girl of about 10 slept with her father, a man of 35, while his wife, about seven months pregnant, who was not the girl s mother, slept in the next hammock. And in 1935, a boy of six slept with his mother's older sister while the mother slept in another house with her husband, who was not the boy's father.

The Tapirapé adorn the children with special care. I showed 301 in Chapter 6 (Photo. 13) how even before the birth they make 854 tamankurá for a child's ankles. When he is born, they proceed to adorn him with the traditional ornaments of the tribe, [127:233] and in addition they hang beads obtained from the Whites around his neck. Like everything else they may give him, these beads are [422] acknowledged henceforth as the child's property. A museum collector may sometimes have difficulty obtaining an object owned exclusively by a child not yet old enough to understand his wish.

I was moved when I saw a Tapirapé mother attempt to protect 859 her weeks-old baby against the strong noon sun while crossing the village plaza. She held it close against her abdomen and ran bent

/407 cont./

221 region and come to the river farther upstream, before it turns
226 toward the northeast. Here, by means of poisonous cipo, they
[252] fish successive lakes blocked off by fences. They seem to travel from upstream downward, for the upper roasting place showed only a few new beams among very old ones, whereas the lower one was apparently quite recently built. This lower one, beside which they fished from the middle to the end of August 1908, lies about 16 kilometers south-southwest of the first village (24 kilometers
[487] from the second and third). The well-worn paths that go from the two roasting places, join, and lead by way of the first village to the other two, seem to indicate that the Indians visit this spot annually. Where they go from here I was unable to find out; perhaps they went across the Tapirapé to the south. In any case a campo lake abounding in fish, several kilometers away from the trading place, showed no traces of human beings.

161 These people seem to be very numerous. The number of
[342] houses is small, to be sure, but their dimensions seemed to be
[252] quite considerable. The 26 huge grills at the first roasting place and 10-15 at the second, the sandbanks completely trodden down with footprints beside the first fish lake, certainly lead one to
513 conclude that there is a large crowd of people. Sleeping is
352 apparently done in hammocks. This is indicated first by the net coverings that the Karajá buy from them, and then by the complete absence of sleeping places beside the roasting place, which was certainly used for many days.

241 Besides manioc (according to the account of the Karajá), these people also plant maize, as is indicated by many, partly
231 charred corncobs at the roasting place. As domestic animals they keep dogs, the traces of which were numerous on the sand-
224 banks. It may surely be assumed that they devote themselves to
[136] hunting. The campo is extremely rich in deer, the forests in wild pigs. Certainly they will not forgo these sources of meat.

226 In addition, fishing is practiced on a large scale through poisoning the /408/ /Ill. 267 appears here/ /409/ water of blocked-off lakes. We saw barrier poles everywhere in the territory of this tribe in front of lake outlets. The first lake that we came across was completely blocked off by a fence that was

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 344]

351 lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the vil-
lage square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstruc-
[972] tions. The trunks served as seats and, bit by bit, as firewood.
They lay in such numbers over the vast area stretching between
the houses and the edge of the forest, and were so entangled and
[114] ensnarled by their branches, that the imaginative Madame de
[712] la Falaise (196), who visited Tampiitaua on August 23, 1935, that
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following: "We proceeded toward the village, where the tribe,
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fore he got the better of them" [translated from French].

361 In this respect, however, I must confess that the only serious
712 obstacles I encountered daily on crossing the area in question were
114 the products of the tribal digestive processes, for the supposed
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discourage me. The truth is that the Tapirapé do not fortify their
[171] village in any way, and differ in this respect from the Tupinambá,
who surrounded their villages (Jean Parmentier apud J.F. de
Almeida Prado, 180; Hans Staden, p. 3; Gabriel Soares de Sousa,
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[721] sentries, a precaution referred to in Chapter 5, is strikingly incon-
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361 Toward the east a stream meandered, a few paces from the
[312] village. Its clear, fresh waters ran free of the thick forest for only
[515] a short stretch, which was used at the same time as bathroom and
[226] drinking fountain, and as a spot for fishing and for washing the
[487] sleeping hammocks. A well-beaten path led from it to the vil-
lage plaza, skirting a plot of sugar cane to the left. According to
219 what Reverend Kegel told me, this plot resulted from collective
476 labor performed for Kamaiahó. The latter had ruled on the site
of the plot and concurrently on that of the village, which had been
built later beside the communally prepared garden. It was, so to
speak, a luxury plot, for it contained nothing but the sweet grass

516 directly upon the ground. Actually, the manner of sitting is
562 one of the cultural traits in which the sexes are radically differentiated among the Tapirapé. A woman, when she is not sitting in her hammock, sits on the ground without previously covering it, and only exceptionally does she sit on a tree trunk beside
[834] her husband (cf. Photo. 58). She always hides her sexual organs, however, either by covering them with the hand or with a leg folded against the body while the other leg is stretched out (Photo. 59) or by crossing her legs (Photos. 11 and 32). When she wields the pestle and kneels to hold the mortar between her knees, this object hides, up to a point, her sexual organs (Baldus 7, Fig. 31). The men usually sit with open legs and cover the ground with a mat (Photo. 53) or a piece of cloth (Photo. 63), when they do not squat (Photo. 39) or sit on a tree trunk (Photo. 61). When several of them sit on the same trunk, they prefer to press close together rather than to leave space between them. When eating at home, the husband eases himself into the net while the woman sits before him on the floor. [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

171 The Tapirapé resemble the majority of Brazilian tribes in not
354 having any special implements to light up their houses, but merely relying at night on the weak flames of their fires for the purpose.

I did not witness the making of fire among the Tapirapé, for
372 they never allowed it to go out and carried burning sticks with
171 them on their journeys. In Wagley's collection at the National Museum [Rio de Janeiro], however, there are fire drills to indicate that this tribe, whenever necessary, makes fire by the process used in all [111:116] Brazilian tribes and already described and reproduced in Hans Staden's woodcuts (p 3), that is to say, by twirling between the open hands a rod resting perpendicularly on a piece of wood.

To kindle the fire, the Tapirapé use fans which are made, as in a number of Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 101), of plaited palm leaves. The Tupinambá also had fans for this purpose, as is shown in one of Staden's woodcuts (t 1).

When the inhabitants of Tampiitaua leave the house at night
[514] to answer the calls of nature, they light their way with a burning stick which they wave about constantly to prevent the fire from dying out. Adalbert, Prince of Prussia (679), when he traveled in

372 Juruna [Yuruna] territory, called this habit of waving a burning
171 piece of wood to one side and another "the Indian way" in his diary. Among the Tapirapé, the burning sticks shaken in this
372 fashion serve as nocturnal protection against certain anchinga,
776 that is to say, evil spirits. Hans Staden (p 4) also wrote of the
171 Tupinambá: "At night, when they must attend to their needs, they do not like to leave their houses without taking a light, for such is their fear of the devil called Ingange and frequently seen by them." According to Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 168), the fear of evil spirits (mauarí) impels the Taulipáng to carry a burning stick when they leave the house at night.

514 In spite of the constant danger presented by the anchinga and naturally also by the fearsome Kayapó neighbors, the Tapirapé never defecate near the house even at night, but go into the labyrinth of felled trunks lying between the village and the forest, far enough so the clean open spaces near the dwelling will not be soiled and the odor of the feces will not reach the house. The
[195] custom of retiring to a good distance for this purpose is embodied in the expression kaa-pe-pyá ("belly-to-the-woods"), or to translate it more freely, "I shall now take my belly toward the woods," a phrase with which every well-bred lady in Tampiitaua must announce to her housemates her intention to go and defecate.

When it comes to urinating, however, these women are not quite as formal. When we rose from a night session carried out in front of the house and presided over by Kamairahó, the moon was out and I could see dark spots on the ground where members of the female sex had been sitting. Without moving or showing the slightest sign of unrest, the ladies, young and old, who had been sitting around us, had urinated copiously while the great man and I aired the most profound mythological questions. Apparently, the wet spots on which they sat had not been overly unpleasant to them.

Naturally, a woman who is standing does not sit directly upon the ground, but squats, when she wishes to urinate. The men also adopt this position. There were some interesting endeavors at
177 cultural change in this respect, however. Once, some time after
514 my arrival in the village, while I urinated in the neighboring woods, I was surprised to see several young men imitate me by standing also. No sooner had they started out in this way, however,

177 than overcome by habit they bent down until they were squatting
●514 again. These inroads on the traditional manner [111:117] of urinating were repeated on the days that followed. "I urinate"
[192] is ankurúg in Tapirapé. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

A letter from Father Antônio Blasquez, written in Bahia in
000 1557 and included in the Cartas jesuíticas [Letters from the Jesuits] (II, 173) says of the local Tupinambá: "Their houses are dark, ill-smelling, and smoky, and in the center stand some jars shaped like half-troughs that recall the caldrons of hell. At the same moment, some of the Indians are laughing and others are crying, so slowly does the night go by in this house, where no one goes out. Their beds are hammocks rotten with urine, for they are so lazy that they will not get up to answer the calls of nature." [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

As far as the Tapirapé are concerned, I may say that I never
514 saw them urinate inside the house and never smelled urine on their hammocks, which, in any case, were washed in the nearby stream. To judge the cleanliness of the village as a whole, there is
356 no better authority than that of the mistress of a household in one
364 of the most civilized nations of Europe, namely, the charming Madame de la Falaise, who writes as follows about Tampiitaua (200): "The general impression is one of stability and cleanliness, which is not encountered in any of the Caraja villages I visited. Here, there is neatness. No litter, no thrift-shop jumble, no tattered witches, no garbage, or broken pottery. Caraja villages express disorder, laziness, a heedless attitude. They are flea markets stinking of old fish. The Tapirapé village expresses order. The basic character of each race is clearly expressed. The Caraja,
000 who camp for five or six months [111:118] at most, delight in the
361 temporary. The Tapirapé, who are much more sedentary, set up their house for a long time" [translated from French.] [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Of course, the cleanliness of the Tapirapé has limits which
231 the kindness of Madame de la Falaise does not disclose, but which
364 become apparent when we take a good look at the ground in some of the photographs reproduced in this work. There is no doubt that the voracity of the dogs and chickens contributes a great deal to the cleanliness of the houses and their immediate vicinity, for if it were not for them, much of the kind of garbage in which they are

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



152 in the open against a rampart of fire or lances, recede terrified in view of the
775 suspicion of a tenuous and invisible enemy." In fact, the Tapirapé who opposes
[761] the jaguar with only bow and club as I had occasion to observe, and who is not afraid of dying, as they frequently assured me, is terrified by the presence of the souls of the dead and of other bad beings. It is not only the soul of a dead shaman which causes fear. I knew a kind father who became afraid of the soul of his beloved little child when this was deceased. And whoever is not a shaman feels a dread of dreaming while asleep, because during the dream he has to travel through the dangerous supernatural world. And not infrequently boys who wanted to drink water at night in the nearby brook asked me to go with them, because a ghost had been seen taking a bath. Unfortunately, whenever I arrived, the well-scrubbed ghost had already gone away. Frequently the boys sang loudly when going to the brook at night in order to calm their fear as I have observed in Europe when children went for something in a dark cellar.

123 Although the Tapirapé didn't react in any way against the fear produced by
152 the eclipse, they were not always so passive as regards the fear caused by the
648 white men, the Kayapó, and the spirits. When my English companion fell ill, they didn't hesitate in demanding his departure, and when a little girl of the house where I was living fell sick, all the people around me wore a threatening air as if I had been the magic author of the disease. The fear inspired by the Kayapó was combated not only by the Tapirapé holding clubs during the nocturnal collective dances, but also by their parodying their neighbours by a pantomime which represented a supposed attack against peaceful tribesmen. The fear of the spirits gives not only great prestige to the shaman, official
[514] protector against them, but also puts in the hand of every Tapirapé a torch which he agitates without interruption if by night he has to go out of the house in order to relieve himself.

152 So for the frightened Tapirapé also, life is struggle, action and reaction, fear
157 and wrath. And this fearful people is the gayest I ever found in my life, and Kamairahó, the pessimist who more than anyone declared himself to be afraid, had a glad smile on his face everytime when I saw him awake in the morning.

*São Paulo, Brazil.*

## Notes

113 1. Cf. Herbert Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*. S. Paulo, 1937, pp. 156–158.

2. Ashley Montagu: *The Natural Superiority of Women*. London, 1954, p. 92.

3. Emilio Mira y López: *Quatro gigantes da alma*. 3a. edição, Rio de Janeiro, 1955, pp. 39–40.

4. Cf. Herbert Baldus: Os Tapirapé. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, 110: 192, 1946. S. Paulo.

5. Cf. Amilcar A. Botelho de Magalhães: *Pelos sertões do Brasil*, 2a. edição, S. Paulo, 1941, pp. 497–498; Martin Gusinde: *Die Feuerlandindianer, I: Die Selk'nam*, Mödling bei Wien, 1931, pp. 456–458.

6. Cf. Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, p. 86.

7. Xamanismo tapirapé (Tapirapé Shamanism), *Boletim do Museu Nacional*, n.s., Antropologia, 3: 79, 1943. Rio de Janeiro.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

171 Another occasion to cut the hair short is the death of a close
302 relative, when not only the males (cf. Photos. 51 and 52) but the
765 opposite sex as well (Photo. 64) are compelled to undergo this procedure. This custom is quite widespread in South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

302 Among the Tapirapé at the present time, the hair is cut with
[177] scissors received from the Whites. [Ed., the remainder of p. 107
[412] is omitted, which includes the beginning of the sentence finished at the top of p. 108.]

[107:108] . . . in 1614, Father Claude d'Abbeville (267)
302 wrote of the hair of the Tupinambá of Maranhão: "[Ed., two
171 sentences are omitted.] They [the women] are quite meticulous
515 about combing their hair and do not fail to wash it and rub it with oil and Roucou every morning" [translated from French]. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

Some Tapirapé comb their hair with great care, although they do not wash it as frequently as the Tupinambá women observed by Father Claude, or massage it as often with oil and urucú. They
[314] would no doubt anoint it more frequently if it were not for the scarcity of the raw material, a palm nut that grows only at certain times of year. This scarcity impelled an honest matron to steal from us our only bottle of oil, which we had brought to remedy the lack of fat in the diet. Instead of lining our stomachs, the entire liter of nutritious liquid ended up on the good woman's head. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 108 is omitted.]

302 [107:109] The Tapirapé also put urucú in their hair, but only on special occasions. They apply it to boys on the festive day of
[881] initiation, to girls on the day when their first menstruation ends,
[764] and to the dead. It may have religious significance, but I cannot tell.

515 Aside from hair combing, delousing is a gesture of love. The
593 bugs caught end their existence between the teeth of the catcher, who thus swallows the blood of his or her beloved. This tender duty is performed on a mutual basis by parents and children and by loving spouses. Girls show the greatest enthusiasm for this type of quest. It does happen, however, that an old man still delouses an already married son (cf. Photo. 55).

826 Not only do they avoid losing the blood stolen by lice and
261 mosquitoes by eating the culprits caught in the act, but they also

351 lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the vil-
lage square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstruc-
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136 262 Fig. 422; notonectid, Fig. 423; bedbug (Acanthia lectularia), Fig. 424; cercopid, Fig. 425; aphid, rose louse (Aphis rosae), Fig. 428; cicada (Zammara tympanum), Fig. 429; buprestidan (Conognatha), Fig. 450; meloid (Lytta), Fig. 451; brenthid (Brenthis), Fig. 452; curculionid (Heilipus), Fig. 453; curculionid (Heilipus), Fig. 453; curculionid (Entimus), Fig. 454; Cerambycidae, Figs. 455 (Lophnocercus), 456 and 457; coccinellid (Neda), Fig. 458; staphylinid (Paederus), Fig. 459; hydrophilid, Fig. 462. None of them are eaten.

(163) kyva -- head louse (Pediculus capitis). These parasites are eaten when picked from beloved persons. In fact, since this [515] insect is always related to a particular person, I heard its Tapirapé name only in connection with the possessive, that is, chekyva, "my louse," anenekyva, "your louse," ikyva, "his or her louse."

(164) inimákyrynga -- hammock louse (iní means "hammock"), probably the body louse (Pediculus vestimenti). It is larger than the [119:85] head louse and assailed me painfully, while I never harbored any of the innumerable head lice of the Tapirapé in spite of the fact that I offered them many opportunities for transmigration. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua ate the hammock louse when they caught it in flagrante. According to Gabriel Soares de Sousa (325), this insect also existed among the Tupinambá.

(a) The Tapirapé were not familiar with the ephemeris in Fig. 410.

(165) mechuá. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word when they saw pictures of the following Hemiptera: reduviid, the blood-sucking conenose bug (Triatoma megistus) in Fig. 417; pyrrhocorid (Dysdercus ruficollis) in Fig. 418; coreid in Fig. 419; Pentatomidae in Figs. 420 and 421. None of them are eaten.

(166) ypehaga. The Tapirapé gave and repeated this word when they saw pictures of the following Coleoptera: passalid (Neleus), Fig. 439; lucanid (Leptinopterus), Fig. 440; cetonian (Gymnetes), Fig. 442; Melolonthidae (Macrodactylus), Fig. 443; rutelian (Pelidnota), Fig. 444; carabid (Galerita), Fig. 445; cicindelid (Tetracha), Fig. 446; erotylid (Cypherotylus), Fig. 447. None of these beetles are eaten.

(167) byrema -- dynastid (Coelosis) and Scarabaeid (Phanacus). Not eaten. R. von Ihering's Figs. 441 and 449.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



756 on the contrary, they were described as "good wives", and one of them was remembered as small and particularly attractive.

756 828 [736] Certain people regardless of sex are early recognized as future shamans because of their natural inclination to dream. Several informants, for example, told me that a young boy, an orphan, and therefore badly cared for, would certainly be a powerful shaman. He turned and talked in his sleep and had been known to cry during a nightmare. He remembered few of his dreams but did tell of seeing the spirit of his mother, and described an evil spirit which he met during a dream. One of the present powerful shamans is said to have been such a youngster with a predilection for dreaming. Such youngsters are nervous and sensitive; yet no distinct personality traits were observed among adult 756 shamans. Shamans are frequently emaciated and thin, attributable [276] perhaps to their constant use of tobacco and the resulting nausea, and one shaman, now dead, was described by informants as a nervous ascetic interested only in the supernatural world.

276 756 787 Persons lacking this predilection for dreaming, but with aspirations to shamanism, may solicit dreams. Each year during the days of the dry season all young men who aspire to shamanism, even those who have shown potentialities during boyhood, gather each evening in the central plaza of the village to seek dreams. A novice sits upon the ground near a *pané*, his mentor, and swallows smoke from his mentor's pipe until violent vomiting occurs. When the novices are too ill to hold the pipe, the shaman holds it for them, forcing them to continue "eating smoke". Generally the neophites fall backwards unconscious and ill from the smoke; during this state they may dream. In any case, when they regain their senses, the pipe is again placed in their mouth until they fall backwards ill and unconscious once more. The process may be repeated several times over a period of two or three hours. Later, when the novice retires to his hammock for the night, he may expect a dream.

756 Such sessions occur each night during the few weeks before the Thunder ceremony and a serious novice should attend all sessions. [934] During this period he refrains from sexual intercourse because it will hinder his dreaming; he also refrains from bathing and so becomes [515] grimey. He must not eat of those animals which "walk at night", such [262] as the jaboti tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) and the monkey, because he must be friendly with all creatures he may meet in his nocturnal dream travels. He should eat manioc flour, yams, pepper, and such bland

352 bananas ripe for eating. The storeroom proper begins there and
415 extends to the upper crossbeams, from which hang large quanti-
[251] ties of bananas. Similar strips [of bark] tied to the roof just within the reach of a standing adult support small baskets, gourds, and small bags whose contents (usually manioc flour), like all foodstuffs, must be protected from the voracity of cockroaches and
[342] dogs. The floor of the house is of light grey, beaten earth. Low,
[764] oblong mounds mark the graves. The smoke that always fills the
354 house gives the inner side of the entire thatch cover a shiny black

[345]

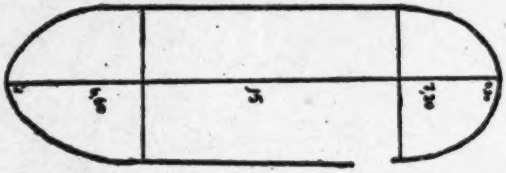

Fig. 11. Plan of the takana.

hue. The half-light maintained through the night by the fires burning beside the hammocks becomes a little brighter when daylight filters in through the slits in the lower part of the walls and through the doors.

Here is a nocturnal scene in house a.

512 The chickens roosting upon the roof keep moving unceasingly,
[231] and from all sides comes the rustling of myriads of scuttling roaches.
[136]

[345]

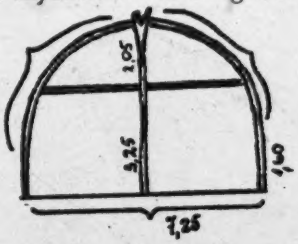


Fig. 12. Cross-section of the takana.

The swinging of hammocks makes the crossbeams creak. The
[516] smoke from the fires is not sufficient to protect the naked bodies from mosquitoes, and because of this, the Tapirapé swings his hammock, pushing his hand or foot against a rope stretched at his side or hanging one leg outside the hammock and pushing with it against the floor. He swings in this fashion until he goes to sleep.

114 slept with his wife in the same net, this also being the custom
171 among the Tapirapé with certain exceptions, couples in the region
513 of the Xingu headwaters, according to Herrmann Meyer's diary (1, 64), sleep separately in nets set up one above the other. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá, according to Léry (276), took their nets along when they went hunting and fishing, hanging them from trees when it was time to sleep.

171 The Tapirapé custom of swinging the hammock was also
516 found among Indians of the eastern Bolivian forest. Each of the following words by Richard N. Wegner (1, 70) about the Siriono may be applied to many inhabitants of Tampiitaua: [111:113] "Both naked Siriono lay in short hammocks. Only the buttocks and the head more or less fitted in. The right foot was balanced on the cord that held up the net, while the left leg, which hung out even in sleep, kept the net swinging throughout the night."

352 The menstruation net is a peculiarity of Tapirapé culture.
513 Certain hammocks have an opening at the spot where the woman's
841 buttocks lie. As a rule, these nets are also used at other times. In house d, however, the couple consisting of Techipy and Manchiró slept with Marekantú, their three-year-old daughter, in the same net, and also possessed a menstruation hammock. The latter, however, was used by Manchiró only at the time for which it was intended, and this is why I left it blank in Figure 8. I have never heard of the existence of menstruating nets in other cultures. It is possible, of course, that they may exist among other peoples and go unnoticed by explorers.

231 The net in house c, which I left blank on the same figure, was tiny because it belonged to a small dog. It was the bed of a "dog child," in the words of the Tapirapé.

171 In their use of the hammock, these Indians differ from their
513 eastern, northern, and probably also their southern neighbors.
352 The Karajá and Kayapó sleep on the ground (cf. Krause 2, 198 and 373), and the same must be assumed of the Rio das Mortes Chavante, among whom many mats have been found, but to my knowledge no sleeping hammocks.

114 The small bench was an article of which only one specimen
171 existed in Tampiitaua. We read in Métraux (2, 63): "No cultural
352

114 Nheêngatu [Tr., the native name for Tupi, meaning "good lan-
171 guage"] language recorded by Stradelli (694) has uapikasaua or
352 uapikatyua for "bench," and uapikauá for the person sitting on it.
192 Claude d'Abbeville (308) mentions among the Tupinambá of Maranhão "very nice little stools which they call Apouycaue" [translated from French].

As far as the function of these benches is concerned, we
171 must take into account the observation relayed by Krause (loc.
352 cit.) that among the Karajá "they are only for the chiefs," and
554 the note by Von den Steinen (2, 287) that there are not many specimens in existence among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin, but that they are always found in the chiefs' houses where they are offered to guests. (This latter observation is confirmed by Meyer 1, 63.)

Kamairahó was the owner of the stool in Tampiitaua. This man was the most important leader among the Tapirapé, and wherever he went there went the wooden seat as though it were a badge of distinction. Kamairahó took it and sat on the Tampiitaua plaza or outside the village before the little house built and inhabited by my companion Kegel and our camarada Daniel. Only when he was in his own house would he place the stool against the wall close to his net and sit or lie in the latter.
[574] As among the Xingu tribes, this "ceremonial seat" was also offered to guests among the Tapirapé. I never sat on it alone, however. Since two people could sit on it at once if they pressed very close together, Kamairahó never granted me more than half his throne. In order to do this, he could not merely move over to the side. He had to stand up and establish with me a complete harmony of movement. For although the horizontal board of the seat was large enough for both of us, the central support, like that of the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause, was so small, dwindling further toward the ground, that we had to take over our respective halves with the most rigorous synchronization to avoid tipping the seat over and either hitting the floor or being hit in the buttocks by the bench.

516 Kamairahó and I frequently spent the early hours of the night
562 in such equipoise, while beside [111:115] and before us the other men and boys sat on a tree trunk and the women and girls sat

516 directly upon the ground. Actually, the manner of sitting is
562 one of the cultural traits in which the sexes are radically differentiated among the Tapirapé. A woman, when she is not sitting in her hammock, sits on the ground without previously covering it, and only exceptionally does she sit on a tree trunk beside
[834] her husband (cf. Photo. 58). She always hides her sexual organs, however, either by covering them with the hand or with a leg folded against the body while the other leg is stretched out (Photo. 59) or by crossing her legs (Photos. 11 and 32). When she wields the pestle and kneels to hold the mortar between her knees, this object hides, up to a point, her sexual organs (Baldus 7, Fig. 31). The men usually sit with open legs and cover the ground with a mat (Photo. 53) or a piece of cloth (Photo. 63), when they do not squat (Photo. 39) or sit on a tree trunk (Photo. 61). When several of them sit on the same trunk, they prefer to press close together rather than to leave space between them. When eating at home, the husband eases himself into the net while the woman sits before him on the floor. [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

171 The Tapirapé resemble the majority of Brazilian tribes in not
354 having any special implements to light up their houses, but merely relying at night on the weak flames of their fires for the purpose.

I did not witness the making of fire among the Tapirapé, for
372 they never allowed it to go out and carried burning sticks with
171 them on their journeys. In Wagley's collection at the National Museum [Rio de Janeiro], however, there are fire drills to indicate that this tribe, whenever necessary, makes fire by the process used in all [111:116] Brazilian tribes and already described and reproduced in Hans Staden's woodcuts (p 3), that is to say, by twirling between the open hands a rod resting perpendicularly on a piece of wood.

To kindle the fire, the Tapirapé use fans which are made, as in a number of Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 101), of plaited palm leaves. The Tupinambá also had fans for this purpose, as is shown in one of Staden's woodcuts (t 1).

When the inhabitants of Tampiitaua leave the house at night
[514] to answer the calls of nature, they light their way with a burning stick which they wave about constantly to prevent the fire from dying out. Adalbert, Prince of Prussia (679), when he traveled in

1:Baldus--171 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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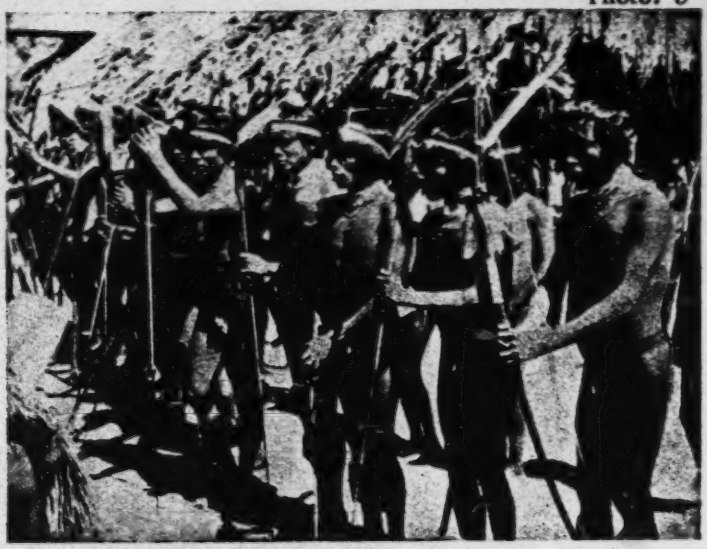
Photo. 5



The dancers of Photo. 4, with Pancheavi (No. 75) and Manupauvynghoi (No. 13) to the right of Inamoreo (No. 23).

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516

Photo. 6

Manavangkó (No. 87) with a bone tembetá. Auayauí (No. 93) is on his left.

1:Baldus--174 E-5 (1935, 1947) 944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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[352]

Photo. 11

The initial phase in the making of tamankurá (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

Photo. 12

Putting the tamankurá on the girl's ankle. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.P.)

I:Baldm--183 E-6 (1936,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 32

Funnel-shaped fish trap (chekif) with Ipayva (Nor 106) sitting beside it.

Photo. 33

Roasting fish. (Photo. Father Pedro Secondy, O.F.)

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Fig. 12

Os dois pagés engolem fumaça de tabaco, preparando-se para a fase final da cerimônia do Trovão, em que livram o povo do perigo. A população da aldeia ainda não se reuniu. Cada homem tem o cachimbo na mão, e o jovem, à direita, está engolindo fumaça do cachimbo.

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The two shamans swallowing tobacco smoke in preparation for the final phase of the Thunder ceremony when they rid the people of danger. The village populace has not yet gathered. Each man holds his pipe in his hand and the young man on the right is gulping smoke from his pipe.

516

Plate 29.

Tapirapé Boys.

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Plate 30.

Tapirapé: the Race at Nightfall following the apatxirã.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



in this respect. According to Champukwi's own report, he tried *cachaça* only once in Furo de Pedra and (quite normally) found it distasteful and unpleasant. Yet there were moments that were awkward at the time however humorous they seem in retrospect. One day when I bought several dozen oranges in the street, Champukwi calmly removed the trousers that had been provided for him and made a sack to carry home the oranges by tying up the legs. In Furo de Pedra, he often went nude in the house we had rented for our stay. Even the Brazilian woman who came to prepare our meals became more or less accustomed to his nakedness, but sometimes he forgot to dress before sallying forth into the street. The rural Brazilian diet, derived in large measure from native Indian foods, seemed to please Champukwi, but he could not be comfortable eating at the table. He preferred during meals to sit across the room on a low stool.

Champukwi's reaction to this rural form of Brazilian civilization was not childlike in any way. He in turn became an ethnologist. He wanted to see the gardens that provided the food for so many people (Furo de Pedra had hardly more than 400 people at that time). He was fascinated by the sewing machines with which he saw the women working. He attended the Catholic ceremonies held in the little chapel. He saw pairs of men and women dance face to face in semblance of an intimate embrace. About these and other strange customs he had many questions. But like the inquisitive anthropologist who had come to live in his village, his own curiosity sometimes became obtrusive. He peered into the homes of people and sometimes entered uninvited. And he followed the Brazilian women to their rather isolated bathing spot in the Araguaia River to discover if there were any anatomical differences between these women and those in his village. He even made sexual advances to Brazilian women, actions which, if he had known, were very dangerous in view of the jealous zeal with which Brazilian males protect the honor of their wives and daughters. On the whole, however, Champukwi became quite a favorite of the local Brazilians during his two week visit to Furo de Pedra. His Portuguese improved while he visited in their homes, and he collected simple presents, such as fish hooks, bottles, tin cans, and the like, to take home with him. Even during this short period away from the village, my work with him continued. He told me of antagonisms, gossip, and schisms in the

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



when an individual discovers a new patch of tobacco, he hastily builds a low fence around it to inform others that it belongs to him. This native tobacco is smoked by laymen in short tubular pipes made of wood or clay and by shamans in long clay pipes, sometimes 30 centimeters long. 276 [423]

Tobacco is used for leisure-time smoking for pleasure: but its principal uses among the Tapirapé are as a stimulant and as a medicine. Each night after a long day's work or while traveling or hunting, Tapirapé men blow smoke over their tired legs, arms, and backs and sometimes men can be seen fumigating their tired wives or companions. They accompany the fumigation of their bodies with massage, rubbing their arms and legs toward the extremities. Tiredness and soreness are considered extraneous substances acquired during the day through exercise and it is believed they may be massaged and fumigated from the body. [517] [278] [753 827]

Treatment of the sick is the shaman's most common duty and the use of tobacco is always a necessary prelude and accompaniment to this. Unless the illness is serious enough to warrant immediate treatment, shamans always cure in the late evening. A shaman comes to his patient, and squats near the patient's hammock, his first act is always to light his pipe. When the patient has a fever or has fallen unconscious from the sight of a ghost, the principal method of treatment is by massage. The shaman blows smoke over the entire body of the patient; then he blows smoke over his own hands, spits into them, and massages the patient slowly and firmly, always toward the extremities of the body. He shows that he is removing a foreign substance by a quick movement of his hands as he reaches the end of an arm or leg. 755 [276]

The more frequent method of curing, however, is by the extraction of a malignant object (18) by sucking. The shaman squats alongside the hammock of his patient and begins to "eat smoke" — swallow large gulps of tobacco smoke from his pipe. He forces the smoke with great intakes of breath deep down into his stomach; soon he becomes intoxicated and nauseated; he vomits violently and smoke spews from his stomach. He groans and clears his throat in the manner of a person gagging with nausea but unable to vomit. By sucking back what he vomits he accumulates saliva in his mouth (19).

(18) Pathogenic worms, arrows which are injected into body by sorcery. [754]

(19) It hardly need be said that pajé do not eat before curing in this manner, but prefer to cure with an empty stomach.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



586 Until the first child is born, marriage bonds are rather weak, but henceforth the marriage is comparatively stable. There are, however, frequent [837] cases of adultery, and a guilty woman who is found out is thrashed by her [684] husband. When a marriage is dissolved, the man leaves the house, which is considered the wife's property, although built by him.

768 Upon a man's death, his widow remains in the house. After about 2 [837] months of free sexual relations, she chooses a new husband.

**Death.**—The *Tapirapé* believe that death is brought about by sorcery 761 and never by natural causes. Frequently, when the relatives of the [682] deceased enjoyed sufficient prestige, they kill the shaman whom they [754] suspect.

As soon as it is certain that the sick man will die, mourning begins in 763 the form of a wailing dirge by both men and women. The men dance around the hammock of the dying or dead man, while the women remain seated on the ground. Burial takes place on the day after death. The 764 corpse is stretched out on the hammock. Its feet and head are decorated with urucú dye, and its face is painted black with genipa. The grave is dug in the dead man's house under the place where his hammock was usually hung. The body is buried in the hammock, which is set up in the grave between two poles. All contact with the earth is avoided. Personal possessions of the deceased are buried with him, except that all feather ornaments and bows and arrows are burned.

Five days after the funeral, the relatives walk in file to the ceremonial 765 hut, where they leave the spirit of the dead man. The wailing goes on for many days, sometimes months, and always takes place at sunset. Close-cropped hair is a token of mourning for both sexes.

### ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 **Art.**—Obvious esthetic pleasure is derived from skillfully done basket-531 work; a good workman will destroy a basket which is not turning out well, even though it would serve as a receptacle. Great use is made of highly colored feathers; feathers are both tied and stuck with rosin and wax on to the object to be decorated. Elaborate geometric designs are painted on children's bodies with genipa. The incise work on gourds is also especially striking.

534 **Musical instruments.**—Gourd rattles are frequently used to keep time to singing. No sacred powers are attributed to rattles. During the shamanistic ceremony (p. 177), a bamboo trunk is pounded against the ground in time to the music.

533 **Music.**—By far the most important *Tapirapé* pastime is singing. A man with a good voice and a large repertoire of songs is much admired by the community. All ceremonies are, basically, singing festivals. Each ceremony during the year has a large set of specific songs: those to be sung by the shaman during the shamanistic "battle with Thunder" (p. 177);

683 to avenge him, is generally not murdered (16). A strong shaman makes
[593] an effort to have a strong family group about him for protection. Infor-
[256] mants could not remember that murdered shamans had ever been reven-
ged by their familiar spirits, although one man made the point that
shamans were murdered only by persons under the influence of great
anger or grief, for people normally are afraid of the familiars of shamans.
683 Special rites are observed by anyone who has murdered a shaman, to
783 protect him and the rest of the tribe against possible danger. On the day
following the murder the *marántxunkanéra* must retire to his hammock
and here eat of a white clay, *īwī činga*, and drink until he vomits of a
[827] brew made of boiling a man's leg ornament in water. Vomiting cleanses
[302] his body "of the blood of the shaman". The killer must paint his entire
body black with *genipa* (*Genipa americana*) and put red urucu paint
in his hair; he should also scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back
[881] with teeth of the dog fish, just as he did in the ceremony he had per-
formed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult. Then, each year
at the annual ceremony during the harvests in May and June, all who
have killed shamans must drink of *kauió* (17) until they vomit, so cleans-
ing themselves of the shaman's blood for the period until the next
harvest.

## DUTIES OF THE SHAMAN

276 Among the Tapirapé tobacco is a sacred plant necessary for curing
and for all shamanistic activities; yet, while it is found widely near Tapi-
rapé village and near their gardens, it is not strictly a cultivated plant.
People know where a patch of tobacco grows and go there to pick it.
Occasionally they transplant tobacco nearer to their houses or to their
gardens but for the most part the patches seed themselves. When an

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[578 (16) When I left the Tapirapé in May, 1940, a grudge existed between two
521] men of high status because of the murder of a shaman. Kamairaho disliked, avoided,
and criticized Kamairá because he had killed Kanžiwanj, Kamairaho's wife's father.
The antagonism was never overt. When they met they treated each other formally
and calmly. Other Tapirapé told me that Kamairaho's wife continually gossiped
about the behavior of Kamairá's wife, "because her husband had killed Kantuowa's
father".

[272 (17) A brew made of a few grains of maize and much water. It is believed
276] to be poisonous.

648 When I stretched out in my hammock, Kamairahó, who was
129 already lying in his hammock with his wife, smiled at me as usual and greeted me courteously with the customary "papaneká (you have come)." I asserted, no less decorously, "Hm, hm, ẽ, ẽ." He went on, still smiling, "Kananchahó around. Kananchahó coming. I'm afraid." Although he did not seem particularly scared in spite of this statement, I calmed him with a few words as I had done with the others, and he immediately laughed, changed the subject, and jested with his wife.

Later, it became evident that the presence of Kayapó in the
648 neighboring forest had been invented by Anavaní, a somewhat
609 foolish youth of about 17. On the following morning he confessed that he had lied. He probably wanted to make himself important. The general readiness to believe him shows the state of mind of the Tapirapé toward their feared neighbors. Incidentally, on the day when Kamairahó showed me the smoke pillars of the "Ampaneá" to the southwest, he showed me a similar display by the Kayapó to the north.

The non-material defenses show that the Kananchahó are regarded as the Number One enemy. Although the Karajá are also feared, only the northern neighbors, by what I was able to observe, are the object of parodies, violently abusive songs, and mocking pantomimes. On June 24, the Tapirapé, in a weeping tone, sang
[533] a seemingly obscene chant about the Kananchahó, which aroused
[831] endless laughter. It was sung in the men's house, where other
[522] youths gave a ludicrous impersonation of those enemies, emitting
[536] their would-be tribal cry, running and jumping crazily hither and yon, gesticulating with angry excitement, and hitting the house stakes with their clubs. At the same time, in front of the house,
[535] other men accompanied by the women and children danced and sang the kaõ, the danced song that derives its warlike character not only from the weapons in the hands of the warriors and from their serious look, but also from the powerful rhythm of stamping feet and the menacing quality of the guttural sounds.

536 [102:125] While all this pertains to night performances, an-
726 other spectacle took place two days later in daylight. It was a dramatization of the supposed Kayapó attack on the 20 Tapirapé who had failed to return from the hunt during the previous year. Six youths, holding on to each other in friendly fashion two by two,

Tapirapé village which he would have hesitated to relate on home grounds. He told me of adulterous affairs in process and of the growing determination among one group of kinsmen to assassinate Urukumu, the powerful medicine man, because they suspected him of performing death-dealing sorcery.

After two weeks in Furo de Pedra, I found that it would be necessary for Valentim Gomes and me to go to Rio de Janeiro. It was not possible for Champukwi to accompany us and so I arranged for two Brazilian frontiersmen to return him to a point on the Tapirapé River from which he could easily hike to his village in a day. Valentim and I then began our slow trip up the Araguaia River to the motor road and thence to Rio de Janeiro. Two months later, rid of malaria and with a new stock of supplies, we returned to spend the long rainy months from November until the end of May in the Village of the Tapirs. Champukwi was there to welcome us, and he came each day to help repair and enlarge our house. We easily fell into our former friendly relationship, now strengthened by the experience in common of the trip to Furo de Pedra and by the feeling which many anthropologists have shared with the people of their communities—that anyone who returns is an "old friend."

My return to the village that November marked, in a sense, the end of what might be called the first phase of my relationship with Champukwi as friend and as anthropological informant. During the course of at least 200 hours of conversation (many of which may be methodologically dignified as interviews), I had learned much about Champukwi as a person as well as about Tapirapé culture. I knew that as a small boy he had come from Fish Village, where his parents had died, to live in the Village of the Tapirs. He had lived with his father's younger brother, Kamaira, who was the leader of a large household. He even confided to me his boyhood name; Tapirapé change their names several times during their lifetimes and mention of a person's first childhood name, generally that of a fish, an animal, or simply descriptive of some personal characteristic, causes laughter among the audience and considerable embarrassment to the individual. I knew that Champukwi had been married before he took his current wife, and that his first wife had died in childbirth. He revealed that her kinsmen had gossiped that her death was caused by his lack of respect for the food taboos imposed

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



upon an expectant father. This same set of taboos now bothered him again. A series of foods, mainly meats and particularly venison, is prohibited to fathers of infants and to husbands of pregnant women. On two excursions to the savanna (which abounds with deer) Champukwi had eaten venison. Moreover, since the Tapirapé identified cattle with deer, and thus beef with venison, he had broken the taboo several additional times by partaking also of this forbidden meat. The rather scrawny conditon of his 2-year-old daughter, he feared, resulted from his faults. Just after our return to the village in early November, his wife gave birth to a second daughter. She had a difficult delivery, and he remembered his transgressions. Several village gossips, without knowing anything about his misdeeds, had nevertheless accused him of this breach of taboo.

115 123 843 [846] [825]

Champukwi's home life was not a happy one. He was frequently in conflict with his second wife, who had, indeed, considerable basis for complaint. She could not claim that he was a poor provider, for Champukwi was a good hunter and a diligent gardener. But he confided to me that he did not find her attractive, or at least not as attractive as other women in the village. Champukwi had a lusty sense of humor and enjoyed joking with Valentim and me. In this mood he told of his many extramarital affairs, which were in truth but slightly concealed. I would in any event have heard of these liaisons; he gave his paramours beads which everyone in the village knew I had given him as presents. This practice caused trouble for the women because their husbands could readily identify the source of the gifts. It also created trouble for Champukwi at home. His wife complained of his affairs and on one occasion, according to Champukwi, she attacked him, grabbing him by his pigtail and squeezing his exposed testicles until he fell helpless into a hammock. On other occasions, she retaliated in a manner more usual for a Tapirapé woman—she simply refused to carry drinking water from the creek, to cook food for him, and to allow him to sleep in the hammock which she and Champukwi shared. For a Tapirapé man to carry drinking water, to cook, or to sleep on a mat is considered ridiculously funny. In other circumstances, Champukwi would have had to seek recourse with a female relative. However, to do so would be tantamount to a public announcement of his marital difficulties; the whole village would have known, to their considerable merriment and jest. But having *tovi* friends in the village, Champukwi

115 593 [522] [837] [123] [522] [602]

*[i.e. non-Indian -- Analyst]

291 folding the strip in half, the men fold a small part of it obliquely, and then fold the strip once more so that the triangle is placed exactly over it. The strip is not folded stiffly, since owing to its natural toughness it has a tendency to unfold. As a result of this tendency, the tip folded in this fashion remains securely held in the knot along with the other tip.

As a rule, a man will prepare a new sheath as he gets up in the morning. The prepuce is pushed through the funnel in such a way that it projects beyond the smaller opening and is tied all around like the end of a sausage, remaining erect. Thus, the funnel is worn upside-down, that is to say, with the smaller opening on top and the larger rim facing toward the front (cf. Photos. 5, 63, and 68).

As may be seen in these photographs, the yellow color of the inner-bark strip stands out clearly against the skin. In view of [832] this, a desire to attract the attention of the opposite sex may be involved in the use of the sheath. At the same time, it is also [834] possible that the men assign to the sheath the same purpose that, [171] according to Krause (2, 204), the Karajá assign to their penis cord, that is to say, that of concealing the glans from the eyes of women. There is no doubt, however, that both sheath and cord serve as 751 protection against crustaceans and insects, such as ticks, for example. We have known cases where these parasites fastened their proboscis [105:85] right at the opening of the urethra. The [825] Tapirapé make no distinctions among these various kinds of little creatures and call them all tantevoga. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Small boys do not protect their member. Just as the Karajá 291 [881] adolescents do not use the penis cord until their hair is cut for the [171] initiation, Tapirapé youths first use the sheath at the time of the haircut.

The importance of the penis sheath to the Tapirapé is perhaps [524] made evident by the fact that even the dolls made for fun were supplied with such sheaths (Photo. 77). [Ed., the last half of p. 85, p. 86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted.]

[105:87] The waist cord is called anchekuakuán or [283] chikoangkoháua in Tapirapé. It is made of cotton threads twisted [462] by the women on their thighs, but it is used solely by the men. The latter wear it so that it lies a good distance below the navel

171 [112:56] In Meyer's classification (3, 9, 33), the feathering
411 of the Tapirapé arrow belongs to the "eastern Brazilian or Gè-Tupi" type, and it is clearly distinct from the "sewn feathering of the Xingu" in which two half feathers are sewn to the shaft (ibid., Plate 1, Fig. 9). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

114 Krause (2, 273-274 and Fig. 127) describes the spear thrower
171 (aubí, obirú) of the Karajá as a sporting weapon used in a game
411 called anarkánted-uohú, that is, "game of the Tapirapé," and says
524 he was told by those Araguaia Indians that both spear thrower and game also exist in this Tupi tribe. [Ed., two sentences are omitted.] Among the Tapirapé, I did not see or hear anything about this weapon or about the game referred to by Krause.

114 This author (2, Fig. 265) presents as a Tapirapé club a
171 weapon that he acquired in a Karajá village located near the mouth
411 of the Tapirapé River, which resembles the rounded club (gohordé) of the Karajá not only in shape but also in the grooves on its rear section and handle (cf. ibid., Fig. 123). Regarding the Karajá, Krause (ibid., 271) notes: "Nowhere did I see smooth clubs like those brought by Ehrenreich." The Javahé club is grooved on the rear section and handle (ibid., 361 and Fig. 196), like that of the Karajá, while most of the rounded Kayapó clubs are entirely covered with these grooves (ibid., 390 and Fig. 245). It is worth noting, however, that these northern neighbors of the Tapirapé also have flat clubs (ibid., Fig. 246).

171 All the Tapirapé clubs I saw (yvyrá, "stick," the generic term
411 for "wood") had the shape of the above-mentioned rounded clubs possessed by their neighbors, but they were not grooved in any way, and they were usually smaller than those of the Karajá. According to Ehrenreich (1, 19), Karajá clubs are from 95 to 137 centimeters long, and one of these weapons in my own private collection measures 111 centimeters, while its maximum circumference is 20 centimeters and the minimum one ten centimeters. In other words, it has average measurements. The Tapirapé club (Photo. 29), however, which is also average in size, is 90 centimeters long, 17 centimeters at its maximum circumference, and eight centimeters at the minimum one. As we can see in the photograph, it has the shape of a cudgel, being thicker at the hitting end. The ring between the handle and the body is three centimeters wide and 11 centimeters [112:57] in circumference on this Tapirapé club, and

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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those for group singing during the harvest ceremonies and the ceremony 533
of kawi (p. 176); those for the masked dancers during the dry season;
and a very large number of songs specifically for the "Big Sing"
(monikahô) during the latter part of the rainy season. During this
period (approximately March through April), singing takes place
throughout each night from sundown to sunrise. On these occasions, [66]
the singing leader and the men of one of the moieties introduce the verse
of each song and the refrain is then taken up by the men of the other
moiety and the women of the tribe. Women sing in a higher key than the
men and, generally, a phrase behind the men. The songs of the masked
dancers, each representing a supernatural being, differ stylistically from
those used on other occasions in being sung in a falsetto tone, in a manner [171]
similar to that of the neighboring *Carajá*. Many such songs have been [177]
admittedly learned from the *Carajá*.

**Dancing.**—Both men and women dance as they sing. In general, the 535
*Tapirapé* dance bending slightly forward, stamping out the time of the
music with one foot. Dancing differs greatly, however, according to the
occasion. During the harvest ceremonies, men dance in a line, side by [241]
side, each man's wife dancing directly behind him. During the group
singing of the "Big Sing," the men dance in moiety groups facing each
other, and women dance behind the moiety group of their husbands. On
one occasion during this time, men dance with women, side by side, with
a curious skipping step.

**Games.**—Men's moieties run foot races against each other after the 526
communal work festival (p. 168); they race in a straight line across the
village plaza. Wrestling takes place at one wet-season ceremony, and,
now and again, throughout the year as sport. The *Tapirapé* explain, [171]
however, that the *Carajá* are better wrestlers and that it is more properly
a *Carajá* sport. In wrestling, opponents stand face to face, grasping each
other about the neck, and attempt to force or to trip the other to the
ground. During one festival, men, one from each moiety at a time,
compete by throwing blunt-headed spears at each other. Gambling games [525]
are unknown.

**Stimulants.**—Native tobacco, though used for leisure-time smoking, is 276
principally a stimulant and medicine. A *Tapirapé* will not travel without 755
a supply of tobacco to blow smoke over his tired body at the end of the
day, in order to take out soreness and tiredness. Tobacco is necessary
to shamans in all their activities. They blow tobacco smoke over the
patient in curing (p. 177), and, to induce dreams and a trance, they
swallow large gulps of smoke until they become intoxicated and nauseated.
When people have seen ghosts, shamans fumigate them with tobacco [751]
smoke, in order to drive away the ghost's influence. Shamans fumigate 276
new maize, the first honey of the season and, sometimes, fresh meat to 756
drive out possible supernatural danger. This native tobacco is smoked [789]

264 The pots were soon emptied. Then the women and girls came,
462 picked them up, and took them home. The men followed. The
476 Anantxí walked first, with the Vuirantxiniõ behind them and the
Tãnãvé last. They kept this order, and sent me back to the rear when
[129] I stepped--not unintentionally--in the midst of the Vuirantxiniõ.

[108] As soon as the village was in sight, things began to move.
535 The men ran straight to the takína and paired up for the dance. The women and girls showed no interest in this and for the most part had already gone to their huts.

The dancing pairs stood in a dense cluster in front of the entrance. In each pair, as was customary, one of the men held his arm across the other's shoulders, while his companion held his arm across the other's hips. Both held a club, bush knife, or bow in the other hand. In the midst of the group stood the leading pair, Tamupantxóa and Vuĩraĩ, the ãntaĩva of the Anantxí. The Anantxí had now mixed with the Vuirantxiniõ. Of the Tãnãvé, only Kamairahõ, Urukumĩ', and I had come. We stayed nearby as onlookers.

First, the men danced for a while on the same spot. As usual, they pawed the ground, all at the same time and always with the same foot, alternating from right to left, keeping their knees slightly bent and the middle part of the body slightly bent forward. Then the leading pair gradually moved away from the spot. They danced with small steps out of the takína. The others followed in the same fashion. They all moved, one pair after the other, slowly, toward the house of Vũãtanamĩ', singing with sounds and shouts rather than words.

When they reached the house of the second leader, the procession broke up. They did not scatter, however, but remained close together. [110] The race began. It is called ãbũĩ, which means "I
526 run." The adolescents, who were in their initiation year and hence had
883 their faces and bodies completely blackened with genipap, ran two at a time in a straight line across the dance plaza to the back of Mamairahõ's house. Actually, there was no spot to be reached first by the winner, and there was no applause from the spectators. It might almost be said that there was no winner. As a rule, indeed, the
[152] desire to be singled out or to single out someone is not manifested by these Indians and is probably even regarded by them as a danger to the harmony of the community. These races seemed to be merely runs to be made as fast as possible across the plaza to convince the boys themselves of their own ability. As soon as the two runners reached

Ta
●526 Kamairahó's house, they renewed their mutual holds and smiled
883 graciously at each other (1).
Ta
Ti
[1711]
Ti
526

1. In a letter of February 20, 1936, Curt Nimuendajú wrote to me about the Timbira, a Ĝê tribe: "The Timbira also have a paired race across the village plaza (which is 300 meters in diameter). It is usually held following a more important ceremony. It is called ka-kaípúa (ka, 'village plaza,' and kaípúa, 'across')."

Ta
526 Later, some of the men also took part in the test, even the "old hunter" Kantxovanĩ. When darkness fell, they all went home. Only a dozen pairs had run altogether, for they had started out when the sun had already sunk behind the forest.

Ta
476
[535]
[526]
[11] On the following afternoon there was another apatxirú at a different spot. The participants were so few that there was no dancing or racing. Two days later, a bigger apatxirú was held with all the features, this time to the northwest of the village. Thus, apatxirú are held on different days and at different places. Not all the men take part. Some work for themselves in their gardens, and others stay home. [Ed., Plates 1-26 are omitted since they concern tribes other than the Tapirapé.]

516

Plate 29.

Tapirapé Boys.

•526

Plate 30.

Tapirapé: the Race at Nightfall following the apatxird.

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13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
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**Champukwi of the Village of the Tapirapé**

Champukwi sketched for me the stories of Petura, the Tapirapé ancestral hero who stole fire from the King Vulture, daylight from the night owl, *genipa* (used for dye) from the monkeys, and other items for the Tapirapé. However, he persuaded Maeumi, an elder famous for his knowledge of mythology, to relate the details although he himself helped considerably to clarify for me the meaning of native phrases and to make the stories told by Maeumi more fully understandable. Champukwi also forewarned me of events that I might want to witness, events that without his warning I might have missed. Such were the wrestling matches which took place upon the return of a hunting party between those men who went on the hunt and those who remained at home. He told me of a particularly handsome basket a man had made, which I might want to add to my collection for the Brazilian National Museum. He came to tell me that a young woman in a neighboring house was in labor, thus enabling me to get a photograph of the newborn infant being washed in the stream, and he urged the men to celebrate for my benefit a ceremony which might easily have been omitted. Champukwi was no longer merely an informant. He became a participant in ethnographic research although, of course, he never thought of it in these terms. He seemed somehow to understand the anthropologist's task in studying his culture, and in the process he gained considerable objectivity about his own way of life.

Yet it must be said that Champukwi did not seem to discredit the norms, institutions, and beliefs of his own people. Although he saw Valentim and me walk safely down the path through the forest late at night, he steadfastly refused to do the same; for the path was a favorite haunt of the lonely ghosts of deceased Tapirapé who might harm the living. He reasoned that the *tori* were probably immune to this danger. When he was ill, he took the pills we urged upon him but he also called in the shaman. His curiosity about airplanes, automobiles, and "gigantic canoes" (passenger boats) which he saw pictured in the magazines we had brought with us, was great; but he boasted that the Tapirapé could walk farther and faster than any *tori* or even the Caraja (who are a canoe people). In fact, his interest in, and enthusiasm for, certain Tapirapé activities seemed to be heightened by our presence. Almost all Tapirapé ceremonials involve choral singing and Champukwi was a singing leader of one of the sections of the men's societies. He was always pleased when

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



He was always pleased when we came to listen, particularly if we made the motions of joining in. He was an excellent wrestler in Tapirapé style, in which each opponent takes a firm grip on the pigtail of the other and attempts to throw him to the ground by tripping. Our wrestling match was brief although I was much taller than he; and his match with Valentim Gomes, who outweighed him by more than forty pounds, was a draw. Unlike so many who get a glimpse at a seemingly "superior" cultural world, Champukwi never became dissatisfied with his own way of life.

In June of 1940, my period of residence among the Tapirapé Indians ended. The waters on the savanna which had to be crossed afoot to get to the Tapirapé River where our canoe was moored had not completely receded. Many Tapirapé friends, among them Champukwi, offered to carry our baggage, made lighter after a final distribution of gifts, down to the river. The night before our departure a festival with the usual songfest was held to celebrate the final phase of a ceremony during which a youth, this time the nephew of Kamiraho, became a man. Some Brazilian tribes make this occasion an ordeal by such means as applying a frame of stinging wasps to the body of the novice, but it is characteristic of the Tapirapé that the "ordeal" consists only of decorating the youth with a headdress of magnificent red macaw feathers, painting his body elaborately, and making him the center of dancing and singing—although the youth must himself dance continuously for a day and a night. Champukwi led the singing most of the night, but at dawn he came to our house to supervise the packing of our belongings into the basket-like cases made of palm which are used for carrying loads of any kind. He divided the baggage among the younger men. Even some of the older household leaders decided to accompany us but they, of course, did not carry anything. Our trip was slow because everyone was tired after the all-night festival and because of the water through which we had to wade. At one point, rafts had to be made to transport our baggage across a still-swollen stream. Since the Tapirapé do not swim—or, like Champukwi, they swim but poorly—it was the job of the *tori* to swim and push the rafts. I had the honor of swimming across the stream, pushing the respected chieftain, Kamiraho. (How he got back, I shall never know.) After a day and a half, we reached the landing on the Tapirapé River, and the next

171 826 if they had cut the rope higher up, the woman would have come out beautiful, and then all Indians would be white and beautiful" (Lehmann-Nitsche 6, 195, 196). As we can see, "white" and "beautiful" are clearly equated in this myth.

826 Just as most Tapirapé do not fit their own ideal of beauty with regard to skin color, they do not fit it either with regard to stature, for while most of them are small, they like large men.

They also like a body where none of the parts provided by nature are missing, except for the hair, which is cut on specific [302] occasions, and the body hair, which is carefully plucked. For this reason, namely, for esthetic motives, Chief Kamairahó would not allow one of his incisors to be removed, although it was quite loose and the source of frequent complaints on his part.

291 Like most Brazilian Indians who do not yet live in close and continuous contact with the Whites, the Tapirapé, both men [171] and women, go altogether naked. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] And like most Indians in this country, the Tapirapé always go barefoot. The men merely wear the penis sheath and sometimes the waist cord.

When I asked the Tapirapé for the name of their penis 171 sheath, someone first told me the word nohó. This is the name 192 given to the penis in Karajá, but those Indians do not use a sheath. They tie the prepuce just over the glans with a cotton cord that they call noodakán (Krause 2, 204). Later I heard among the Tapirapé the word cherakuichivohúua to designate "my penis sheath," from cherakui, "my penis," and húua, which is related to the word for "leaf." [Ed., the first paragraph of p. 84 is omitted.]

291 [105:84] The penis sheath of the Tapirapé is made of a [287] strip of inner bark, from one and a half to two centimeters wide, taken from the stalk of the central leaf of a palm called pinavó by these Indians and simply "palm tree" by the non-Indian population of the Araguaia. As a rule, each man possesses a number of these strips, hung in bundles and rolls on the walls of his hut.

To make the sheath, the strip is folded so that its tips nearly join. Then the tips are slipped together into the resulting knot. [531] This produces a funnel with oblique walls, sometimes adorned with a few burns made with lightly applied live coals (Photo. 20). A special device prevents the funnel from opening too easily: before

302 are a characteristic decoration of the men (Photo. 68). I never saw a Tapirapé woman painted with urucú. [Fig. 6 appears here.] Only a few girls sometimes wore urucú designs on their bodies, for example, Kamana, a pampered eight-year-old girl (Photo. 9). [531] [881] The girls' cotton ornaments are also dyed with this staining material, which also serves, incidentally, to plaster a girl's hair on the day when her first menstruation ends. [462]

As a rule, the women paint not only other members of the female sex, but also their sons, lovers, and husbands. I once saw a man painting a little girl, however.

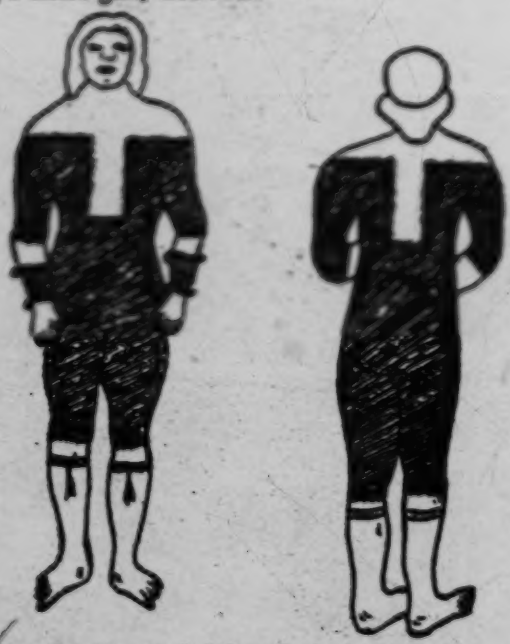

Fig. 5. Kananchahó male body painting.

Genipap paintings, as well as those done with urucú, are applied simply with the hands, that is to say, without any implement (Photo. 7 and 8).

There are authors who regard the application of urucú on the skin as a protection against the rays of the sun and against insect bites. Experiments proved that one of the properties of urucú is its failure to absorb solar heat in any but very modest amounts. The feet and lower part of the legs, that is to say, the places where

114 302 751

114 trait is as characteristic of northern and central South America
171 as the wooden stool. Its southern boundary, like that of the
352 hammock, is the southernmost region inhabited by the Tupi-Guarani tribes. We find it mentioned, indeed, among the Tupinamba, Caingua, Chiriguano, Guarayú, Yuruna, Chipaya, Curuaya, Auetõ, Kamayurá, and Oyampi. Ortiguera lists among
[531] the wonders owned by the Omagua their painted and varnished
[532] stools. Those of the Chiriguano, Caingua, Yuruna, and Kamayurá are made in the shape of animals" [translated from French].

It should be remembered, however, that as Father Wilhelm
114 Schmidt showed on a comparative table, there is a wide variety
171 of types, not only among the benches as a whole but also among
352 those representing animals. One of the latter is peculiar to the
532 Indians of the upper Xingu (Von den Steinen 2, 286-288), to the Karajá (Krause 2, 199), and to the Tapirapé. It consists of a single piece of wood for the seat, and two supporting boards set up as they would be in a sled. Among the Kamayurá, Mehinakú [Mehinacu], and Trumai, however, the representation of birds retains a certain naturalism (cf. Von den Steinen 2, Figs. 82-84), while it is altogether stylized among the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 19), where the ellipsoidal seat of the bench ends on either side in a sort of triangular head with mother-of-pearl eyes supplied with wax pupils, and tassels [111:114] of yellow-red parrot feathers at the ear openings. The bench I saw in Tampiitaua was similar in shape to the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause (ibid.) and was also painted black with genipap juice (cf. Krause 2, 199), but it possessed neither eyes nor ear openings and ornaments. Although its appearance indicated a closer relationship with the stool of the Araguaia Indians, its name related it to the Xingu bench. While the Karajá call the stool kolixũ (Krause, ibid.),
114 the Tapirapé give it the name ampykaua, which in the Tupi of
171 the Auetõ and Kamayurá comes out as apykáp (apũkáp in Von den
352 Steinen's spelling, 2, 286). It is worth noting that a Karaib tribe
192 in the same region, the Bakairi, use the same Tupi term changed to apyka (apũka in Von den Steinen's monograph). The same word, but with the tonic accent on the last syllable, that is to say, apyká, means "bench" in the Tupi-Guarani dialect heard by Montoya (2, I, 105) in the upper Paraná basin, while the Amazon

224 plots or at some task in the village, he would be on the lookout in the jungle or in the scrub forest. Some younger men also went hunting from time to time, but Kanchovani stood out as a specialist, a hunter par excellence.

Aside from individual hunting, there are collective hunts carried out by a few men (Photo. 24) or by the work groups.

The hunting weapons consist of bow and arrow and club. While traveling, the Indian usually takes along a bow and arrow, and often a club as well. On August 5, when we met a pair of jaguars as we marched from the village to the river, Kamaiñã and Chapokó ran after them with bow and club in hand. On July 14, a Tapirapé killed a wild pig with a club.

411 The bow (vuirampana) shown in Figure 13 and in Photographs 25, 26, 27, and 29 is typical [112:52] [Fig. 13 appears here.] [112:53] In the specimen shown in Photograph 29, the stave of patí palm wood (Syagrus botryophora), tantaũ or tantayva in Tapirapé, is 175 centimeters long, and its circumference is eight centimeters in the center part, five centimeters near the notches at the ends, and three and a half at the tips, of which the upper one is four and a half and the lower one three and a half centimeters long. The cross-section is circular. The cord of vegetable matter (iniyma, ámayma) is 162 centimeters long. Sometimes it is rubbed with the greasy urucú paste, and this is done even more frequently to the bow stave and to the club. On certain bows made ●[531] with special care, which are used by the dance leaders as decorative weapons and to mark time, the cord is whitened all over (Photos. 4, 68, 69).

Krause (2, 264) gives the length of the Karajá bow cord as 171 184-204 centimeters. Except for its size, this bow is identical to 411 that of the Tapirapé. In Meyer's (3, 8) classification, these bows belong to the "eastern Brazilian" type. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Krause (2, 262) writes as follows about the palm wood of which 439 the Karajá bow stave is made: "They say that this wood (olotó, woaluó) grows only in the Tapirapé area. In any case, according to their unanimous assertion, the Indians of the southern band obtain their bows, or the materials for them, from the Karajá of the northern band or from the Tapirapé themselves. As a result, I was able to acquire bows only from the northern band, for among the

[Text continues on p. 98]

171 These Indians, like the Karajá (ibid.) and Kayapó (ibid., 393)
411 decorate the shaft section between the two cotton bindings with
● 531 one or more rings of red resin (totayga, chotahypyrynga). In the Tupi tribe, the width of these rings varies from one to eight centimeters. The raw material is cooked in a pot with water by the
[462] woman, since, according to the Tapirapé behavior pattern, all
[252] cooking in pots is female work, while roasting falls to the men. The cotton thread is also made by the woman. Otherwise, the arrow, like other weapons and their component parts, is made by
[422] the man, and usually the owner of the weapon was also its maker.

Thevet (1, 291) writes as follows of a tree called "Vhebelasou"
171/ which is extremely tall, with leaves similar to those of a cabbage
314 and fruits over a foot long which never ripen because they are soon eaten up by wild bees: "In addition, it bears a red gum, suitable to many different ends, which they handle skillfully" [translated from French]. Could it be that the Indians visited by Thevet, that is to say, the Tupinambá of the sixteenth century, used the above-mentioned "red gum" for the same end as the Tapirapé use totayaga?

227 The barbed arrow is better suited to the pursuit of large fish
411 than any other, since the barb, by fastening the weapon to the animal's body, not only prevents it from escaping and weakens and kills it, as also happens with mammals, but also facilitates the removal of the fish from the water. The conditions are different, however, when small fish are shot in shallow waters where the arrowpoint easily penetrates into the sand. In such cases the Tapirapé use a small bow (vuirampampí) and special arrows, 60 to 70 centimeters long, with simple rounded wooden points, ten to 20 centimeters long, which are inserted directly into the cane shaft. In harmony with the overall size of these arrows, parrot
[237] feathers are used at the tip instead of the plumage of macaws and other large birds used on barbed arrows. In other respects, however, these two types of arrows are identical from the tip of the cane shaft, which is bound with a strip of philodendron bark, to the other tip where the bow cord rests upon the notch, and all the details of the feathered section are exactly the same. As far as the point is concerned, however, it is worth noting that sometimes the small arrows have up to three of those simple, rounded, wooden points instead of just one (see Photo. 30). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



592 from many villages in the one village, many combinations of relatives now form residential groups.

### DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Both sexes are nude. Men tie the prepuce over the glans penis with a
302 palm fiber. Both men and women pull out pubic, axillary, and all facial hair. Even eyebrows are considered ugly. Men wear cotton string ligatures around their legs, just below the knee. Men, and sometimes women,
301 wear large cotton wrist bands crocheted directly on to their arms. Young boys and girls sometimes wear similar ornaments on their ankles; these ornaments are painted with a thick coat of red urucú dye and have round cuffs, often 2 to 3 inches (5 to 7.5 cm.) wide. Necklaces of beads given by Neo-Brazilians are highly valued and used almost to excess. Men
[302] paint their feet and the calves of their legs red with urucú; both men and women trace a multitude of patterns on their body with black genipa dye.

304 Men have their lower lip pierced and wear a small wooden lip plug. Two years or so after women have begun sexual life, patterns in the form of a three-quarter moon are made on their faces by scarification with a paca
[386] (*Cuniculus paca*) tooth knife. Charcoal and plant juices are rubbed into the wounds to leave dark blue designs.

### TRANSPORTATION

[501] The *Tapirapé* do not have canoes. All cargoes are carried by the men
482 in a carrying knapsack made from buriti-palm fibers strapped to their backs.

### MANUFACTURES

286 **Weaving.**—Hammocks are made by women from native cotton spun on
462 wooden spindles. The technique used is the simple twine weaving used by the *Tupinambá* and other *Tupí* groups.

323 **Ceramics.**—At present, the art of ceramics is declining. Pottery is
462 usually for cooking, and is made by women. Sometimes it bears incised
531 geometrical decorations.

531 **Gourds.**—Gourds are decorated with geometric incisions.

**Basketry.**—The most highly developed basketry techniques among the
285 *Tapirapé* are woven and twilled. Two types of baskets are flexible and nonflexible ones; both are of buriti fiber. They generally have a quadrangular base and a narrow, round top, and are used mostly to store manioc or maize flour. Flat, round baskets are used as cotton containers
[53] for flour sifters. They are usually ornamented with motifs originating in the weave itself; frequently the finished basket is smeared with black genipa and odd strands are scraped off, giving a negative decorative effect.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



586 Until the first child is born, marriage bonds are rather weak, but henceforth the marriage is comparatively stable. There are, however, frequent [837] cases of adultery, and a guilty woman who is found out is thrashed by her [684] husband. When a marriage is dissolved, the man leaves the house, which is considered the wife's property, although built by him.

768 Upon a man's death, his widow remains in the house. After about 2 [833] months of free sexual relations, she chooses a new husband.

**Death.**—The *Tapirapé* believe that death is brought about by sorcery 761 and never by natural causes. Frequently, when the relatives of the [682] deceased enjoyed sufficient prestige, they kill the shaman whom they [754] suspect.

As soon as it is certain that the sick man will die, mourning begins in 763 the form of a wailing dirge by both men and women. The men dance around the hammock of the dying or dead man, while the women remain 764 seated on the ground. Burial takes place on the day after death. The corpse is stretched out on the hammock. Its feet and head are decorated with urucú dye, and its face is painted black with genipa. The grave is dug in the dead man's house under the place where his hammock was usually hung. The body is buried in the hammock, which is set up in the grave between two poles. All contact with the earth is avoided. Personal possessions of the deceased are buried with him, except that all feather ornaments and bows and arrows are burned.

765 Five days after the funeral, the relatives walk in file to the ceremonial hut, where they leave the spirit of the dead man. The wailing goes on for many days, sometimes months, and always takes place at sunset. Close-cropped hair is a token of mourning for both sexes.

## ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 **Art.**—Obvious esthetic pleasure is derived from skillfully done basket-
●531 work; a good workman will destroy a basket which is not turning out well, even though it would serve as a receptacle. Great use is made of highly colored feathers; feathers are both tied and stuck with rosin and wax on to the object to be decorated. Elaborate geometric designs are painted on children's bodies with genipa. The incise work on gourds is also especially striking.

**Musical instruments.**—Gourd rattles are frequently used to keep time 534 to singing. No sacred powers are attributed to rattles. During the shamanistic ceremony (p. 177), a bamboo trunk is pounded against the ground in time to the music.

**Music.**—By far the most important *Tapirapé* pastime is singing. A man 533 with a good voice and a large repertoire of songs is much admired by the community. All ceremonies are, basically, singing festivals. Each ceremony during the year has a large set of specific songs: those to be sung by the shaman during the shamanistic "battle with Thunder" (p. 177);

5: Krause--338 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja

Tapirape SP22

Plate 69

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415
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1. Comb.

2. Whole-gourd vessel.

3 4

Half-gourd vessels.

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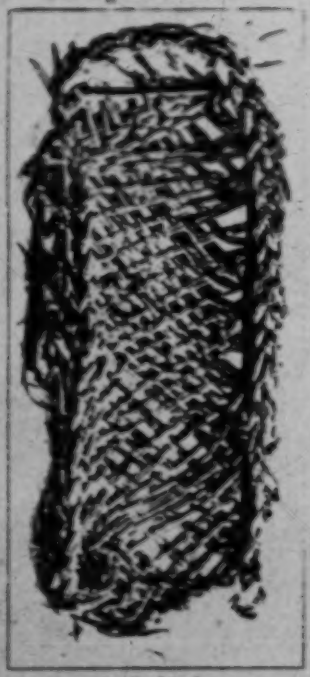
6-8. Rectangular transport bags.



5. Back-basket.

9. Elastic transport bag.

/405 cont./

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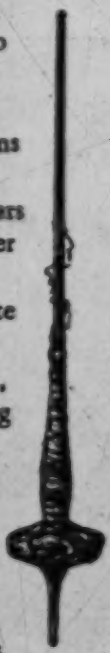
302 →

Ill. 262 a, b.
Tattooing of the Tapirapé women.

Ill. 263.
Painting of a Tapirapé girl.

415 The whole-gourd vessel (kuitã; Pl. 531 69, Ill. 2) bears carved designs similar to 171 those of the Karajá; everything is very crudely executed, however. Of the two half-gourd vessels (kãiedi; Pl. 69, Ills. 3, 4), one is provided with a tassel made of red cotton threads; their designs are reminiscent of the Karajá carved designs, whereas the designs on the others are completely foreign and carved rather crudely and clumsily.

532 The doll (dioho, Ill. 266) of white earth, of rhomboid shape, represents a [283] Tapirapé /406/ maiden. A roll of wax, which is led from one corner down along [411] the two adjacent edges, serves as hair. A parting and arm cuffs (red painting between two rolls) have been put on it. Moreover, the doll wears two ear-rods. In the center and at the four corners there are small holes that are connected with the center by means of one line to the sides and two lines to the top and bottom. The whole figure is five centimeters high and wide and three centimeters thick. It was made by a Tapirapé boy. Of



Ill. 264.
Spindle.

Ill. 265.
Club.
Tapirapé.

292 pairs are joined into a knot after having been twined once around
285 every strip. Their starting point at the other end of the band was also a knot, so that the band displays 28 knots at each end. The strings are cut three or four centimeters beyond the knot, except for the strings involved in the four outermost knots on each side. These strings extend about 30 [108:135] centimeters beyond the knots on one side, and slightly over 11 centimeters on the other side. These strings are twisted into a cord in groups of four, while the other strings are not joined in any way along the three or four centimeters that extend beyond the knots. The strips, when they retain their natural curvature, leave an empty space within their folded ends. The large tail feathers of the red macaw are inserted in this opening to complete the impressive ornament. They are kept in an internode of thick cane when not in use.

292 The frame specimen described and reproduced above was the only one I found in Tampiitáua. It was in Maninohó's possession. I
[114] have not found any reference in the literature to such objects among
[171] the Karajá, the Kayapó, or any other Indians. Nor do I know whether anything like the Tapirapé head "edifice" reproduced by Wagley is to be found in any other tribe.

Reverend Kegel described to me the circular occipital head-
292 dress he saw at the initiation ceremony as a wooden disk about 15
881 centimeters in diameter and two centimeters thick, blackened with
237 genipap, and bearing three concentric circles of feathers laid out in a radiating pattern. The inner circle consisted of scalloped, dark-green duck feathers, the middle one of white jabiru feathers, and the outer one of red macaw tail feathers. The hair of the boy who was being initiated was gathered into a pigtail and drawn through a hole in the center of the disk. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 135 and the first paragraph of p. 136 are omitted.]

[108:136] I saw a large semicircular wooden disk with small
532 holes in the center hanging from the wall of the men's house in Tampiitáua. The Tapirapé showed me that those holes were meant for the eyes and that the disk, when covered with a mosaic of feathers and a crown of macaw feathers, was used as a dance mask (Photo. 70). Unfortunately, however, I did not have an opportunity
171 to find out the specific function of this mask, which is as distinct
532 from other Tapirapé masks as it is from those of the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 20) and which bears no resemblance to the masks

532 of wood, plaited and woven material found by Von den Steinen
[171] (2, Figs. 94-118) among the Xingu tribes.

The cylindrical masks of the Tapirapé are also adorned with feathers (Photo. 72). In the daytime dances of these Indians, some
301 of the male participants wear one or several red macaw tail feathers vertically on the occiput (Photo. 5). On such occasions they also wore the ear ornament (Photo. 21), which I acquired in Tampiitáua and which I shall now describe. Two strings, twisted
[283] counter-clockwise and consisting of two threads spun clockwise, are tied to a cotton cord twisted clockwise and consisting of two strings twisted counter-clockwise and made up in turn of two threads spun clockwise. The first two strings mentioned are each folded in the middle and placed on the rope in such a way that on one side there is a loop, and on the other the two free-swinging ends. These ends are slipped through the loop and stretched to make a knot. Each end, after being slipped through a perforated palm nut,
[237] is attached to three or four tail feathers of the green oropendola (Ostinops viridis), which are yellow with black spots and up to nine centimeters long. The feathers are tied by the lower, denuded part of the stem, which is folded up at the tip for the purpose. When the cord is worn a oss the forehead and tied on the occiput, the
[386] feathers fall over the ears. All the threads are dyed with genipap. [Ed., the last two lines of p. 136 and the first paragraph of p. 137 are omitted.]

[108:137] According to Reverend Kegel, the Tapirapé adoles-
301 cent at the initiation ceremony wears around his neck two cotton
881 strips, three centimeters wide, which hang down in front to below the knees and in the back to below the calves. These strips end in tassels, and under the tassel is a palm-nut shell, its opening facing downward, surrounded with small breast feathers of the red macaw. On each arm the boy wears a cotton cord from which hang five of these shells with the same little red feathers.

To summarize: the Tapirapé feather ornaments are not only
171 distinct from those of the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó visited by
301 Krause (2, passim), from those of the inhabitants of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen 2, 328), the Bororo (Colbacchini and Albisetti, passim), the Tupi tribe of the Urubu (Lopes 2, passim), and the Tupinambá (Métraux 2, 130-148), but also much less numerous and varied than the featherwork in any of these tribes.

114 trait is as characteristic of northern and central South America
171 as the wooden stool. Its southern boundary, like that of the
352 hammock, is the southernmost region inhabited by the Tupi-Guarani tribes. We find it mentioned, indeed, among the Tupinamba, Caingua, Chiriguano, Guarayú, Yuruna, Chipaya, Curuaya, Auetõ, Kamayurá, and Oyampi. Ortiguera lists among
[531] the wonders owned by the Omagua their painted and varnished
[532] stools. Those of the Chiriguano, Caingua, Yuruna, and Kamayurá are made in the shape of animals" [translated from French].

It should be remembered, however, that as Father Wilhelm
114 Schmidt showed on a comparative table, there is a wide variety
171 of types, not only among the benches as a whole but also among
352 those representing animals. One of the latter is peculiar to the
532 Indians of the upper Xingu (Von den Steinen 2, 286-288), to the Karajá (Krause 2, 199), and to the Tapirapé. It consists of a single piece of wood for the seat, and two supporting boards set up as they would be in a sled. Among the Kamayurá, Mehinakú [Mehinacu], and Trumai, however, the representation of birds retains a certain naturalism (cf. Von den Steinen 2, Figs. 82-84), while it is altogether stylized among the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 19), where the ellipsoidal seat of the bench ends on either side in a sort of triangular head with mother-of-pearl eyes supplied with wax pupils, and tassels [111:114] of yellow-red parrot feathers at the ear openings. The bench I saw in Tampiitaua was similar in shape to the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause (ibid.) and was also painted black with genipap juice (cf. Krause 2, 199), but it possessed neither eyes nor ear openings and ornaments. Although its appearance indicated a closer relationship with the stool of the Araguaia Indians, its name related it to the Xingu bench. While the Karajá call the stool kolixú (Krause, ibid.),
114 the Tapirapé give it the name ampykaua, which in the Tupi of
171 the Auetõ and Kamayurá comes out as apykáp (apïkáp in Von den
352 Steinen's spelling, 2, 286). It is worth noting that a Karaib tribe
192 in the same region, the Bakairi, use the same Tupi term changed to apyka (apïka in Von den Steinen's monograph). The same word, but with the tonic accent on the last syllable, that is to say, apykú, means "bench" in the Tupi-Guarani dialect heard by Montoya (2, I, 105) in the upper Paraná basin, while the Amazon

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



776 Some of these demons of the forest are now "pets" of the Tapirapé, and are no longer dangerous to them. The comparatively harmless *anãnga*, in a sense domesticated by Tapirapé men, come at intervals throughout the year to live in the large central men's house. While an
[535] *anãnga* is inhabiting this ceremonial house, Tapirapé men sing and
[530] dance with masks representing the visiting spirit (?).

756 Knowledge of the supernatural world is gained chiefly through the
787 dream experiences of shamans or *pané*, for among the Tapirapé shamanistic power derives from dreams and from powers revealed in them.
[575] Dreams are believed to be journeys. The *ãngã*, the soul, may free itself
[578] from the *eté*, the body, in sleep, and move freely in time and space. Obviously anyone may dream but frequent dreaming is evidence of shamanistic power. Laymen who dream very much are afraid, for they do not belong in this supernatural world, or they believe that they should become shamans.

Campukwi, who was not a shaman, indicated this fear in telling me his dream experience. When he saw dangerous *anãnga* in his dream, he had no recourse but to run: "I am not a shaman. I was afraid. I ran. They would have killed me". Only shamans have the supernatural power to move freely in this dream-world of ghosts and demons. A shaman is never afraid in his dream travels, for ghosts are his friends and the power of a shaman grows in proportion as he fraternizes with the demonic spirits of the forest. After a dream-visit from a shaman, hosts of demonic spirits may become his familiars, obedient to his calls for aid. Turning himself into a bird or launching himself through the air in his "canoe" a half gourd, he travels to the villages of ghosts, to the houses of demonic spirits, or to such temporal places as the Brazilian settlements or Carajá villages on the Araguaya River. Then, too, time is no obstacle; in a step of a few minutes he may experience three or four days of dream adventure.

756 The dream experience of Ikananowi, a powerful shaman who died
776 a few years before my visit, will illustrate these points. In his dream he
787 walked far to the shores of a large lake deep in the jungle. There he heard dogs barking and ran in the direction from which the noise came until he met several forest spirits of the breed called *manpi anká*. They

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[577] (?) The men's masked dance cult, kept as a secret from the women, is not
[578] obviously found among Tupi tribes. In this case it has obviously been borrowed from
[777] the Tapirapé's neighbors, the Carajá.

Fig. 9. Tanupantxóa-Kamanané, about 45 years old, and in 1947 the oldest Tapirapé. He defended his village alone against the Kaiapó.

Fig. 10. Tapirapé youth making a wax doll.

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[231]
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9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



the largest ceremonial of the year which marks the beginning of the dry 805
season and the harvest. Similarly, the position of the Pleiades is noted to 821
date the many ceremonies of the heavy rainy period (November to April). [796]
One shaman had visited the Pleiades, and they, too, can be counted upon
as a familiar power. The Milky Way is often referred to as the "path of the [787]
shaman," it is a well-beaten road over which the shaman travels through
the sky in his dreams.

In common with many Tupi peoples, nothing in the realm of natural [171]
phenomena is as important to the Tapirapé as thunder. Among most Tupi, 821
Tupan is a god or an ancestor identified with thunder. He causes the 776
rumbling of thunder and flashes of lightning. Among the Tapirapé, how-
ever, Thunder[16] is a separate entity, a supernatural who has many "crea-
tures" or *tapii*. *Tapii* are described as small beings about a hand's length in
size, with white hairy down over their bodies, and wearing a small head- [177]
dress of red parrot feathers, European beads, and a lip plug. Small wax
dolls are made in imitation of them. They travel through the sky in small [532]
"canoes," especially when there are strong wind and electric storms, and
they carry red wild flowers with which they shoot Tapirapé in the stomach.
These arrows are hot "like fire." Sometimes *tapii* are called "pets" of
Thunder, and again they are referred to as his "children." In addition to [775]
*tapii*, Thunder has other supernumeraries, the souls of dead shamans, who [756]
live in the house of Thunder, customarily thought to be near Maratawa on
the summit of a large mountain.

Each year when approaching rains bring heavy thunder storms, light-
ning and strong winds, Thunder sends forth his beings. The noise of the
storm is caused by rumbling of *tapii's* canoes, and flashes of lightning are
their speeding arrows. To protect the Tapirapé, and also their gardens, 756
from the storm, shamans[17] "call Thunder," or "fight with *tapii*." In a four- 796
day ceremony characterized by genuine fear, shamans gulp tobacco smoke 821
until they are ill and intoxicated, they sing "calling Thunder to come," and 776
chant until they "see" one or more *tapii*, or souls of dead shamans,[18] fight
with them, and are struck down by their arrows. A shaman who fights a
*tapii* tries to grab its small feather head-dress, take away its bow, or yank
out its lip plug, its most vulnerable feature.

Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies of fighting Thunder.
When a shaman is shot by *tapii*, he falls screaming upon the ground, [781]
writhing and shaking, and then becomes unconscious. If men are not near

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[16] Thunder referred to as Kanawana (direct translation) is said to be called Parawaka, his personal name.

[17] Laymen and neophytes who have sufficient courage may also participate.

[18] In conversation and in song, there is confusion between these beings. Although the above distinctions are definitely made, they are often referred to interchangeably. For example, a Tapirapé may say, "*tapii* cause lightning," or "Thunder is angry and makes lightning."

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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PLATE 10.—Tapirapé ceremonies and house construction. *Top, left:* Youth in preparation for puberty ceremony. The large, heavy disks of mauve feathers will be supported by the lock of hair wrapped in cotton cord. *Top, right:* Shaman wearing dangerous ceremonial headdress during Thunder ceremony. He is intoxicated by tobacco and in a trance state. *Bottom, left:* Construction of men's house. *Bottom, right:* Dance masks representing the "Crying Spirit," one of many forest spirits who are said to come to stay for a time in the men's ceremonial house. (Courtesy Charles Wagley.)

[p. 170 A]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



276 756 by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

423 249 The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

272 [273] No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

## RELIGION

771 *Tapirapé* religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, anĉunga (spirit or shadow).

775 "The anĉunga ĩĩnwera, human spirits or ghosts (aña or anhanga among the *Tupinambá*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

[825] Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then *die* and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls [792] of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

776 In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called anĉunga, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Waré, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many anĉunga, among whom were the awakú anká, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mumplankú were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the [535] *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, [532] *bottom, right*).

**Rites.**—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people 79 are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (anĉunga) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest [241] ceremonial (kuú) and the ceremony of kawi (a soupline beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

241 756 In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans

/405 cont./

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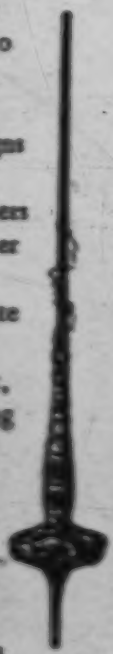
Ill. 262 a, b.
Tattooing of the Tapirapé women.

Ill. 263.
Painting of a Tapirapé girl.

415 531 171 The whole-gourd vessel (kuïti; Pl. 69, Ill. 2) bears carved designs similar to those of the Karajá; everything is very crudely executed, however. Of the two half-gourd vessels (kãsõdi; Pl. 69, Ills. 3, 4), one is provided with a tassel made of red cotton threads; their designs are reminiscent of the Karajá carved designs, whereas the designs on the others are completely foreign and carved rather crudely and clumsily.

• 532 The doll (dĩohõ, Ill. 266) of white earth, of rhomboid shape, represents a [283] Tapirapé /406/ maiden. A roll of wax, which is led from one corner down along [411] the two adjacent edges, serves as hair. A parting and arm cuff (red painting between two rolls) have been put on it. Moreover, the doll wears two ear-rods. In the center and at the four corners there are small holes that are connected with the center by means of one line to the sides and two lines to the top and bottom. The whole figure is five centimeters high and wide and three centimeters thick. It was made by a Tapirapé boy. Of



Ill. 264.
Spindle.

Ill. 265.
Club.
Tapirapé.

/406 cont./

114 course, I cannot state with certainty that all these objects of actually come from the Tapirapé. In particular this cannot be done in the case of the spindle; yet they all have something about them that is more or less foreign to the Karajá.

192 Of words, I obtained the following through the Karaja in their perhaps corrupt pronunciation: penis cuff, hõõlã; urucú, kãã; tobacco, bãdumã.

114 [131] 4. Observations in Tapirapé territory. In traveling on the Rio Tapirapé I came upon traces of a people who I assume were Tapirapé, for I met them in approximately the region in which, according to the accounts of the Karajá, the Tapirapé were supposed to live; I then crossed the boundary

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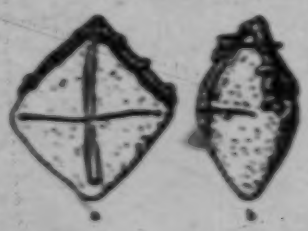

Ill. 266a, b.
Doll of white earth.

114 between the Karajá territory and the Tapirapé territory, as my Karajá companions declared; finally, the number of villages encountered (three) corresponds to that given by the Karajá.

[322] [354] The traces that I came across were the following: on the twelfth day of the river journey footprints on a sandbank; on the thirteenth day a lake blocked off by a fish fence, next to it in the forest a place for roasting food, from which a path led northward over the campo; on the fourteenth day a second roasting place with a campo path; from noon of this day all traces ceased. From the twelfth to the fourteenth day, on the other hand, places of fires, as well as the remains of old lake barricades, were to be seen everywhere.
[See pp. 339-337 — Analysis]

648 When I stretched out in my hammock, Kamairahó, who was
129 already lying in his hammock with his wife, smiled at me as usual and greeted me courteously with the customary "papanekã (you have come)." I asserted, no less decorously, "Hm, hm, ẽ, ẽ." He went on, still smiling, "Kananchahó around. Kananchahó coming. I'm afraid." Although he did not seem particularly scared in spite of this statement, I calmed him with a few words as I had done with the others, and he immediately laughed, changed the subject, and jested with his wife.

648 Later, it became evident that the presence of Kayapó in the
609 neighboring forest had been invented by Anavanã, a somewhat foolish youth of about 17. On the following morning he confessed that he had lied. He probably wanted to make himself important. The general readiness to believe him shows the state of mind of the Tapirapé toward their feared neighbors. Incidentally, on the day when Kamairahó showed me the smoke pillars of the "Ampanemã" to the southwest, he showed me a similar display by the Kayapó to the north.

The non-material defenses show that the Kananchahó are regarded as the Number One enemy. Although the Karajá are also feared, only the northern neighbors, by what I was able to observe, are the object of parodies, violently abusive songs, and mocking pantomimes. On June 24, the Tapirapé, in a weeping tone, sang
[533] a seemingly obscene chant about the Kananchahó, which aroused
[531] endless laughter. It was sung in the men's house, where other
[522] youths gave a ludicrous impersonation of those enemies, emitting
[536] their would-be tribal cry, running and jumping crazily hither and yon, gesticulating with angry excitement, and hitting the house stakes with their clubs. At the same time, in front of the house,
[535] other men accompanied by the women and children danced and sang the kaõ, the danced song that derives its warlike character not only from the weapons in the hands of the warriors and from their serious look, but also from the powerful rhythm of stamping feet and the menacing quality of the guttural sounds.

536 [102:125] While all this pertains to night performances, an-
726 other spectacle took place two days later in daylight. It was a dramatization of the supposed Kayapó attack on the 20 Tapirapé who had failed to return from the hunt during the previous year. Six youths, holding on to each other in friendly fashion two by two,

224 pig killed on July 14 was brought to bay by Tapirapé dogs. Krause
23 (2, 407) found numerous tracks of Tapirapé dogs on a sandbar of the river that goes by the same name. The same author (2, 245 and 386) mentions dogs belonging to the Karajá (kjolozá in their
171 language) and the Kayapó. According to the Tapirapé, the
231 Ampanesi stole young dogs from them. The complete absence of
[648] dogs in the upper Xingu region, which was noted by Von den Steinen (1, 326) in 1884, was confirmed in 1924 by Hintermann (255).

224 I was unable to obtain a satisfactory explanation for the following custom, which was related to me by my companion Kegel: the Tapirapé, after killing game, place a number of small sticks, corresponding to the number of animals killed, at the spot where they re-enter one of the paths used by the tribe; they tear each stick slightly and insert a feather or a few hairs of the slain animal in the resulting slit. I encountered the same custom in 1946 among the Kaingang [Caingang] of the upper Ivaí. There, the Indian Salvador Veinié, after hunting baitaca [Tr., parrots of the Pionias genus], plucked a few feathers from one of these birds in my presence and tossed them beside the path. This same Kaingang, while in [112:59] the company of my assistant Harald Schultz, once found a stick lying on a footpath with two clusters of tateto hair in its split upper tip, and he said that two of those wild pigs had been killed at that spot and that the stick with the hair had been left there by the hunter to impart the news to passersby.

I did not observe any magic with the explicit purpose of catch-
224 ing or multiplying game. It is uncertain whether the animal dances
● 533 and songs which I shall describe in the chapter dealing with re-
535 ligion [Tr., apparently not published] have such a purpose, or whether their aim is merely to express joy. The Indians themselves
[226] say that there is a lot of fish when they sing, but that there is also a lot of fish when they do not sing. To judge from this statement, the animal songs and dances are not hunting magic. The Tapirapé
553 sing and dance because they like to sing and dance. For this reason,
535 also, they borrowed songs and dances from the Karajá. It would
177 be necessary to find out (1) whether the animal dances and songs were originally magical, (2) whether anyone still regards them as such, and (3) if so, who does. I was unable to settle these questions.

533 In any case, the greater part of the animal dances and songs
535 that I witnessed dealt with fish. Only the dance of the chankui,
that is, "little guan," was also performed frequently. A dance
[171] by this name is mentioned by Von den Steinen (2, 313) for the
Auetõ and Kamayurá as "original" to these Tupi tribes. Actually,
[137] those gallinaceans of the Penelope genus, which are easy to catch,
abound in Tapirapé territory, and their tasty meat is not barred
to either sex. It would be possible to build fine hypotheses about
the connection between these facts and the above-mentioned
dance, but I shall abstain.

The predominance of fish dances accords with the importance
226 of fishing. The chief fishing period lasts from June to October.
During these months, the waters are low and clearer, and in many
places it is possible to see all the way down to the bottom. The
[133] small streams gradually dry out, and the fish are compelled to
crowd into certain stretches of the river and into the lakes. The
latter lose their connections with the river, or they are closed off
artificially with dams, observed by Krause (2, 409, Fig. 7, and
267, Plate 29), which consist of stakes connected with crosspieces
and covered with thick foliage.

The areas thus dammed are poisoned with a vine called chimá
in Tapirapé. The Indians pound the water with pieces of this vine,
and call the procedure anchimaká. The water turns a purplish blue.
Only the very small fry are killed, however. Other fish are stunned.
[312] To get drinking water the Indians dig holes in the banks, which
sometimes lie no farther than one meter from the poisoned waters,
but whose contents, filtered through the sand, are harmless to man.
[Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[112:60] Another Tapirapé fishing method, which I have already mentioned, is with the bow and arrow. While the large barbed arrow is used exclusively by adult men, the small one with one or several simple wooden points is used by the boys. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

At Tampilitana I saw a fish trap (chekiá) consisting of a cylin-
227 drical, funnel-shaped basket made of cane strips (Photo. 32).
Aside from this, the Indians showed me a strange object, according to them, used to catch the tiniest fish, which is placed in the water, like the trap, in such a way that the current makes it easy for the fish to get in and impossible for it to get out. This object

12.2 437 [chief's] arrow." This "mercantilism" even operated in the area of "spiritual" (or "non-material") culture, for just as they had bartered dances and songs with the Karajá, they also demanded songs from me in exchange for theirs, and I had to teach them a song from my childhood, in which the fox is accused of having [533] stolen the goose ("Fuchs, du hast die Gans gestohlen") to learn from them a children's ballad dealing with a mouse.

When the Tapirapé bartered among themselves, I observed considerable haggling. [Ed., end of Vol. 113.]

## Chapter 9

### [114:185] The Diet

262 924 The last chapter referred to the importance of plants in the Tapirapé diet. First and foremost, there is manioc. Aside from fish, it is the only food mentioned in these Indians' description of [772] the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven lying above our visible one. The inhabitants of Tampiitsúa call the roots of that Euphorbiacea by the generic name mandiaga. Ayrosa (4, 112) questions the Tupi origin of the word mandioca [manioc].

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have both "wild manioc" [771] (Manihot utilissima Pohl) and "sweet manioc" (Manihot dulcis Pax.). They distinguish five varieties of the Manihot genus, while the number of varieties known to the ancient Tupi was even greater (cf. Soares de Sousa 187; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXVIII; Métraux 2, 65).

Like these Indians, the Tapirapé have two basic ways of pre- 771 paring the manioc roots for consumption: (1) by placing them for 252 a few days in water until they become soft, turning them into what they call mandiyvungma and what is called puba [manioc mash] by the neo-Brazilians; (2) by grating them without putting them through the water treatment [114:186] (cf. Staden q 2; Soares de Sousa 189 and 191; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXIX; Claude d'Abbeville 304-305). Some of the varieties are prepared in either way, and others are prepared only in one way. The roots softened [251] in water are dried in the sun and pounded in the mortar, and the mashed substance is used in the manufacture of beiju [flat cakes] and cauí [a soup].

since the information provided by such dreams is readily accepted, they organize collective fishing trips. Fish constitutes their main source of animal fat and calcium. The calcium comes from the bones, [120:55] crumbled into a strongly spiced sauce, their favorite breakfast food. This is a cold dish, but the flesh of the fish is eaten on the previous day, good and hot, and invariably accompanied by manioc flour. I caused general amazement when I ate small roasted fish for the first time in Tampiitaua, and did so without manioc flour. My friend Vuanomanchi said that fish without flour is bad, gesticulated and spat as though he were smelling bad odor, and wanted to get up and fetch some of his own flour. A woman who was eating seated by my side immediately offered me hers. Of all the pictures in the zoological book that I showed them, it was always those of fish that aroused the greatest interest. The majority of the masked dances I witnessed dealt with fish, and there is an unmasked dance in which most of the text of the song consists of the word ypirá. It was this generic term for fish that I also heard almost invariably when I asked for the cause of a disease. This did not mean, however, that eating fish had been harmful to the sick person, but that a fish bone had been shot into his body as a magic projectile by an evil sorcerer. They also say that all the spirits of the hills and of the waters eat fish, and do not mention any other food for these spirits. Furthermore, as already stated at the beginning of this chapter, fish, along with manioc, is the only food included in the Tapirapé description of the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven that lies above our visible one. They do not fail to add that in this case "very fat fish" are involved. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Concerning head lice, I wish to mention in passing the fact that I never found any on my own body during my stays among various tribes, in spite of the fact that much lousy hair came in contact with mine and that I did not take any special preventive measures. The same proved to be the case among other whites who stayed with South American Indians. I also know of a blond young man on whose head lice of the Krahó [Crahó] Indians settled without biting.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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In January 1940 this ceremony was announced without warning 276
by Pasteri, one of the two powerful shamans of the village. One morn- 533
ing very early while it was still night, he woke up, lighted his pipe 796
and began to swallow tobacco smoke as he would when performing a cure. Then he began to sing, accompanied by his wife who sang in a higher counterpuntal key. His song called Thunder to come to the village and announced that he would see *topi* and *panié-tinawera* the next day. He sang that "many Tapirapé would die" (29). By daybreak he had finished his song and all those who had waked to hear were asleep again. The village knew that Pasteri had begun the ceremony by challenging Thunder and by noon on that day Urukumu, another powerful shaman, took up the song — swallowing smoke, vomiting, and singing accompanied by his wife. After an hour or more, Urukumu retired into his hammock and the song was taken up first by one and then by another shaman or novice to shamanism; until sunset this singing continued.

At sunset shamans and novices came one by one to the dance ground in front of the ceremonial house and repeated the performances of swallowing smoke until intoxicated. In turn, then, each of these stood up with this wife, the two facing each other and about five feet apart, and sang together. By nightfall this cycle of singing in the plaza was ended. Thunder had been called and his creatures would appear in the village on the next day.

For the three following days during which the ceremonies con- 796
tinued, sunset always marked a distinct change in the activities. There seemed always to be two distinct phases of the ceremony — one for the daylight hours and the other for the twilight.

Early on the morning of the second day of the ceremonies that I witnessed, preparations were made for the daytime activities. In each of the nine dwellings a door was broken through each side wall at the point nearest to the neighboring house. Paths were then swept between the houses, leading from one of these new doors to another and so forming a circular path about the village and passing through each house. The inhabitants of the largest of the dwellings (*A* on the sc-

(29) To "die" in this ceremony is to fall in a trance from the effect of the tapé's smoke. During this trance the soul leaves the body and travels to the house of Thunder.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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"saw *topi*" and were struck down as the young shaman had been earlier that day. One shaman novice, staggering blindly and vomiting violently, tried to break away from the young men who were partially supporting him. When they caught him, he fell immediately to the ground. Finally, toward sundown, Pantari took up his song again. He still was "stronger than *topi*" and was able to perform his song without falling into a trance. 177 276 786 796

At sundown men began to gather in the house which had been cleared. Some twenty men came to take part in this phase of the ceremonies. The bulk of the village population was gathered inside the house, crouched close against the walls, or outside looking through the doors. 276 533 796

The two powerful shamans, Urukumo and Pantari, stood in the middle of the floor facing each other. They lighted their long pipes and began to swallow smoke. At the back of the room were two young men with the ceremonial rattles that the shamans had used earlier. These young men were in positions of particular danger, for their rattles attracted the special attention of Thunder's creatures. In front of them Ikuriwantari, a young man noted for his singing, stood on a bench and began to sing the songs of Thunder; they played accompaniment for his songs on the rattles. A young boy sat behind them and beat time to the song with a hollow trunk of bamboo. Now and again young men standing against the walls took up a chorus with the solo singer. The shamans kept going to the young men with the rattles, offering them smoke to swallow from their pipes until they were unsteady on their feet. At times they were able to stay on their feet only when they were held up. They then began walking back and forth to the front of the house, shaking the rattles towards the roof threateningly, challenging *topi* and *panté-tówere* to come. [534]

Shamans now offered their pipes to their novices and to laymen. The two shamans also soon began walking back and forth the length of the house, first alone and then each taking a novice with him. One by one men joined the shamans as they moved up and down the house. By now all were thoroughly intoxicated and the atmosphere grew tense. All spewed out smoke until it fairly engulfed them as they moved vomiting and reeling about. Everyone took up a grunting chant of "Hew, hew!" Some carried mirrors and red parrot feathers as weapons against the *topi*. The two chief shamans carried machetes 276 796 [533] [293]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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276 and at each end of the house they would stop, the group behind them,
796 and motion threateningly toward the roof, defying *tupi* and *panté-*
*tawara* to come. During all this time the singing continued with its
(533) accompaniment of rattles and the hollow bamboo tube, except for
intervals when some performer collapsed.

276 Suddenly Pastori stopped his marching back and forth, retired a
796 few steps, and pointed to the corner of the house. It was explained to
776 me that he had seen *panté-tawara* sent by Thunder. He rushed to
the far end of the house and pointed again: he saw a *tupi*. He moved
backwards in fright: then appeared to threaten, point, run in fright,
and finally retreat, completely confused by numerous enemies.

Suddenly one young shaman broke away from the group and ran through the circle of the houses like a hunted animal, dodging about and staring with glazed eyes. He fell to the ground, rolling on his side and groaning. His body twitched and then became rigid. His wife, who had been standing among the spectators, rushed to his aid and dragged him out of the path of the group. She propped him up in a sitting position against her legs. Several others fell in this manner, struck down by the beings of Thunder and were dragged to the sidelines where someone blew smoke over them and massaged them. With this treatment he soon regained consciousness, yet they remained reclining upon the ground because they were "weak from the fight".

276 Finally, as it grew dark outside, Pastori, still leading those men
796 who had not been struck down, pointed directly over his head. Urukumu looked where Pastori had pointed, put his hands over the back of his neck, and ran quickly from side to side, dodging. "There are many *panté-tawara* and many *tupi* in the house", one of the Indians told me. At this point all the men who were participating in the ceremony fell suddenly to the ground; only Pastori and Urukumu were strong enough to stand before the forces of Thunder. The wives of the fallen men came to their aid and other men fumigated and massaged them.

One by one they came "to life". It was explained that "we die and tobacco brings back life. Without tobacco Thunder would kill us".

796 All men who had participated in the ceremony now returned to
(533) their own houses by way of the circuit path, stopping for a moment in each house to perform again the ceremonial singing. Two young boys brought this phase of the ceremony to an end by picking up the

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787 796 other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many tupi and many souls of shamans near him. I did not talk but returned fast". He added later that if he had touched Thunder's cattle he would have had to stay in the other-world; he would have died.

796 A few novices, and now and again a rare layman, wore the headdress and people marveled at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it.

796 786 The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days of the ceremony. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Pastori grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a *panié-tóuwéra*. Urukumu picked up the headdress. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him. The two young boys, as before, ran through the circle of houses at the end of the day's ceremony, but this time they carried both the cattles and the headdress. The participants, on regaining consciousness, returned singing to their houses.

796 On the fourth and last day of the ceremony, an additional ceremony followed the usual evening performance. As the ceremony ended, the two strong shamans walked out of the house to the dance ground, taking the cattles and the headdress. There they and several others re-enacted, but with less violence, the ceremony just completed in the dwelling house. Following this performance, all the men of the village gathered, facing north "toward the house of Thunder", and Pastori walked across the plaza away from the group, toward the north, shaking the cattles over his head. Returning to the group, he touched several men on the head with the cattles, much as a priest performs a blessing with a crucifix. He repeated this performance until finally all the men who had taken any part in the ceremony had received this "blessing". Women, then children, came forward to be touched with the cattles. Thus they were freed of danger from Thunder. After this, I was told, Thunder goes far away to his house until next year.

535 535 796 That evening men sang the songs of the *anhanga ainiri*, the spirits that come to live in the dance house after Thunder has gone. Late

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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fall, he struggled to his feet and tried to run. The young men who followed him seized him. Informants explained that in such a state he might have run wildly through the village, breaking property and causing bodily harm to others, in the same way that young novice shamans "run". Afterwards Kamaiziho told me that he would never again take part in this ceremony because Thunder might trap his soul during a visit to Thunder's house and cause his death. 756 781 796 [761]

*Case of Panini*

Panini is a young shaman who has been treating the sick for several years. He took part in all the ceremonies during the first two days. During the sundown phase of the third day, he touched the headdress, then being carried by Urukumu, screamed, fell backwards, and in falling, broke open his scalp against one of the house poles. Upon regaining consciousness an hour or so later, he said that he remembered nothing. All that he knew, he explained, was that he returned from a dreamtrip covered with blood.

*Case of Anawani*

Anawani is a layman, notably the laziest of the village and thus unmarried. He took part in only one sundown phase of the Thunder ceremony, openly admitting that he was afraid to continue. During that one session Anawani caught hold of Panini several times as he moved back and forth with the group. Each time that he did this he fell at once to the ground, screaming. It was explained that to touch a powerful *paniri* during the process of the ceremony is dangerous: for the shaman attracts the arrows of tupi. [581, 589]

*Case of Kanaripá*

Kanaripá is a novice and is considered a potentially powerful shaman. He vomited violently during each phase of the ceremony and during the sundown phases he staggered about bumping into house poles. When he was pressed by a group, he invariably fell to the ground. Several other men were seized thus when pressed by a group. During one of the sessions of the ceremony, it took about a half hour to bring Kanaripá out of this seizure. His wife began the crying chant characteristic of funerals while Urukumu massaged and fumigated him. She cried out that he was dead several times before she saw him returning to consciousness. [767 583]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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586 Until the first child is born, marriage bonds are rather weak, but henceforth the marriage is comparatively stable. There are, however, frequent [837] cases of adultery, and a guilty woman who is found out is threatened by her [684] husband. When a marriage is dissolved, the man leaves the house, which is considered the wife's property, although built by him.

758 Upon a man's death, his widow remains in the house. After about 2 [878] months of free sexual relations, she chooses a new husband.

**Death.**—The *Tapirapé* believe that death is brought about by sorcery 761 and never by natural causes. Frequently, when the relatives of the [682] deceased enjoyed sufficient prestige, they kill the shaman whom they [754] suspect.

763 As soon as it is certain that the sick man will die, mourning begins in the form of a wailing dirge by both men and women. The men dance around the hammock of the dying or dead man, while the women remain 764 seated on the ground. Burial takes place on the day after death. The corpse is stretched out on the hammock. Its feet and head are decorated with urucú dye, and its face is painted black with genipa. The grave is dug in the dead man's house under the place where his hammock was usually hung. The body is buried in the hammock, which is set up in the grave between two poles. All contact with the earth is avoided. Personal possessions of the deceased are buried with him, except that all feather ornaments and bows and arrows are burned.

765 Five days after the funeral, the relatives walk in file to the ceremonial hut, where they leave the spirit of the dead man. The wailing goes on for many days, sometimes months, and always takes place at sunset. Close-cropped hair is a token of mourning for both sexes.

### ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 **Art.**—Obvious esthetic pleasure is derived from skillfully done basket-531 work; a good workman will destroy a basket which is not turning out well, even though it would serve as a receptacle. Great use is made of highly colored feathers; feathers are both tied and stuck with resin and wax on to the object to be decorated. Elaborate geometric designs are painted on children's bodies with genipa. The incise work on gourds is also especially striking.

534 **Musical Instruments.**—Gourd rattles are frequently used to keep time to singing. No sacred powers are attributed to rattles. During the shamanistic ceremony (p. 177), a bamboo trunk is pounded against the ground in time to the music.

539 **Music.**—By far the most important *Tapirapé* pastime is singing. A man with a good voice and a large repertoire of songs is much admired by the community. All ceremonies are, basically, singing festivals. Each ceremony during the year has a large set of specific songs: those to be sung by the shaman during the shamanistic "battle with Thunder" (p. 177);

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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those for group singing during the harvest ceremonies and the ceremony 533
of kawi (p. 176); those for the masked dancers during the dry season;
and a very large number of songs specifically for the "Big Sing"
(monikabó) during the latter part of the rainy season. During this
period (approximately March through April), singing takes place
throughout each night from sundown to sunrise. On these occasions, [66]
the singing leader and the men of one of the moieties introduce the verse
of each song and the refrain is then taken up by the men of the other
moiety and the women of the tribe. Women sing in a higher key than the
men and, generally, a phrase behind the men. The songs of the masked
dancers, each representing a supernatural being, differ stylistically from
those used on other occasions in being sung in a falsetto tone, in a manner [171]
similar to that of the neighboring *Carajá*. Many such songs have been [177]
admittedly learned from the *Carajá*.

**Dancing.**—Both men and women dance as they sing. In general, the 535
*Tapirapé* dance bending slightly forward, stamping out the time of the
music with one foot. Dancing differs greatly, however, according to the
occasion. During the harvest ceremonies, men dance in a line, side by [241]
side, each man's wife dancing directly behind him. During the group
singing of the "Big Sing," the men dance in moiety groups facing each
other, and women dance behind the moiety group of their husbands. On
one occasion during this time, men dance with women, side by side, with
a curious skipping step.

**Games.**—Men's moieties run foot races against each other after the 526
communal work festival (p. 168); they race in a straight line across the
village plaza. Wrestling takes place at one wet-season ceremony, and,
now and again, throughout the year as sport. The *Tapirapé* explain,
however, that the *Carajá* are better wrestlers and that it is more properly [171]
a *Carajá* sport. In wrestling, opponents stand face to face, grasping each
other about the neck, and attempt to force or to trip the other to the
ground. During one festival, men, one from each moiety at a time,
compete by throwing blunt-headed spears at each other. Gambling games [525]
are unknown.

**Stimulants.**—Native tobacco, though used for leisure-time smoking, is 276
principally a stimulant and medicine. A *Tapirapé* will not travel without 755
a supply of tobacco to blow smoke over his tired body at the end of the
day, in order to take out soreness and tiredness. Tobacco is necessary
to shamans in all their activities. They blow tobacco smoke over the
patient in curing (p. 177), and, to induce dreams and a trance, they
swallow large gulps of smoke until they become intoxicated and nauseated.
When people have seen ghosts, shamans fumigate them with tobacco [751]
smoke, in order to drive away the ghost's influence. Shamans fumigate 276
new maize, the first honey of the season and, sometimes, fresh meat to 756
drive out possible supernatural danger. This native tobacco is smoked [759]

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

**Champukwi of the Village of the Tapirapé**

Champukwi sketched for me the stories of Petura, the Tapirapé ancestral hero who stole fire from the King Vulture, daylight from the night owl, *genipa* (used for dye) from the monkeys, and other items for the Tapirapé. However, he persuaded Maeumi, an elder famous for his knowledge of mythology, to relate the details although he himself helped considerably to clarify for me the meaning of native phrases and to make the stories told by Maeumi more fully understandable. Champukwi also forewarned me of events that I might want to witness, events that without his warning I might have missed. Such were the wrestling matches which took place upon the return of a hunting party between those men who went on the hunt and those who remained at home. He told me of a particularly handsome basket a man had made, which I might want to add to my collection for the Brazilian National Museum. He came to tell me that a young woman in a neighboring house was in labor, thus enabling me to get a photograph of the newborn infant being washed in the stream, and he urged the men to celebrate for my benefit a ceremony which might easily have been omitted. Champukwi was no longer merely an informant. He became a participant in ethnographic research although, of course, he never thought of it in these terms. He seemed somehow to understand the anthropologist's task in studying his culture, and in the process he gained considerable objectivity about his own way of life.

Yet it must be said that Champukwi did not seem to discredit the norms, institutions, and beliefs of his own people. Although he saw Valentim and me walk safely down the path through the forest late at night, he steadfastly refused to do the same; for the path was a favorite haunt of the lonely ghosts of deceased Tapirapé who might harm the living. He reasoned that the *tori* were probably immune to this danger. When he was ill, he took the pills we urged upon him but he also called in the shaman. His curiosity about airplanes, automobiles, and "gigantic canoes" (passenger boats) which he saw pictured in the magazines we had brought with us, was great; but he boasted that the Tapirapé could walk farther and faster than any *tori* or even the Carajá (who are a canoe people). In fact, his interest in, and enthusiasm for, certain Tapirapé activities seemed to be heightened by our presence. Almost all Tapirapé ceremonials involve choral singing and Champukwi was a singing leader of one of the sections of the men's societies. He was always pleased when

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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796 companying map of the village. (Fig. 13), which was to the southwest, moved their belongings back against the wall, clearing the house floor of their cooking hearths and taking down their hammocks. This house was to be the central point of the ceremonies to come.

276 About midday Panteri, in his house, began again to sing and gulp
796 smoke from his pipe. After he had become ill and intoxicated, he came with his wife out of one of the new side doors of his house, "eating smoke" as he came. From this door the couple moved in a clockwise direction along the circular path until they came to the center of the next house. There they stopped, faced each other, and sang, Panteri punctuating his song with deep draughts from his pipe and vomiting. At each house they repeated this performance. When they reached their [530] own house again, Panteri took up two ceremonial rattles decorated with parrot feathers and the couple continued on a second round of the village houses. After making this circuit four times they stopped in their own house, where Panteri relaxed into his hammock. The rattles were left in the southwest house on the last circuit.

276 Urukumu and his wife then made four similar trips about the new
786 circular path. After he had finished, a young shaman took up the
796 ceremony, but he was not able to complete even one round without help. After singing in several houses he began to stagger as he walked and stumbled blindly into house posts; he was noticeably in a state of trance. Young men led him from house to house. Suddenly he [547] shrieked, his body stiffened, and he fell to the ground. His muscles quivered for a few moments and then his body became rigid. He had lost his battle. He had seen *topi* and been shot by their arrows, for he did not have the strength of Panteri or Urukumu. Several young men immediately raised him up on their shoulders and carried him through the remaining houses of the circuit, depositing him finally in the southwestern house. One of the powerful shamans was then called, and he massaged and blew smoke over the prostrate young shaman's body until life again appeared in it.

Throughout the remainder of the afternoon aspirants to shamanism and several other laymen took up the ceremony of calling Thunder by traveling the ceremonial circuit of the village. At one time there were three men moving with their wives over this circular route. Some never reached a trance state because "they did not know how to eat smoke" or because "*topi* did not hear their songs". Several novices

"saw *topi*" and were struck down as the young shaman had been 147
earlier that day. One shaman novice, staggering blindly and vomiting 276
violently, tried to break away from the young men who were partially 786
supporting him. When they caught him, he fell immediately to the 796
ground. Finally, toward sundown, Pantori took up his song again. He still was "stronger than *topi*" and was able to perform his song without falling into a trance.

At sundown men began to gather in the house which had been 276
cleared. Some twenty men came to take part in this phase of the 533
ceremonies. The bulk of the village population was gathered inside the 796
house, crouched close against the walls, or outside looking through the doors.

The two powerful shamans, Urukumu and Pantori, stood in the middle of the floor facing each other. They lighted their long pipes and began to swallow smoke. At the back of the room were two young men with the ceremonial rattles that the shamans had used earlier. These young men were in positions of particular danger, for their rattles attracted the special attention of Thunder's creatures. In front of them Ikurtwantori, a young man noted for his singing, stood on a bench and began to sing the songs of Thunder; they played accompaniment for his songs on the rattles. A young boy sat behind them and [534]
beat time to the song with a hollow trunk of bamboo. Now and again young men standing against the walls took up a chorus with the solo singer. The shamans kept going to the young men with the rattles, offering them smoke to swallow from their pipes until they were unsteady on their feet. At times they were able to stay on their feet only when they were held up. They then began walking back and forth to the front of the house, shaking the rattles towards the roof threateningly, challenging *topi* and *pančé-iánwera* to come.

Shamans now offered their pipes to their novices and to laymen. 276
The two shamans also soon began walking back and forth the length 796
of the house, first alone and then each taking a novice with him. One by one men joined the shamans as they moved up and down the house. By now all were thoroughly intoxicated and the atmosphere grew tense. All spewed out smoke until it fairly engulfed them as they moved vomiting and reeling about. Everyone took up a grunting [533]
chant of "Hew, hew!" Some carried mirrors and red parrot feathers [293]
as weapons against the *topi*. The two chief shamans carried machetes

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



586 Until the first child is born, marriage bonds are rather weak, but henceforth the marriage is comparatively stable. There are, however, frequent [837] cases of adultery, and a guilty woman who is found out is thrashed by her [684] husband. When a marriage is dissolved, the man leaves the house, which is considered the wife's property, although built by him.

768 Upon a man's death, his widow remains in the house. After about 2 [838] months of free sexual relations, she chooses a new husband.

**Death.**—The *Tapirapé* believe that death is brought about by sorcery 761 and never by natural causes. Frequently, when the relatives of the [682] deceased enjoyed sufficient prestige, they kill the shaman whom they [754] suspect.

As soon as it is certain that the sick man will die, mourning begins in 763 the form of a wailing dirge by both men and women. The men dance around the hammock of the dying or dead man, while the women remain 764 seated on the ground. Burial takes place on the day after death. The corpse is stretched out on the hammock. Its feet and head are decorated with urucú dye, and its face is painted black with genipa. The grave is dug in the dead man's house under the place where his hammock was usually hung. The body is buried in the hammock, which is set up in the grave between two poles. All contact with the earth is avoided. Personal possessions of the deceased are buried with him, except that all feather ornaments and bows and arrows are burned.

765 Five days after the funeral, the relatives walk in file to the ceremonial hut, where they leave the spirit of the dead man. The wailing goes on for many days, sometimes months, and always takes place at sunset. Close-cropped hair is a token of mourning for both sexes.

## ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 **Art.**—Obvious esthetic pleasure is derived from skillfully done basket-531 work; a good workman will destroy a basket which is not turning out well, even though it would serve as a receptacle. Great use is made of highly colored feathers; feathers are both tied and stuck with rosin and wax on to the object to be decorated. Elaborate geometric designs are painted on children's bodies with genipa. The incise work on gourds is also especially striking.

**Musical instruments.**—Gourd rattles are frequently used to keep time 534 to singing. No sacred powers are attributed to rattles. During the shamanistic ceremony (p. 177), a bamboo trunk is pounded against the ground in time to the music.

**Music.**—By far the most important *Tapirapé* pastime is singing. A man 533 with a good voice and a large repertoire of songs is much admired by the community. All ceremonies are, basically, singing festivals. Each ceremony during the year has a large set of specific songs: those to be sung by the shaman during the shamanistic "battle with Thunder" (p. 177);

177 of the Tampiitsua inhabitants. This presence is made perceptible through the complex made up of diseases, of the fantastic stories of tribal members who went to the Araguaia, of the domineering behavior of White visitors, and of the latter's display of "riches." The effects of this type of [99:77] inter-ethnic pressure vary from culture to culture. Among peoples of vitality, they may arouse responsive forces which are manifested, for example, in the creation of new magical devices among aborigines, or in improvements in airplanes, tanks, or propaganda techniques among those who regard themselves as more "civilized." Among other peoples, however, they may cause resignation instead of resistance, and bring about what might be called a "cultural shrinkage," that is to say, a disregard for their own things without a concomitant desire to replace them with new ones, whether new creations of their own or imports. Thus, it seems possible to me that this pressure may have caused the Tapirapé to lose interest in certain traditions that did not seem to them to possess any immediate value in the struggle for existence. [Ed., end of Vol. 99.]

## Chapter 4

### [100:191] Contact with Other Indians

While it is possible to discern, up to a point, the effects of the direct and indirect contacts with the Whites, it is more difficult to perceive the influences derived from other Indian tribes. [726] I have already alluded to the murderous acts the Kayapó and Karajá and to their role as transmitters of epidemics and importers of iron tools. It must be added that the Karajá, aside from acting as intermediaries, also furnished products of their own culture, such as songs. I dare not, however, formulate hypotheses about the 171 ●535 origin of the masked-dance complex as a whole, to which these songs belong and which is one of the most characteristic aspects of both Tapirapé and the Karajá culture. The Tapirapé attach special importance to the masked dances of the chankuf, that is, jacuf [Tr., little jacu or guan] and of the iranchá, a fish. They perform them daily for weeks on end. Karl von den Steinen (2, [114] 313), when dealing with the masked dances of the Indians of the

[71] Xingu headwaters, writes that the dance of the jacuí ("yakuí") is
●535 "original to" the Auetö and Kamayurá [Camayura], that is, the
[114] Tupí tribes of the Culuene basin and thus the eastern part of that region which is separated from Tapirapé territory by the waters of the Xingu and the Araguaia. Furthermore, [100:192] both the Auetö and the Kamayurá had two kinds of masked dances, the dance of the jacuí and that of a fish called koahálu among the former and hóvát among the latter (ibid., 310-317). True, the masks used by those tribes (ibid., Figs. 107-114) differ completely from the masks made by the Tapirapé. In addition, what little may be inferred from the brief references to the dancing and songs of those Xingu Indians (ibid., 313-315) discloses no similarity to the chankuí and iranchá performances. On the other hand, the Tapirapé also differ from the Karajá in the design of their masks, their songs, and their dance motions.

Thus, the complex of masked dances that extends between the Xingu and the Araguaia assumes special forms in each of the above-mentioned tribes, and these forms, although they hint at a mutual relationship, do not reveal which of the tribes was the first to use masks or where it got the idea to do so. It can only be said
[648] that there are no historical data to substantiate contact between the Tapirapé and the tribes of the Culuene basin, while age-old relations between the Tapirapé and the Karajá are thoroughly documented. [Ed., the remainder of this section in Vol. 100, pp. 192-198, and the section in Vol. 101, pp. 67-75, are omitted.]

[102:123] While in Tampiitáua no one bothered with the
648 neighboring Kyrydjá [Tr., Ge-speaking, in this case Chavante] to the south, the Kayapó neighboring on the north, called Kananchahó, were mentioned frequently and with feeling. When dealing with the "Karajá of the Xingu," I referred to them and to the fear they inspire. I was informed that in 1932 they had de-
[726] stroyed a large Tapirapé village located "ten days' march" north of Tampiitáua and killed most of its inhabitants. According to
[731] other reports, an epidemic depopulated that village and compelled the survivors to abandon it. No matter what the cause of this
648 mortality may have been, fear of the Kananchahó undoubtedly con-
166 tributed to the desire of the survivors to put as much distance as possible between themselves and these neighbors and to take refuge in the southernmost village of their tribe, that is Tampiitáua. The

648 same feeling, the same fear of the Kananchahó, aroused even in
166 the inhabitants of this latter village a desire to abandon it and to settle under the protection of the Whites on Bananal Island. Rev-
797 erend Kegel told me that when he arrived at Porto Salvação in 1934 he was visited by Kamairahó who came to the river bank
166 especially to ask him to come back, to have large boats built,
648 and to take the entire tribe to Macauba. The reason for this request was fear of the Kayapó. It was assumed that they had killed 20 men and women from Tampiitáua who had not returned from a hunting trip. Mr. Kegel told the most influential man among the Tapirapé that it would be impossible to feed the whole tribe since there was no longer time to prepare plots on the land of the Evangelical Union.

When we heard the harrowing cry of the potoo during the
648 night of June 23, 1935, the Tapirapé took this as a sign that the
[825] Kayapó were coming. Four days later, at night, as I stretched out on my net beside Kamairahó's hammock, the Indian "bigwig" said, "I am afraid." I retorted, with the courteous arrogance proper to a "captain [chief]" of my rank, "I am here, and therefore you need not be afraid." A little later [102:124], Kamairahó inquired,
[123] on account of the Kayapó, whether I had with me the "little killer," as we used to call the revolver to differentiate it from the "big killer," or rifle. I told him that I always slept well armed, and he laughed happily.

At the nocturnal group dances, the men hold a heavy club or
[535] bush knife in their hands, and this is not just to mark time since
[411] during the day they find an arrow or bow adequate for that purpose.

On the evening of July 8, as I talked with Mr. Kegel in front of the little house beside the village which had been built for him and camarada Daniel, several men and women came running, one of the men holding a bush knife and another a club, and they told us excitedly that there were Kananchahó in the neighboring forest. Followed by an Indian, I proceeded immediately to the spot they had pointed out. We found nothing, and I calmed the Tapirapé by telling them that the Kananchahó were sleeping very far away. They returned in silence to their hammocks, and a middle-aged woman merely said, "They will come when the moon goes to sleep."

648 When I stretched out in my hammock, Kamaiaahó, who was
125 already lying in his hammock with his wife, smiled at me as usual and greeted me courteously with the customary "papanekí (you have come)." I asserted, no less decorously, "Hm, hm, ẽ, ẽ." He went on, still smiling, "Kananchahó around. Kananchahó coming. I'm afraid." Although he did not seem particularly scared in spite of this statement, I calmed him with a few words as I had done with the others, and he immediately laughed, changed the subject, and jested with his wife.

648 Later, it became evident that the presence of Kayapó in the
609 neighboring forest had been invented by Anavanf, a somewhat foolish youth of about 17. On the following morning he confessed that he had lied. He probably wanted to make himself important. The general readiness to believe him shows the state of mind of the Tapirapé toward their feared neighbors. Incidentally, on the day when Kamairahó showed me the smoke pillars of the "Ampanefí" to the southwest, he showed me a similar display by the Kayapó to the north.

The non-material defenses show that the Kananchahó are regarded as the Number One enemy. Although the Karajá are also feared, only the northern neighbors, by what I was able to observe, are the object of parodies, violently abusive songs, and mocking pantomimes. On June 24, the Tapirapé, in a weeping tone, sang
[533] a seemingly obscene chant about the Kananchahó, which aroused
[531] endless laughter. It was sung in the men's house, where other
[522] youths gave a ludicrous impersonation of those enemies, emitting
[536] their would-be tribal cry, running and jumping crazily hither and yon, gesticulating with angry excitement, and hitting the house stakes with their clubs. At the same time, in front of the house,
[535] other men accompanied by the women and children danced and sang the kaõ, the danced song that derives its warlike character not only from the weapons in the hands of the warriors and from their serious look, but also from the powerful rhythm of stamping feet and the menacing quality of the guttural sounds.

536 [102:125] While all this pertains to night performances, an-
726 other spectacle took place two days later in daylight. It was a dramatization of the supposed Kayapó attack on the 20 Tapirapé who had failed to return from the hunt during the previous year. Six youths, holding on to each other in friendly fashion two by two,

536 with the pairs one behind the other, walked peacefully from house
726 to house. They hummed a song. The first two pairs carried a blanket on their back, and the last pair carried a straw mat. A masked man followed, bent forward, dancing and shooting arrows at the mat. After a while the pairs lined up one beside the other and stayed put, humming their song, while the masked figure emitted the Kayapó tribal cry and danced in menacing fashion, stepping always on the same spot. A little later, the walk was resumed. This scene was repeated several times. Suddenly, however, when the pairs were standing still once more in front of a hut, two masked "Kayapó" rushed headlong from behind it, and four others emerged from behind the neighboring house. All
[177] these "Kayapó" had bows or clubs in their hands and were completely disguised with hammocks, blankets, and other belongings of the White guests. Their faces were covered with sifters, and my straw hat had also found a use. While the three Tapirapé pairs kept walking as peacefully as before, the masked figures alternately ran furiously hither and yon, giving their typical cry, and performed a circular dance. In this dance, some of them faced the back of the man in front while others were turned
[535] toward the man behind. They all jumped on one leg and then the other, tossing their arms and legs about and gesticulating with their weapons (Photo. 73). After repeating all this several times for half an hour, the "Kayapó" attacked one another and quarreled among themselves. Then the Tapirapé pairs quietly broke up and vanished.

This performance, therefore, contrasts the mildness which
191 is indeed the tribal behavior pattern of the Tapirapé with the nervous aggressiveness of the Kayapó. This seems to be a symbol of universal significance, when we look at the pacifists and militarists in other parts of the world.

The opinion of the Tupí tribe about the nature of these
609 neighbors seems to be expressed even in their mythology. While
773 the Karajá are regarded as descendants of a water serpent, the ancestor of the Kayapó is tantevoga, the tick. One of the proofs of kinship with those bugs, my informants say, is the falsetto tribal cry that they attribute to their northern foe. This proof, although it might not satisfy a biologist, is sufficient for the ethnologist. Actually, everyone knows that the tick is a pesky nuisance.

[i.e., the Kayapó.—Analyst]

171 houses, since in both cases the structures stand around the central
361 plaza. The chief difference lies in the fact that the large men's house stands in the center of the Tampiitaua plaza, while according to all references and pertinent woodcuts the Tupinambá village plaza had no building whatever in the center.

There seems to be a closer similarity between Tapirapé and Mundurukú [Mundurucu] villages. [Ed., the remainder of p. 106 and all but the last paragraph on p. 107 are omitted.]

[111:107] On the plan of Tampiitaua (Fig. 8), the arrange-
361 ment of houses around the takana clearly reveals two semicircles
621 standing [111:108] at some distance from each other, one on the
616 northern side and the other on the southern side. The largest house in each group stands in the middle of the others, so that these two larger houses, a and e, stand more or less opposite with the takana between them. The important kauihó dance, which
[535] will be described in a later chapter, was performed first in house a, and immediately afterward by the same persons in house e. In various masked dances, the pairs, when crossing the village plaza, moved alternately from one of these houses to the other. The
[622] heads of the two houses, Kamairahó and Vuatanamy, not only were the main leaders of Tampiitaua, but also performed as a pair in one of those dances. It is thus possible that they represented the "patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties" mentioned by Wagley (4, 7 [Tr., in English at 4, 63]).

591 According to that author (ibid.), Tapirapé residence is matri-
114 local. At the time of my stay in Tampiitaua, there were eight couples with living ancestors: (1) in house a, the couple designated by the numbers 3 and 10 on the village plan (Fig. 8) lived with No. 1, that is, the husband's father (the husband's mother and the wife's parents were dead); (2) couple 11 and 16, in the same house, did not live with No. 29, that is, the wife's father, in house b (the husband's parents and the wife's mother were dead); (3) couple 13 and 18 lived in the same house, a, as No. 8, that is, the husband's mother, and this was also the house of 17 and 24, that is, the wife's parents (the husband's father was dead); (4) couple 29 and 36, in house b, did not live with No. 22, that is, the wife's mother, in house a (the husband's parents and the wife's father were dead); (5) couple 33 and 42, in house b, lived

171 25 centimeters wide and 12 centimeters in circumference on the
411 above-mentioned Karajá club which is in my possession. Both specimens are made of heavy wood. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

In hand-to-hand fighting, to kill at a short distance, the club
411 is usually preferable to the arrow. The Tapirapé will also grab
[724] their clubs when quarreling with a member of their own tribe, but
[578] in spite of this menacing gesture the quarrel is usually limited to a string of verbal insults. While in daytime dances the men of
411 Tampiitaua held in their hands an arrow or bow, and only excep-
535 tionally a club, in the kaó, or great nocturnal group dance, they held clubs and bush knives. These weapons were not used largely to mark time, as was the case with the bow and arrow in the daytime dances. They were displayed to make clear the character of kaó, which, as shown also by the intonation of the accompanying chant and by other elements, is basically a martial one. Fur-
[721] thermore, when equipped with clubs and bush knives, the warriors stood ready every night to repel any dreaded attack by their Kayapó neighbors. As far as hunting is concerned, it must be re-
224 called that the density of the forest vegetation and the height of
411 the grass in the savanna frequently ruled against the use of bow and
[137] arrow and impelled the Indian to attack from a short distance, that is to say, to use the club. In spite of this, during the march between the village and the river I observed that all the men carried
[683] bows and arrows, while they did not all carry clubs. Another specialized function of the Tapirapé club is to kill those people who are regarded as evil sorcerers.

The Tapirapé spear (yvyra-háia, "pointed stick," or mina,
114 "spear") may have been imported from the Karajá. There are no
411 references to spears among the ancient Tupinambá or among the
[439] upper Xingu tribes. In Montoya's work (2, II), however, we find
[171] the terms ibirahaquâbae, "pointed stick" (haquâ, "point") and my, "spear, prong." I did not see any spears while I was with the
[535] Tapirapé, but at Macauba on Bananal Island, Mr. Frederico Kegel showed me one that he had brought back from a previous visit to those Indians, and told me that they used it exclusively in their dances to mark the time, in the same manner as the above-men-
171 tioned weapons. This spear resembled the Karajá spear (donolf)
411 described by Krause (2, 272-273 and Fig. 126). It was likewise a

224 pig killed on July 14 was brought to bay by Tapirapé dogs. Krause
23 (2, 407) found numerous tracks of Tapirapé dogs on a sandbar of the river that goes by the same name. The same author (2, 245 and 386) mentions dogs belonging to the Karajá (kjolozá in their
171 language) and the Kayapó. According to the Tapirapé, the
231 Ampanaé stole young dogs from them. The complete absence of
[649] dogs in the upper Xingu region, which was noted by Von den Steinen (1, 326) in 1884, was confirmed in 1924 by Hintermann (255).

224 I was unable to obtain a satisfactory explanation for the following custom, which was related to me by my companion Kegel: the Tapirapé, after killing game, place a number of small sticks, corresponding to the number of animals killed, at the spot where they re-enter one of the paths used by the tribe; they tear each stick slightly and insert a feather or a few hairs of the slain animal in the resulting slit. I encountered the same custom in 1946 among the Kaingang [Caingang] of the upper Ivaí. There, the Indian Salvador Veinié, after hunting baitaca [Tr., parrots of the Pionias genus], plucked a few feathers from one of these birds in my presence and tossed them beside the path. This same Kaingang, while in [112:59] the company of my assistant Harald Schultz, once found a stick lying on a footpath with two clusters of tateto hair in its split upper tip, and he said that two of those wild pigs had been killed at that spot and that the stick with the hair had been left there by the hunter to impart the news to passersby.

I did not observe any magic with the explicit purpose of catch-
224 ing or multiplying game. It is uncertain whether the animal dances
533 and songs which I shall describe in the chapter dealing with re-
● 535 ligion [Tr., apparently not published] have such a purpose, or whether their aim is merely to express joy. The Indians themselves
[226] say that there is a lot of fish when they sing, but that there is also a lot of fish when they do not sing. To judge from this statement, the animal songs and dances are not hunting magic. The Tapirapé
533 sing and dance because they like to sing and dance. For this reason,
535 also, they borrowed songs and dances from the Karajá. It would
177 be necessary to find out (1) whether the animal dances and songs were originally magical, (2) whether anyone still regards them as such, and (3) if so, who does. I was unable to settle these questions.

533 In any case, the greater part of the animal dances and songs
●535 that I witnessed dealt with fish. Only the dance of the chankui,
that is, "little guan," was also performed frequently. A dance
[171] by this name is mentioned by Von den Steinen (2, 313) for the
Auetö and Kamayurá as "original" to these Tupi tribes. Actually,
[137] those gallinaceans of the Penelope genus, which are easy to catch,
abound in Tapirapé territory, and their tasty meat is not barred
to either sex. It would be possible to build fine hypotheses about
the connection between these facts and the above-mentioned
dance, but I shall abstain.

The predominance of fish dances accords with the importance
226 of fishing. The chief fishing period lasts from June to October.
During these months, the waters are low and clearer, and in many
places it is possible to see all the way down to the bottom. The
[133] small streams gradually dry out, and the fish are compelled to
crowd into certain stretches of the river and into the lakes. The
latter lose their connections with the river, or they are closed off
artificially with dams, observed by Krause (2, 409, Fig. 7, and
267, Plate 29), which consist of stakes connected with crosspieces
and covered with thick foliage.

The areas thus dammed are poisoned with a vine called chimá
in Tapirapé. The Indians pound the water with pieces of this vine,
and call the procedure anchimaká. The water turns a purplish blue.
Only the very small fry are killed, however. Other fish are stunned.
[312] To get drinking water the Indians dig holes in the banks, which
sometimes lie no farther than one meter from the poisoned waters,
but whose contents, filtered through the sand, are harmless to man.
[Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[112:60] Another Tapirapé fishing method, which I have already mentioned, is with the bow and arrow. While the large barbed arrow is used exclusively by adult men, the small one with one or several simple wooden points is used by the boys. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

At Tampiitaua I saw a fish trap (chekiá) consisting of a cylin-
227 drical, funnel-shaped basket made of cane strips (Photo. 32).
Aside from this, the Indians showed me a strange object, according to them, used to catch the tiniest fish, which is placed in the water, like the trap, in such a way that the current makes it easy for the fish to get in and impossible for it to get out. This object

114 its opening facing downward. As a result, it served us nicely to
501 wash our clothes on. It had apparently been made just to pass
the time and did not seem to have any further purpose. The
171 Tapirapé do not usually travel in boats, differing in this respect
501 from the Tupinambá and from most of the present-day Tupi tribes
(cf. Métraux 2, 207-211), from the Xingu Indians (Von den
Steinen 2, 234), and from the Karajá (Krause 2, 278), but not
from the Kayapó (ibid., 393). The Chavante, who do not have
canoes either, cross the Rio das Mortes on the crude rafts described
by Szaffka. It is worth noting, however, that the Tapirapé retain
[192] the old Tupi word for "canoe," that is, yana, written yam by
Stradelli and considered by him (715) "a contraction of y, 'water,'
and iara, 'mistress,' 'mistress of the water.'" In any case, it is
not impossible that the Tapirapé formerly possessed canoes for
navigation.

As far as fishing is concerned, let us also mention Manggambí's
787 "dream." The people of Tampiitaua often say that they dreamed
776 of something which they actually suspect or know about. Manggambí
226 was the fattest Tapirapé at the time of my visit. He dreamed of an
abundance of fish at a specific spot in a certain stream, [112:62]
which held so many fish that the anchinga would be able to eat them
*[535] in large quantities. The name anchinga is applied not only to cer-
tain spirits, but also to the masked dancers who represent them.
All the anchinga who inhabit the hills and waters feed on fish. This
[182] Tapirapé belief, incidentally, is a token of the importance of fish-
ing. Manggambí said that "all" the men should go and fetch the
fish he had dreamed of. What Tampiitaua regards as "all" the men
did go. They were Manggambí himself and eight companions.
When they returned, Manggambí held a large basket full of tiny
fish, which were cooked and eaten shortly before dawn in the
ceremonial house by the men and adolescents who had impersonated
[in the dance] anchinga, chankuí [a bird], and irangchá [a fish].
[Ed., end of Vol. 112.]

[113:191] Although fishing is one of their chief means of sub-
105 sistence, the Tapirapé cannot be regarded essentially as a fishing
tribe, as their neighbors the Karajá might fittingly be described.
The inhabitants of Tampiitaua do not lead the amphibian life of
those big-river navigators. They are forest Indians and cultivators
par excellence. In this respect, they remain typical Tupi Indians.

[781] [776] 825 262 252 [263] once the information provided by such dreams is readily accepted, they organize collective fishing trips. Fish constitutes their main source of animal fat and calcium. The calcium comes from the bones, [120:55] crumbled into a strongly spiced sauce, their favorite breakfast food. This is a cold dish, but the flesh of the fish is eaten on the previous day, good and hot, and invariably accompanied by manioc flour. I caused general amazement when I ate small roasted fish for the first time in Tampiitaua, and did so without manioc flour. My friend Vuanomanchi said that fish without flour is bad, gesticulated and spat as though he were smelling bad odor, and wanted to get up and fetch some of his own flour. A woman who was eating seated by my side immediately offered me hers. Of all the pictures in the zoological book that I showed them, it was always those of fish that aroused the greatest interest. [535] The majority of the masked dances I witnessed dealt with fish, [553] and there is an unmasked dance in which most of the text of the song consists of the word ypirá. It was this generic term for fish that I also heard almost invariably when I asked for the cause of a [754] disease. This did not mean, however, that eating fish had been harmful to the sick person, but that a fish bone had been shot into his body as a magic projectile by an evil sorcerer. They also say [776] that all the spirits of the hills and of the waters eat fish, and do not mention any other food for these spirits. Furthermore, as already stated at the beginning of this chapter, fish, along with manioc, is the only food included in the Tapirapé description of [792] the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven that lies above our visible one. They do not fail to add that in this case "very fat fish" are involved. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

136 Concerning head lice, I wish to mention in passing the fact that I never found any on my own body during my stays among various tribes, in spite of the fact that much lousy hair came in contact with mine and that I did not take any special preventive measures. The same proved to be the case among other Whites who stayed with South American Indians. I also know of a blond young man on whose head lice of the Krabo [Craho] Indians settled without biting.

1:Baldus--171 E-6 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 5

The dancers of Photo. 4, with Pancheavi (No. 73) and Manupavyughoi (No. 12) to the right of Inamoeso (No. 23).

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Photo. 6

Manavangkó (No. 87) with a bone tembetá. Auayauí (No. 93) is on his left.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



a male leader, a man of prestige, who is usually the husband of one the older women of the female kinship group. Apart from these residential groupings, the Tapirapé are divided in two other ways. 591 592

First, all Tapirapé men belong to one of the two patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties (2) and each moiety is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths, two groups of adult men of warrior age, and two groups of older men. Each of these groups bears the name of a mythical bird, the word wirá — bird — itself being used as the generic name for the groups. These wirá function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites; parallel groups also dance against one another in the ceremonials and offer reciprocal feasts to each other. The warrior-age group of each of these moieties has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and other communal work and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. 561 616 [476] [535] [574]

Both men and women of the Tapirapé are also divided into eight "feasting" groups called ritéopawá — literally "live all to eat" (3). Men belong to their father's feasting group and women to their mother's. Feasting groups are not only non-exogamic but people prefer to marry with their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry names of the mythological heads of the legendary original eight households of the first Tapirapé village. On occasion during the dry season the feast groups meet at sunset on the dance plaza for a ceremonial feast, each member bringing his or her contribution to the common meal (4). 577 571 582 [773]

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(2) Baldus (op. cit. pp. 95-98) did not recognize these wirá groups as age groups of men's ceremonial moieties. He calls them *grupos de trabalho* (work groups). He reports these wirá groups among the adult men and writes that formerly there had been three corresponding groups among the boys of the tribe. Nowadays the Tapirapé are so few that lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's wirá group in order to give the necessary balance for ceremonials. This presents the picture of several groups of equal ages; thus accounting, perhaps, for the divergence of opinion on this subject. Careful checking with informants, and observation of dances, hunts, races and wrestling matches when Tapirapé men were grouped according to moiety divisions led me to the definite conviction that there are age grouping of men's ceremonial moieties as described above. [1194]

(3) Baldus (op. cit., p. 90).

(4) Baldus calls the ritéopawá "*grupos de comer*" (eating groups). He reports seven feast groups functioning in 1937. He vividly describes a ceremonial meal on pages 91 to 95 of his work already cited.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



776 Some of these demons of the forest are now "pets" of the Tapirapé, and are no longer dangerous to them. The comparatively harmless *ancúnga*, in a sense domesticated by Tapirapé men, come at intervals throughout the year to live in the large central men's house. While an [535] *ancúnga* is inhabiting this ceremonial house, Tapirapé men sing and [530] dance with masks representing the visiting spirit (7).

756 Knowledge of the supernatural world is gained chiefly through the 787 dream experiences of shamans or *pancé*, for among the Tapirapé shamanistic power derives from dreams and from powers revealed in them. [774] Dreams are believed to be journeys. The *iangá*, the soul, may free itself [528] from the *eté*, the body, in sleep, and move freely in time and space. Obviously anyone may dream but frequent dreaming is evidence of shamanistic power. Laymen who dream very much are afraid, for they do not belong in this supernatural world, or they believe that they should become shamans.

Campukwi, who was not a shaman, indicated this fear in telling me his dream experience. When he saw dangerous *ancúnga* in his dream, he had no recourse but to run: "I am not a shaman. I was afraid. I ran. They would have killed me". Only shamans have the supernatural power to move freely in this dream-world of ghosts and demons. A shaman is never afraid in his dream travels, for ghosts are his friends and the power of a shaman grows in proportion as he fraternizes with the demonic spirits of the forest. After a dream-visit from a shaman, breeds of demonic spirits may become his familiars, obedient to his calls for aid. Turning himself into a bird or launching himself through the air in his "canoe" a half gourd, he travels to the villages of ghosts, to the houses of demonic spirits, or to such temporal places as the Brazilian settlements or Carajá villages on the Araguaya River. Then, too, time is no obstacle; in a sleep of a few minutes he may experience three or four days of dream adventure.

756 The dream experience of Ikanancowi, a powerful shaman who died 776 a few years before my visit, will illustrate these points. In his dream he 787 walked far to the shores of a large lake deep in the jungle. There he heard dogs barking and ran in the direction from which the noise came until he met several forest spirits of the breed called *manpi anká*. They

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[777] (7) The men's masked dance cult, kept as a secret from the women, is not [762] universally found among Tupi tribes. In this case it has obviously been borrowed from [799] the Tapirapé's neighbors, the Carajá.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



787 796 other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Thunder: he is big and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topi and many souls of shamans near him. I did not talk but returned fast". He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other-world; he would have died.

796 A few novices, and now and again a rare layman, wore the headdress and people marveled at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it.

796 786 The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days of the ceremony. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panteri grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a *pančé-tánwera*. Urukumu picked up the headdress. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him. The two young boys, as before, ran through the circle of houses at the end of the day's ceremony, but this time they carried both the rattles and the headdress. The participants, on regaining consciousness, returned singing to their houses.

796 On the fourth and last day of the ceremony, an additional ceremony followed the usual evening performance. As the ceremony ended, the two strong shamans walked out of the house to the dance ground, taking the rattles and the headdress. There they and several others re-enacted, but with less violence, the ceremony just completed in the dwelling house. Following this perfomance, all the men of the village gathered, facing north "toward the house of Thunder", and Panteri walked across the plaza away from the group, toward the north, shaking the rattles over his head. Returning to the group, he touched several men on the head with the rattles, much as a priest performs a blessing with a crucifix. He repeated this performance until finally all the men who had taken any part in the ceremony had received this "blessing". Women, then children, came forward to be touched with the rattles. Thus they were freed of danger from Thunder. After this, I was told, Thunder goes far away to his house until next year.

535 796 That evening men sang the songs of the *ančénga aiwird*, the spirits that come to live in the dance house after Thunder has gone. Late

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



that same evening the men danced single file over the circuit, starting 535
from the large house where the principal ceremonies had been held. As 796
they danced, they sang that Thunder had gone and all was safe again (31).

During the four-day period of the combat against Thunder and 833
his creatures sexual intercourse had been taboo; but on the night after 834
Thunder leaves "all Tapirapé will have intercourse with their wives and many women will become pregnant". Traditionally, women are freer with their favours for a few days after this ceremony. People, however, sometimes break the taboo against sexual intercourse during the period of Thunder's visit and so bring trouble on themselves and their tribe. Panteri reported: "I was weak when I returned from Thunder's house. Many mosquitos drank my blood on the road. This was because Tapirapé men were with their wives. I dreamed that night and saw many Tapirapé having intercourse and knew that Tapirapé would be bitten by many mosquitos when they called Thunder".

## CONCLUSIONS

It is apparent that in studying Tapirapé shamanism we are con- 171
cerned with patterns which are part of a deep-seated New World 756
shamanistic complex found widespread in both North and South America — from the Eskimo to the Ona and Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego. Among the Tupi-guarani peoples, however, shamanism has been an unusual factor in their cultural history. Dr. Alfred Métraux has shown that the numerous and distant migrations of Tupi-Guarani tribes in post-Columbian times were frequently instigated my powerful shamans (32).

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(31) During this serpent dance, one may steal of corn which are hanging from rafters in the houses through which they pass. Youngsters did steal some corn and women ran after them trying to get it back. There was now much gaiety and laughter. [781]

(32) "Seules la vénération et l'autorité dont ces magiciens bénéficiaient, peuvent expliquer la facilité avec laquelle des tribus entières ont consenti à abandonner leurs villages et leur territoire à la recherche d'un pays purement fabuleux" (in Alfred Métraux. 1931. "Les hommes-dieux chez les Chiriguano et dans l'Amérique du Sud", in *Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán*. T. II, p. 66).

See also the same author's: 1927. "Les migrations historiques des Tupy-Guarany" in *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*. Nouvelle Série, T. XIX.

264 [92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of
574 various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets.
476 These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kãũũanõĩ, owing to
their small numbers, had joined the Ãvãinkĩ to form a single group.
All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group.
[262] There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce
and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of kará [Tr.,
a kind of yam], peanut kãũĩ, etc. Before that, there was a great
431 distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom
574 he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such
[622] as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of
this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better
[177] use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay
264 the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted to-
476 gether, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they
574 pleased. Kamaiahó, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk
[554] of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother.
123 We called each other "Txankanépéra," and Ampitánya, his little
adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Ané Txankané-
[597] péra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other
groups also called me "Txankanépéra," and I called them by the name
of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

264 [93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that
574 there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots
and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The
● 535 plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the
[776] good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kãũihó and
vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness,
132 the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season
with its "good shadows," summer.

574 They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they
796 also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

224 On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tãtãupãũã of an
264 eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Ãvãinkĩ had killed
476 with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting
574 the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group.
[462] In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts

264 476 however, is totally different from that of the tãtáupáũa. It is not a group organization for consumption, but for production. For this reason, also, the feasts in specific groups associated with this institution are merely accessory.

The social significance of apatxirú resides in the possibility of sharing a collective task in such a way that no member of the tribe will [461] feel discredited by an unfair assignment. This is done by turning work into a festive occasion and a sports competition.

"When there is a lot of water everywhere in the rainy season, the [776] [291] ãũvanaí 'shadows' live in the takána. Their headdress and breechcloth are of muriti leaves, but their headdress does not have any macaw [535] feathers. [96] They dance through the entire rainy season. At that time, there are no other 'shadows' (antxína) but them. Unlike other 'shadows,' these do not live in the hills or in the waters, but only in the takána. They do not sing, but only grunt in a low voice. During [261] the moons of the great rains, the belly does not get as full as during the dry season. But the ãũvanaí have to eat. Then they go to the gardens and 'steal.' They take what they stole to the takána, where they eat it. In the apatxirú, we prepare the gardens where they seek their food. They 'steal' only from those gardens that are prepared for them alone. The ãũvanaí are not evil. All Tapirapé men are ãũvanaí.

Such is, in summary, the information I received when I asked the purpose of the common gardens prepared in the apatxirú.

For the apatxirú, all Tapirapé men are divided into three work-groups called vuĩra. The word vuĩra means "bird," and the name of [551] each group designates a mythical bird which is represented not only by the group as a whole but by each of its individual members. They are called Tãnãvé, Anantxá, and Vuirantxinió.

The Tãnãvé group was the smallest one at the time of my visit, [624] but it included the individuals of highest social status: the principal chief, Kamairahó; the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ´; the chief and most [123] eminent sorcerer--medicine man, Urukumĩ´; and myself. (Naturally, Kamairahó stated immediately that I would be a Tãnãvé like himself.)

[97] Each of the three work groups has two leaders called ãntaĩva. 264 The ãntaĩva of the Tãnãvé were Vũãtanamĩ´ and Urukumĩ´. (Although 622 Kamairahó was also a Tãnãvé, he seemed to be the head of all three 476 groups in his capacity as principal chief. He is also the only one whose 651 private plot is prepared by the village inhabitants as a collective endeavor, while the private plots of other tribal members are prepared

264 476 only by their respective owners. I do not know, however, whether [622] the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the prepara- [651] tion of the principal chief's garden.)

The ãntaiva of the Anantxá were the chief Tanupantxóa and [624] Vuiraí, and those of the Vuirantxinió were the chief Kamairá and the sorcerer--medicine man Maninohó.

476 In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three 857 groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were called Vuanankóra, Vuirantxína, and Vuirantxinoí. The last one is now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tãnãvé or Anantxá belong [611] to the first one, and the sons of the Vuirantxinió to the second one. The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were [881] Vuirantxinió. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work-group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in [462] all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution, for "the women and girls stay home when the men do collective work."

[98] They say that each apatxirú group has its specific ornament 801 for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I 476 was not with the Tapirapé. The Tãnãvé wear three large red macaw 535 feathers hanging from the head onto the back. The Anantxá also wear 237 three large macaw feathers in the same fashion, but two are from the blue and yellow macaw and only the middle one is red; in addition, they wear on their arms the white breast fluff of the king vulture. The Vuirantxinió are not differentiated from the Tãnãvé. The Vuanankóra wear smaller red feathers from the tail of the macaw, hanging from the head onto the back. The Vuirantxína are similarly adorned and also wear macaw fluff on their arms.

Concerning the word apatxirú, Curt Nimuendajú wrote me as fol- 192 lows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word apatxirú is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is omitted.]

476 [99] On July 30, Kamairahó invited me to go with him to the [123] apatxirú. On the previous day, Chief Tanupantxóa had already begun the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working

264 The pots were soon emptied. Then the women and girls came,
462 picked them up, and took them home. The men followed, The
476 Anantxá walked first, with the Vuirantxinió behind them and the
Tãnãvé last. They kept this order, and sent me back to the rear when
[123] I stepped--not unintentionally--in the midst of the Vuirantxinió.

[109] As soon as the village was in sight, things began to move.
535 The men ran straight to the takána and paired up for the dance. The women and girls showed no interest in this and for the most part had already gone to their huts.

The dancing pairs stood in a dense cluster in front of the entrance. In each pair, as was customary, one of the men held his arm across the other's shoulders, while his companion held his arm across the other's hips. Both held a club, bush knife, or bow in the other hand. In the midst of the group stood the leading pair, Tanupantxóa and Vuĩraĩ, the ãntaĩva of the Anantxá. The Anantxá had now mixed with the Vuirantxinió. Of the Tãnãvé, only Kamairahó, Urukumĩ', and I had come. We stayed nearby as onlookers.

First, the men danced for a while on the same spot. As usual, they pawed the ground, all at the same time and always with the same foot, alternating from right to left, keeping their knees slightly bent and the middle part of the body slightly bent forward. Then the leading pair gradually moved away from the spot. They danced with small steps out of the takána. The others followed in the same fashion. They all moved, [illegible] pair after the other, slowly, toward the house of Vũãtanamĩ', singing with sounds and shouts rather than words.

When they reached the house of the second leader, the procession broke up. They did not scatter, however, but remained close to-
526 gether. [110] The race began. It is called ãhẽũĩ, which means "I
883 run." The adolescents, who were in their initiation year and hence had their faces and bodies completely blackened with genipap, ran two at a time in a straight line across the dance plaza to the back of Kamairahó's house. Actually, there was no spot to be reached first by the winner, and there was no applause from the spectators. It might almost be said that there was no winner. As a rule, indeed, the
[156] desire to be singled out or to single out someone is not manifested by these Indians and is probably even regarded by them as a danger to the harmony of the community. These races seemed to be merely runs to be made as fast as possible across the plaza to convince the boys themselves of their own ability. As soon as the two runners reached

Ta 526 883 Kamairahó's house, they renewed their mutual holds and smiled graciously at each other (1).

Ta Ti [171] Ti 526

1. In a letter of February 20, 1936, Curt Nimuendajú wrote to me about the Timbira, a Ge tribe: "The Timbira also have a paired race across the village plaza (which is 300 meters in diameter). It is usually held following a more important ceremony. It is called ka-kaípúa (ka, 'village plaza,' and kaipúa, 'across')."

Ta 526 Later, some of the men also took part in the test, even the "old hunter" Kantxovanf. When darkness fell, they all went home. Only a dozen pairs had run altogether, for they had started out when the sun had already sunk behind the forest.

Ta 476 [535] [526] [111] On the following afternoon there was another apatxirú at a different spot. The participants were so few that there was no dancing or racing. Two days later, a bigger apatxirú was held with all the features, this time to the northwest of the village. Thus, apatxirú are held on different days and at different places. Not all the men take part. Some work for themselves in their gardens, and others stay home. [Ed., Plates 1-26 are omitted since they concern tribes other than the Tapirapé.]

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Plate 27.

Tapirapé Dance of Men and Women.

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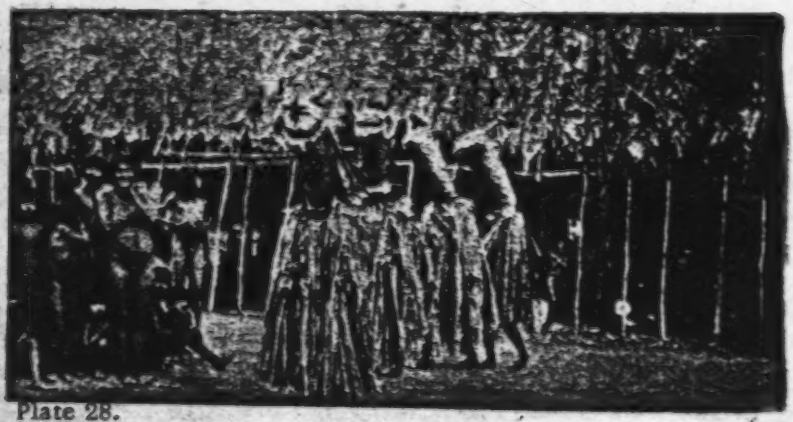

Plate 28.

Tapirapé Masked Dance.

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Plate 31.

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●595

Tapirapé Woman
Pounding Urucú.

Plate 32.

Tapirapé Masked Dancer.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 50 6



Ta 262 Te 262 169 "hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is (and was in the past) just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size. Ta 168 183 262 Population control among the Tapirapé seems no to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

Ta 161 168 182 [165] This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new disease for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid Te 161 168 182 [165] population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Te Ta 596 591 612 Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapé, on the other Ta 616 561 hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial moieties limited to men. Each moiety was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the Ta 476 264 574 616 [796] [535] Tapirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's moieties and age grades and the "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic production and distribution. The masked dances with impersonation of

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



forest spirits performed by the men during the dry season were a function of the men's moieties. The "Feast Groups" met at intervals during the dry seasons at their traditional stations in the central plaza for ceremonial meals. At such times, as Herbert Baldus has shown, these "Feast Groups" functioned as a mechanism for food distribution in a season when more food was available than a family would normally consume. (7) The "Feast Groups" sometimes formed to collect honey and to hunt. The age grades of the men's moieties also frequently acted together economically; they organized work parties for clearing of large garden sites and they went out on large cooperative hunts after herds of wild pigs.

Ta [535] 264 574 476 [796] Ta 224 561 616

In aboriginal Tapirapé society ceremonial life and many important cooperative subsistence activities were based upon this balanced set of associations. A Tapirapé village in order to assure adequate representation in the various age grades of the men's moieties as well as in the "Feast Groups" by necessity had to consist of about 200 people or more. A small village of fifty to a hundred people, for example, would not have provided sufficient number of males of the proper ages to allow the age graded moieties to carry out their ceremonials nor to organize their cooperative subsistence activities. Tapirapé village organization was therefore not conducive to a process of "splitting off" of groups from one village to form another. The size of Tapirapé villages was limited by their tecnological equipment within their tropical forest environment yet the social structure made the formation of numerous small villages difficult. In contrast, the less formalized social structure of the Tenetehara allowed for villages of varying size within the limits of their ecological adjustment. Extended family groups easily might break off from a larger village to form a new settlement fully able to carry out the cooperative economic activities and even ceremonials of the society. This process is constantly occurring in contemporary Tenetehara society. When tensions arise between extended families, one group simply splits off from the parent village to join another or to form a separate village without serious effects on the ceremonial or economic system. Tenetehara social structure offered a favorable condition for an expanding population after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected population.

Ta 182 621 476 561 616 Te 182 621 Te [578] Te [161]

Tapirapé social structure seems also to have been more vulnerable to disorganization in face of a rapid change in population size. Rapid depopulation after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected the normal functioning of their highly segmented and balanced social structure. By 1940, the lack of men had thrown the system of reciprocal and competitive activities of the men's age-graded moieties out of balance. There were not enough men of the "older" age-grade of either moiety nor of the young men "warrior" age-grade of one moiety to form functioning units to reciprocate in cooperative garden clearing and to participate in group hunts. Several of the "Feast Groups" had been disbanded for lack of numbers

Ta 182 [161] Ta [561] [616] [476] [574] [264]

(7) Baldus (1937) p. 88 ff.

881 On the eve of the ritual, the preparations begin. The youth's
[302] body is painted black with genipap. On his face, a black line is drawn under the mouth and a circle under the eyes, which are elongated with a line at the corners. The father or uncles put the last
[346] touches on a large diadem. At dawn on the day of the ceremony, the youth is led to the large ceremonial house built in the center of the Tapirapé village, and his hair is set to support the large
[292] ankungitana (diadem) made of numerous macaw, parrot, and duck
[237] feathers fastened to a base of muriti palm and hard wood and weighing about five kilograms. The hair is trimmed and tied into a roll
[302] on the nape of the neck with a cord at least five meters long, to provide a base for the fastening of the large diadem. The lower lip
[301] is adorned with a ceremonial quartz tembetá [Tr., cylindrical plug].

The ceremony itself begins late in the morning. For 24 hours
[535] the youth dances continually, surrounded by his fellow tribesmen and accompanied by the songs and dances of men and women. He dances ill at ease, for he is soon tired by the weight and discomfort of the
773 ornaments. Tapirapé tradition explains this ritual as a test of en-
881 durance for the young men. According to one legend, a Tapirapé ancestor called Xavanamu and his son Makanci were captured by an enemy tribe. Xavanamu was eaten, and his son was forced to dance under the weight of a large diadem and the numerous ornaments that covered his body. At the end of a long day of dancing, Makanci, who had retained his strength, managed to flee and disappeared into the woods followed closely by his foes. He vanished on reaching a large hollow trunk. Nowadays, Tapirapé youths wear ornaments similar to those left behind by their ancestor.

In 1941, when we witnessed the "hair-tying" of the youth
881 Kancinampiô, several Tapirapé predicted that he would cry "for he would become very tired during the night," but the boy stood up valiantly to the test. It is in another way, however, that men recall their initiation. One of them said, "When I danced, I was more beautiful than at any other time." It is true that at no other time of life does the individual get so much attention and make such a show with such rich ornaments. And this during adolescence!

Thus, the Tapirapé turn this ceremony into an opportunity for fun, which their men recall more or less in the same manner as our youths recall their first ball.

11: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1945 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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881
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[Facing p. 16]

Tapirapé Indian in the Coming-of-age Dance.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



those for group singing during the harvest ceremonies and the ceremony 533
of kawi (p. 176); those for the masked dancers during the dry season;
and a very large number of songs specifically for the "Big Sing"
(monikahô) during the latter part of the rainy season. During this
period (approximately March through April), singing takes place
throughout each night from sundown to sunrise. On these occasions, [66]
the singing leader and the men of one of the moieties introduce the verse
of each song and the refrain is then taken up by the men of the other
moiety and the women of the tribe. Women sing in a higher key than the
men and, generally, a phrase behind the men. The songs of the masked
dancers, each representing a supernatural being, differ stylistically from
those used on other occasions in being sung in a falsetto tone, in a manner [171]
similar to that of the neighboring *Carajá*. Many such songs have been [177]
admittedly learned from the *Carajá*.

**Dancing.**—Both men and women dance as they sing. In general, the 535
*Tapirapé* dance bending slightly forward, stamping out the time of the
music with one foot. Dancing differs greatly, however, according to the
occasion. During the harvest ceremonies, men dance in a line, side by [241]
side, each man's wife dancing directly behind him. During the group
singing of the "Big Sing," the men dance in moiety groups facing each
other, and women dance behind the moiety group of their husbands. On
one occasion during this time, men dance with women, side by side, with
a curious skipping step.

**Games.**—Men's moieties run foot races against each other after the 526
communal work festival (p. 168); they race in a straight line across the
village plaza. Wrestling takes place at one wet-season ceremony, and,
now and again, throughout the year as sport. The *Tapirapé* explain, [171]
however, that the *Carajá* are better wrestlers and that it is more properly
a *Carajá* sport. In wrestling, opponents stand face to face, grasping each
other about the neck, and attempt to force or to trip the other to the
ground. During one festival, men, one from each moiety at a time,
compete by throwing blunt-headed spears at each other. Gambling games [525]
are unknown.

**Stimulants.**—Native tobacco, though used for leisure-time smoking, is 276
principally a stimulant and medicine. A *Tapirapé* will not travel without 755
a supply of tobacco to blow smoke over his tired body at the end of the
day, in order to take out soreness and tiredness. Tobacco is necessary
to shamans in all their activities. They blow tobacco smoke over the
patient in curing (p. 177), and, to induce dreams and a trance, they
swallow large gulps of smoke until they become intoxicated and nauseated.
When people have seen ghosts, shamans fumigate them with tobacco [751]
smoke, in order to drive away the ghost's influence. Shamans fumigate 276
new maize, the first honey of the season and, sometimes, fresh meat to 756
drive out possible supernatural danger. This native tobacco is smoked [789]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



276 756 by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

423 249 The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

272 [273] No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

## RELIGION

771 *Tapirapé* religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, ančunga (spirit or shadow).

775 The ančunga iñawera, human spirits or ghosts (aña or anhanga among the *Tupinambá*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

[825] Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls [756] of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

776 In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called ančunga, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Waré, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many ančunga, among whom were the awakú ankú, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The munplankú were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the [535] *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, [532] *bottom, right*).

**Rites.**—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people 796 are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (ančunga) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest [241] ceremonial (kaô) and the ceremony of kawi (a souplike beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

241 756 In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans

648 When I stretched out in my hammock, Kamairahó, who was
129 already lying in his hammock with his wife, smiled at me as usual and greeted me courteously with the customary "papanekí (you have come)." I asserted, no less decorously, "Hm, hm, ẽ, ẽ." He went on, still smiling, "Kananchahó around. Kananchahó coming. I'm afraid." Although he did not seem particularly scared in spite of this statement, I calmed him with a few words as I had done with the others, and he immediately laughed, changed the subject, and jested with his wife.

648 Later, it became evident that the presence of Kayapó in the
609 neighboring forest had been invented by Anavanf, a somewhat foolish youth of about 17. On the following morning he confessed that he had lied. He probably wanted to make himself important. The general readiness to believe him shows the state of mind of the Tapirapé toward their feared neighbors. Incidentally, on the day when Kamairahó showed me the smoke pillars of the "Ampanef" to the southwest, he showed me a similar display by the Kayapó to the north.

The non-material defenses show that the Kananchahó are regarded as the Number One enemy. Although the Karajá are also feared, only the northern neighbors, by what I was able to observe, are the object of parodies, violently abusive songs, and mocking pantomimes. On June 24, the Tapirapé, in a weeping tone, sang
[533] a seemingly obscene chant about the Kananchahó, which aroused
[531] endless laughter. It was sung in the men's house, where other
[522] youths gave a ludicrous impersonation of those enemies, emitting
[536] their would-be tribal cry, running and jumping crazily hither and yon, gesticulating with angry excitement, and hitting the house stakes with their clubs. At the same time, in front of the house,
[535] other men accompanied by the women and children danced and sang the kaó, the danced song that derives its warlike character not only from the weapons in the hands of the warriors and from their serious look, but also from the powerful rhythm of stamping feet and the menacing quality of the guttural sounds.

536 [102:125] While all this pertains to night performances, an-
726 other spectacle took place two days later in daylight. It was a dramatization of the supposed Kayapó attack on the 20 Tapirapé who had failed to return from the hunt during the previous year. Six youths, holding on to each other in friendly fashion two by two,

536 726 with the pairs one behind the other, walked peacefully from house to house. They hummed a song. The first two pairs carried a blanket on their back, and the last pair carried a straw mat. A masked man followed, bent forward, dancing and shooting arrows at the mat. After a while the pairs lined up one beside the other and stayed put, humming their song, while the masked figure emitted the Kayapó tribal cry and danced in menacing fashion, stepping always on the same spot. A little later, the walk was resumed. This scene was repeated several times. Suddenly, however, when the pairs were standing still once more in front of a hut, two masked "Kayapó" rushed headlong from behind it, and four others emerged from behind the neighboring house. All [177] these "Kayapó" had bows or clubs in their hands and were completely disguised with hammocks, blankets, and other belongings of the White guests. Their faces were covered with sifters, and my straw hat had also found a use. While the three Tapirapé pairs kept walking as peacefully as before, the masked figures alternately ran furiously hither and yon, giving their typical cry, and performed a circular dance. In this dance, some of them faced the back of the man in front while others were turned [535] toward the man behind. They all jumped on one leg and then the other, tossing their arms and legs about and gesticulating with their weapons (Photo. 73). After repeating all this several times for half an hour, the "Kayapó" attacked one another and quarreled among themselves. Then the Tapirapé pairs quietly broke up and vanished.

This performance, therefore, contrasts the mildness which 181 is indeed the tribal behavior pattern of the Tapirapé with the nervous aggressiveness of the Kayapó. This seems to be a symbol of universal significance, when we look at the pacifists and militarists in other parts of the world.

The opinion of the Tupí tribe about the nature of these 609 773 neighbors seems to be expressed even in their mythology. While the Karajá are regarded as descendants of a water serpent, the ancestor of the Kayapó is tantevoga, the tick. One of the proofs of kinship with those bugs, my informants say, is the falsetto tribal cry that they attribute to their northern foe. This proof, although it might not satisfy a biologist, is sufficient for the ethnologist. Actually, everyone knows that the tick is a pesky nuisance.

[i.e., the Kayapó.-Analyst]

114 and evenings suspended in a large Brazilian hammock. In this state of enervation, I must have been the very picture of the languid white [123] man in the tropics. Each late afternoon our house became a gather- [974] ing place for the Tapirapé villagers, who came not only to visit with me (communication was still difficult) but also with each other, and 123 to gaze upon the belongings of the *tori* (non-Indian). My illness 538 proved to be a boon for ethnographic research. People were more patient with the sick anthropologist than with the well one. They told stories, not only for my benefit, but also to entertain each other. [713] In attempting to explain to me about a mythological culture hero, a man would find himself telling a myth to the attending audience. Thus, I heard (and saw) Tapirapé stories told as they should be—as dramatic forms spoken with vivacity and replete with mimicry of the animals that are so often characters in these folktales. With my still imperfect knowledge of Tapirapé I inevitably lost the thread of the story and it had to be retold to me more slowly.

115 Champukwi was a frequent visitor during these days of my con- 123 valescence. He came each morning on the way to his garden and 124 he became accustomed to drinking morning coffee with us. And, [512] each late afternoon after he had returned from his garden, he came "to talk"—often slowly retelling the stories and incidents that I had difficulty understanding the evening before. Several days during this period he did not work in his garden but sat for two or three hours talking. He learned when he should pause or repeat a phrase or [212] sentence in order that I might take notes. He came to understand what writing meant, discovering that what I wrote in my notebook I could repeat to him later. In time he appreciated the fact that I was not so much interested in learning the Tapirapé language as I was in comprehending the Tapirapé way of life. As so often is the case when a person understands and speaks a foreign language poorly, one communicates best with but a single person who is accustomed to one's mistakes and one's meager vocabulary. Thus, I could understand and make myself understood to Champukwi better than any [192] other Tapirapé. Moreover, because he spent long hours in our house, [126] he was learning Portuguese from Valentim Gomes, and this was an aid in helping me translate newly learned words and phrases in Tapirapé and even helped me understand his explanations of Tapirapé culture patterns. Champukwi thus consciously became my teacher, and others came to realize that he was teaching me. During

162 of about four, a girl of about 11, and another girl of less than a year. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

171/ 846 We see, therefore, that the Tapirapé resemble the Karajá and Kayapó, as well as Indians of the upper Xingu basin, the Tupinambá, and other Tupi tribes, in practicing the couvade. [Ed., end of Vol. 123.]

553 [192] [124:139] In Tapirapé, herang means "name" and corresponds to the word héra cited by Montoya (2, II, 154) and céra by Stradelli (413). The inhabitants of Tampiitaua told me that, among them, it is the mother who gives the newborn baby a name and who [304] perforates the lower lip and ear lobes of a boy with a bone pin at dawn of the day following birth. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

551 No two or more Tapirapé ever bear the same name at the same time. I was able to discover the meaning of only a few. Animal names prevail among the women. In 1935 there was a woman over 40 years old whose name was Purangkeí, that is, "little electric eel." Another, about 35 years old, was called Tamanuaí, or "great anteater" with [124:140] the addition of the diminutive i, and an old woman of about 45 had the name Anampaí, anampá being a fresh-water eel. A girl of 11 was called Chauevuyra, that is, "fresh-water ray," and another girl of six Tanchahó, the name of the white-lipped peccary. In 1947 there was a year-old girl whose name, Kaí, is that of the capuchin monkey. Among the men, I only found one in 1935 whose name I could identify with that of an animal, and it was a generic name, Vuyraí, "little bird," a somewhat humorous appellation in view of the man s thick, robust body. Other translatable names, aside from those of animals, are Kanuana, belonging to an eight-year-old girl, meaning "thunder" and "gourd rattle," and the names of two boys I knew in 1947, who were two and four years old, respectively, Yvytí, "wind," and Ekonomíchinga, "white boy."

171/ 551 According to Gabriel Soares de Sousa (370), the Tupinambá bore the names of "animals, fish, birds, trees, foods, weapons and various other things," according to Staden (r 1) of "forest animals," and according to Vicente de Salvador (41) of "animals, plants, or whatever chances to come before their eyes."

000 This last author also notes about those Indians that "... they do not regard killing as prowess unless they break heads, even

000 those of people killed by others, and whatever number of heads they break, that many names they take, casting off the name given by their father at birth... but the name they take they will not tell (even when begged to do so) except at great festivities with wine and songs in their honor..."

It sometimes happened that when I asked for the name of a 553 certain Tapirapé, the person in question would give me one name and some other person present would give another. When I asked which of the names was more commonly used, I was always told that a Tapirapé adult, as a rule, has "many" names. According to what I was able to observe, however, each person was called, as a rule, by a single name which remained the same throughout the time of my visit in 1935. This does not invalidate the information they gave me, however, for a Tapirapé does receive other names aside from the one he is given at birth, although this is done for reasons very different from those leading to the proliferation of names among the Tupinambá. Reverend Kegel witnessed a festive gathering in September, which he described to me as follows. After sundown, in the moonlight, the men sat on mats in the Tampiitaua plaza divided into two groups, one facing the other. One of the leaders of the village stood between the two groups, inventing names. Whenever a name came to his mind, he would call one of the men present, and walk hither and yon humming a song that included the new name of the person he had called, the name being sometimes jocular and sometimes serious in meaning.

[124:141] Kamairahó, the principal leader, told me that at three different ages he had had successively the following names: ●[551] Pancheengví, Ananavuytingí, and Kanchoarioí. Only after the death of his father did he adopt his present name, which was the name of his father and of all his male ancestors in the paternal line. He added that only then did he marry. He stated further that like him, all Tapirapé have several successive names through childhood and adulthood.

It may be, as I shall show, that they were given these names but did not use them. In Tampiitaua in 1947 I identified nine Tapirapé males and six females, and with less certainty another male and seven other females, whom I had known at the time of my previous visit. In 1935, I had figured out the ages of the nine

553 still young and lacked the political weight of the illustrious dead man.

One day, as I talked to Kamairahó about the "name-giving festivity" mentioned above, I complained about not having received a Tapirapé name as Reverend Kegel had and this only because my companion had the opportunity to be present at that gathering while I did not. The Indian immediately gave me his own name. Yves d'Evreux writes of the Tupinambá in Maranhão:
171 "They also have another manner of giving names, and this is when
553 they are fond of you, and show the high regard in which they hold you, by giving you their own name"[translated from French]. The exchange of names for motives of respect and friendship is a custom found among tribes in various parts of South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

It should be added that I, naturally, also gave my name to
553 Kamairahó. Such exchanges of names, at least among the Tapirapé, are to some extent merely done in jest. Thus, I was called Kamairahó only a few times and smilingly, while I never heard Reverend Kegel called by his Tapirapé name or the Indian leader by my own.

It certainly cannot be said that the Tapirapé hide their
171 name, or one of their names, as did the Tupinambá according to
● 551 the above-quoted observation by Vicente de Salvador. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua told me their names with apparent pleasure, and many of them repeated the name several times until I pronounced it properly, and asked me about it [124:143] again on subsequent occasions to see whether I had learned it correctly. They differed in this respect from the Kayapó, who do not reveal their own name according to Krause (2, 401). The latter was able to find out their names only through a third person, and they were given in a very low voice. The Karajá never made it a problem to tell me their own names. Like the Tapirapé, they are very desirous to find out about ours, and soon after the visitor s arrival they ask for his name, that of his wife, his children, and other relatives.

On the other hand, many of the inhabitants of Tampiitaua
551 were ignorant of the names of their deceased parents, and nearly
171 all were unfamiliar with those of their grandparents and other rela-
173 tives who were no longer alive, so we cannot assert that the Tapirapé are as interested in their own genealogy as are, for example, the Kaingang tribe of the so-called Botocudo of Santa

171
173 Catarina, Xokleng [Shokleng] or Aveikoma [Aweikoma], studied
551 by Henry (50). [Ed., end of Vol. 124.]

[127:231] CHILDHOOD

171 Father Fernão Cardim (310) wrote of the Tupinambá: "There
855 is nothing parents love more than their own children, and he who does something for the children can obtain anything from the parents." Roughly, this sentence could be applied to nearly all Brazilian tribes and to the Tapirapé among them. This love is
855 manifested in the understanding with which the adults treat the children. An Indian father would never answer his child's question with: "This is grownup stuff you can't understand," thus destroying, in the fashion of certain White fathers, the trust with which the child seeks out his most learned friend. The Indian father does not speak to the child with an air of superiority, and consequently there is no chasm between them, such as frequently separates children from adults among us.

In fact, a Tapirapé will show patience toward a child even before he reaches the age of asking for explanations. I shall never forget the attitude of Vuanomanchí when a small child seated in his lap urinated on his bare legs. No fuss! This worthy family man did not even get up. He took a piece of straw from the ground and pushed down the liquid with it. He neither scrubbed nor washed himself. He uttered no word and made no motion that might disturb the child.

[127:232] Nor shall I forget the behavior of Maeyma during the illness of his little girl. Several women were weeping around the girl's hammock, and Maeyma was the only man who was crying. Seated in his hammock, he covered his face with his hands and sobbed. He seemed to have lost weight during the short period of
[262] his child's illness. As befits a mindful father, he ate nothing during
[755] this time except for a little maize cauí and manioc flour. On the following day, when the girl seemed to have improved, Maeyma, lying in the hammock held her like something breakable, and when he moved his hands he did so gingerly.

784 In the Tapirapé tribe, as in many others, the intimate and con-
855 tinuous connection between child and parents is acknowledged and

128 [Ed., p. 86 and all but the last two lines of p. 87 are not translated.]

[87] In the pages that follow I wish to discuss a social institution
121 of the Tapirapé, the like of which I have not yet found [88] either among the other tribes I have visited or in the literature. I call it "eating groups." [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

The social significance of this organization into "eating groups"
264 derives from their purpose, which is as follows. Sometimes it happens
224 that the produce of the hunt or of the harvest, which among these Indians may be eaten by either sex and also by the children (for exam-
[262] ple, wild pig, curassow, guan, turtle, honey, etc.), is too sizable for the hunter's family and not sizable enough to be shared justly and advantageously with the entire population of the village. In such a case, to avoid a less equitable act, the distribution is made among the mem-
574 476 bers of the eating group to which the hunter belongs.

At the time of my stay among the Tapirapé, they were divided
264 into seven eating groups [89]. They say that in the old days the groups
551 were more numerous. The names of the existing groups are Txankanépéra [Tr., the Portuguese x equals English sh], Pananivũãna, Maniitivuéra, Kãũũãnõĩ, Tãũãũpéra, Ãmpirampé, Ãvãinki'. Whenever I asked for an explanation of their meaning, I was merely given the word tãtáupãũã. Undoubtedly, however, some of the group names are related to the names of animals and plants, Txankanépéra with txankané (alligator), Maniitivuéra with mandiivũnã (a variety of manioc), Ãvãinki' with vũãiki'tã (a variety of manioc). This may be
[771] a vestige of totemic ideas, although they are not manifested in the behavior of the group members. For example, the attitude of the Txankanépéra group members toward the alligator is no different from that of the members of other groups. It is true that at the common
551 feasts each person is called by the name of the group and also is what
476 the name represents. Thus, for example, a member of the
264 Txankanépéra group will say, "Txe Txankanépéra," which means both "I am called Txankanépéra" and "I am Txankanépéra," and says to his group-fellow, male or female, "Ané Txankanépéra ('You are called Txankanépéra,' or 'You are Txankanépéra')."

192 Tãtáupãũã designates both the common feast of a group and the
574 institution of eating groups in general. When I asked the Tapirapé what
476 they called themselves as a community, I got the answer "Ampiãũã"
264 (a word that means "man" in the Tupí of the Amazon) and the statement
[101]

264 476 however, is totally different from that of the tãtáupáũã. It is not a group organization for consumption, but for production. For this reason, also, the feasts in specific groups associated with this institution are merely accessory.

The social significance of apatxirú resides in the possibility of sharing a collective task in such a way that no member of the tribe will [461] feel discredited by an unfair assignment. This is done by turning work into a festive occasion and a sports competition.

"When there is a lot of water everywhere in the rainy season, the [776] [291] ãũvanaí 'shadows' live in the takána. Their headdress and breechcloth are of muriti leaves, but their headdress does not have any macaw [535] feathers. [96] They dance through the entire rainy season. At that time, there are no other 'shadows' (antxína) but them. Unlike other 'shadows,' these do not live in the hills or in the waters, but only in the takána. They do not sing, but only grunt in a low voice. During [261] the moons of the great rains, the belly does not get as full as during the dry season. But the ãũvanaí have to eat. Then they go to the gardens and 'steal.' They take what they stole to the takána, where they eat it. In the apatxirú, we prepare the gardens where they seek their food. They 'steal' only from those gardens that are prepared for them alone. The ãũvanaí are not evil. All Tapirapé men are ãũvanaí.

Such is, in summary, the information I received when I asked the purpose of the common gardens prepared in the apatxirú.

For the apatxirú, all Tapirapé men are divided into three work-groups called vuĩra. The word vuĩra means "bird," and the name of [551] each group designates a mythical bird which is represented not only by the group as a whole but by each of its individual members. They are called Tãnãvé, Anantxá, and Vuirantxinió.

The Tãnãvé group was the smallest one at the time of my visit, [624] but it included the individuals of highest social status: the principal chief, Kamairahó; the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ´; the chief and most [123] eminent sorcerer--medicine man, Urukumĩ´; and myself. (Naturally, Kamairahó stated immediately that I would be a Tãnãvé like himself.)

[97] Each of the three work groups has two leaders called ãntaĩva. 264 The ãntaĩva of the Tãnãvé were Vũãtanamĩ´ and Urukumĩ´. (Although 622 Kamairahó was also a Tãnãvé, he seemed to be the head of all three 476 groups in his capacity as principal chief. He is also the only one whose 651 private plot is prepared by the village inhabitants as a collective endeavor, while the private plots of other tribal members are prepared

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



away on the Araguaiá River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the personal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Mariapawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let alone pronounce.

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the widespread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poisonous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm-thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversations that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

Tapirapé village which he would have hesitated to relate on home grounds. He told me of adulterous affairs in process and of the growing determination among one group of kinsmen to assassinate Urukumu, the powerful medicine man, because they suspected him of performing death-dealing sorcery.

After two weeks in Furo de Pedra, I found that it would be necessary for Valentim Gomes and me to go to Rio de Janeiro. It was not possible for Champukwi to accompany us and so I arranged for two Brazilian frontiersmen to return him to a point on the Tapirapé River from which he could easily hike to his village in a day. Valentim and I then began our slow trip up the Araguaia River to the motor road and thence to Rio de Janeiro. Two months later, rid of malaria and with a new stock of supplies, we returned to spend the long rainy months from November until the end of May in the Village of the Tapirs. Champukwi was there to welcome us, and he came each day to help repair and enlarge our house. We easily fell into our former friendly relationship, now strengthened by the experience in common of the trip to Furo de Pedra and by the feeling which many anthropologists have shared with the people of their communities—that anyone who returns is an "old friend."

My return to the village that November marked, in a sense, the end of what might be called the first phase of my relationship with Champukwi as friend and as anthropological informant. During the course of at least 200 hours of conversation (many of which may be methodologically dignified as interviews), I had learned much about Champukwi as a person as well as about Tapirapé culture. I knew that as a small boy he had come from Fish Village, where his parents had died, to live in the Village of the Tapirs. He had lived with his father's younger brother, Kamaira, who was the leader of a large household. He even confided to me his boyhood name; Tapirapé change their names several times during their lifetimes and mention of a person's first childhood name, generally that of a fish, an animal, or simply descriptive of some personal characteristic, causes laughter among the audience and considerable embarrassment to the individual. I knew that Champukwi had been married before he took his current wife, and that his first wife had died in childbirth. He revealed that her kinsmen had gossiped that her death was caused by his lack of respect for the food taboos imposed

302 genipap. They have given up for keeps the tamankurá or cotton
881 ornaments they wore in childhood. Some of them change names,
[553] if they did not already do so at the time of their first menstruation. They eat nothing but green-maize cauí [a soup]. Both men and women sing the kaó, a kind of national anthem. When the whole ceremony is over, the girl is painted with the genipap stripes characteristic of women.

304 The tattooing is done by certain mature men. They need not
412 be sorcerer--medicine men, but some of them are, like Urukumy for example (Photo. 53). The aim of the tattooing is to differentiate the women from the girls. The small knife used to make the incisions (Photo. 22) is called voamé. It consists of a fragment of
[237] rodent incisor embedded in a small piece of thin cane wrapped in a narrow strip of philodendron inner bark. This strip strengthens
[314] the small rod, which was previously covered with resin to provide a better hold. The tooth fragment in the knife reproduced here (Photo. 22) consists of that part of a paca (kanoanó) incisor nearest to
[237] the gum, and thus not of its cutting section. The edge was created by scraping the fragment with a knife. Sometimes the fragment is also taken from the tooth of an agouti (akutí, ankuchí), another rodent that, like the paca, belongs to the Caviidae family.

304 Krause (2, 404) writes of Tapirapé tattooing: "Tattooing exists
114 among married women; they cut vertical lines in their chins, and a line that goes down obliquely from either side of the mouth." As we can see, this does not quite agree with the tattooing I observed. And the drawings published by Krause (ibid., Fig. 262), although they disagree with the description above by the same author in showing several oblique lines originating at the corners of the lips, rather than just one, still do not resemble the crossed horizontal and vertical lines that I saw on the faces of Tapirapé women. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 115, pp. 116-119 which include several pages of comparative data on scarification, and all but the last paragraph on p. 120 are omitted.]

304 107:120] To summarize, we may say that the special character
171 of female tattooing differentiates the Tapirapé from all neighboring tribes about which anything is known in this connection. The data
[114] of Herrmann Meyer about the Aravine and their tattooing, which are given in Chapter 4 of this work, are not sufficient to be taken into account in studying this topic. It should be pointed out further

162 of about four, a girl of about 11, and another girl of less than a year. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

171/ 846 We see, therefore, that the Tapirapé resemble the Karajá and Kayapó, as well as Indians of the upper Xingu basin, the Tupinambá, and other Tupi tribes, in practicing the couvade. [Ed., end of Vol. 123.]

553 [192] [124:139] In Tapirapé, herang means "name" and corresponds to the word héra cited by Montoya (2, II, 154) and céra by Stradelli (413). The inhabitants of Tampiitaua told me that, among them, it is the mother who gives the newborn baby a name and who [304] perforates the lower lip and ear lobes of a boy with a bone pin at dawn of the day following birth. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

551 No two or more Tapirapé ever bear the same name at the same time. I was able to discover the meaning of only a few. Animal names prevail among the women. In 1935 there was a woman over 40 years old whose name was Purangkeí, that is, "little electric eel." Another, about 35 years old, was called Tamanuaí, or "great anteater" with [124:140] the addition of the diminutive i, and an old woman of about 45 had the name Anampaí, anampá being a fresh-water eel. A girl of 11 was called Chauevuyra, that is, "fresh-water ray," and another girl of six Tanchahó, the name of the white-lipped peccary. In 1947 there was a year-old girl whose name, Kaí, is that of the capuchin monkey. Among the men, I only found one in 1935 whose name I could identify with that of an animal, and it was a generic name, Vuyraí, "little bird," a somewhat humorous appellation in view of the man s thick, robust body. Other translatable names, aside from those of animals, are Kanuana, belonging to an eight-year-old girl, meaning "thunder" and "gourd rattle," and the names of two boys I knew in 1947, who were two and four years old, respectively, Yvytií, "wind," and Ekonomíchinga, "white boy."

171/ 551 According to Gabriel Soares de Sousa (370), the Tupinambá bore the names of "animals, fish, birds, trees, foods, weapons and various other things," according to Staden (r 1) of "forest animals," and according to Vicente de Salvador (41) of "animals, plants, or whatever chances to come before their eyes."

000 This last author also notes about those Indians that "... they do not regard killing as prowess unless they break heads, even

000 those of people killed by others, and whatever number of heads they break, that many names they take, casting off the name given by their father at birth... but the name they take they will not tell (even when begged to do so) except at great festivities with wine and songs in their honor..."

It sometimes happened that when I asked for the name of a •553 certain Tapirapé, the person in question would give me one name and some other person present would give another. When I asked which of the names was more commonly used, I was always told that a Tapirapé adult, as a rule, has "many" names. According to what I was able to observe, however, each person was called, as a rule, by a single name which remained the same throughout the time of my visit in 1935. This does not invalidate the information they gave me, however, for a Tapirapé does receive other names aside from the one he is given at birth, although this is done for reasons very different from those leading to the proliferation of names among the Tupinambá. Reverend Kegel witnessed a festive gathering in September, which he described to me as follows. After sundown, in the moonlight, the men sat on mats in the Tampiitaua plaza divided into two groups, one facing the other. One of the leaders of the village stood between the two groups, inventing names. Whenever a name came to his mind, he would call one of the men present, and walk hither and yon humming a song that included the new name of the person he had called, the name being sometimes jocular and sometimes serious in meaning.

[124:141] Kamairahó, the principal leader, told me that at three different ages he had had successively the following names: [551] Pancheengví, Ananavuytingí, and Kanchoarioí, Only after the death of his father did he adopt his present name, which was the name of his father and of all his male ancestors in the paternal line. He added that only then did he marry. He stated further that like him, all Tapirapé have several successive names through childhood and adulthood.

It may be, as I shall show, that they were given these names but did not use them. In Tampiitaua in 1947 I identified nine Tapirapé males and six females, and with less certainty another male and seven other females, whom I had known at the time of my previous visit. In 1935, I had figured out the ages of the nine

553 individuals in the first group as 8, 12, 17, 18, 20, 26, and 38 years, respectively; that of the six females in the same group as 1 1/2, 4-5, 20, 25, 28, and 30 years; that of the male identified without complete certainty as 4 years; and that of the seven females about whom I had similar doubts as 3, 6, 7, 7, 13, 20, and 26 years. Now, among those 23 individuals, only three were using totally different names in 1947 from those they had used in 1935. Incidentally, all the Tapirapé whom Wagley recognized on photographs taken by myself in 1935 still had in 1939 the same name they had used when photographed. Some slight phonetic differences between the names of certain persons as registered by myself in 1935 and in 1947 probably resulted from variations in the pronunciation of the informants, or else existed only in the ear of the researcher. In 1947, as in 1935, two names were sometimes given instead of one. A young man who had been 12 years old in 1935, and who at that time had only the name Tampirí, was called Tampirí-Chamaneyma in 1947. A woman whose name I recorded as Airuvitynga in 1935 (tynga, like chinga, means "white") was called Eirova-Chaeroí 12 years later as an elderly lady and the wife of a new husband (the final i in Airuvi is added for euphonic reasons, and this word is otherwise identical to Eirova).

The three individuals who had changed names altogether, on the other hand, were called Tanupanchoa, Panchaí, and Kovyra at the time of my first visit. The first one, who was a man of 45 or 50 in 1947, had adopted the name of his younger brother Kamanané, who died after 1935. The second one, who appeared to be about 35 in 1947 and who had become a shaman and acquired despotic tendencies, had come to be called Vuatanamy, the name of the late sorcerer--medicine man who had been the toughest of the Tampiitaua leaders in 1935. The new Vuatanamy was not living at the time in the house of the former one, was [124:142] about 20 years younger, and to my knowledge was not a close relative. In 1935, Kovyra, a boy about eight years old, was already regarded as a sort of future successor to Kamairahó, the principal leader. In reference to this he was sometimes called by the man's name in a joking tone, with the addition of the diminutive suffix i. In 1947 he no longer used his own childhood name and had been addressed exclusively by the name of the deceased leader for some time, although still with the addition of the diminutive for he was

553 still young and lacked the political weight of the illustrious dead man.

One day, as I talked to Kamairahó about the "name-giving festivity" mentioned above, I complained about not having received a Tapirapé name as Reverend Kegel had and this only because my companion had the opportunity to be present at that gathering while I did not. The Indian immediately gave me his own name. Yves d'Evreux writes of the Tupinambá in Maranhão:
171 "They also have another manner of giving names, and this is when
553 they are fond of you, and show the high regard in which they hold you, by giving you their own name"[translated from French]. The exchange of names for motives of respect and friendship is a custom found among tribes in various parts of South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

It should be added that I, naturally, also gave my name to
553 Kamairahó. Such exchanges of names, at least among the Tapirapé, are to some extent merely done in jest. Thus, I was called Kamairahó only a few times and smilingly, while I never heard Reverend Kegel called by his Tapirapé name or the Indian leader by my own.

It certainly cannot be said that the Tapirapé hide their
171 name, or one of their names, as did the Tupinambá according to
551 the above-quoted observation by Vicente de Salvador. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua told me their names with apparent pleasure, and many of them repeated the name several times until I pronounced it properly, and asked me about it [124:143] again on subsequent occasions to see whether I had learned it correctly. They differed in this respect from the Kayapó, who do not reveal their own name according to Krause (2, 401). The latter was able to find out their names only through a third person, and they were given in a very low voice. The Karajá never made it a problem to tell me their own names. Like the Tapirapé, they are very desirous to find out about ours, and soon after the visitor s arrival they ask for his name, that of his wife, his children, and other relatives.

On the other hand, many of the inhabitants of Tampiitaua
551 were ignorant of the names of their deceased parents, and nearly
171 all were unfamiliar with those of their grandparents and other rela-
173 tives who were no longer alive, so we cannot assert that the Tapirapé are as interested in their own genealogy as are, for example, the Kaingang tribe of the so-called Botocudo of Santa

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



Tapirapé village which he would have hesitated to relate on home grounds. He told me of adulterous affairs in process and of the growing determination among one group of kinsmen to assassinate Urukumu, the powerful medicine man, because they suspected him of performing death-dealing sorcery.

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114 The Kayapó who have intimidated the Tapirapé over the
175 past few years, however, do not belong to the bands visited by
726 Krause in 1908 and by Kissenberth in the same year and the following one, that is to say, the Indians called Kayapó-Mẽkubengokré by this author. Kissenberth (2, 40) heard Mẽkubengokré elders relate that the last hostile encounters between their people and the Tapirapé had occurred approximately in the middle of the last century. This traveler does not [102:126] explain, however, how the near-sexagenarian Tapirapé he saw in a Mẽkubengokré village (ibid., 47 and Figs. 4 and 5; 1, Figs. 18 and 19) got there and was annexed to the tribe.

171 I shall show later that the Tapirapé have a few cultural traits that are similar to traits of these Kayapó, but not as many as the ones that reveal their kinship with the Karajá. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 102, pp. 126-130, is omitted.]

[103:183] Chapter 5

## The Number of Villages and of Tribal Members

621 Sixteenth-century authors, such as Pero de Magalhães de
171 Gandavo (45) and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (362), already pointed out the propensity of the Tupí Indians to divide into bands as a result of certain dissensions. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

621 In the case of the Tapirapé, the disruptive forces were not only countered by the authority of Kamairahó in Tampiitáua, but
[731] were also kept at bay by more powerful destructive forces, that is to say, terrible epidemics. Kamairahó's authority became ap-
[554] parent when I attempted to ascertain in which of the various villages, now extinct, the individuals who make up the present population of Tampiitáua had originated. Those who had revealed their birthplace to me [103:184] did not dare repeat the information in the presence of this most influential leader. The unifying
[578] activity of Kamairahó was justified by the fact that old antagonisms between the villages were not yet entirely forgotten, although they were seldom recalled.

114 Nheêngatu [Tr., the native name for Tupi, meaning "good lan-
171 guage"] language recorded by Stradelli (694) has uapikasaua or
352 uapikatyua for "bench," and uapikauá for the person sitting on it.
192 Claude d'Abbeville (308) mentions among the Tupinambá of Maranhão "very nice little stools which they call Apouycaue" [translated from French].

As far as the function of these benches is concerned, we
171 must take into account the observation relayed by Krause (loc.
352 cit.) that among the Karajá "they are only for the chiefs," and
554 the note by Von den Steinen (2, 287) that there are not many specimens in existence among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin, but that they are always found in the chiefs' houses where they are offered to guests. (This latter observation is confirmed by Meyer 1, 63.)

Kamairahó was the owner of the stool in Tampiitaua. This man was the most important leader among the Tapirapé, and wherever he went there went the wooden seat as though it were a badge of distinction. Kamairahó took it and sat on the Tampiitaua plaza or outside the village before the little house built and inhabited by my companion Kégel and our camarada Daniel. Only when he was in his own house would he place the stool against the wall close to his net and sit or lie in the latter.
[574] As among the Xingu tribes, this "ceremonial seat" was also offered to guests among the Tapirapé. I never sat on it alone, however. Since two people could sit on it at once if they pressed very close together, Kamairahó never granted me more than half his throne. In order to do this, he could not merely move over to the side. He had to stand up and establish with me a complete harmony of movement. For although the horizontal board of the seat was large enough for both of us, the central support, like that of the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause, was so small, dwindling further toward the ground, that we had to take over our respective halves with the most rigorous synchronization to avoid tipping the seat over and either hitting the floor or being hit in the buttocks by the bench.

516 Kamairahó and I frequently spent the early hours of the night
562 in such equipoise, while beside [111:115] and before us the other men and boys sat on a tree trunk and the women and girls sat

736 male orphans are neglected. In Tampiitaua in 1947, I found a single child under ten without father or mother. He was a boy of about two years. He was captured by the Kayapó when they [726] attacked the village shortly after my visit. The fact that he was the only child to be abducted at the time may help to define the position of orphans under four years of age.

In contrast to these insufficiently protected children, we found 858 among the Tapirapé a figure who differed from the usual child in 554 being treated with far greater attention and pampering. In 1935 Ampitania was the "favorite child." This girl of four or five was indeed the little princess of Tampiitaua. She was always gentle and polite, and constantly disclosed new charms. She was far more ornamented than other children, wearing white fluff glued to her body and several bead necklaces, aside from the cotton ornaments painted with urucú. She stayed alternately with the two most important men in the village, spending one day and one night with Kamairahó and his wife, and the following day and night with Vuatanamy and wife. She lived, therefore, in the two largest houses and with the leaders who were, to some extent, [621] rivals. She thus held, undoubtedly, a unifying function. Kamairahó made a point of telling me repeatedly that she was descended from "captains," thus calling my attention to the girl's "blue blood." Incidentally, he himself also seems to have been a "favorite child" (cf. Wagley 4, 23).

The institution of the "favorite child" also exists among the [171] Karajá, according to my inquiry of 1935 (cf. Baldus 7, 83) and confirmed years later by Lipkind (2, 186). These Indians of the Araguaia have a special term for such children, whom they call iolô.

Among the Tapirapé, as among all other South American tribes 171/ I visited, I observed the behavior of children among themselves 858 and in relation to adults, which differs markedly from the behavior of the children I knew in Germany. These seemed, so to speak, much more "childish" than the Indian children and many neo-Brazilian children. They had less interest in the adult world because it was much less accessible to them than it is to the children of the Brazilian forests and cities. Because they did not talk to adults on an equal footing, as children here so commonly do, the

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



The men's moieties form the basis for Tapirape ceremonial 178
and for cooperative gardening and hunting. Each moiety is 561
divided into three age grades. Thus, in the village, there are two 616
groups of "boys" and "youths" (up to sixteen years of age), two 161
of mature men or "warriors" (up to approximately 45), and two groups of "older men." Really old and inactive men give up moiety activity and have no affiliation. A boy belongs automatically to the moiety of his father and formerly he progressed through the three age grades of that moiety. All ceremonies involve the moiety age grades, which dance against each other, race against each other, and give reciprocal feast exchanges. Cooperative hunts and clearing of the forest likewise involve reciprocal activities. However, with the great loss of population, and especially a loss of men of the oldest age group, this organization was thrown out of balance. In order to continue ceremonial life, several youths, who were spoken of as "lazy" and who were not capable hunters or workers, passed into the "older men's" age groups, in which there is little active cooperative hunting and gardening, in order to give those groups sufficient numbers for ceremonial activity. This rapid passing from boys' age grade to that of older men has influenced native thought in two ways:—First, young men are losing the idea of automatic progression through the three age grades, and there is a tendency now to think that the better young men become "warriors," while less capable ones pass rapidly to the older men's group. Second, the 572
older men's age grades, formerly the groups of highest prestige, tend to be looked on with little favor, and only those individuals are thought of with respect who have status for other reasons.

Depopulation has also affected the second Tapirape social 178
grouping—the feast groups. These are made up of all men and 571
women. They are matrilocal for women and patrilocal for men. 574
These feast groups meet periodically during the dry season for 161
ceremonial meals. At present, three of the original ten feast groups have disappeared because of lack of members.

Chieftainship has changed under the influence of both depop- 178
ulation and the sporadic contacts with Brazilians. All men of 622
161

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



ALL MEN OF
status are, today, called "capitaoes" (The Tapirape use the Portuguese word. There is no equivalent in their language.) These "capitaoes" are village elders (who were village "favorite children" in their youth, and therefore people of prestige), leaders of the warriors, age grades, and able shamans. Formerly, there were only two village elders, two warrior leaders, and, ideally, two favorite children in a village. Today, with congregation of people from all villages in one, several "noble" families are present and there is an oversupply of "capitaoes." 178 622 161 554

Marriage arrangements, too, have been affected by depopulation. At present, there are some ten men of marriageable age, for whom there are no possible wives, and immediate families are so broken up that there are no possible groups of women to care for those unattached men. A man must have a wife to cook for him and perform women's tasks. To do any woman's work would play complete havoc with a man's personal prestige, which is a matter of greatest importance. Most of these Tapirape men have solved their problem by contracting convenient "social" marriages with extremely young girls. They attach themselves to a household, in which they perform a man's customary economic duties, and, in turn, their mothers-in-law do women's work for them. 178 582 161 [462] [554]

Lack of time prevents mention of many other aspects of native life pertaining to marriage, kinship, and leadership, which have been profoundly affected by depopulation. Possibly, in other cultures, the effects of introduced disease have not been quite so disastrous, nor the loss of people so important to the social life, as in the case of the Tapirape. Without a doubt, however, wherever there have been sporadic contacts with Europeans, these or other alien factors have been introduced and have caused important changes in the structure of native life. 178 161

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



went to the small brook to drink water after dark. She said that the ghost approached and struck her. A man walking in his garden after dark saw the ghost of a known person, some years dead. "It was white and his eyes had fallen out. He still had some flesh and he had *urucú* in his hair" (6). Yet another man also met a ghost which was "white with big holes instead of eyes". Ghosts of individuals who have been dead many years "have no flesh; they have only bones". The ghosts that appear to the living follow the pattern of the gradual disintegration of the body. 775

Ghosts gather around a new grave to carry away the soul at time of burial; so they are especially dangerous to people at the time of funerals. When a Tapirapé dies, men carry machetes and mirrors to the wake for protection against the ghosts. If ghosts see their reflections in mirrors, they are frightened away. 775 764

The principal encounters of the Tapirapé with ghosts are in dreams. Dreamers sometimes visit them in their villages and at times learn from them new ceremonial songs which they hear in the traditional Tapirapé ceremonials that the ghosts continue to carry on after they have left the village of the living. 775 787

After an indeterminate period the ghosts themselves die and their spirits then become changed into animals. The spirit of the dead ghost of a man of prestige may become a toad (*Pipa pipa*); that of a common man a dove. Among the other animals into which spirits of dead ghosts become changed are frogs, deer, paca (*Cuniculus paca*). 775 825 [554]

Besides the ghosts there are an infinite number and many different species of *ancúnga* of the demonic class, all generally living at a great distance deep in the forest. It is fortunate that their dwellings are so distant, for these creatures are very dangerous, killing Tapirapé whenever possible. In legendary times these demonic beings were more numerous than at present and killed many Tapirapé, but Waré, a powerful shaman and legendary hero, engaged in a constant warfare of wits with them and succeeded in killing many of them. He destroyed the dangerous *awakú anká* by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed far behind them as they walked through the forest. He also killed the *munpi anká*, the beings that clubbed men to death and drank their blood. 776 [773]

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(6) The Tapirapé paint the hair of a corpse with a thick coat of urucú in preparation for burial. [302 764]

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754 the head or to tie it up and carry it off. The one whose soul is thus
787 either incapacitated or imprisoned soon dies. A shaman may call upon
756 his familiar demonic spirits of the forest to deal with a chosen victim or may in his dreams shoot a victim's spirit with small arrows causing at times death and at times only boils. Still another method of attack is for the shaman to throw a fishbone (*ipirã kunya*) or gnawing worms (*uuáka or awai*) into his victim's body causing illness and death.
[755] The treatment of illness consists of removing from the victim's body these malignant arrows, fishbones, and worms that are the cause of illness.

754 In illness and other misfortune, sorcery is always suspected by
756 the Tapirapé and some shaman is accordingly always believed responsible. Sorcery, however, is believed to be the action of shamans in dreams, and although such a negative statement can obviously not be substantiated, it seems never to be consciously practised. But there
[789] is, so far as the writer knows, no use of incantations or mechanical devices for the deliberate inducing of sympathetic magic.

683 All Tapirapé are thought, however, to die by sorcery and at each
761 death suspicion turns toward a shaman (12). At the death of a child
756 or woman of low status, suspicion may arise and then soon die down
[554] but when the deceased is a man of status, his brothers, sons, or sisters' sons become violent in their grief and may murder the shaman toward whom suspicion points. Sometimes, after a long series of deaths, suspicion is fixed upon one famous and strong shaman and the Tapirapé decide informally that he must be killed. In such cases the revenge-murder occurs within the first few days after a death when the relatives are "sad" (13). If the first depression of mourning wears off without violence to the shaman, the anger toward him passes and he is out of danger. Thus, after a man of rather high status had died both Urukumu and Wantanamu, *pancés* of sufficient power to be suspected of causing his death, both left the village, ostensibly on fishing trips, staying away until the brothers of the deceased had calmed down again.

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[753] (12) Informants readily admitted that people may be infected by others, as in the case of the common cold, which they recognize as a disease from whites but it is believed that a person who has a cold slowly gets well if no sorcery is working against him. Death is caused only by sorcery.

[192 152] (13) A Tapirapé uses the word "*iuutérahu*" to describe the condition of anger and sadness.

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755 In the midst of this process he stops several times to suck on the body of his patient and finally, with one awful heave, he spews all the accumulated material on the ground. He then searches in this mess for the intrusive object that has been causing the illness. Never once did I see a shaman show the intrusive object to observers. As one treatment a Tapirapé *pančé* usually repeats this process of "eating smoke", sucking, and vomiting several times. Sometimes, when a man of prestige is ill, two or even three shamans will cure side by side in this manner and the noise of violent vomiting resounds throughout the village.

[554]

One other method of curing was observed. During an epidemic of fever Panteri made a collective cure to drive fever out of the village and disinfect the people of the village against it. Two men were dispatched to collect wild honey; this was then mixed with water, making a weak honey mixture. Panteri, after first smoking for a time, went from house to house taking the honey mixture in his mouth and spraying it over the house and its occupants. He carefully sprayed and massaged the patients who had fever and removed the foreign substance from their bodies. For several hours he worked, spraying both the inside and outside of the houses, including the central ceremonial house of the men. It was explained that the honey alone did not have a therapeutic effect against fever but sprayed from the mouth of a *pančé* it drove away fevers.

[824]

755 775 828 Shamans also protect the Tapirapé against ghosts. All people who see ghosts faint from fright or from the white substance with which the ghost covers their body. Shamans were called to blow smoke over them and to massage this substance from their bodies. During one funeral dance the shaman Panteri "saw many ghosts" in the environs of the village, recognizing some as long-dead relatives of the deceased. By blowing tobacco smoke about and by going among the ghosts with a large mirror he drove them away before they did any harm.

756 842 82 Shamans are necessary in several other life situations other than illness. For instance, shamans are thought among the Tapirapé to control the pregnancy of women. While pregnancy is known to be related to sexual intercourse, conception is thought to take place only when a shaman "brings a child to a woman". Several species of birds,

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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756 789 nions in order to protect the gardens and even the people themselves from his violence. This four-day ceremony is the culmination of shamanistic activity among the Tapirapé and its most exotic and violent manifestation (22).

## SOCIAL POSITION OF THE SHAMAN

554 622a The Tapirapé do not have chieftains with highly centralized authority. Instead one finds among them respected individuals who are described modernly by the Tapirapé with the Portuguese term *"capitão"*. Such men of great prestige have in every instance gained the respect of their fellow tribesmen in one or more — usually at least two — of three ways.

622 554 858 First, an individual may be singled out by his parents, who must themselves be people of some prestige for especial treatment as a *čirikakántu*, a favored child (23). Parents bestow upon such a child a series of important names which in themselves carry respect and he is taught with special care the myths, songs, dances, and manual techniques of the tribe. His parents may wait upon him, bringing him water to drink and to wash himself with and preparing special foods for him. Special care is taken in oiling and painting his body and elaborate decorations are made for him to wear during the annual harvest ceremonies, for the *čirikakántu* are the central figures in part of this ceremony. Again, his body decorations are more elaborate than those of an ordinary youth when he dances during the ceremony of reaching maturity (24).

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(22) See page 84 for a detailed treatment of Thunder as a supernatural and of the Thunder Ceremony.

[616 562] (23) I use the masculine pronoun, for most *čirikakántu* are boys, although girls have been selected for this special treatment within the memory of my informants. Usually there are two mate "favored children" in the village, one from each moiety.

[114] (24) On this subject of chieftainship, I again disagree with Baldus. He reports a "chefe principal" and a "vice-chefe". He considers such offices hereditary, the oldest son of the chief becoming chief and the next oldest becoming vice-chief (*op. cit.* page 81). But I believe the impression of primogeniture was created only by the fact that important names and the position of *čirikakántu* were generally passed on by parents to their oldest child and the parents of outstanding importance

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Secondly, an individual may gain respect through being chosen as a leader of the warrior-age group of his ceremonial moiety. His companions may select him as their "walking leader" — *antá ûwa* — or as their "song leader" — *amoniká ûwa* — because of his special abilities in hunting, gardening, manual technique, singing, or dancing. It frequently happens that these chosen leaders were *čirikakántu* when they were children, for the special treatment and educational advantages given such children develop qualities of leadership. 554 561 622 [858]

The third and most important road to prestige lies in shamanism. It has been shown that the Tapirapé depend upon their shamans to control the dangerous spirit world, to remove danger from first fruits, to predict the future, to bring spirits of children to their parents, and to cure the ill. In all life situations where chance or the unpredictable figure the Tapirapé depend markedly upon their shamans. Thus the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman (25). This prestige is reflected in the concepts of a separate afterlife for shamans and in the identification of ancestral culture heroes as shamans. Informants telling of Petura, the bringer of such phenomena as fire and daylight to the Tapirapé, and of Ware, who killed so many dangerous *ančúnga*, frequently referred to them as "great shamans". While a Tapirapé layman becomes a disembodied soul at death, the afterlife of a shaman is but a continuation of his present life under ideal circumstances. His soul goes to Maratawa (26), the home of the culture heroes. This home of the privileged dead lies far to the north- 555 622 756 775 [773]

were the ones who generally produced *čirikakántu*. The man whom Baldus reported as "chefe principal" carried an important name, had been a favored child, had been a "song-leader" of his wirá, and was currently a shaman of some power, and I believe held his position because of these things and had not inherited it. Wantamanu, whom Baldus mentions as "vice-chefe", had also before his death in 1940, been a shaman and a "walking leader". [114]

(25) The unusual importance of the shaman to the Tapirapé was well put by one of my informants: "Without our *pancé*, all we Tapirapé die".

(26) If a shaman meets death by murder, his trip to Maratawa is delayed. He goes temporarily to another "home of shamans" in the west until his wounds are healed; only then does he go to Maratawa. If his skull has been crushed by a club, a new cranium of metal is made for him at this temporary residence. A "metal" cranium is obviously an introduced concept yet informants were not able to explain of what material the new cranium might have been made before metal was known to the Tapirapé.

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asked. "Stinginess" is a severe accusation among these people and to complain mildly about a high price is one way of announcing one's liberality. 577 756

Liberality is a necessary quality for a man of prestige. At the time of the annual harvest ceremonies, shamans and all other men of prestige must give gifts to all those who drink of *kauió* (27). Gift giving at this time proves their liberality and validates their prestige. At this time then there is a siphoning off of wealth from the shamans, but throughout the rest of the year fees and gifts channel it back into their hands. 431 554 756 577

## ROAD TO SHAMANISM

Among the Tapirapé, *pancés* are essentially those people who dream much and who, in their dreams, travel widely in the supernatural world, achieving familiarity with the supernatural. At the time of my visit there were six men recognized as fullfledged shamans who were called upon to treat the sick and to perform various ceremonials. Panteri and Urukumu, were the two clearly outstanding; these assumed leadership in shamanistic ceremonies and were the ones most frequently called for cures. Besides these six recognized shamans, there were four young men working to develop shamanistic power to gain recognition as shamans. 756 [787]

Within the memory of persons living in the village there had been three women shamans, but there were none, either practicing as recognized shamans or working as novices, during my visit. The women shamans were remembered as having been especially malevolent. They are supposed to dream more than the man and work much harm to the people. People who recalled the women shamans explained that when they had sung in the annual ceremony of calling and fighting Thunder they had sung the part of the music usually sung by the shamans' wives and their husbands had sung the usual men shamans' parts. The women *pancés* had smoked and fallen in trances as the male shamans do. Nothing possible to men shamans appeared to be beyond the power of the women. None of them was described as masculine in behavior; [562]

(27) See footnote 17 on p. 72.

264 [ 92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of
574 various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets.
476 These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kãũũãnõĩ, owing to
their small numbers, had joined the Ãvãinkĩ to form a single group.
All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group.
[262] There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce
and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of kará [Tr.,
a kind of yam], peanut kãũĩ, etc. Before that, there was a great
431 distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom
574 he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such
[622] as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of
this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better
[177] use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay
264 the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted to-
476 gether, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they
574 ●[554] pleased. Kamairahõ, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk
123 of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother.
We called each other "Txankanépéra," and Ampitánya, his little
[597] adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Ané Txankané-
péra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other
groups also called me "Txankanépéra," and I called them by the name
of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

264 [ 93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that
574 there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots
and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The
535 plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the
[776] good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kãũihõ and
vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness,
132 the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season
with its "good shadows," summer.

574 They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they
796 also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

224 On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tãtáupãũã of an
264 eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Ãvãinkĩ had killed
476 with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting
574 the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group.
[462] In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts

476 under the leadership of the ãntaiva of the Anantxá, Tanupantxóa and Vuĭraí. Here the Anantxá were present in larger numbers than the other groups, for they were, so to speak, the contractors of this particular apatxirũ. No division into three groups was evident, however, as the work progressed. All the Tãnãvé, Anantxá, and Vuirantxinió mixed together at random.

Tanupantxóa marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those spots without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax. [554] He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others.

Ãntaĭva of other groups were also present and working, such as Urukumĭ of the Tãnãvé and Kamairá of the Vuirantxinió. Vũãtanami' [578] had gone to his garden. As usual, he probably wanted to avoid meeting Kamairahó, whom he hated. Maninohó had stayed home. Kamairahó sat on a felled tree and watched.

[100] Each man, as soon as he felt the desire to work, chose a 313 tree for himself, as he pleased, in the vicinity of the ãntaĭva, and 476 the contest began. It did not seem to be a contest against the fellow workers, a fight to win over the others by achieving more, but a joyous contest against the timber and the big forest, against the forest as a whole, for it was not merely a matter of conquering each tree individually with the brute strength of the arms, but also a matter of strategy. First an incision in a good number of trees was made in such a way that they would all fall in the same direction when their tottering neighbor leaned against them from the opposite direction. Only then was a forest giant felled, and felled in such a way that it dragged with it to the ground its fellows weakened by the ax.

After extreme exertion for a while, each man would rest until he 461 felt like resuming his task. They were all quite diligent.

The Indian works according to a different rhythm than that followed by the men of our civilization. He does not carry out the same task every day, at a certain time and for a certain period of time, but gives himself up with all his senses and all his strength to whatever task seems to him most necessary at the moment and best suited to his creative urge. When he does this, he does not spare himself but persists in his heavy work until he is completely exhausted. For example, he gives himself to the felling of trees with such fanaticism that on the following day he can hardly get out of his hammock owing to the muscular pain. [101] As soon as he feels a little better, he carves a bow stave or weaves a basket. Suddenly, he feels a craving for

101 [16] The Tapirapé Indians live in central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a left tributary of the Araguaia located in the extreme south of the state of Pará. They speak a dialect of Tupi-Guarani, the most widespread aboriginal tongue in Brazil. In spite of a great decline in their population, they still possess a rich cultural tradition which is peculiar to them and which distinguishes them [173] from other tribes. Their customs and traditions are transmitted orally with great care from generation to generation. One of the most 881 interesting among them is the ceremony in which the youth assumes the status of a grown man. This change in status is marked by nearly all peoples. Among us, when a young man reaches the age of 21, he can vote, marry, sign documents, etc.; among many primitive groups, the youth proves that he has become an adult by undergoing torture or achieving success in the hunt.

Among the Tapirapé, this tradition is observed with a festival [302] of song and dance called "hair-tying," for henceforth the young man will wear his hair tied at the back of the neck in adult fashion. For 858 several years before the ceremony, the boy keeps his body painted [302] black with genipap, wears his hair cropped close to the head--"like a monkey," in the words of the Tapirapé-- is subjected to food restrictions, [304] and has his arms and legs scarified until they bleed so he [856] will "grow strong." When he reaches 14 or 15 years of age, his family decides that the time has come for him to become an adult.

881 At the close of the rainy season, the time of harvesting and [221] thus of plenty for the tribe, the "hair-tying" ceremony is carried out. For months beforehand, the youth allows his hair to grow until it comes [302] down to his shoulders. Meanwhile, mother and aunts weave threads [462] (cords) to adorn him, while father and uncles collect feathers with [283] which they make elaborate ornaments. All Tapirapé youths become [237] adults through this rite; the sons of important men, however, and ●[554] those who were "favorite sons" (the Tapirapé elect certain children to preferential treatment) are much more richly attired than the others. The ceremony is costly to the family, and much time is needed before-[237] hand to gather the necessary materials--macaw tail feathers, short feathers of the blue macaw and parrot, breast fluff of wild ducks, [556] cotton threads for the ornaments, and beads. All these items are [435] valuable to the Tapirapé, who gauge their own wealth in these terms.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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601 **Kinship.**—Kinship is more important in furthering solidarity among the *Tapirapé* than either the moieties or the feast groups. *Tapirapé* kin-
[182] ship is bilateral, its chief principle being that all cousins, whether cross-
[611] or parallel-cousins, no matter how distant, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of people calling each other siblings are also called siblings. Mother's sisters are called mother, and father's brothers, father. Mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, a man's brothers' children are considered his sons and daughters, and a woman's sisters' children are her children. Children of a man's sisters or a woman's brothers are given special terms.

[621] The wide inclusiveness of kinship affiliation makes it possible for an
[178] individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers—and in former days many people in other villages—by terms of close relationship.

554 An older man of some prestige gathers around him by adoption as many
581 "daughters" or as many of his wife's "daughters" as possible. By the
597 marriage of these "daughters," he attracts a group of younger men within
592 his household who contribute constantly to his larder through the hunt and garden activities. At present, only three of the nine houses in the village were formed in this way, but reduced numbers, we were told, forced various combinations of relatives to share a household.

## LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth.**—Although aware that pregnancy is brought about by sexual intercourse, the *Tapirapé* believe that conception takes place when a shaman, serving as intermediary, brings a "child spirit" to the woman. Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, and various fish and insects are supposed to contain child spirits.

843 When the woman is certain that she is pregnant, she tells her husband. They both paint their bodies with genipa and cover their hair with urucú. During the first few days of pregnancy, no restraints are imposed upon the child's parents, but as birth approaches, all sexual contact must cease.
[851] All men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers of the future child, together with the real father.

844 At childbirth the woman is assisted by her mother and sister and by two male relatives. The husband retires to his hammock and is forbidden to partake of any liquid refreshment.

847 Infanticide is practiced because it is considered bad to have more than three children, or two children of the same sex. The fourth child, or third of the same sex, of one mother is buried in a hole dug inside the residence for the afterbirth.

852 On the day after birth, a male child has his lower lip perforated. Until
304 the child is weaned, the parents must refrain from sexual relations and
851 must not eat salt, sugar, honey, or the meat of various animals and forest
262 fowls. Both boys and girls also are restricted in their meat diet. A son

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A son

and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite 554 child, being given special attention and education and being highly decor- 858 ated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life.

**Puberty.**—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over 882 the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body [302] is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip [301] plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong.

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied [302] at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation 881 for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers [292] set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, *top, left*). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance.

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual [302] relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of [582] women.

**Marriage.**—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and 621 people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antag- [578] onism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable [582] intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage mar- [574] riage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people.

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at 582 least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule.

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage [161] rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there [182] are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are [178] also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where [591] his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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115 Champuki was not the first person who came to mind when a contribution to this volume was considered. I thought of Gregorio Martin, a dignified and wise old Mayan Indian of Santiago Chimaltenango in Guatemala, who in 1937 had taught me the way of life of his people. I thought of Camirang, the dynamic young chieftain whom I had known in 1941 in a village of Tenetehara Indians along the Pindaré River in northeastern Brazil. I thought also of Nhunduca, a gifted and witty storyteller from a small Amazon community, who in 1948 introduced me to the rich folklore of the Amazon *caboclo* or peasant. But then, among all the people I had known in the various primitive and peasant cultures in which I [554] have done ethnological research, I chose Champukwi, a man of no outstanding talent, yet talented all the same—a man of not the [123] highest prestige in his society, yet admired by all. For the brief span of about a year he was my most intimate friend.

115 I knew Champukwi some 20 years ago when I lived in his small 123 village of about 175 Tapirapé Indians in central Brazil. I must have [162] seen him at once, for presents were distributed to the whole popu- [62] lation on the day of my arrival in late April of 1939. But I did not [131] distinguish Champukwi as an individual, nor did he, at first, stand out in any way from the other men of his village. His name does not appear in the notes taken during my first month among the Tapirapé.

114 For me, and even more for Valentim Gomes, the Brazilian fron- [103] tiersman who was my companion and employee, the first weeks in the Village of the Tapirs, as the small settlement was known, were a period of grappling with a strange and often confusing world.. 177 The Tapirapé Indians lived between the Araguaia and Xingú Rivers, [131] an area at that time almost entirely isolated from modern Brazil. They had been visited by only a few people from the "outside"—by one or two missionaries; by Herbert Baldus, a German-Brazilian anthropologist; and by a few frontiersmen from the Araguaia River. The nearest Brazilian settlement to the Village of the Tapirs was Furo de Pedra, a town of 400–500 persons that lay some 300 miles

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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the subject of conversation when listening to a strange language.) Then, of course, our presence was materially valuable—for the salt, knives, needles, beads, mirrors, and other presents we brought were greatly appreciated. However, within a very short time some of these people began to emerge as individuals. Awanchowa, a small boy of about 6, followed me about and literally haunted our little house, staring at our large bag of salt which he ate with the same relish children in other cultures eat sweets. Then there was Tanui, a woman of middle age (whose hair was cropped short indicating that a near relative had recently died) who often brought us presents of food. Gradually most of the villagers emerged as distinctive personalities and among them was Champukwi. I cannot remember when I first came to know him as an individual, but his name begins to appear regularly in my field notebooks about one month after our arrival. Soon, he became my best informant, and after a time, an inseparable companion.

In 1939 Champukwi must have been about 25 years of age. He was tall for a Tapirapé male, measuring perhaps about 5 feet 6 inches, strongly built but lean, and weighing, I should judge, about 150 lbs. Like all Tapirapé men he wore his hair in bangs across his forehead with a braided pigtail tied at the back of his neck. He was somewhat of a dandy, for his feet and the calves of his legs were painted bright red every evening with *rucu*. From time to time he painted an intricate design on his body, and he wore crocheted disc-like wrist ornaments of cotton string dyed red. He was obviously a man of some prestige among men of his age, for youths and younger men treated him with deference, always finding a seat for him on the bench that was built against one wall of our house. I soon learned that he, too, had spent a short period at a mission station several years earlier and that he knew a few words of Portuguese. He was married and had a daughter about 2 years of age. His wife, hardly attractive according to my American tastes, appeared to be somewhat older than he, and was pregnant when we first met.

Champukwi seemed more patient than other Tapirapé with my attempts to use his language and to seek information. He would repeat a word, a phrase, or a sentence several times so that I might write it down phonetically. He resorted to his meager Portuguese and even to mimicry to explain what was meant. His patience was of course

Secondly, an individual may gain respect through being chosen as a leader of the warrior-age group of his ceremonial moiety. His companions may select him as their "walking leader" — *antá úwa* — or as their "song leader" — *amoniká úwa* — because of his special abilities in hunting, gardening, manual technique, singing, or dancing. It frequently happens that these chosen leaders were *čirikakántu* when they were children, for the special treatment and educational advantages given such children develop qualities of leadership. 554 561 622 [858]

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4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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556 756 Aside from these non-material considerations, there is one very real factor which insures social respect to the Tapirapé shaman. Shamans are in general the wealthiest men among the Tapirapé. Although they may at times receive meat or honey for their cures or as presents for bringing the spirits of children to parents, payments to them are usually in those luxury goods that are the marks of wealth. It was readily observed that the beads and hardware which I gave as presents to the Tapirapé soon passed into the hands of shamans as payments for cures.

756 Payments to the shamans for curing the ill depend upon the seriousness of the illness and upon what the patient or his family has to offer. Frequently a shaman names his fee when his cure has been successful, asking for specific objects, for he knows full well what each family owns. Unsuccessful cures are never paid. For example, for the treatment of his sister's son and of his daughter, who were both sick at once, Kamairaho, a shaman himself, called three shamans and paid each the price that he asked. He paid one, Panteri, a machete and two strings of beads; to another, Urukumu, he gave an axe, a pocket knife, a pair of scissors, and five tail feathers of a red parrot; he gave only four strings of beads to Kamairai, who was considered a shaman of less power than the other two. Another young man with few possessions gave five arrows to a shaman who successfully treated his wife; still another paid the breast feathers from his parrot and four string of [262] beads to a shaman. When Txawaniuma killed a *paca*, the meat of [224] which is highly prized by the Tapirapé, he gave some to his companion of the hunt and divided the rest between two shamans who had treated his small daughter successfully. Neither shaman had to ask for any specific gift or payment. People often complain to others about the [577] high price they had to pay to a shaman, but generally they pay what is

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



requited by gifts of beads, hardware, and salt which I provided judiciously from time to time. After a few days, I began noting questions to be asked of Champukwi in the late afternoon when he now habitually visited our house. But this was the time that others also liked to visit. At this hour of the day our house was often crowded with men, women, children, and even pets—monkeys, parrots, and wild pigs—for which the Tapirapé along with other Brazilian tribes have an especial fondness. Such social gatherings were hardly conducive to the ethnological interview or even to the systematic recording of vocabulary. So I asked Champukwi if I might go with him to his garden. There, alternating between helping him cut brush from his garden site and sitting in the shade, I was able to conduct a kind of haphazard interview. Often, while he worked, I formulated questions in my halting Tapirapé and I was able by repetition to understand his answers. Although the Tapirapé villagers began to joke of Champukwi's new garden site as belonging to the two of us, these days were very valuable for my research.

Walking through the forest to and from Champukwi's garden, we often hunted for *jacu*, a large forest fowl rather like a chicken. I attempted to teach Champukwi how to use my .22 rifle, but he had difficulty understanding the gunsights and missed continually. He attempted to show me how to "see" the *jacu* hidden in the thick branches of the trees, but I seldom caught sight of the birds until they had flown. Thus, our complementary incapacities combined to make our hunting in the tropical forest quite unproductive, and in disgust Champukwi often resorted to his bow and arrow. Only later in the year, after he had practiced a great deal by shooting at tin cans did Champukwi master the use of the rifle, and this new-found skill greatly added to his prestige among the Tapirapé.

My abiding friendship with Champukwi perhaps really began when I came down with malaria about six weeks after our arrival. During the first few days of my illness, I was oblivious to my surroundings. I am told that while one *panché*, or medicine man, predicted my death, another tried to cure me by massage, by blowing tobacco smoke over my body, and by attempting to suck out the "object" that was causing the fever. Evidently his efforts—plus the atabrine tablets administered by Valentim Gomes—were successful, for my fever abated. I realized, however, that convalescence would be slow. Unable to leave the house for almost three weeks, I spent my days

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



24 and planting, which begins after the first light rains of October, is done
462 individually and principally by the men. Cotton and peanuts, however,
[423] are women's crops. The women plant these in their husband's garden plots and harvest them themselves. While a new garden plot is cleared each year, a particular garden plot is generally used for two years and then abandoned. A man plants such crops as maize, beans, and peppers on the plot the first year and as they are harvested, he replants the plot with manioc. Maize is harvested from the end of December through February, the season of heaviest rains; while other crops are harvested at the end of the rains in May and June.

[241] Large gardens with many different crops guarantee to the Tapi-
262 rapé a variety and abundance of garden stuff, but meat and fish are
22 definitely luxuries. People in the village could not remember a time when there had been real hunger among them, but they were frequently hungry for meat and fish. This lack in the diet is supplied by frequent trips to the near-by Tapirapé River and the grass plains that border it where fish and game, principally wild pork (*Tagassu pecari*), deer, peccary (*Tagassu tajacu*), water fowl, and tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*) are found in abundance. During the dry season these plains abound in piqui (*Caryocar villosum*), palm nuts especially andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), used for body oil — and other wild fruits.

556 Among the Tapirapé wealth is not reckoned in terms of basic sub-
435 sistance, for these goods are so easy to obtain as to be considered with little regard. The possessions that lend real distinction of wealth are such luxury articles as the breast and tail feathers of the red parrot (*Ara chloroptera?*), beads, and pieces of hardware acquired through contact with white men or trading with other Indians. These goods are accordingly the most valued media of exchange in the community. Other goods used for a medium of exchange were urucú (*Bixa orellana*), tobacco, extra hammocks, decorated gourds, string for binding feathers to arrows, and cane arrow shafts.

361 The houses of a Tapirapé village form a circle around a great central ceremonial men's house. There are nine of these large thatch dwellings with rounded ends in the modern Tapirapé village: four to eight simple
591 families (father, mother, and children) share a house. Each simple family
592 has a section of the unpartitioned house where they lead a domestic life separate from the others. Residence is matrilocal and the women of such a household are ideally related by kinship; yet each large household has

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SP22 Tapirape SP22



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101 [16] The Tapirapé Indians live in central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a left tributary of the Araguaia located in the extreme south of the state of Pará. They speak a dialect of Tupi-Guarani, the most widespread aboriginal tongue in Brazil. In spite of a great decline in their population, they still possess a rich cultural tradition which is peculiar to them and which distinguishes them [173] from other tribes. Their customs and traditions are transmitted orally with great care from generation to generation. One of the most 881 interesting among them is the ceremony in which the youth assumes the status of a grown man. This change in status is marked by nearly all peoples. Among us, when a young man reaches the age of 21, he can vote, marry, sign documents, etc.; among many primitive groups, the youth proves that he has become an adult by undergoing torture or achieving success in the hunt.

Among the Tapirapé, this tradition is observed with a festival [302] of song and dance called "hair-tying," for henceforth the young man will wear his hair tied at the back of the neck in adult fashion. For 858 several years before the ceremony, the boy keeps his body painted [302] black with genipap, wears his hair cropped close to the head--"like a monkey," in the words of the Tapirapé-- is subjected to food restrictions, [304] and has his arms and legs scarified until they bleed so he [856] will "grow strong." When he reaches 14 or 15 years of age, his family decides that the time has come for him to become an adult.

881 At the close of the rainy season, the time of harvesting and [221] thus of plenty for the tribe, the "hair-tying" ceremony is carried out. For months beforehand, the youth allows his hair to grow until it comes [302] down to his shoulders. Meanwhile, mother and aunts weave threads [462] (cords) to adorn him, while father and uncles collect feathers with [283] which they make elaborate ornaments. All Tapirapé youths become [237] adults through this rite; the sons of important men, however, and [554] those who were "favorite sons" (the Tapirapé elect certain children to preferential treatment) are much more richly attired than the others. The ceremony is costly to the family, and much time is needed beforehand to gather the necessary materials--macaw tail feathers, short [237] feathers of the blue macaw and parrot, breast fluff of wild ducks, cotton threads for the ornaments, and beads. All these items are [556] [435] valuable to the Tapirapé, who gauge their own wealth in these terms.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



115

not at once offered coffee, he left offended. But the very next day he [123] might return, gay and joking, yet without his former patience for teaching or explaining Tapirapé culture. Once he returned tired from a hunting trip, and, irritated by his wife, he beat her with the flat [593] side of his bushknife and marched off in anger, thoughtfully taking the family hammock and a basket of manioc flour, to sleep four 115 nights in the forest near his garden. Soon afterwards, he left his 578 wife to take the wife of a younger man. This did not become a [837] major scandal in the village. After some tense yet calm words be- [591] tween the two men, it seemed clear that the young woman preferred [627] Champukwi and the abandoned husband peacefully moved into the men's house. Champukwi's former wife and their two young daugh- [586] ters continued to live with her relatives as is the Tapirapé rule. But [602] the switch of spouses caused tension between Champukwi and his former wife's kinsmen, and between Champukwi and the abandoned husband's kinsmen; and, to multiply his woes, he now had a new set of in-laws to satisfy. For about a month thereafter I rarely saw [123] Champukwi; he obviously avoided our house. When we met in the village or in the men's house, he simply said that he was busy repairing his house or hunting.

Discussing emotions with someone from a culture as widely dif- 115 ferent as Tapirapé is from my own was difficult, and the language 123 barrier was still a real one. Although my Tapirapé vocabulary was 154 increasing, it was hardly adequate to probe deeply into emotional [122] responses; nor was Champukwi given to introspection. I shall probably never fully understand Champukwi's temporary rejection of me, but the cause was probably both sociological and psychological. First, his apparent influence with me and our close friendship had [578] created antagonism on the part of other villagers. By rejecting the outsider, he now hoped to reinstate himself in his own society. A [558] second, deeper and more personal reason, contributed to his rejection of me; he had told me too much about himself, and feared that he had lost face in the process. Also, it was obvious that I was growing less dependent upon him for knowledge as my facility with the language improved and my information about the culture grew. Finally, the rejection was not one-sided. Now additional informants were desirable for my research. Also, if I remember correctly (it is not stated in my notebooks), I was annoyed by Champukwi's neglect and disappointed by his lack of loyalty.

171 We may say of the children of that village on the isle of
865 Bananal, of Tampiitaua, and of many other Brazilian Indian communities, what Fernão Cardim (175) wrote with reference to the Tupinambá: "...the boys are cheerful and given to frolic and play with much gentleness and friendship, for among them no evil words are heard, no [127:236] indecencies, nor do they call their fathers and mothers names, and rarely do they disagree as they play, or quarrel about anything, hit each other, or do battle..." Modern authors also speak of the pleasant children they found among South American Indians (cf., for example, Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 147). Small children of both sexes, up to
192 about five years of age, are called antaí in Tapirapé. In
561 Stradelli's Nheengatú vocabulary (656), we find the following
858 entry: "Taína, 'child.' Name applied to both sexes during the
171 first years of life, until they begin to walk and talk, are given a name, and begin to specialize in their respective tasks, at which point the boy becomes curumi and girl cunhantaí." Aside from these terms, the Tapirapé use ampyki for the small boy and pityngí for the little girl. Yves d'Evreux (86), dealing with the age "levels" among the Tupinambá of Maranhão, writes as follows: "The first level, assumed to be common to males and females as they come out of their mother's womb, is called Peitan..." [translated from French]. In Montoya we read (2, 384): "A girl, or a boy up to age three, Mitang" [translated from Spanish].

From about six to around 12, that is, until the girl's first menstruation and the beginning of the boy's puberty, the Tapirapé call the former kutantaí and the latter ekonomî. Montoya (2, I, 383 and 377) gives Cuña taî for a "girl up to 10 years" and Cunumí for a "youth."

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



The men's moieties form the basis for Tapirape ceremonial 178
and for cooperative gardening and hunting. Each moiety is 561
divided into three age grades. Thus, in the village, there are two 616
groups of "boys" and "youths" (up to sixteen years of age), two 161
of mature men or "warriors" (up to approximately 45), and two groups of "older men." Really old and inactive men give up moiety activity and have no affiliation. A boy belongs automatically to the moiety of his father and formerly he progressed through the three age grades of that moiety. All ceremonies involve the moiety age grades, which dance against each other, race against each other, and give reciprocal feast exchanges. Cooperative hunts and clearing of the forest likewise involve reciprocal activities. However, with the great loss of population, and especially a loss of men of the oldest age group, this organization was thrown out of balance. In order to continue ceremonial life, several youths, who were spoken of as "lazy" and who were not capable hunters or workers, passed into the "older men's" age groups, in which there is little active cooperative hunting and gardening, in order to give those groups sufficient numbers for ceremonial activity. This rapid passing from boys' age grade to that of older men has influenced native thought in two ways:—First, young men are losing the idea of automatic progression through the three age grades, and there is a tendency now to think that the better young men become "warriors," while less capable ones pass rapidly to the older men's group. Second, the 554
older men's age grades, formerly the groups of highest prestige, tend to be looked on with little favor, and only those individuals are thought of with respect who have status for other reasons.

Depopulation has also affected the second Tapirape social 178
grouping—the feast groups. These are made up of all men and 571
women. They are matrilocal for women and patrilocal for men. 574
These feast groups meet periodically during the dry season for 161
ceremonial meals. At present, three of the original ten feast groups have disappeared because of lack of members.

Chieftainship has changed under the influence of both depop- 178
ulation and the sporadic contacts with Brazilians. All men of 622
161

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



a male leader, a man of prestige, who is usually the husband of one the older women of the female kinship group. Apart from these residential groupings, the Tapirapé are divided in two other ways. 591 592

First, all Tapirapé men belong to one of the two patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties (2) and each moiety is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths, two groups of adult men of warrior age, and two groups of older men. Each of these groups bears the name of a mythical bird, the word *wirã* — bird — itself being used as the generic name for the groups. These *wirã* function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites; parallel groups also dance against one another in the ceremonials and offer reciprocal feasts to each other. The warrior-age group of each of these moieties has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and other communal work and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. 561 616 [476] [535] [574]

Both men and women of the Tapirapé are also divided into eight "feasting" groups called *tãtáupawã* — literally "fire all to eat" (3). Men belong to their father's feasting group and women to their mother's. Feasting groups are not only non-exogamic but people prefer to marry with their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry names of the mythological heads of the legendary original eight households of the first Tapirapé village. On occasion during the dry season the feast groups meet at sunset on the dance plaza for a ceremonial feast, each member bringing his or her contribution to the common meal (4). 574 571 582 [773]

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(2) Baldus (*op. cit.* pp. 95-98) did not recognize these *wirã* groups as age groups of men's ceremonial moieties. He calls them *grupos de trabalho* (work groups). He reports three wirã groups among the adult men and writes that formerly there had been three corresponding groups among the boys of the tribe. Nowadays the Tapirapé are so few that lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's *wirã* group in order to give the necessary balance for ceremonials. This presents the picture of several groups of equal ages; thus accounting, perhaps, for the divergence of opinion on this subject. Careful checking with informants, and observation of dances, hunts, races and wrestling matches when Tapirapé men were grouped according to moiety divisions led me to the definite conviction that these are age grouping of men's ceremonial moieties as described above. [314]

(3) Baldus (*op. cit.*, p. 90).

(4) Baldus calls the tãtáupáwã "grupos de comer" (eating groups). He reports seven feast groups functioning in 1937. He vividly describes a ceremonial meal on pages 91 to 95 of his work already cited.

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9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



776 and in myth the sun is called Ancerika and the moon Tamparawa, both
821 names of people. According to the Tapirape, the moon is sister to the sun
773 and is married to Anchopeteri, a culture hero who was instrumental in
776 dividing all birds into two groups,[11] and who taught Tapirape how to
821 wrestle and sing many songs. Because of sexual misbehavior, Sun is said to have slapped Moon full in the face with his hand which was wet with black *genipa* dye, thus the marks on the face of the moon are explained.

Two large planets were formerly Tapirape culture bearers. Apuwenonu[12] (Venus) came down from the sky one night after having watched Anuntero, a Tapirape woman, for a long time, and lived with the Tapirape. At night he was a young man, husband of Anuntero, but by day he appeared to people as a decrepit old man. He taught Anuntero how to plant cotton and how to spin. He taught the Tapirape[13] how to plant their modern garden products, maize, manioc, *caru*, yams. Finally Apuwenonu returned to the sky, taking with him his earthly son by Anuntero who is called Imauawango (Jupiter). Today, the Tapirape point to these two planets, recounting their story and saying, "Apuwenonu is young at night when he is in the sky, but by day he is old again as he was when he left us."

Many other constellations are known, but of importance in story are
821 possibly only that called by the Tapirape "the jaguar,"[14] and the Pleiades.[15]
787 One shaman told me that he had travelled (in dreams) to visit this jaguar. He was "friendly" with it, he said, and if he should be killed, the jaguar of the sky would send many real jaguars to prey upon the Tapirape. "Men would be afraid to step into the forest at night." The jaguar had become one of his retinue of familiar powers which would aid him in struggles with other shamans.

821 The Pleiades are important calendrically. They are watched anxiously
805 and impatiently as the rains diminish, and their disappearance over the
796 western horizon in May signals the end of the rains. This is the time for

[616] [11] At the present time men's moieties are divided into three age grades. Each age grade of
[561] each moiety carries the name of a bird: one being species of small *papagaio*, and the other
[825] species of white water birds. According to myth, these groups derived from similar divisions of the bird world in which Anchopeteri lived.

[12] This is probably identical with Monan (or Maire-monan, according to Métraux), civil-
[171] izing god of Tupinamba, who created earth, people, birds and animals, and finally taught the Tupinamba to distinguish useful plants. He was put to death by men, at which time he was transformed into a star "with two of his companions." Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 11.

[13] One text calls them Karajuntuwera (pre-Tapirape) at this time (see p. 254).

[14] Ancient Guarani said that there was a very large tiger or dog which on certain occasions
[171] ate the sun and moon, causing an eclipse. Apapocuva-Guarani speak of a celestial jaguar; and the Chane from Chiriguano explain the eclipse in this same manner. Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 50.

[15] "Les Pleiades paraissaient avoir été chez les Tupinama l'objet de croyances particulières.
[171] Ils avaient notamment la conviction qu'elles favorisaient la croissance du manioc." Métraux, Réligion des Tupinamba, p. 51.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara SO 6



Ta 262 Te 262 168 "hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is (and was in the past) just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size. Ta 168 183 262 Population control among the Tapirapé seems no to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

Ta 161 168 182 [165] This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new disease for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families were not large enough to replace the adult population. Te 161 168 182 [165] The less rigid population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Te Ta 596 591 612 Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. Ta 616 561 The Tapirapé, on the other hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial moieties limited to men. Each moiety was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Ta 476 264 574 616 [796] [535] Second, both men and women among the Tapirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's moieties and age grades and the "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic prodution and distribuition. The masked dances with impersonation of

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara S06



forest spirits performed by the men during the dry season were a function of the men's moieties. The "Feast Groups" met at intervals during the dry seasons at their traditional stations in the central plaza for ceremonial meals. At such times, as Herbert Baldus has shown, these "Feast Groups" functioned as a mechanism for food distribution in a season when more food was available than a family would normally consume. (7) The "Feast Groups" sometimes formed to collect honey and to hunt. The age grades of the men's moieties also frequently acted together economically; they organized work parties for clearing of large garden sites and they went out on large cooperative hunts after herds of wild pigs.

In aboriginal Tapirapé society ceremonial life and many important cooperative subsistence acticities were based upon this balanced set of associations. A Tapirapé village in order to assure adequate representation in the various age grades of the men's moieties as well as in the "Feast Groups" by necessity had to consist of about 200 people or more. A small village of fifty to a hundred people, for example, would not have provided sufficient number of males of the proper ages to allow the age graded moieties to carry out their ceremonials nor to organize their cooperative subsistence activities. Tapirapé village organization was therefore not conducive to a process of "splitting off" of groups from one village to form another. The size of Tapirapé villages was limited by their tecnological equipment within their tropical forest environment yet the social structure made the formation of numerous small villages difficult. In contrast, the less formalized social structure of the Tenetehara allowed for villages of varying size within the limits of their ecological adjustment. Extended family groups easily might break off from a larger village to form a new settlement fully able to carry out the cooperative economic activities and even ceremonials of the society. This process is constantly occurring in contemporary Tenetehara society. When tensions arise between extended families, one group simply splits off from the parent village to join another or to form a separate village without serious effects on the ceremonial or economic system. Tenetehara social structure offered a favorable condition for an expanding population after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected population.

Tapirapé social structure seems also to have been more vulnerable to disorganization in face of a rapid change in population size. Rapid depopulation after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected the normal functioning of their highly segmented and balanced social structure. By 1940, the lack of men had thrown the system of reciprocal and competitive activities of the men's age-graded moieties out of balance. There were not enough men of the "older" age-grade of either moiety nor of the young men "warrior" age-grade of one moiety to form functioning units to reciprocate in cooperative garden clearing and to participate in group hunts. Several of the "Feast Groups" had been disbanded for lack of numbers

(7) Baldus (1937) p. 88 ff.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



**Weapons.**—Bows have a circular cross section and average about 6 feet (2 m.) in length. The arrows are of cane about 5 feet (1.6 m.) long with heads of bone, hardwood, and the spur from the sting ray (*Potamotyrgon histrix*). They have brilliant feathers, sometimes the red and blue feathers of the red macaw. Clubs are made of several polished hardwoods and are sometimes decorated near the handles with woven strands of cane fibers. 411

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Three distinct social groupings are basic in *Tapirapé* social organization: men's ceremonial moieties, feast societies, and the kinship groups. 561 616

**Ceremonial moieties.**—All *Tapirapé* men belong to one of the patrilineal ceremonial moieties. Each of these moieties is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths (those up to 15 years of age); two groups of men of warrior age (15 to 40 years); and two groups of older men (40 to 60 years). Each group bears the name of a bird, the word "wirã" (bird) being the generic name for the group. These age groups (Baldus, 1937, p. 96, calls them "work groups") function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites at the cooperative work festival; parallel groups also dance against each other in various ceremonials and reciprocally feast each other. Each moiety owns half of the men's house, and its portion is subdivided into sections owned by the three age grades. The warrior age group of each moiety has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and communal work, and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. As a man becomes elderly, he entirely drops out of the "bird" groups and is no longer affiliated, as he cannot take part in their economic and ceremonial activities. At present, the *Tapirapé* are so reduced in number that, lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's age grade in order to retain the necessary balance for ceremonials. [345] [423]

**Feast groups.**—Both men and women are divided into eight feasting groups called tãtáupawã (literally, "fire all to eat") Men belong to their fathers' feast group and women to their mothers'. Feast groups are not only nonexogamic, but people prefer to marry within their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry the names of the mythological heads of the original eight households of the first *Tapirapé* village. They unite at various times throughout the year for ceremonial meals. The feasts take place at traditional spots in the village plaza, at times when there is an abundance of honey, maize, or meat from the hunt. Each member brings his contribution. Baldus (1937, p. 88) calls these "eating groups," and emphasizes that they are consumers' groups providing a means of distributing food when more is available than a family can eat. Today only six groups meet for feasts, two being extinct for lack of members. 574 264 [582]

291 (cf. Photos. 5, 25, 69). This may corroborate the conjecture of
[114] the evolutionist Von den Steinen (2, 192) that the waist cord for-
[174] merly had the function of the penis sheath. Among present-day
Tapirapé this cord may be regarded, along with the tembetá, as
[482] a prerogative of the males. It is rarely used to carry [105:88]
[412] things. Occasionally they will hang a comb from it, or in recent
times a pair of scissors as well.

Dr. Charles Wagley told me that in 1939 he found straps for
114 carrying children that were worn by the Tapirapé women over the
854 shoulder and across the chest. In 1937, Dominican missionaries
177 had gone up the Tapirapé River with large quantities of fabrics.
The straps were made of those fabrics. It is interesting to note
that in 1935 there were no such objects in existence. It is inter-
esting because it would have been possible to carry the children
in small hammocks. Furthermore, I had given away many pieces
of cloth which could have been used as straps for carrying children.
[171] Such straps not only are used by the neighboring Kayapó (Krause,
2, 394) but are also a typical cultural trait of the Tupí Indians.
[Ed., two sentences are omitted.] It is worth noting, however,
that straps for carrying children are not used by the eastern neigh-
bors of the Tapirapé, that is to say, the Karajá (Krause 2, 276
and Plates 12, 37, and 42).

In the case of the Tapirapé, it was apparently the numerous
pieces of fabric brought by the Dominicans in 1937 that played a
decisive role in the introduction of straps for carrying children. In
291 1935, all the fabrics and cloth articles coming from our factories
177 had a merely decorative function among those Indians. The men
●[562] alone used them, since most adornments are prerogatives of their
[301] sex and such impressive ornaments as those made of feathers and
claws are worn only by them. Kamairahó, the most important
chief, liked best of all to wear a red dress which his wife had re-
ceived as a gift. Thus, the aim the giver had in mind, probably
inspired by catechizing hopes, was missed entirely for the lady
remained altogether naked while her husband was covered down to
177 the knees and below. It is worth noting, however, that in the even-
29 ing, when Kamairahó retired, he would undress and carefully fold
513 the garment. Thus, at an hour when every protection against the
mosquitoes and the cold would have seemed to me exceedingly

114 Nheêngatu [Tr., the native name for Tupi, meaning "good lan-
171 guage"] language recorded by Stradelli (694) has uapikasaua or
352 uapikatyua for "bench," and uapikauá for the person sitting on it.
192 Claude d'Abbeville (308) mentions among the Tupinambá of Maranhão "very nice little stools which they call Apouycaue" [translated from French].

As far as the function of these benches is concerned, we
171 must take into account the observation relayed by Krause (loc.
352 cit.) that among the Karajá "they are only for the chiefs," and
554 the note by Von den Steinen (2, 287) that there are not many specimens in existence among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin, but that they are always found in the chiefs' houses where they are offered to guests. (This latter observation is confirmed by Meyer 1, 63.)

Kamairahó was the owner of the stool in Tampiitaua. This man was the most important leader among the Tapirapé, and wherever he went there went the wooden seat as though it were a badge of distinction. Kamairahó took it and sat on the Tampiitaua plaza or outside the village before the little house built and inhabited by my companion Kegel and our camarada Daniel. Only when he was in his own house would he place the stool against the wall close to his net and sit or lie in the latter.
[574] As among the Xingu tribes, this "ceremonial seat" was also offered to guests among the Tapirapé. I never sat on it alone, however. Since two people could sit on it at once if they pressed very close together, Kamairahó never granted me more than half his throne. In order to do this, he could not merely move over to the side. He had to stand up and establish with me a complete harmony of movement. For although the horizontal board of the seat was large enough for both of us, the central support, like that of the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause, was so small, dwindling further toward the ground, that we had to take over our respective halves with the most rigorous synchronization to avoid tipping the seat over and either hitting the floor or being hit in the buttocks by the bench.

Kamairahó and I frequently spent the early hours of the night
516 in such equipoise, while beside [111:115] and before us the other
562 men and boys sat on a tree trunk and the women and girls sat

516 directly upon the ground. Actually, the manner of sitting is
362 one of the cultural traits in which the sexes are radically differ-
entiated among the Tapirapé. A woman, when she is not sitting
in her hammock, sits on the ground without previously covering
it, and only exceptionally does she sit on a tree trunk beside
[834] her husband (cf. Photo. 58). She always hides her sexual organs,
however, either by covering them with the hand or with a leg
folded against the body while the other leg is stretched out (Photo.
59) or by crossing her legs (Photos. 11 and 32). When she wields
the pestle and kneels to hold the mortar between her knees, this
object hides, up to a point, her sexual organs (Baldus 7, Fig.
31). The men usually sit with open legs and cover the ground
with a mat (Photo. 53) or a piece of cloth (Photo. 63), when
they do not squat (Photo. 39) or sit on a tree trunk (Photo. 61).
When several of them sit on the same trunk, they prefer to press
close together rather than to leave space between them. When
eating at home, the husband eases himself into the net while the
woman sits before him on the floor. [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

171 The Tapirapé resemble the majority of Brazilian tribes in not
354 having any special implements to light up their houses, but mere-
ly relying at night on the weak flames of their fires for the pur-
pose.

I did not witness the making of fire among the Tapirapé, for
372 they never allowed it to go out and carried burning sticks with
171 them on their journeys. In Wagley's collection at the National
Museum [Río de Janeiro], however, there are fire drills to indi-
cate that this tribe, whenever necessary, makes fire by the process
used in all [111:116] Brazilian tribes and already described and
reproduced in Hans Staden's woodcuts (p 3), that is to say, by
twirling between the open hands a rod resting perpendicularly on a
piece of wood.

To kindle the fire, the Tapirapé use fans which are made, as
in a number of Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 101), of plaited palm
leaves. The Tupinambá also had fans for this purpose, as is shown
in one of Staden's woodcuts (t 1).

When the inhabitants of Tampiitaua leave the house at night
[514] to answer the calls of nature, they light their way with a burning
stick which they wave about constantly to prevent the fire from
dying out. Adalbert, Prince of Prussia (679), when he traveled in

171 262 784 10. [Ed., the first two sentences are omitted.] Whenever I told the Tapirapé that among other tribes the woman would become ill or even die if she were to eat of the animals whose flesh is forbidden to her, I was told that it would not harm a Tapirapé woman to eat the animals whose flesh, as a rule, is eaten only by men. According to Kamairahó, a woman will not eat of such flesh of her own accord. This means that in this case the abstentions are not connected with the supernatural. Actually, the mammals, birds, reptiles, and fish regarded as most delicious, not only by the Tapirapé but by most other Indians and also by the Whites, are all eaten by the women of this Tupi tribe, while as a rule the animals they do not eat are those that are not prized by us either. Although it may be hazardous to look for a relationship [562] between the concept of the edible and the social status of the sexes, it is appropriate to mention: (a) among the Chamakoko the woman plays a predominant role (Baldus 1, 64); (b) Tapirapé culture, in its essential traits, reveals a male preponderance; (c) important aspects of Kaingang culture disclose an equality between the sexes.

171 262 11. As far as the concept of the edible is concerned, age has less importance than sex among the Tapirapé and Cherente, while it has very little importance among the Kaingang and none among the Karajá. When listing the animals eaten exclusively by males, the Tapirapé mentioned for the most part that only "men" eat them, specifying in two cases (the common ani, No. 74, and the guira cuckoo, No. 75) that "men and boys" eat them, and stating about the rest that "men do, boys don't." According to this, the animals eaten only by "grown men" are: the small anteater (No. 4), the tapiti (No. 6), the serelepe (No. 11), the capybara (No. 16), the jabiru (No. 47), the owl (No. 60), the woodpecker (No. 62), the kingfisher (No. 64), the swallow (No. 66), the potoo (No. 67), the macaws and parrots (Nos. 69-71), the oriole (No. 78), the jay (No. 79), the japu (No. 80), the iguana (No. 90), the frog (No. 100), and the horned frog (No. 102). Concerning the hoatzin (No. 61), the Tapirapé stated that only the old people eat it, and concerning the motmot (No. 63), they said that this bird is eaten exclusively by adults. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

12. The animals not eaten by any Tapirapé are: the bat (No. 1), the white porpoise (No. 17), the wild dog (No. 18), the river

776 Some of these demons of the forest are now "pets" of the Tapirapé, and are no longer dangerous to them. The comparatively harmless *ančúnga*, in a sense domesticated by Tapirapé men, come at intervals throughout the year to live in the large central men's house. While an [535] *ančúnga* is inhabiting this ceremonial house, Tapirapé men sing and [532] dance with masks representing the visiting spirit (7).

756 Knowledge of the supernatural world is gained chiefly through the 787 dream experiences of shamans or *pančé*, for among the Tapirapé shamanistic power derives from dreams and from powers revealed in them. [974] Dreams are believed to be journeys. The *iungá*, the soul, may free itself [928] from the *eté*, the body, in sleep, and move freely in time and space. Obviously anyone may dream but frequent dreaming is evidence of shamanistic power. Laymen who dream very much are afraid, for they do not belong in this supernatural world, or they believe that they should become shamans.

Campukwi, who was not a shaman, indicated this fear in telling me his dream experience. When he saw dangerous *ančúnga* in his dream, he had no recourse but to run : "I am not a shaman. I was afraid. I ran. They would have killed me". Only shamans have the supernatural power to move freely in this dream-world of ghosts and demons. A shaman is never afraid in his dream travels, for ghosts are his friends and the power of a shaman grows in proportion as he fraternizes with the demonic spirits of the forest. After a dream-visit from a shaman, breeds of demonic spirits may become his familiars, obedient to his calls for aid. Turning himself into a bird or launching himself through the air in his "canoe" a half gourd, he travels to the villages of ghosts, to the houses of demonic spirits, or to such temporal places as the Brazilian settlements or Carajá villages on the Araguaya River. Then, too, time is no obstacle; in a sleep of a few minutes he may experience three or four days of dream adventure.

756 The dream experience of Ikanancowi, a powerful shaman who died 776 a few years before my visit, will illustrate these points. In his dream he 787 walked far to the shores of a large lake deep in the jungle. There he heard dogs barking and ran in the direction from which the noise came until he met several forest spirits of the breed called *munpi anká*. They

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[977] (7) The men's masked dance cult, kept as a secret from the women, is not [563] generally found among Tupi tribes. In this case it has obviously been borrowed from [744] the Tapirapé's neighbors, the Carajá.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



The eight living men (*marántzunkanera* or "killers") who had killed *pančés* attest to the frequency of revenge killing of shamans because of suspected sorcery. Within the memory of one informant, Kamairá, who was approximately forty years old, ten shamans had been killed (14). During his youth he had killed a shaman, *Pančewáni*, because he believed him responsible for his younger brother's death. Going to the shaman's house the second night after his brother's death, Kamairá found the shaman asleep and killed him with several arrows through the abdomen. According to various informants, the epidemic of deaths that had been occuring then came to a halt, thus proving *Pančewáni*'s guilt. In another case the killer hid in the forest and shot the suspected shaman as he passed on his way to his garden: still another shaman was clubbed to death as he sat with his family in the village plaza. Two living "killers" had murdered women shamans by clubbing them to death. *Kučanančé* (*kučan*, woman; *pančé*, shaman) generally die by violence, according to informants: women shamans "are dangerous". They dream more than men [shamans] and they kill many Tapirapé [in dreams]", said one man. Ironically, all three of the more powerful shamans living today, at least two of whom are currently in danger because they are considered powerful enough to be suspected of "evil dreaming", murdered shamans during their youth (15).

683 [756 562]

Informants could not remember any one occasion when a shaman thus murdered was avenged by his relatives; yet informants did say that a shaman with several adult brothers — true siblings — strong enough

593 683 756

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(14) The span of this man's life has seen the tremendous depopulation of the Tapirapé from imported diseases; thus it represents an abnormal period with more than the usual number of deaths and perhaps, therefore, an unusual number of revenge murders of shamans. [161]

(15) As I write this paper, a letter comes from Valentim Gomes, my guide, and companion during both trips to the Tapirapé. I quote in part this letter translated from Portuguese: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the twenty-sixth of July [1941]. They were all in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, etc. — There were few hamaca".

"But I am sorry to say that after we left them [in May, 1940] twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Campukwi, the best informant in the village. Also Urukumu had been killed by the young Tapirapé I called Antonio". (During my stay the Tapirapé had several times spoken of the necessity of liquidating Urukumu and several had predicted that it would occur). [165]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



756 sions in order to protect the gardens and even the people themselves
784 from his violence. This four-day ceremony is the culmination of shamanistic activity among the Tapirapé and its most exotic and violent manifestation (22).

## SOCIAL POSITION OF THE SHAMAN

554 The Tapirapé do not have chieftains with highly centralized autho-
622 rity. Instead one finds among them respected individuals who are described modernly by the Tapirapé with the Portuguese term "*capitão*". Such men of great prestige have in every instance gained the respect of their fellow tribesmen in one or more — usually at least two — of three ways.

622 First, an individual may be singled out by his parents, who must
554 themselves be people of some prestige for especial treatment as a *čirikakántu*, a favored child (23). Parents bestow upon such a child a series
858 of important names which in themselves carry respect and he is taught with special care the myths, songs, dances, and manual techniques of the tribe. His parents may wait upon him, bringing him water to drink and to wash himself with and preparing special foods for him. Special care is taken in oiling and painting his body and elaborate decorations are made for him to wear during the annual harvest ceremonies, for the *čirikakántu* are the central figures in part of this ceremony. Again, his body decorations are more elaborate than those of an ordinary youth when he dances during the ceremony of reaching maturity (24).

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(22) See page 84 for a detailed treatment of Thunder as a supernatural and of the Thunder Ceremony.

[616 (23) I use the masculine pronoun, for most čirikakántu are boys, although
562] girls have been selected for this special treatment within the memory of my informants. Usually there are two male "favored children" in the village, one from each moiety.

[314] (24) On this subject of chieftainship, I again disagree with Baldus. He reports a "*chefe principal*" and a "vice-chefe". He considers such offices hereditary, the oldest son of the chief becoming chief and the next oldest becoming vice-chief (*op. cit.*, page 81). But I believe the impression of primogeniture was created only by the fact that important names and the position of čirikakántu were generally passed on by parents to their oldest child and the parents of outstanding importance

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



asked. "Stinginess" is a severe accusation among these people and to complain mildly about a high price is one way of announcing one's liberality. 577 756

Liberality is a necessary quality for a man of prestige. At the time of the annual harvest ceremonies, shamans and all other men of prestige must give gifts to all those who drink of *kauió* (27). Gift giving at this time proves their liberality and validates their prestige. At this time then there is a siphoning off of wealth from the shamans, but throughout the rest of the year fees and gifts channel it back into their hands. 431 554 756 577

## ROAD TO SHAMANISM

Among the Tapirapé, *pancés* are essentially those people who dream much and who, in their dreams, travel widely in the supernatural world, achieving familiarity with the supernatural. At the time of my visit there were six men recognized as fullfledged shamans who were called upon to treat the sick and to perform various ceremonials. Panteri and Urukumu, were the two clearly outstanding; these assumed leadership in shamanistic ceremonies and were the ones most frequently called for cures. Besides these six recognized shamans, there were four young men working to develop shamanistic power to gain recognition as shamans. 956 [987]

Within the memory of persons living in the village there had been three women shamans, but there were none, either practicing as recognized shamans or working as novices, during my visit. The women shamans were remembered as having been especially malevolent. They are supposed to dream more than the man and work much harm to the people. People who recalled the women shamans explained that when they had sung in the annual ceremony of calling and fighting Thunder they had sung the part of the music usually sung by the shamans' wives and their husbands had sung the usual men shamans' parts. The women *pancés* had smoked and fallen in trances as the male shamans do. Nothing possible to men shamans appeared to be beyond the power of the women. None of them was described as masculine in behavior; [562]

(27) See footnote 17 on p. 72.

such as the head and legs, which they gave to those members of their family who did not belong to the same eating group.

The feasting had already begun before the sun was up. In the takána, the large dance house, which is essentially a men's house and thus as a rule not visited by women, the Ãvãinkĩ of both sexes sat [94] on straw mats stretched for the purpose around large pots containing the roasted pig. The animal was cut up in such a way that the pieces could easily be held in the hand.

When I appeared, they all graciously invited me to help myself. I declined, stating that I was a Txankanépéra, and in view of this they did not insist further.

Naturally, members of other eating groups may ask the feast participants for a piece. Custom, however, demands that they withdraw after receiving what they requested. Only members of the same group may sit in the circle surrounding the pots. As a rule, however, a member of another group does not come to the people who are feasting and ask for a piece.

In any case, I did not want to carry my pride in being a Txankanépéra too far, and therefore I accepted the invitation of a special friend, Vuãnomantxĩ, whose wife had prepared the bulk of the food for the Ãvãinkĩ and thus earned the pig's head for her family. While she sat with her group-fellows in the takána, her husband and son, and a few other persons who were not relatives but who belonged to the family, so to speak, because they were the only other occupants of the small hut, lay across their hammocks and chewed contentedly. When I came in, Vuãnomantxĩ tore from the pig's head the piece that he considered the best and offered it to me. I began to chew on it, and this required much fortitude because the meat was very tough. [95] When my chin began to hurt badly and I was certain that I had swallowed enough of those awful bites, I craved a bonus and asked for the brains. My friend smiled--he always had a friendly smile for me, thoroughly joyous and relaxed--and gave me to understand that my tastes were not inferior to those of the most illustrious Tapirapé. Then, with his athletic strength, he broke open the skull, handed me the bulk of the brains, and stuffed the rest into his mouth.

Before the sun was up, only the pig's bones remained in Vuãnomantxĩ's house and in the takána.

Aside from the tatãupãũã, there is another institution which also involves eating in hereditary groups. It is called apatxirã. Its purpose,

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



against the supposed menace and to kill the shaman who is suspected of having become an evil sorcerer.

Though, also as regards the institution of shamanism, fear works out as a factor of socialization by exorcising the dangers to the tribal life, we cannot say the same about the fear which produces in many Tapirapé a disposition to adapt themselves complacently to the white man. During my stay in 1935, in the village called Tampiitawa, I could distinguish clearly between the great group of timorous people led by Kamairahó who received with open arms all that came from our civilization, and a smaller group composed of decided and valorous people who didn't want anything to do with us. So there were two opposite trends in their "foreign policy" and consequently germs of tribal disintegration.

Of the direct causes of fear I want to mention the following: The Tapirapé were alarmed by my fury when I saw a man whipping his wife. To relate this case seems to confuse a most ethnocentric and therefore in no way ethnological behaviour. But I think that in order to be an ethnologist it is necessary to be able not to be an ethnologist in certain situations. At noon on July 15 I see that behind the house in which I was living with Kamairahó and thirty other Indians, the athletic Inamorého, nearly twenty-two years old, is beating a woman. With a cane and the blade of his bush-knife he is whipping his wife. She is so small and tender that she seems to be a child in spite of being perhaps twenty years old. I run towards the couple to interfere. The little woman is weeping despairingly, but doesn't go away. The man tries to tug her towards the house which is their house and mine also. She struggles. There he enters the house. Finally she follows. I enter also. The man holds the knife. I have nothing in my hands, but I am bound by my upbringing; I am the weapon of my culture and my culture is my weapon. I say to Inamorého that people do not beat a woman like a dog. (I refer to this animal because frequently, among the Tapirapé, it can only thus be prevented from eating the people's food.) Inamorého pronounces insults and his wife sobs. Now I explain to all the people present that beating a woman is a bad thing. Later, when I am sitting together with Kamairahó and his wife, I tell them that if a white man should whip his wife, another white man would kill him with a revolver. Jokingly I add: "If you, Kamairahó, beat your wife, I have to kill you with my revolver." With these words I go away.

After a while Kamairahó passed me with a depressed face. I ask him: "Where are you going?" Without smiling he answers: "I am afraid of you." I embrace him, I kiss him impetuously in the Tapirapé manner, that is, rubbing my nose against his nose; but all this is in vain. He waits patiently until I let him go, continues walking, and tells the men and women whom he is passing that he is afraid of me, the white man who kills those who beat women. May I observe here that I always went around without a weapon among the Tapirapé, keeping the revolver, as Kamairahó knew, in my hammock hanging close to his hammock, and even there the revolver was at hand only to be at the disposal of the same Kamairahó in order to protect him against the event of nocturnal attack by the Kayapó Indians, the most terrible neighbours. Kamairahó enters his house and immediately from there sounds an agitated and long talk. With the speed of lightning the news spreads through the village that Kamairahó is afraid of me and is lying in his hammock and that I would kill with a revolver the husbands who whip their wives. A middle-aged woman joins me, saying: "I am afraid of you." I assure her again that I am not bad, that, on the con-

could come quietly to us at night to drink water, to ask for something to eat, and even to sleep in an extra hammock we had for visitors. His affairs were evidently extensive, for he once divided all of the adult women of the village into two categories—those "I know how to talk with" (i.e., to seduce) and those "I do not know how to talk with." There were many with whom he "could talk."

Unfortunately, by late November of 1939, I knew too much about Champukwi's affairs either for his comfort or for mine. His wife sometimes came to my house to ask if I knew where he had gone (I could generally guess), and once an irate husband even came to inquire of his whereabouts. His Don Juan activities had evidently increased. His friendship with me caused him trouble with other Tapirapé who were envious of the presents he received. The story was circulated that he had stolen a pair of scissors which, in fact, I had given to him. Moreover, several people caught colds, and he was accused of bringing the infection from Furo de Pedra (actually it was probably transmitted by the frontiersman who had helped transport us to the village in November). Champukwi sought revenge by cutting down one of the main supports of the men's house, which promptly caved in. No one died or was seriously injured and the destruction of the men's house was soon forgotten since it is normally rebuilt each year. However, people continued to criticize Champukwi, much of their criticism revolving around his relationship with me. There are no realms of esoteric secrets in Tapirapé culture (as there are in many cultures) that must not be revealed to an outsider; there is only the "secret" of the men from the women that the masked dancers are not supernatural beings but merely masquerading men, but I had been fully and openly brought into this "secret." I was, moreover, exceedingly careful in conversation never to refer to any bit of personal information that some informant, Champukwi or another, had told me. But rumors were rife in the small village—that I was angry and would soon leave (I was by then a valuable asset), that Champukwi told me lies about others, that I refused to give a bushknife to a household leader because Champukwi had urged me not to do so (I refused because I had already given him one bushknife), and the like.

Champukwi reacted moodily, often violently, to this situation. I could no longer count on his visits nor on our research interviews. He now visited us with a glum look on his face, and when he was

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



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older men's age grades, formerly the groups of highest prestige, tend to be looked on with little favor, and only those individuals are thought of with respect who have status for other reasons.

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4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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First, all Tapirapé men belong to one of the two patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties (2) and each moiety is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths, two groups of adult men of warrior age, and two groups of older men. Each of these groups bears the name of a mythical bird, the word *wirã* — bird — itself being used as the generic name for the groups. These *wirã* function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites; parallel groups also dance against one another in the ceremonials and offer reciprocal feasts to each other. The warrior-age group of each of these moieties has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and other communal work and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. 561 616 [476] [535] [574]

Both men and women of the Tapirapé are also divided into eight "feasting" groups called *tãtáupawã* — literally "fire all to eat" (3). Men belong to their father's feasting group and women to their mother's. Feasting groups are not only non-exogamic but people prefer to marry with their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry names of the mythological heads of the legendary original eight households of the first Tapirapé village. On occasion during the dry season the feast groups meet at sunset on the dance plaza for a ceremonial feast, each member bringing his or her contribution to the common meal (4). 574 571 582 [773]

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(2) Baldus (*op. cit.* pp. 95-98) did not recognize these *wirã* groups as age groups of men's ceremonial moieties. He calls them *grupos de trabalho* (work groups). He reports three wirã groups among the adult men and writes that formerly there had been three corresponding groups among the boys of the tribe. Nowadays the Tapirapé are so few that lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's *wirã* group in order to give the necessary balance for ceremonials. This presents the picture of several groups of equal ages; thus accounting, perhaps, for the divergence of opinion on this subject. Careful checking with informants, and observation of dances, hunts, races and wrestling matches when Tapirapé men were grouped according to moiety divisions led me to the definite conviction that these are age grouping of men's ceremonial moieties as described above. [114]

(3) Baldus (*op. cit.*, p. 90).

(4) Baldus calls the tãtáupawã "grupos de comer" (eating groups). He reports seven feast groups functioning in 1937. He vividly describes a ceremonial meal on pages 91 to 95 of his work already cited.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



Te 182 [796] [22]

of numbers. Ceremonials in 1940 had not been abandoned but they were performed in an attenuated and disheartened manner. There was little motivation to accumulate the meat, the forest fruits, and the garden products which important ceremonials require among the Tapirapé.

Te 476 796 596 182 Te [177]

Ceremonials and cooperative economic activities in Tenetehara society are organized by extended family and kin groups. Lack of numbers, of course, creates difficulties in carrying out ceremonials and in organizing economic activities but it does not have the effect of disorganizing the society. Cooperation of large extended families in gardening and in collecting babassu nuts and copaiba oil is still the general pattern among the Tenetehara. Tenetehara social structure was maleable to change. Adjustment to new circumstances after Luso-Brazilian contact must have been easier for the Tenetehara than for the Tapirapé.

Te Ta 161 182 183 105 571

This brief comparison of the cultural values and of those aspects of social structure of the Tenetehara and of the Tapirapé in terms of their effect upon population size and on population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact suggest several general hypotheses. First, the available information concerning the population size of these two tribes in aboriginal times indicates that the Tenetehara were much more numerous than the Tapirapé. Yet both tribes were tropical forest peoples with roughly similar technological equipment. It seems to the writer that this difference in population size between the two tribes was functionally related to ideological values and to social structure and not to differences in technology and environment. In other words, such differences in population can hardly be interpreted strictly in Malthusian terms. While population potentials are certainly limited by food supply, the level of technology, the application of medical knowledge, and other material factors, social institutions and culturally derived values are influential in determining trends in population size within the limits set by such "natural" factors.

Second, the social structure and the cultural values of any society are functionally related to a given population level. With change in population size, both the cultural values regarding population size and social structure must be adjusted. The Tapirapé concept of family size remained unchanged in face of modified conditions (i.e. higher death-rate caused by foreign diseases) with the result that the adult population was no longer replaced by births. A rapidly declining population disrupted Tapirapé socio-ceremonial organization and affected the internal system of production and distribution. The Tenetehara with a more maleable social structure than that of the Tapirapé were able to survive the initial impact of Luso-Brazilian contact until the protection of the Jesuits allowed them to make necessary adjustments to the new circumstances.

Te [797]

Te Ta 171 161 182 571

Finally, this comparison between the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara calls to mind other primitive societies whose social structure must have been functionally related to population level and to demographic trends in face of European civilization. In Brazil, the Ramkokamekra (Eastern Timbira) with their complex moiety system and the Apinayé with their kive marriage

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara S06



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classes, to mention only two examples, had social systems comparable to that of the Tapirapé. Such social structures depended upon a balanced representation of population in each of the numerous social units. A sudden decline of population might easily throw such highly segmented societies out of balance, so to speak. Without sufficient representation in one or more of these social units reciprocal socio-ceremonial affairs become impossible or may be carried out in a highly attenuated manner. Again, the social structure of the Karajá of the Araguaya River is based essentially upon extended family and kinship ties and lacks the highly segmented social units which cross cut villages and even family groups. Like that of the Tenetehara, Karajá social structure would seem to be less vulnerable to change in population size and more conducive to population growth. In addition to technological equipment and subsistence methods, social structure and cultural values also influence strongly the final adjustment of each society to its environment. Differences in social structure and of value systems between societies must be taken into account in studies of population size and of population trends in any natural area, such as the Tropical forest of South America.

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## RESUMO

O autor compara a reação dos Tenetehara e Tapirapé ao contacto com os brancos no que diz respeito ao decrescimento da população e à organização social. Enquanto a primeira dessas tribos lavradoras das selvas tropicais do Brasil, depois de mais de trezentos anos de tal contacto, conta um número de componentes provàvelmente pouco inferior ao de antes, conservando em função sua organização social, os Tapirapé se encontram em via de extinção física e desintegração social. O autor acha que, por um lado, a tecnologia dessas tribos e seus métodos da aquisição de sustento devem ter limitado o número de habitantes de cada aldeia, não tendo havido, por outro lado, falta de espaço territorial para limitar o número das aldeias. Parece-lhe que, antigamente, a população tapirapé era relativamente pequena e estável, ao passo que a dos Tenetehara era, pelo menos, o dobro daquela e, provàvelmente, expansiva. Êstes últimos, em geral, não procuram restringir o tamanho da família e modo dos Tapirapé entre os quais a mulher não deve ter mais de três filhos. Embora os Tapirapé justifiquem esta limitação com falta de alimento, mais decisivos a respeito parecem ser certos fatores culturais. O autor procura mostrar a influência das instituições e valores culturais sôbre o tamanho das populações dentro dos limites postos pelos fontes alimentares, pelo conhecimento médico, pelo equipamento civilizador e por outros fatores materiais. Frisa que a estrutura social e os valores culturais de cada sociedade são funcionalmente relacionados com determinado tamanho de população, precisando ser reajustados, por isso, em caso de mudança da situação demográfica.

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114 Nheêngatu [Tr., the native name for Tupi, meaning "good lan-
171 guage"] language recorded by Stradelli (694) has uapikasaua or
352 uapikatyua for "bench," and uapikauá for the person sitting on it.
192 Claude d'Abbeville (308) mentions among the Tupinambá of Maranhão "very nice little stools which they call Apouycaue" [translated from French].

As far as the function of these benches is concerned, we
171 must take into account the observation relayed by Krause (loc.
352 cit.) that among the Karajá "they are only for the chiefs," and
554 the note by Von den Steinen (2, 287) that there are not many specimens in existence among the tribes of the upper Xingu basin, but that they are always found in the chiefs' houses where they are offered to guests. (This latter observation is confirmed by Meyer 1, 63.)

Kamairahó was the owner of the stool in Tampiitaua. This man was the most important leader among the Tapirapé, and wherever he went there went the wooden seat as though it were a badge of distinction. Kamairahó took it and sat on the Tampiitaua plaza or outside the village before the little house built and inhabited by my companion Kegel and our camarada Daniel. Only when he was in his own house would he place the stool against the wall close to his net and sit or lie in the latter.
•[574] As among the Xingu tribes, this "ceremonial seat" was also offered to guests among the Tapirapé. I never sat on it alone, however. Since two people could sit on it at once if they pressed very close together, Kamairahó never granted me more than half his throne. In order to do this, he could not merely move over to the side. He had to stand up and establish with me a complete harmony of movement. For although the horizontal board of the seat was large enough for both of us, the central support, like that of the Karajá bench reproduced by Krause, was so small, dwindling further toward the ground, that we had to take over our respective halves with the most rigorous synchronization to avoid tipping the seat over and either hitting the floor or being hit in the buttocks by the bench.

516 Kamairahó and I frequently spent the early hours of the night
562 in such equipoise, while beside [111:115] and before us the other men and boys sat on a tree trunk and the women and girls sat

262 The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts,
178 for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such a change in the food situation affects the tribal
[574] behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality. It is true that this may also have resulted in
177 part from contact with the White neighbors who have settled on
291 the Tapirapé river over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer, or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their bodies are undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. Thus, instead of satisfying the appetite of their Indian visitors, they are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural rather than physical, one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitaua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them wear complete dresses. It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actual-
262 ly experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their
177 new neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the
648 number of inhabitants of their village has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following were not lacking, however: "Now the Tapirapé eat only small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., a large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs. These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the dry spell, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna, as well as the human beings in the region, have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the frontiersmen, by settling permanently on all the habitable spots along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitaua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers" (Baldus 12).

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



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3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



organization, in technology, in ceremonial and religious 177
life, in economics and, in fact, in almost all realms of life. In the space of a short paper it will be possible to indicate only a few of these modifications. One of the 177
most striking changes has to do with the relations of 574
the Tapirapé with their traditional enemies, the Carajá. 648
In 1940 the Tapirapé told of their fear of the Carajá who had attacked them several times in the past, and Tapirapé men traveling along the Araguaya River with the writer hid in the bottom of the boat in fear of their traditional foe. No Tapirapé would have dared enter a Carajá village without the protection of a Brazilian. But in 1953 the new Tapirapé village was situated within six or seven kilometers of a Carajá village. Two Tapirapé [582]
youths, for lack of Tapirapé women of marriageable age, had married Carajá girls, and following the rule of matrilocal residence which both Carajá and Tapirapé cultures share they lived in the Carajá village and worked with their in-laws. Each day during my 1953 visit there were Carajá visitors in the Tapirapé village. They came [434]
to exchange fish, game or other items for Tapirapé manioc — for the Tapirapé are by tradition better gardeners than the Carajá. A friendly Carajá even joined the Tapirapé men to dance and sing during one of their ceremonials, and one evening a group of Tapirapé accepted the invitation of the Carajá to attend their wrestling matches on the beach in front of the Carajá village. One must conclude that old and traditional enmities and antagonisms between peoples can fade out easily and quickly unless there are deep-seated economic or territorial bases for such antagonisms.

Another striking change between the Tapirapé in 177
1940 and those of 1953 was their recent adaptation to 481
canoe travel. In 1940, the Tapirapé might have been classified as "foot Indians". They neither made nor owned canoes. Many Tapirapé were unable to swim. They were all most inept when forced to travel by canoe. In 1953, six Tapirapé men owned canoes they had acquir- 177
ed from the Carajá, some had to make canoes, and 501

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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First, all Tapirapé men belong to one of the two patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties (2) and each moiety is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths, two groups of adult men of warrior age, and two groups of older men. Each of these groups bears the name of a mythical bird, the word *wirã* — bird — itself being used as the generic name for the groups. These *wirã* function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites: parallel groups also dance against one another in the ceremonials and offer reciprocal feasts to each other. The warrior-age group of each of these moieties has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and other communal work and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. 561 616 [476] [535] [574]

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128 [Ed., p. 86 and all but the last two lines of p. 87 are not translated.]

[87] In the pages that follow I wish to discuss a social institution
121 of the Tapirapé, the like of which I have not yet found [88] either among the other tribes I have visited or in the literature. I call it "eating groups." [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

The social significance of this organization into "eating groups"
264 derives from their purpose, which is as follows. Sometimes it happens
224 that the produce of the hunt or of the harvest, which among these Indians may be eaten by either sex and also by the children (for exam-
[262] ple, wild pig, curassow, guan, turtle, honey, etc.), is too sizable for the hunter's family and not sizable enough to be shared justly and advantageously with the entire population of the village. In such a case, to avoid a less equitable act, the distribution is made among the mem-
574 bers of the eating group to which the hunter belongs.
476
264 At the time of my stay among the Tapirapé, they were divided
551 into seven eating groups [89]. They say that in the old days the groups were more numerous. The names of the existing groups are Txankanépéra [Tr., the Portuguese x equals English sh], Pananivũãna, Maniitivuéra, Kãũũãñõí, Tãũãũpéra, Ãmpirampé, Avãinki'. Whenever I asked for an explanation of their meaning, I was merely given the word tãtáupáũã. Undoubtedly, however, some of the group names are related to the names of animals and plants, Txankanépéra with txankané (alligator), Maniitivuéra with mandiivũñã (a variety of manioc), Ãvãinki' with vũãiki'tã (a variety of manioc). This may be
[771] a vestige of totemic ideas, although they are not manifested in the behavior of the group members. For example, the attitude of the Txankanépéra group members toward the alligator is no different from that of the members of other groups. It is true that at the common
551 feasts each person is called by the name of the group and also is what
476 the name represents. Thus, for example, a member of the
264 Txankanépéra group will say, "Txe Txankanépéra," which means both "I am called Txankanépéra" and "I am Txankanépéra," and says to his group-fellow, male or female, "Ané Txankanépéra ('You are called Txankanépéra,' or 'You are Txankanépéra')."

192 Tãtáupáũã designates both the common feast of a group and the
574 institution of eating groups in general. When I asked the Tapirapé what
476 they called themselves as a community, I got the answer "Ampiãũã"
264 (a word that means "man" in the Tupí of the Amazon) and the statement
[101]

192 476 574 264 that all participants in the tãtáupáũã [90] are called this. Nothing could point up the importance of the institution more effectively than [101] this observation. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The word tãtá is used both by the Tapirapé and by the Karajá 171 824 [Caraja] to designate cultivated bananas in general. It also means "fire" in their language, as in all Tupí-Guaraní tongues, and it differs [194] from these only in its nasalization, an element which is peculiar to the Tapirapé language as a whole.

The word upáũã means "everything eaten." [192]

The word tãtáupáũã may mean that the fire went out, or that everything that was near the fire was eaten.

264 Every individual belongs to the same eating group through life. 476 Sons belong to their father's group, daughters to their mother's.

574 The eating groups are not important to marriage; some of the [611] men belong to the same group as their wives, while others belong to a different group.

[91] The principal chief, Kamairahó, was a Txankanépéra, while 123 the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ', was a Pananĩvũãna. As I lived in [622] Kamairahó's household and belonged, in a way, to his family, I also became a Txankanépéra, and they explained to me that as a consequence my own relatives, although absent, had also become Txankanépéra.

264 Within their group, all members regard one another as brothers 476 and sisters.

574 Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life, [608] namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group companions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond oc- [621] casionally bringing together the inhabitants of different houses from birth to death.

264 At certain times the entire population of the village gathers to- 574 gether for the tãtáupáũã, which at such times is not really a feast 621 carried out to meet the obligations imposed by the consumption-group organization, but a veritable banquet.

On July 3, the time of the kãũihó, or "bad kãũĩ" (literally, "big kãũĩ" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the [252] chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kãũĩ, which formerly was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was warm and so good that I ate my fill.

264 [92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of
574 various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets.
476 These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kãũũãnõĩ, owing to their small numbers, had joined the Ãvãinkĩ to form a single group. All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group.
[262] There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of kará [Tr., a kind of yam], peanut kãũí, etc. Before that, there was a great
431 distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom
574 he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such
[622] as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better
[177] use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay
264 the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted to-
476 gether, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they
574 pleased. Kamairahõ, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk
[554] of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother.
123 We called each other "Txankanépéra," and Ampitánya, his little adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Ané Txankané-
[597] péra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other groups also called me "Txankanépéra," and I called them by the name of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

264 [93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that
574 there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The
535 plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the
[776] good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kãũihó and vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness,
132 the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season with its "good shadows," summer.

574 They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they
796 also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

224 On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tãtáupãũa of an
264 eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Ãvãinkĩ had killed
476 with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting
574 the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group.
[462] In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts

264 476 574 such as the head and legs, which they gave to those members of their
[224] family who did not belong to the same eating group.

The feasting had already begun before the sun was up. In the
[345] takána, the large dance house, which is essentially a men's house and
[562] thus as a rule not visited by women, the Ãvãinki´ of both sexes sat
[952] [94] on straw mats stretched for the purpose around large pots containing the roasted pig. The animal was cut up in such a way that the pieces could easily be held in the hand.

When I appeared, they all graciously invited me to help myself.
[123] I declined, stating that I was a Txankanépéra, and in view of this they did not insist further.

Naturally, members of other eating groups may ask the feast participants for a piece. Custom, however, demands that they withdraw after receiving what they requested. Only members of the same group may sit in the circle surrounding the pots. As a rule, however, a member of another group does not come to the people who are feasting and ask for a piece.

In any case, I did not want to carry my pride in being a Txankané-
123 péra too far, and therefore I accepted the invitation of a special friend,
264 Vuãnomantxí, whose wife had prepared the bulk of the food for the
476 Ãvãinki´ and thus earned the pig's head for her family. While she sat
574 with her group-fellows in the takána, her husband and son, and a few other persons who were not relatives but who belonged to the family, so to speak, because they were the only other occupants of the small hut, lay across their hammocks and chewed contentedly. When I came in, Vuãnomantxí tore from the pig's head the piece that he considered the best and offered it to me. I began to chew on it, and this required much fortitude because the meat was very tough. [95] When my chin began to hurt badly and I was certain that I had swallowed enough of those awful bites, I craved a bonus and asked for the brains. My friend smiled--he always had a friendly smile for me, thoroughly joyous and relaxed--and gave me to understand that my tastes were not inferior to those of the most illustrious Tapirapé. Then, with his athletic strength, he broke open the skull, handed me the bulk of the brains, and stuffed the rest into his mouth.

Before the sun was up, only the pig's bones remained in Vuãnomantxi
264 house and in the takána.
476

Aside from the tatãupãua, there is another institution which also
[574] involves eating in hereditary groups. It is called apatxirũ. Its purpose,
[611]

476 thundering noise, dragging along in its fall its weaker companions.

Every once in a while, a voice was heard behind the trees. One [222] could not see who it was, but the call sounded very close. Immediately, the boys rushed to the spot where the voice came from. Soon they returned with their arms full of bananas. They ran jubilantly toward us and distributed them.

These bananas reached a length of 30 centimeters and a middle [137] circumference of 15 to 20 centimeters. The men brought them in [482] hampers close to the working area, but never came out of the woods into the garden with their load.

The skin of the bananas was black, and their flesh was already 252 brownish and too soft. This is the condition in which the Tapirapé 262 like them best. The fruits are gathered when green and buried at the [222] spot where they grew. The Karajá do the same thing. In the sun- [171] heated ground, the bananas reach the desired state of rottenness more quickly than if they were kept at home. Then, too, they are warm when taken out of the ground, and this endears them further to the Indians.

They are not peeled in order to be eaten. The tough skin is 264 opened a little at one of the tips, the tip is placed between the lips, and the skin slowly emptied by squeezing it with the fingers so that the pulp gradually enters the mouth. Kamairabó ate one banana after another. As for myself, I found them nauseating.

[108] The sun was already quite low when we left. We forged 264 ahead at a rapid pace, one behind the other on the narrow trail. We 476 were not far from the village when the path opened onto a small, 462 cleared, triangular space. The women sat in the corners of this space 574 and watched us in silence. The women and girls had split into three groups which tallied with the work groups of their husbands and fathers. They had placed pots of food in the area in the same arrangement. [262] There were banana kãuí, peanut kãmi, cottonseed kãuí, toasted karí, and many other good things. Each group ate only from the pots placed for it at a specific spot. There were smaller quantities for the Tãnãvé, because they were fewer. I was invited from all sides, and since I [123] was very hungry I did not spare the other two groups. Only when I was beginning to be satiated did I put down, with a great show of surprise, the pot of banana soup of the Anaãxxí from which I had just partaken, and declared that I was a Tãnãvé. This fact, however, did not seem to be of great importance to my hosts.

162 What strikes us in the above table is, on the one hand, the small number of children in relation to adults (18 individuals through 15 years of age and 41 over 15 years of age), and, on the other hand, [165] the brevity of the life span (only ten individuals were over 30). Only one man and one woman were slightly over 40.

According to the reports that I received in October, 1947, from [115] Mr. Valentim Gomes, the man in charge of the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres, and from Father M. H. Lelong at Conceição do Araguaia, the numerical ratios listed above underwent modifications [726] caused by the Kaiapó [Cayapo] attack on Tampiitáua at the end of August, in the course of which three women were killed and two women and one boy were abducted. Of the 59 individuals examined, therefore, there remained 31 males and 22 females.

[847] Aside from illness, the custom of killing newborn children under certain circumstances contributes to the decimation of the tribe.

Of the changes in Tapirapé culture which occurred since my first 178 visit 12 years ago, I wish to mention primarily the scarcity of 262 vegetable foods. The literature on these peaceful and industrious 241 Tupi Indians contains numerous references to their large plots. I may add that in the quantity and variety of their garden produce they outstripped not only the neighboring tribes but also the frontier people. In 1935, in the months of June to August, I found the village provided abundantly with the most delicious bananas, five varieties of manioc and numerous other tubers, beans, peanuts, and maize. In 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little carú [Tr., a variety of yam], or manioc cake. The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts, for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such [574] a change in the food situation affects the tribal behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality.

It is true that this may also have resulted in part from contact 177 with the neighboring Whites who have settled on the Tapirapé River [648] over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their 177 body is undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. 291 Thus, instead of satisfying the appetites of their Indian visitors, they

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



trary, I am good, and in order to demonstrate it, I embrace cordially a man on her side so that I don't need to embrace her. And I say to my English companion who at this moment joins me: "Certain research-workers who were killed by the Indians with whom they lived, as, for instance, Boggiani among the Chamacoko, were murdered only through fear." At that instant, as if he had understood my words, the man I have just embraced asks me if the Shavante really have killed the white man by the name of Father John and if they have murdered him with a club. I don't know from where the Tapirapé had received this information and if his question represented a reaction or only conversation. What I know is that the man couldn't have understood my comment about the murders through fear. 123 152

An hour later I see Kamairahó going to the brook carrying two calabash rattles which he had obtained from the Karajá neighbours, but never used. I follow him and ask him what he intends to do with the rattles. He explains that they are dirty and that he wants to clean them with water, and adds: "When you go away and I remain here, the rattles will go with you." He continues with a mournful face. Besides, everyone looks sad, and when I enter our hut, I am not received as usual with the friendly exclamation: "You arrive!" But, looking at this or that person, I immediately receive a polite smile. Even at night Kamairahó says to the Englishman that he is still afraid of me, and when my companion reassures him, confirming the jocose character of my threat, he is invited immediately by Kamairahó to eat bananas and by other inhabitants of the house to have kaul, a fermented drink, in payment for this consolation. Meanwhile Inamoréo, who had beaten his wife, has already gone peacefully to sleep with her in the hammock and explains later that he whipped her only with the arrow—which is not true. I invite Kamairahó for a dinner of deer. He eats well, but with a sad face complaining of a headache. He receives aspirin. [431] [596] [594] [593]

It is necessary to consider that the fear described above may have been caused less by the threat with the revolver than by the agitated manner with which I expressed my indignation and which contrasts with Tapirapé behaviour. Even Kamairahó's wife, who used to quarrel much, always pronounced insults in a monotonous voice and with apparent calm, quite different, for instance, from the Karajá women who shout without reserve. But it may be mentioned that the Tapirapé were also afraid of the Englishman when a woman had stolen a great quantity of kitchen oil from him, putting it in her hair, and when dogs of the village tore his towel to pieces. And my companion was less explosive than I!

Graver causes of fear are the Kayapó attacks. I have already mentioned that, on account of these, I was asked to sleep armed. When a rumour maker is talking about the approach of these Indians, all the village is immediately alarmed. And there are reasons for this, because in 1947, soon after my second visit to the Tapirapé, these warlike neighbours assaulted the village, plundered it, and burned it, killing and kidnapping women. 152 6+8

Fear was produced also by the eclipse of the moon on 15th of June, 1935. When at night I was awakened with the words "chahy vey" "moon blood," all the people were dejected and the men were talking only in low tones. Really, the moon appears dark red like coagulated blood. Next day everybody was still preoccupied with the phenomenon, considering it a bad omen of carnage. 152 821

But while the eclipse was an uncommon cause of fear, there were other causes in every moment and in any place, for the Tapirapé lives surrounded by malevolent spirits. Here is the so-called "imaginary fear" regarding which Mira y López[9] observes that "even the bravest warriors, able to throw themselves 152 775

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



them. "Is it true," they ask, pointing westward, "that there is another Ara- 823
guaya (large river) there?"

The Tapirapé know well their traditional country—that territory north of the Tapirapé River to the River Preto, and west to the Araguaya. They know the plains country which borders the Tapirapé River and the tropical forest to the north where formerly their five villages stretched in a line [361] some fifty to seventy-five miles apart. At least once during a man's life it was customary to visit all these villages, and before setting out he would [574] acquaint himself with the rivers, hills, and good hunting places along the trail. At the present time, since the Tapirapé are a sedentary agricultural [241] people, depending upon large gardens of manioc, corn, yams, and bananas, rather than upon hunting as the chief basis of their food supply, and since [594] they have no trade, they do little travelling. The spatial limit of their direct experience is small.

Knowledge of the horizons beyond their direct experience—of far off 773
places and people, of the supernatural and spirit worlds, of the heavens, of the origins of peoples and things, comes to them only through stories of their legendary heroes, or through experiences of their shamans. Myths relate the creation, adventures, and travels of a series of successive culture heroes who took the form of civilizing gods.[2] Tapirapé shamans travel [756] widely in their dreams; they whisk off to far places—to the Araguaya, to [797] the heavens, to the home of Thunder (see p. 257)—in their "canoes" [415] (opened gourds used as eating utensils by the Tapirapé), or they may take the form of a bird as they travel in dreams. Since a Tapirapé has this great wealth of vicarious experience to draw upon, he never answers for himself [823] when asked of those realms beyond his knowledge. Instead he tells of the exploits of a legendary culture hero, or of the travels of a shaman "who has been there."

The Tapirapé are thus equipped with a wide range of second-hand ex- 772
perience. They have no concept of a closed or limited universe. New 823
knowledge either adds to, or fits into, their second-hand knowledge of a broad universe. Thus a Tapirapé youth, seeing for the first time the large rock formation at the mouth of the Tapirapé River, identified it as the place in which Panchoi, a contemporary shaman, had seen the tremendous red parrots from which the supernaturals pluck feathers. Similarly, one travelling on the Araguaya recognized the large rapids below Santa Maria do Araguaya as those created by Kaworáno, a culture hero, to com-

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[2] Métraux, Alfred. La Religion des Tupinambas (1928), p. 7: "Pour les Tupinambas, comme pour la plupart des tribus américaines, certaines personnes doués d'une puissance supérieure à celle du commun des mortels sont les artisans du monde tel qu'il se présente à leurs yeux, mais ils en sont tout autant les créateurs que les transformateurs. Je veux dire par là que, même s'ils ont créé le ciel, les astres, et la mer leur œuvre est toujours partielle et incomplète, ne s'achevant que postérieurement à la venue d'ancêtres divers."

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 50 6



Ta 262 Te 262 168 "hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is (and was in the past) just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size. Ta 168 189 262 Population control among the Tapirapé seems as to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

Ta 161 168 182 [165] This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new disease for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation *remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families* were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid Te 161 168 182 [165] population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Te Ta 596 591 612 Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapé, on the other Ta 616 561 hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial moieties limited to men. Each moiety was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the Ta 476 264 579 616 [796] [535] Tapirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's moieties and age grades and the "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic production and distribution. The masked dances with impersonation of

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



forest spirits performed by the men during the dry season were a function of the men's moieties. The "Feast Groups" met at intervals during the dry seasons at their traditional stations in the central plaza for ceremonial meals. At such times, as Herbert Baldus has shown, these "Feast Groups" functioned as a mechanism for food distribution in a season when more food was available than a family would normally consume. (7) The "Feast Groups" sometimes formed to collect honey and to hunt. The age grades of the men's moieties also frequently acted together economically; they organized work parties for clearing of large garden sites and they went out on large cooperative hunts after herds of wild pigs.

Ta [535] 241 574 476 [196] Ta 224 561 616

In aboriginal Tapirapé society ceremonial life and many important cooperative subsistence activities were based upon this balanced set of associations. A Tapirapé village in order to assure adequate representation in the various age grades of the men's moieties as well as in the "Feast Groups" by necessity had to consist of about 200 people or more. A small village of fifty to a hundred people, for example, would not have provided sufficient number of males of the proper ages to allow the age graded moieties to carry out their ceremonials nor to organize their cooperative subsistence activities. Tapirapé village organization was therefore not conducive to a process of "splitting off" of groups from one village to form another. The size of Tapirapé villages was limited by their tecnological equipment within their tropical forest environment yet the social structure made the formation of numerous small villages difficult. In contrast, the less formalized social structure of the Tenetehara allowed for villages of varying size within the limits of their ecological adjustment. Extended family groups easily might break off from a larger village to form a new settlement fully able to carry out the cooperative economic activities and even ceremonials of the society. This process is constantly occurring in contemporary Tenetehara society. When tensions arise between extended families, one group simply splits off from the parent village to join another or to form a separate village without serious effects on the ceremonial or economic system. Tenetehara social structure offered a favorable condition for an expanding population after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected population.

Ta 182 621 476 561 616 Te 182 621 Te [578] Te [161]

Tapirapé social structure seems also to have been more vulnerable to disorganization in face of a rapid change in population size. Rapid depopulation after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected the normal functioning of their highly segmented and balanced social structure. By 1940, the lack of men had thrown the system of reciprocal and competitive activities of the men's age-graded moieties out of balance. There were not enough men of the "older" age-grade of either moiety nor of the young men "warrior" age-grade of one moiety to form functioning units to reciprocate in cooperative garden clearing and to participate in group hunts. Several of the "Feast Groups" had been disbanded for lack of numbers

Ta 182 [61] Ta [561] [616] [476] [574] [204]

(7) Baldus (1937) p. 38 ff.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



**Weapons.**—Bows have a circular cross section and average about 6 feet (2 m.) in length. The arrows are of cane about 5 feet (1.6 m.) long with heads of bone, hardwood, and the spur from the sting ray (*Potamotrygon histrix*). They have brilliant feathers, sometimes the red and blue feathers of the red macaw. Clubs are made of several polished hardwoods and are sometimes decorated near the handles with woven strands of cane fibers. 411

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Three distinct social groupings are basic in *Tapirapé* social organization: men's ceremonial moieties, feast societies, and the kinship groups. 561

**Ceremonial moieties.**—All *Tapirapé* men belong to one of the patrilineal ceremonial moieties. Each of these moieties is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths (those up to 15 years of age); two groups of men of warrior age (15 to 40 years); and two groups of older men (40 to 60 years). Each group bears the name of a bird, the word "wirã" (bird) being the generic name for the group. These age groups (Baldus, 1937, p. 96, calls them "work groups") function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites at the cooperative work festival; parallel groups also dance against each other in various ceremonials and reciprocally feast each other. Each moiety owns half of the men's house, and its portion is subdivided into sections owned by the three age grades. The warrior age group of each moiety has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and communal work, and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. As a man becomes elderly, he entirely drops out of the "bird" groups and is no longer affiliated, as he cannot take part in their economic and ceremonial activities. At present, the *Tapirapé* are so reduced in number that, lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's age grade in order to retain the necessary balance for ceremonials. 616 [345] [423]

**Feast groups.**—Both men and women are divided into eight feasting groups called tiítúpawã (literally, "fire all to eat") Men belong to their fathers' feast group and women to their mothers'. Feast groups are not only nonexogamic, but people prefer to marry within their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry the names of the mythological heads of the original eight households of the first *Tapirapé* village. They unite at various times throughout the year for ceremonial meals. The feasts take place at traditional spots in the village plaza, at times when there is an abundance of honey, maize, or meat from the hunt. Each member brings his contribution. Baldus (1937, p. 88) calls these "eating groups," and emphasizes that they are consumers' groups providing a means of distributing food when more is available than a family can eat. Today only six groups meet for feasts, two being extinct for lack of members. 574 264 [582]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



A son

and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite 554 child, being given special attention and education and being highly decor- 858 ated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life.

**Puberty.**—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over 882 the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body [302] is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip [301] plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong.

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied [302] at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation 881 for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers [292] set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, *top, left*). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance.

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual [302] relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of [582] women.

**Marriage.**—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and 621 people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antag- [578] onism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable [582] intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage mar- [574] riage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people.

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at 582 least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule.

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage [161] rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there [182] are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are [178] also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where [591] his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



requited by gifts of beads, hardware, and salt which I provided judiciously from time to time. After a few days, I began noting questions to be asked of Champukwi in the late afternoon when he now habitually visited our house. But this was the time that others also liked to visit. At this hour of the day our house was often crowded with men, women, children, and even pets—monkeys, parrots, and wild pigs—for which the Tapirapé along with other Brazilian tribes have an especial fondness. Such social gatherings were hardly conducive to the ethnological interview or even to the systematic recording of vocabulary. So I asked Champukwi if I might go with him to his garden. There, alternating between helping him cut brush from his garden site and sitting in the shade, I was able to conduct a kind of haphazard interview. Often, while he worked, I formulated questions in my halting Tapirapé and I was able by repetition to understand his answers. Although the Tapirapé villagers began to joke of Champukwi's new garden site as belonging to the two of us, these days were very valuable for my research.

Walking through the forest to and from Champukwi's garden, we often hunted for *jacu*, a large forest fowl rather like a chicken. I attempted to teach Champukwi how to use my .22 rifle, but he had difficulty understanding the gunsights and missed continually. He attempted to show me how to "see" the *jacu* hidden in the thick branches of the trees, but I seldom caught sight of the birds until they had flown. Thus, our complementary incapacities combined to make our hunting in the tropical forest quite unproductive, and in disgust Champukwi often resorted to his bow and arrow. Only later in the year, after he had practiced a great deal by shooting at tin cans did Champukwi master the use of the rifle, and this new-found skill greatly added to his prestige among the Tapirapé.

My abiding friendship with Champukwi perhaps really began when I came down with malaria about six weeks after our arrival. During the first few days of my illness, I was oblivious to my surroundings. I am told that while one *panché*, or medicine man, predicted my death, another tried to cure me by massage, by blowing tobacco smoke over my body, and by attempting to suck out the "object" that was causing the fever. Evidently his efforts—plus the atabrine tablets administered by Valentim Gomes—were successful, for my fever abated. I realized, however, that convalescence would be slow. Unable to leave the house for almost three weeks, I spent my days

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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114 and evenings suspended in a large Brazilian hammock. In this state of enervation, I must have been the very picture of the languid white [123] man in the tropics. Each late afternoon our house became a gather- [974] ing place for the Tapirapé villagers, who came not only to visit with me (communication was still difficult) but also with each other, and 123 to gaze upon the belongings of the *tori* (non-Indian). My illness 538 proved to be a boon for ethnographic research. People were more patient with the sick anthropologist than with the well one. They told stories, not only for my benefit, but also to entertain each other. [713] In attempting to explain to me about a mythological culture hero, a man would find himself telling a myth to the attending audience. Thus, I heard (and saw) Tapirapé stories told as they should be—as dramatic forms spoken with vivacity and replete with mimicry of the animals that are so often characters in these folktales. With my still imperfect knowledge of Tapirapé I inevitably lost the thread of the story and it had to be retold to me more slowly.

115 Champukwi was a frequent visitor during these days of my con- 123 valescence. He came each morning on the way to his garden and 124 he became accustomed to drinking morning coffee with us. And, [512] each late afternoon after he had returned from his garden, he came "to talk"—often slowly retelling the stories and incidents that I had difficulty understanding the evening before. Several days during this period he did not work in his garden but sat for two or three hours talking. He learned when he should pause or repeat a phrase or [212] sentence in order that I might take notes. He came to understand what writing meant, discovering that what I wrote in my notebook I could repeat to him later. In time he appreciated the fact that I was not so much interested in learning the Tapirapé language as I was in comprehending the Tapirapé way of life. As so often is the case when a person understands and speaks a foreign language poorly, one communicates best with but a single person who is accustomed to one's mistakes and one's meager vocabulary. Thus, I could understand and make myself understood to Champukwi better than any [192] other Tapirapé. Moreover, because he spent long hours in our house, [126] he was learning Portuguese from Valentim Gomes, and this was an aid in helping me translate newly learned words and phrases in Tapirapé and even helped me understand his explanations of Tapirapé culture patterns. Champukwi thus consciously became my teacher, and others came to realize that he was teaching me. During

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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**Champukwi of the Village of the Tapir**

Champukwi sketched for me the stories of Petura, the Tapirapé ancestral hero who stole fire from the King Vulture, daylight from the night owl, *genipa* (used for dye) from the monkeys, and other items for the Tapirapé. However, he persuaded Maeumi, an elder famous for his knowledge of mythology, to relate the details although he himself helped considerably to clarify for me the meaning of native phrases and to make the stories told by Maeumi more fully understandable. Champukwi also forewarned me of events that I might want to witness, events that without his warning I might have missed. Such were the wrestling matches which took place upon the return of a hunting party between those men who went on the hunt and those who remained at home. He told me of a particularly handsome basket a man had made, which I might want to add to my collection for the Brazilian National Museum. He came to tell me that a young woman in a neighboring house was in labor, thus enabling me to get a photograph of the newborn infant being washed in the stream, and he urged the men to celebrate for my benefit a ceremony which might easily have been omitted. Champukwi was no longer merely an informant. He became a participant in ethnographic research although, of course, he never thought of it in these terms. He seemed somehow to understand the anthropologist's task in studying his culture, and in the process he gained considerable objectivity about his own way of life.

Yet it must be said that Champukwi did not seem to discredit the norms, institutions, and beliefs of his own people. Although he saw Valentim and me walk safely down the path through the forest late at night, he steadfastly refused to do the same; for the path was a favorite haunt of the lonely ghosts of deceased Tapirapé who might harm the living. He reasoned that the *tori* were probably immune to this danger. When he was ill, he took the pills we urged upon him but he also called in the shaman. His curiosity about airplanes, automobiles, and "gigantic canoes" (passenger boats) which he saw pictured in the magazines we had brought with us, was great; but he boasted that the Tapirapé could walk farther and faster than any *tori* or even the Caraja (who are a canoe people). In fact, his interest in, and enthusiasm for, certain Tapirapé activities seemed to be heightened by our presence. Almost all Tapirapé ceremonials involve choral singing and Champukwi was a singing leader of one of the sections of the men's societies. He was always pleased when

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

# THE FEAR IN TAPIRAPÉ CULTURE

*Herbert Baldus*

121 Fear, although its biological aspects connect mankind with the animals, assumes among ourselves characteristics which by tradition vary from people to people, that is, cultural traits. Socially determined differences exist in the exteriorization of fear as well as in its causes.

In certain cultures one should not show fear; in others there is nothing to prevent one from exhibiting it. There are peoples and cultural epochs which like to see their women habitually frightened and so to establish a contrast with the calmness of the men. In many South American tribes the women easily weep, tremble, cry or groan because of any danger, real or supposed, and are or pretend to be especially frightened by certain masked dances and other ceremonies performed by the men.[1] Goethe, in "Faust," when Margaret faints, exclaiming "Nachbarin! Euer Fläschchen!" ("Neighbour, your smelling-bottle!"), alludes to a common custom of his time in Europe. The modern European woman who no longer uses smelling-salts shows that such manifestations of terror are not conditioned by nature, but by culture. As regards the real female constitution it may be mentioned that "in an important study made during World War II, *Psychological Effects of War on Citizen and Soldier* (1942), Dr. R. D. Gillespie reported that in the heavily bombed areas of London and Kent almost 70 per cent more men broke down and became psychiatric casualties than women!"[2]

In certain cultures death is feared, in others, not. Circumstances which produce feelings of inadequacy and consequently fear in certain societies don't exist in others. The so-called "imaginary fear"[3] which creates phantoms is found among most primitive peoples and is generally limited, among the peoples with European languages, to the less educated classes.

152 171 The Tapirapé differ from other South American tribes by exteriorizing the fear in both sexes, by the frequency and ease of such exteriorization, and by the multiplicity of causes for fear. The naturalness with which on several occasions Kamairabó, the most important Tapirapé leader, said to me: "Akyitié, I am afraid," is only comparable with the almost automatic manner of the Tapirapé's using the interjection "Aký" when feeling any pain, even the sting of a mosquito bite. This caused me to think frequently of the contrast presented in all that by Indians I knew in the Paraguayan Chaco, for instance of the apparent impassibility of the Chamakoko. It is true that the Tapirapé calm down with the same ease with which they are alarmed. A few words of mine were enough to make Kamairabó laugh again, speaking carelessly with his wife about other things. I had the impression that among the Chaco Indians the emotions penetrated deeper, while among the Tapirapé they were like slight circles on the surface of a pond into which a little stone had been thrown, circles which soon disappear into the distance.

152 396 But among these Tupian Indians of the Araguaya basin, the exteriorization of fear is not restricted to interjections. We find it expressed in attitudes and institutions. We feel it, although masked, in the mechanical smile with which, from earliest infancy, they greet the person who speaks to them. We suspect it still in other aspects of their obsequiousness.

[p. 396]

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirape SP22



Fear was present in the formalization of quarrels full of hatred, a formalization which obliged the opponents to avoid direct contact. They had to remain hidden from one another and not interrupt the speech of their antagonist, but only reply when he had finished. One such quarrel began in the afternoon of June 27, 1935. Kamairahó lay in his hammock with open eyes and didn't answer when several people called him. Maninohó, the eldest man of the neighbouring house, begins to pronounce insults. He stays inside his house. The entrances of the houses are so arranged that it is impossible to look from the interior of one house into the interior of another.[4] Kamairahó's wife stays outside between the two houses without looking towards either of them. She faces the men's house in the centre of the village and replies to Maninohó with extraordinary gravity, in a level voice and with calm gestures. They are discussing a question of shamanism. Maninohó seems to be doing the provoking. The other persons present continue with their habitual activities, neither laughing nor speaking. After a while Maninohó's aggressiveness seems to increase. Kamairahó's wife joins her husband and the eldest man of her house places himself close to the entrance but inside, holding a club and railing violently in a loud and monotonous voice. When he finishes, profound silence rules for some moments. Then the other replies in the same tone. Never does one interrupt the other. This rule is also observed when two Tapirapé women have a quarrel as well as among other South American tribes.[5] The quarrel between the two men, one always hidden from the other, lasted until sunset. Late that night the old man of Kamairahó's house, where I was also living, asked me for my electric torch and went with his wife for water by a very roundabout way in order to avoid the proximity of Maninohó's house. These precautionary measures — the lamp, the company of his wife, and the détour — reveal clearly the fear he had of the adversary. Supposing then that fear has contributed to create the institution of formalized quarrels we may consider it a factor of socialization. But is it only a tribal behaviour pattern or also fear that causes the victim of theft to abstain from any exteriorized reaction? Frequently I observed that the theft of some thing obtained from the white men, for instance a necklace of glass beads, was known immediately in the whole village; the victim, however, suffers in silence without any demonstration and doesn't attempt any revenge.

As an institution which is essentially a product of fear appears that of the shamans. Nonexistent in certain South American tribes and little developed in others, it is so important to the Tapirapé that they informed me of certain local groups having renounced their independence and joined the inhabitants of another village because there were no more shamans among them.[6] This becomes credible when one considers Charles Wagley's[7] quotation of one of his informants' words: "Without our pajé, all we Tapirapé die." According to the same author,[8] "the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman." This means that the first place in Tapirapé society belongs to the person who defends the community against the ever terrible dangers of the supernatural world. It is collective fear which gives him this status. But the easy and continuous contact with the forces of destruction makes the shaman for his part also a man to be feared, and consequently exposes him to other dangers, to dangers which we would not call supernatural. When cases of death occur in the village, and especially several in a short time, it is usual to attribute the cause to a shaman and therefore many shamans are murdered. Then it is also collective fear which, in such cases, moves a Tapirapé to defend the community

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



against the supposed menace and to kill the shaman who is suspected of having become an evil sorcerer.

Though, also as regards the institution of shamanism, fear works out as a factor of socialization by exorcising the dangers to the tribal life, we cannot say the same about the fear which produces in many Tapirapé a disposition to adapt themselves complacently to the white man. During my stay in 1935, in the village called Tampiitawa, I could distinguish clearly between the great group of timorous people led by Kamairahó who received with open arms all that came from our civilization, and a smaller group composed of decided and valorous people who didn't want anything to do with us. So there were two opposite trends in their "foreign policy" and consequently germs of tribal disintegration.

Of the direct causes of fear I want to mention the following: The Tapirapé were alarmed by my fury when I saw a man whipping his wife. To relate this case means to confess a most ethnocentric and therefore in no way ethnological behaviour. But I think that in order to be an ethnologist it is necessary to be able not to be an ethnologist in certain situations. At noon on July 15 I see that behind the house in which I was living with Kamairahó and thirty other Indians, the athletic Inamoréo, nearly twenty-two years old, is beating a woman. With a cane and the blade of his bush-knife he is whipping his wife. She is so small and tender that she seems to be a child in spite of being perhaps twenty years old. I run towards the couple to interfere. The little woman is weeping despairingly, but doesn't go away. The man tries to tug her towards the house which is their house and mine also. She struggles. There he enters the house. Finally she follows. I enter also. The man holds the knife. I have nothing in my hands, but I am bound by my upbringing; I am the weapon of my culture and my culture is my weapon. I say to Inamoréo that people do not beat a woman like a dog. (I refer to this animal because frequently, among the Tapirapé, it can only thus be prevented from eating the people's food.) Inamoréo pronounces insults and his wife sobs. Now I explain to all the people present that beating a woman is a bad thing. Later, when I am sitting together with Kamairahó and his wife, I tell them that if a white man should whip his wife, another white man would kill him with a revolver. Jokingly I add: "If you, Kamairahó, beat your wife, I have to kill you with my revolver." With these words I go away.

After a while Kamairahó passed me with a depressed face. I ask him: "Where are you going?" Without smiling he answers: "I am afraid of you." I embrace him, I kiss him impetuously in the Tapirapé manner, that is, rubbing my nose against his nose; but all this is in vain. He waits patiently until I let him go, continues walking, and tells the men and women whom he is passing that he is afraid of me, the white man who kills those who beat women. May I observe here that I always went around without a weapon among the Tapirapé, keeping the revolver, as Kamairahó knew, in my hammock hanging close to his hammock, and even there the revolver was at hand only to be at the disposal of the same Kamairahó in order to protect him against the event of nocturnal attack by the Kayapó Indians, the most terrible neighbours. Kamairahó enters his house and immediately from there sounds an agitated and long talk. With the speed of lightning the news spreads through the village that Kamairahó is afraid of me and is lying in his hammock and that I would kill with a revolver the husbands who whip their wives. A middle-aged woman joins me, saying: "I am afraid of you." I assure her again that I am not bad, that, on the con-

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 P22 Tapirape SP22



trary, I am good, and in order to demonstrate it, I embrace cordially a man on 123
her side so that I don't need to embrace her. And I say to my English companion 152
who at this moment joins me: "Certain research-workers who were killed by the Indians with whom they lived, as, for instance, Boggiani among the Chamakoko, were murdered only through fear." At that instant, as if he had understood my words, the man I have just embraced asks me if the Shavante really have killed the white man by the name of Father John and if they have murdered him with a club. I don't know from where the Tapirapé had received this information and if his question represented a reaction or only conversation. What I know is that the man couldn't have understood my comment about the murders through fear.

An hour later I see Kamairahó going to the brook carrying two calabash [431]
rattles which he had obtained from the Karajá neighbours, but never used. I follow him and ask him what he intends to do with the rattles. He explains that they are dirty and that he wants to clean them with water, and adds: "When you go away and I remain here, the rattles will go with you." He continues with a mournful face. Besides, everyone looks sad, and when I enter our hut, I am [576]
not received as usual with the friendly exclamation: "You arrive!" But, looking to this or that person, I immediately receive a polite smile. Even at night Kamairahó says to the Englishman that he is still afraid of me, and when my companion reassures him, confirming the jocose character of my threat, he is [574]
invited immediately by Kamairahó to eat bananas and by other inhabitants of the house to have kaui, a fermented drink, in payment for this consolation. Meanwhile Inamoréo, who had beaten his wife, has already gone peacefully to [543]
sleep with her in the hammock and explains later that he whipped her only with the arrow—which is not true. I invite Kamairahó for a dinner of deer. He eats well, but with a sad face complaining of a headache. He receives aspirin.

It is necessary to consider that the fear described above may have been caused less by the threat with the revolver than by the agitated manner with which I expressed my indignation and which contrasts with Tapirapé behaviour. Even Kamairahó's wife, who used to quarrel much, always pronounced insults in a monotonous voice and with apparent calm, quite different, for instance, from the Karajá women who shout without reserve. But it may be mentioned that the Tapirapé were also afraid of the Englishman when a woman had stolen a great quantity of kitchen oil from him, putting it in her hair, and when dogs of the village tore his towel to pieces. And my companion was less explosive than I!

Graver causes of fear are the Kayapó attacks. I have already mentioned that, 152
on account of these, I was asked to sleep armed. When a rumour maker is 648
talking about the approach of these Indians, all the village is immediately alarmed. And there are reasons for this, because in 1947, soon after my second visit to the Tapirapé, these warlike neighbours assaulted the village, plundered it, and burned it, killing and kidnapping women.

Fear was produced also by the eclipse of the moon on 15th of June, 1935. 152
When at night I was awakened with the words "chahy vuy" "moon blood," all 821
the people were dejected and the men were talking only in low tones. Really, the moon appears dark red like coagulated blood. Next day everybody was still preoccupied with the phenomenon, considering it a bad omen of carnage.

But while the eclipse was an uncommon cause of fear, there were other 152
causes in every moment and in any place, for the Tapirapé lives surrounded 775
by malevolent spirits. Here is the so-called "imaginary fear" regarding which Mira y López[9] observes that "even the bravest warriors, able to throw themselves

To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *iwúterahú*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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555 622 756 775 [766] west "where the earth ends and the water begins" and where the sun returns to sleep after its travels across the sky. In Maratawa shamans have an inexhaustible supply of tobacco, many red parrot feathers, much manioc, kaui, bananas, meat, and all the other necessities and luxuries of life. Frequently a shaman is buried with a pipe filled with tobacco in his mouth, so that he may have smoke to drive out fatigue on the trip to Maratawa; and sometimes food is buried with the body so he may eat, for the journey to Maratawa is long.

556 756 Aside from these non-material considerations, there is one very real factor which insures social respect to the Tapirapé shaman. Shamans are in general the wealthiest men among the Tapirapé. Although they may at times receive meat or honey for their cures or as presents for bringing the spirits of children to parents, payments to them are usually in those luxury goods that are the marks of wealth. It was readily observed that the beads and hardware which I gave as presents to the Tapirapé soon passed into the hands of shamans as payments for cures.

756 Payments to the shamans for curing the ill depend upon the seriousness of the illness and upon what the patient or his family has to offer. Frequently a shaman names his fee when his cure has been successful, asking for specific objects, for he knows full well what each family owns. Unsuccessful cures are never paid. For example, for the treatment of his sister's son and of his daughter, who were both sick at once, Kamairaho, a shaman himself, called three shamans and paid each the price that he asked. He paid one, Panteri, a machete and two strings of beads; to another, Urukumu, he gave an axe, a pocket knife, a pair of scissors, and five tail feathers of a red parrot; he gave only four strings of beads to Kamairai, who was considered a shaman of less power than the other two. Another young man with few possessions gave five arrows to a shaman who successfully treated his wife; still another paid the breast feathers from his parrot and four string of [262] beads to a shaman. When Tzawaniuma killed a paca, the meat of [224] which is highly prized by the Tapirapé, he gave some to his companion of the hunt and divided the rest between two shamans who had treated his small daughter successfully. Neither shaman had to ask for any specific gift or payment. People often complain to others about the [577] high price they had to pay to a shaman, but generally they pay what is

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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asked. "Stinginess" is a severe accusation among these people and to complain mildly about a high price is one way of announcing one's liberality. 577 756

Liberality is a necessary quality for a man of prestige. At the time of the annual harvest ceremonies, shamans and all other men of prestige must give gifts to all those who drink of *kauió* (27). Gift giving at this time proves their liberality and validates their prestige. At this time then there is a siphoning off of wealth from the shamans, but throughout the rest of the year fees and gifts channel it back into their hands. 431 554 756 577

## ROAD TO SHAMANISM

Among the Tapirapé, *pancés* are essentially those people who dream much and who, in their dreams, travel widely in the supernatural world, achieving familiarity with the supernatural. At the time of my visit there were six men recognized as fulfledged shamans who were called upon to treat the sick and to perform various ceremonials. Paanari and Urukumu, were the two clearly outstanding; these assumed leadership in shamanistic ceremonies and were the ones most frequently called for cures. Besides these six recognized shamans, there were four young men working to develop shamanistic power to gain recognition as shamans. 756 [747]

Within the memory of persons living in the village there had been three women shamans, but there were none, either practicing as recognized shamans or working as novices, during my visit. The women shamans were remembered as having been especially malevolent. They are supposed to dream more than the men and work much harm to the people. People who recalled the women shamans explained that when they had sung in the annual ceremony of calling and fighting Thunder they had sung the part of the music usually sung by the shamans' wives and their husbands had sung the usual men shamans' parts. The women *pancés* had smoked and fallen in trances as the male shamans do. Nothing possible to men shamans appeared to be beyond the power of the women. None of them was described as masculine in behavior: [562]

(27) See footnote 17 on p. 73.

114 The Kayapó who have intimidated the Tapirapé over the
175 past few years, however, do not belong to the bands visited by
726 Krause in 1908 and by Kissenberth in the same year and the following one, that is to say, the Indians called Kayapó-Mẽkubengokré by this author. Kissenberth (2, 40) heard Mẽkubengokré elders relate that the last hostile encounters between their people and the Tapirapé had occurred approximately in the middle of the last century. This traveler does not [102:126] explain, however, how the near-sexagenarian Tapirapé he saw in a Mẽkubengokré village (ibid., 47 and Figs. 4 and 5; 1, Figs. 18 and 19) got there and was annexed to the tribe.

171 I shall show later that the Tapirapé have a few cultural traits that are similar to traits of these Kayapó, but not as many as the ones that reveal their kinship with the Karajá. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 102, pp. 126-130, is omitted.]

[103:183] Chapter 5

## The Number of Villages and of Tribal Members

621 Sixteenth-century authors, such as Pero de Magalhães de
171 Gandavo (45) and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (362), already pointed out the propensity of the Tupí Indians to divide into bands as a result of certain dissensions. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

621 In the case of the Tapirapé, the disruptive forces were not only countered by the authority of Kamairahó in Tampiitsúa, but
[731] were also kept at bay by more powerful destructive forces, that is
[554] to say, terrible epidemics. Kamairahó's authority became apparent when I attempted to ascertain in which of the various villages, now extinct, the individuals who make up the present population of Tampiitsúa had originated. Those who had revealed their birthplace to me [103:184] did not dare repeat the information in the presence of this most influential leader. The unifying
[578] activity of Kamairahó was justified by the fact that old antagonisms between the villages were not yet entirely forgotten, although they were seldom recalled.

578 621 In this regard one should mention, first and foremost, the survivors of the village abandoned in 1932. They may be distinguished from the other inhabitants of Tampiitáua by their scowl, their perennial tendency to make mocking remarks in a low voice, and their lack of hospitality. Their village, located "ten days' march" to the north, reputedly hated the Whites. It established contact with Tampiitáua through trade and a few marriages. I still found about 20 of those "enemies," counting the men, women, [123] and children. I got along well with them. One of them, Maninohó, became my close friend and an exception among his people in his increasingly hospitable behavior toward me. This did not prevent many Tampiitáua people from hating him. Perhaps it even increased the antagonism.

621 Gradually, I learned that the 20 individuals who disappeared in 1934 had been, for the most part, former inhabitants of the vil- 166 lage that became extinct in 1932. Mr. Kegel recalled that al- 578 ready in 1933 there was a rumor in Tampiitáua that they would move far away. They were, on the whole, unpopular and remained enemies of the Whites. When they left, they took with them everything they owned. They walked away towards the north. [622] A sorcerer--medicine man, an influential and vigorous man who had been accused of causing the death of Kamaiurá's wife, joined them and became their leader. They had not been seen again in 1935, and it was so widely believed that they had been killed by the Kayapó that, as I have already mentioned, the whole tribe wanted to run away to Macauba and later commemorated the attack through the pantomime described earlier. There was no absolute certainty, however, as to the end met by the 20 persons. It was said, as I have already mentioned, that they never returned [627] from a hunting trip. All the Tapirapé I asked spoke of this communal hunt, but it is probable that those 20 persons were expelled from the community. It is well to note, however, that this hypothesis would not be corroborated by the fact that they took with them everything they owned. Indeed, they left at the very time [361] when the entire village was being transferred to a new site. Fur- [224] thermore, when people leave the village for several days with their [226] families in order to hunt or fish communally, they usually take [352] along all their household goods, which as a rule are quite easy to carry because they are few and light in weight.

299 that the Indians suck. It was, incidentally, the only cultivated
976 plot within the clearing where Tampiitaua stood.

The center of Tampiitaua was the takana, the large men's
361 house. Eight communal huts were grouped around it, with their
342 entrances set in such a way that it was impossible to look from the
345 inside of one hut into that of another (cf. Fig. 8, in which the chief entrances are represented with black rectangles and the secondary ones with blank rectangles). The village plaza stretched between the front of the takana and the semicircle formed by the houses on the east side of the settlement, and it was the setting for dances, singing, games, races, speeches, and banquets.

The "village of the tapir," however, had not always stood
361 in the clearing where I found it, nor did it remain there after my
166 departure (cf. Ch. 8). At certain times, the Tapirapé move far away. At regular intervals varying from two to five years, however, they move the village to a spot only one or a few leagues away. When they abandoned the village located on the banks of the lower Tapirapé, the distance they covered was considerable, that is to say, probably a few dozen kilometers. Long distances
[621] were also covered at various times when villages split up or joined
[578] together, as a result, in the former case, of internal dissensions, and in the latter case of dwindling population [Fig. 8 appears here] [110:193] or lack of shamans. The chief causes for the smaller,
196 habitual moves are the plagues of cockroaches and the number of
166 graves within the huts. The unchecked proliferation of Blattella
361 germanica L. compels the Indians to abandon and burn down all their houses every few years. The recurrence of this event is ensured by the carelessness of the Indians, for after the village has been destroyed the household goods carried to the new site are never sufficiently free from cockroaches to prevent them from
[764] soon swarming all over the dwellings. When epidemics cause the
[751] floors of the huts to fill rapidly with graves, this manner of burial may entail the erection of a new village within an even shorter period of time.

Not only does the settlement change as to site, however, but
361 it also changes in size. I have already mentioned in Chapter 5 the data furnished by Reverend Kegel, according to which
[392] Tampiitaua consisted of about 14 houses in August, 1932. The

[Text continues on p. 79]

171 411 25 centimeters wide and 12 centimeters in circumference on the above-mentioned Karajá club which is in my possession. Both specimens are made of heavy wood. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

411 [724] [578] In hand-to-hand fighting, to kill at a short distance, the club is usually preferable to the arrow. The Tapirapé will also grab their clubs when quarreling with a member of their own tribe, but in spite of this menacing gesture the quarrel is usually limited to a string of verbal insults. While in daytime dances the men of 411 535 Tampiitaua held in their hands an arrow or bow, and only exceptionally a club, in the kaõ, or great nocturnal group dance, they held clubs and bush knives. These weapons were not used largely to mark time, as was the case with the bow and arrow in the daytime dances. They were displayed to make clear the character of kaõ, which, as shown also by the intonation of the accompanying chant and by other elements, is basically a martial one. Furthermore, [721] when equipped with clubs and bush knives, the warriors stood ready every night to repel any dreaded attack by their Kayapó neighbors. As far as hunting is concerned, it must be re-224 411 called that the density of the forest vegetation and the height of the grass in the savanna frequently ruled against the use of bow and [137] arrow and impelled the Indian to attack from a short distance, that is to say, to use the club. In spite of this, during the march between the village and the river I observed that all the men carried bows and arrows, while they did not all carry clubs. Another spe- [683] cialized function of the Tapirapé club is to kill those people who are regarded as evil sorcerers.

114 411 The Tapirapé spear (yvyra-hãia, "pointed stick," or mina, "spear") may have been imported from the Karajá. There are no references to spears among the ancient Tupinambá or among the [439] [171] upper Xingu tribes. In Montoya's work (2, II), however, we find the terms ibirãnaquãbae, "pointed stick" (haquã, "point") and my, "spear, prong." I did not see any spears while I was with the [535] Tapirapé, but at Macauba on Bananal Island, Mr. Frederico Kegel showed me one that he had brought back from a previous visit to those Indians, and told me that they used it exclusively in their dances to mark the time, in the same manner as the above-men- 171 411 tioned weapons. This spear resembled the Karajá spear (donolí) described by Krause (2, 272-273 and Fig. 128). It was likewise a

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



and only 147 inhabitants. This is an extraordinary example of the ravages of European diseases among a native American people.

Tampitawa (Village of the Tapir) is composed, therefore, of a residue from all of the five original villages. All of the customs and ceremony attached to inter-village relations have of course disappeared. People remember their former village affiliation, or that of their parents. They still speak of a person as being "the son of Fish Village," but village loyalty, once strong, has disappeared. Formerly, villages were basically endogamous, but some marriage outside of the village did take place. Today, only three people can say that they are descendants of people from Tapir Village. Ancient inter-village antagonism existed, especially between Tapir and the village which joined with it in 1900. Today, this conflict is only remembered under the stress of some quarrel and is referred to only as a taunt.

Depopulation has had little effect on the economic life of the Tapirapé. They are basically a forest agricultural people with large plantations. Manioc is their staple. Plantations are large enough, and the economic organization fluid enough, to allow for the support of large numbers of refugees for a year or so until they can make gardens for themselves. Refugees have joined one of the large households, at present eight, each with some twenty-five to thirty people. Formerly these households were matrilineal groups headed by a man of high prestige. His wife's relatives formed the matrilineal group and he demanded labor from his numerous sons-in-law (husbands of daughters of wife, including extended "daughters"). The coming of refugees disrupted these matrilineal households. If a refugee woman lacked a close female kin, her husband often arranged for habitation with a friend or a relative of his. Men of high status offered the hospitality of their houses to incoming men of rank. Today, therefore, many reassortments of relatives live under one roof, and two and even three separate groups of female relatives live under as many older men, whereas formerly they would have formed one household under the leadership of one household head. In no one case, does a man control a complete household as he would have done under the old system.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



had continued during the last thirteen years. Yet I found that even with so small a population Tapirapé society still functioned as an organized unit and Tapirapé culture persisted, although highly modified by the events of the last thirteen years. Several points of theoretical importance can be learned from recent Tapirapé history and from some observations on social and cultural changes since 1940.

The sketchy outline of Tapirapé history between 1940 and 1953, which I have been able to piece together with the help of the Indians themselves, of Sr. Valentim Gomes (the officer of the post of the Brazilian Indian Service which services the Tapirapé, and my companion during both visits to the tribe in 1939-40), and of a published report by Herbert Baldus,[3] indicates the tremendous shocks this society has suffered in the last decade. Briefly, this history is as follows: In 1941, just a year after my 1940 visit, a serious epidemic broke out in the Tapirapé village in which I had lived. As usual, following an epidemic during which there is a series of deaths, dissension broke out within the village. A well-known shaman was killed and a group of Tapirapé ("perhaps thirty in number") fled the village to the Brazilian town of Furo de Pedra, some two hundred kilometers from their village. It is reported that at least two people died during this trip and that the group returned to their village infected with common colds. By August of 1940, Sr. Gomes was able to ascertain that twenty-six people had died since June of the same year. In September of 1941 an Indian Post for the protection of the Tapirapé was opened, but it was established at the mouth of the Tapirapé River, near the Carajá whom the Tapirapé feared and near Brazilians from whom they contracted new infections. That year, a few Indians visited the Post but after the death of a young Tapirapé man at the Post and an unfortunate experience with a group of drunken Brazilian men, only rarely did a Tapirapé

3. "Tribos da Bacia do Araguaia e o Serviço de Proteção aos Índios", in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, N. S., Vol. II, São Paulo, 1948, pp. 125-148.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



683 to avenge him, is generally not murdered (16). A strong shaman makes
[593] an effort to have a strong family group about him for protection. Intox-
[956] icants could not remember that murdered shamans had ever been avenged by their familiar spirits, although one man made the point that shamans were murdered only by persons under the influence of great anger or grief, for people normally are afraid of the familiars of shamans.
683 Special rites are observed by anyone who has murdered a shaman, to
783 protect him and the rest of the tribe against possible danger. On the day following the murder the *macintxunkuntra* must retire to his hammock and here eat of a white clay, *iwi ziuga*, and drink until he vomits of a
[327] brew made of boiling a man's leg ornament in water. Vomiting cleanses
[380] his body "of the blood of the shaman". The killer must paint his entire body black with *genipa* (*Genipa americana*) and put red *urucu* paint in his hair; he should also scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back
[941] with teeth of the dog fish, just as he did in the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult. Then, each year at the annual ceremony during the harvests in May and June, all who have killed shamans must drink of kauiú (17) until they vomit, so cleansing themselves of the shaman's blood for the period until the next harvest.

## DUTIES OF THE SHAMAN

276 Among the Tapirapé tobacco is a sacred plant necessary for curing and for all shamanistic activities; yet, while it is found widely near Tapirapé village and near their gardens, it is not strictly a cultivated plant. People know where a patch of tobacco grows and go there to pick it. Occasionally they transplant tobacco nearer to their houses or to their gardens but for the most part the patches seed themselves. When an

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[579 521] (16) When I left the Tapirapé in May, 1940, a grudge existed between two men of high status because of the murder of a shaman. Kamaiurá disliked, avoided, and criticized Kanaiká because he had killed Kaulíwaqui, Kamaiurá's wife's father. The antagonism was never overt. When they met they treated each other formally and coldly. Other Tapirapé told me that Kamaiurá's wife continually gossiped about the behavior of Kanaiká's wife, "because her husband had killed Kamaiurá's father".

[372 279] (17) A brew made of a few grains of maize and much water. It is believed to be poisonous.

under the leadership of the ãntaiva of the Anantxí, Tanupantxóa and Vuirá. Here the Anantxí were present in larger numbers than the other groups, for they were, so to speak, the contractors of this particular apatxirí. No division into three groups was evident, however, as the work progressed. All the Tãnãvé, Anantxí, and Vuiranxiniõ mixed together at random.

Tanupantxóa marked out the forest sections to be cleared by going to those spots without saying a word and attacking a tree with his ax. [554] He showed that he was the leader by working more than the others.

Ãntaiva of other groups were also present and working, such as Urukumí of the Tãnãvé and Kamairá of the Vuiranxiniõ. Vuãtanamí had gone to his garden. As usual, he probably wanted to avoid meeting [576] Kamairahõ, whom he hated. Maninohõ had stayed home. Kamairahõ sat on a felled tree and watched.

[100] Each man, as soon as he felt the desire to work, chose a tree for himself, as he pleased, in the vicinity of the ãntaiva, and the contest began. It did not seem to be a contest against the fellow workers, a fight to win over the others by achieving more, but a joyous contest against the timber and the big forest, against the forest as a whole, for it was not merely a matter of conquering each tree individually with the brute strength of the arms, but also a matter of strategy. First an incision in a good number of trees was made in such a way that they would all fall in the same direction when their tottering neighbor leaned against them from the opposite direction. Only then was a forest giant felled, and felled in such a way that it dragged with it to the ground its fellows weakened by the ax.

After extreme exertion for a while, each man would rest until he felt like resuming his task. They were all quite diligent.

The Indian works according to a different rhythm than that followed by the men of our civilization. He does not carry out the same task every day, at a certain time and for a certain period of time, but gives himself up with all his senses and all his strength to whatever task seems to him most necessary at the moment and best suited to his creative urge. When he does this, he does not spare himself but persists in his heavy work until he is completely exhausted. For example, he gives himself to the felling of trees with such fanaticism that on the following day he can hardly get out of his hammock owing to the muscular pain. [101] As soon as he feels a little better, he carves a bow stave or weaves a basket. Suddenly, he feels a craving for

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirape SP22



Fear was present in the formalization of quarrels full of hatred, a formalization which obliged the opponents to avoid direct contact. They had to remain hidden from one another and not interrupt the speech of their antagonist, but only reply when he had finished. One such quarrel began in the afternoon of June 27, 1935. Kanaimbó lay in his hammock with open eyes and didn't answer when several people called him. Manimbó, the eldest man of the neighbouring house, begins to pronounce insults. He stays inside his house. The entrances of the houses are so arranged that it is impossible to look from the interior of one house into the interior of another.[4] Kanaimbó's wife stays outside between the two houses without looking towards either of them. She faces the men's house in the centre of the village and replies to Manimbó with extraordinary gravity, in a level voice and with calm gestures. They are discussing a question of shamanism. Manimbó seems to be doing the provoking. The other persons present continue with their habitual activities, neither laughing nor speaking. After a while Manimbó's aggressiveness seems to increase. Kanaimbó's wife joins her husband and the eldest man of her house places himself close to the entrance but inside, holding a club and railing violently in a loud and monotonous voice. When he finishes, profound silence rules for some moments. Then the other replies in the same tone. Never does one interrupt the other. This rule is also observed when two Tapirapé women have a quarrel as well as among other South American tribes.[5] The quarrel between the two men, ever always hidden from the other, lasted until sunset. Late that night the old man of Kanaimbó's house, where I was also living, asked me for my electric torch and went with his wife for water by a very roundabout way in order to avoid the proximity of Manimbó's house. These precautionary measures—the lamp, the company of his wife, and the detour—reveal clearly the fear he had of the adversary. Supposing then that fear has contributed to create the institution of formalized quarrels we may consider it a form of sublimation. But is it only a tribal behaviour pattern or also fear that causes the victim of theft to abstain from any exteriorized reaction? Frequently I observed that the theft of some thing obtained from the white men, for instance a necklace of glass beads, was known immediately in the whole village; the victim, however, suffers in silence without any demonstration and doesn't attempt any revenge.

As an institution which is essentially a product of fear appears that of the shamans. Nonexistent in certain South American tribes and little developed in others, it is so important to the Tapirapé that they informed me of certain local groups having recovered their independence and joined the inhabitants of another village because there were no more shamans among them.[6] This becomes credible when one considers Charles Wagley's[7] quotation of one of his informants' words: "Without our pajés, all we Tapirapé die." According to the same author,[8] "the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shamans." This means that the first place in Tapirapé society belongs to the person who defends the community against the ever terrible dangers of the supernatural world. It is collective fear which gives him this status. But the very had continuous contact with the forces of destruction makes the shaman for his part also a man to be feared, and consequently exposes him to other dangers, to dangers which we would now call supernatural. When cases of death occur in the village, and especially several in a short time, it is usual to attribute the cause to a shaman and therefore many shamans are murdered. There is in addition fear which, in such cases, causes a Tapirapé to defend the community

A son

and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite child, being given special attention and education and being highly decorated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life. 554 858

**Puberty.**—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong. 882 [302] [301]

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, *top, left*). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance. [302] 881 [292]

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of women. [302] [582]

**Marriage.**—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antagonism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage marriage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people. 621 [578] [582] [579]

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule. 582

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him. [161] [182] [178] [591]

115 124 [337] [578] [582] [156] [154] Tapirapé village which he would have hesitated to relate on home grounds. He told me of adulterous affairs in process and of the growing determination among one group of kinsmen to assassinate Urukumu, the powerful medicine man, because they suspected him of performing death-dealing sorcery.

122 After two weeks in Furo de Pedra, I found that it would be necessary for Valentim Gomes and me to go to Rio de Janeiro. It was not possible for Champukwi to accompany us and so I arranged for two Brazilian frontiersmen to return him to a point on the Tapirapé River from which he could easily hike to his village in a day. Valentim and I then began our slow trip up the Araguaia River to the motor road and thence to Rio de Janeiro. Two months [132] later, rid of malaria and with a new stock of supplies, we returned to spend the long rainy months from November until the end of [115] May in the Village of the Tapirs. Champukwi was there to wel- [123] come us, and he came each day to help repair and enlarge our house. [209] We easily fell into our former friendly relationship, now strengthened by the experience in common of the trip to Furo de Pedra and by the feeling which many anthropologists have shared with the people of their communities—that anyone who returns is an "old friend."

115 123 My return to the village that November marked, in a sense, the end of what might be called the first phase of my relationship with Champukwi as friend and as anthropological informant. During the course of at least 200 hours of conversation (many of which may be methodologically dignified as interviews), I had learned much about Champukwi as a person as well as about Tapirapé culture. I knew that as a small boy he had come from Fish Village, where his parents had died, to live in the Village of the Tapirs. He had lived with his father's younger brother, Kamaira, who was the leader of a large household. He even confided to me his boyhood name; [553] Tapirapé change their names several times during their lifetimes [59] and mention of a person's first childhood name, generally that of [522] a fish, an animal, or simply descriptive of some personal characteristic, causes laughter among the audience and considerable embarrassment to the individual. I knew that Champukwi had been mar- [165] ried before he took his current wife, and that his first wife had died [843] in childbirth. He revealed that her kinsmen had gossiped that her death was caused by his lack of respect for the food taboos imposed

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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could come quietly to us at night to drink water, to ask for something to eat, and even to sleep in an extra hammock we had for visitors. His affairs were evidently extensive, for he once divided all of the adult women of the village into two categories—those "I know how to talk with" (i.e., to seduce) and those "I do not know how to talk with." There were many with whom he "could talk."

Unfortunately, by late November of 1939, I knew too much about Champukwi's affairs either for his comfort or for mine. His wife sometimes came to my house to ask if I knew where he had gone (I could generally guess), and once an irate husband even came to inquire of his whereabouts. His Don Juan activities had evidently increased. His friendship with me caused him trouble with other Tapirapé who were envious of the presents he received. The story was circulated that he had stolen a pair of scissors which, in fact, I had given to him. Moreover, several people caught colds, and he was accused of bringing the infection from Furo de Pedra (actually it was probably transmitted by the frontiersman who had helped transport us to the village in November). Champukwi sought revenge by cutting down one of the main supports of the men's house, which promptly caved in. No one died or was seriously injured and the destruction of the men's house was soon forgotten since it is normally rebuilt each year. However, people continued to criticize Champukwi, much of their criticism revolving around his relationship with me. There are no realms of esoteric secrets in Tapirapé culture (as there are in many cultures) that must not be revealed to an outsider; there is only the "secret" of the men from the women that the masked dancers are not supernatural beings but merely masquerading men, but I had been fully and openly brought into this "secret." I was, moreover, exceedingly careful in conversation never to refer to any bit of personal information that some informant, Champukwi or another, had told me. But rumors were rife in the small village—that I was angry and would soon leave (I was by then a valuable asset), that Champukwi told me lies about others, that I refused to give a bushknife to a household leader because Champukwi had urged me not to do so (I refused because I had already given him one bushknife), and the like.

Champukwi reacted moodily, often violently, to this situation. I could no longer count on his visits nor on our research interviews. He now visited us with a glum look on his face, and when he was

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



not at once offered coffee, he left offended. But the very next day he might return, gay and joking, yet without his former patience for teaching or explaining Tapirapé culture. Once he returned tired from a hunting trip, and, irritated by his wife, he beat her with the flat side of his bushknife and marched off in anger, thoughtfully taking the family hammock and a basket of manioc flour, to sleep four nights in the forest near his garden. Soon afterwards, he left his wife to take the wife of a younger man. This did not become a major scandal in the village. After some tense yet calm words between the two men, it seemed clear that the young woman preferred Champukwi and the abandoned husband peacefully moved into the men's house. Champukwi's former wife and their two young daughters continued to live with her relatives as is the Tapirapé rule. But the switch of spouses caused tension between Champukwi and his former wife's kinsmen, and between Champukwi and the abandoned husband's kinsmen; and, to multiply his woes, he now had a new set of in-laws to satisfy. For about a month thereafter I rarely saw Champukwi; he obviously avoided our house. When we met in the village or in the men's house, he simply said that he was busy repairing his house or hunting.

Discussing emotions with someone from a culture as widely different as Tapirapé is from my own was difficult, and the language barrier was still a real one. Although my Tapirapé vocabulary was increasing, it was hardly adequate to probe deeply into emotional responses; nor was Champukwi given to introspection. I shall probably never fully understand Champukwi's temporary rejection of me, but the cause was probably both sociological and psychological. First, his apparent influence with me and our close friendship had created antagonism on the part of other villagers. By rejecting the outsider, he now hoped to reinstate himself in his own society. A second, deeper and more personal reason, contributed to his rejection of me; he had told me too much about himself, and feared that he had lost face in the process. Also, it was obvious that I was growing less dependent upon him for knowledge as my facility with the language improved and my information about the culture grew. Finally, the rejection was not one-sided. Now additional informants were desirable for my research. Also, if I remember correctly (it is not stated in my notebooks), I was annoyed by Champukwi's neglect and disappointed by his lack of loyalty.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



fall, he struggled to his feet and tried to run. The young men who followed him seized him. Informants explained that in such a state he might have run wildly through the village, breaking property and causing bodily harm to others, in the same way that young novice shamans "run". Afterwards Kamairabo told me that he would never again take part in this ceremony because Thunder might trap his soul during a visit to Thunder's house and cause his death. 756 781 796 [761]

*Case of Panéri*

Panéri is a young shaman who has been treating the sick for several years. He took part in all the ceremonies during the first two days. During the sundown phase of the third day, he touched the headdress, then being carried by Urukumu, screamed, fell backwards, and in falling, broke open his scalp against one of the house poles. Upon regaining consciousness an hour or so later, he said that he remembered nothing. All that he knew, he explained, was that he returned from a dreamtrip covered with blood.

*Case of Anawani*

Anawani is a layman, notably the laziest of the village and thus unmarried. He took part in only one sundown phase of the Thunder ceremony, openly admitting that he was afraid to continue. During that one session Anawani caught hold of Panéri several times as he moved back and forth with the group. Each time that he did this he fell at once to the ground, screaming. It was explained that to touch a powerful *panéri* during the process of the ceremony is dangerous: for the shaman attracts the arrows of *tupi*. [591. 589]

*Case of Kanaripá*

Kanaripá is a novice and is considered a potentially powerful shaman. He vomited violently during each phase of the ceremony and during the sundown phases he staggered about bumping into house poles. Where he was pressed by a group, he invariably fell to the ground. Several other men were seized thus when pressed by a group. During one of the sessions of the ceremony, it took about a half hour to bring Kanaripá out of this seizure. His wife began the crying chant characteristic of funerals while Urukumu massaged and fumigated him. She cried out that he was dead several times before she saw him returning to consciousness. [764 583]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



601 **Kinship.**—Kinship is more important in furthering solidarity among the *Tapirapé* than either the moieties or the feast groups. *Tapirapé* kin-
[182] ship is bilateral, its chief principle being that all cousins, whether cross-
[611] or parallel-cousins, no matter how distant, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of people calling each other siblings are also called siblings. Mother's sisters are called mother, and father's brothers, father. Mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, a man's brothers' children are considered his sons and daughters, and a woman's sisters' children are her children. Children of a man's sisters or a woman's brothers are given special terms.

[621] The wide inclusiveness of kinship affiliation makes it possible for an
[178] individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers—and in former days many people in other villages—by terms of close relationship.

An older man of some prestige gathers around him by adoption as many
554 "daughters" or as many of his wife's "daughters" as possible. By the
●558 marriage of these "daughters," he attracts a group of younger men within
597 his household who contribute constantly to his larder through the hunt and
592 garden activities. At present, only three of the nine houses in the village were formed in this way, but reduced numbers, we were told, forced various combinations of relatives to share a household.

## LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth.**—Although aware that pregnancy is brought about by sexual intercourse, the *Tapirapé* believe that conception takes place when a shaman, serving as intermediary, brings a "child spirit" to the woman. Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, and various fish and insects are supposed to contain child spirits.

843 When the woman is certain that she is pregnant, she tells her husband. They both paint their bodies with genipa and cover their hair with urucú. During the first few days of pregnancy, no restraints are imposed upon the child's parents, but as birth approaches, all sexual contact must cease.
[851] All men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers of the future child, together with the real father.

844 At childbirth the woman is assisted by her mother and sister and by two male relatives. The husband retires to his hammock and is forbidden to partake of any liquid refreshment.

847 Infanticide is practiced because it is considered bad to have more than three children, or two children of the same sex. The fourth child, or third of the same sex, of one mother is buried in a hole dug inside the residence for the afterbirth.

852 On the day after birth, a male child has his lower lip perforated. Until
859 the child is weaned, the parents must refrain from sexual relations and
851 must not eat salt, sugar, honey, or the meat of various animals and forest
262 fowls. Both boys and girls also are restricted in their meat diet. A son

162 621 In the age group ranging from 15 to 30, there were 30 males and 20 females, that is, 50 individuals of both sexes.

In the age group ranging from 31 to 60, there were 13 males and 12 females, that is to say, 25 individuals of both sexes. Only two among them were older than 45, one woman who was 48 and one who was 60.

There was not a single individual older than 60.

The most striking fact is the small number of individuals over 30 years of age. On the other hand, the number of individuals younger than 15 is not, in proportion, as small as the corresponding group among certain "civilized" peoples. [Ed., the remainder of p. 187 is omitted.]

[103:188] The 35 Tampilifua couples included 20 where [592] the husband appeared to be older than the wife, 12 where the opposite seemed to be the case, and three where they seemed to be of the same age. I say "appeared to be older" to acknowledge minor inaccuracies in reckoning people's ages, even though I did not do this alone but in collaboration with Mr. Kegel, who had more points of reference than I because he had observed these Indians for several years.

The following table shows the number, sex, and age of the 592 162 occupants of each house indicated on the ground plan of the village. [Table appears here.]

621 166 I heard in 1935, and published in 1937, that the Tapirapé formerly had five villages whose descendants make up the present population of Tampilifua (cf. Baldus 17, 86). Wagley (2, 408-409) confirmed this, adding (4, 5) that those five villages "probably existed as late as the turn of the century and are said to have had a population of about 200 people each." He also refers (ibid.) [731] to epidemics as the only cause for the abandonment of these villages. I have already mentioned that in the case of the village [699] abandoned in 1932 fear of the Kayapó must have been a contributing factor. It is worth noting the explanation given for the move of 79 the occupants of three other villages to Tampilifua: there were 166 no médicos-feiticeiros [Tr., sorcerers--medicine men] left 621 among them. This might, of course, have occurred as the result of an epidemic. The interesting fact, however, is that the Tapirapé did not mention disease but the lack of pagés [Tr., shamans] as the reason for abandoning the villages. Nothing could

[text continues on p. 42]

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



ALL TOGETHER

178 622 161 554

status are, today, called "capitaes" (The Tapirapé use the Portuguese word. There is no equivalent in their language.) These "capitaes" are village elders (who were village "favorite children" in their youth, and therefore people of prestige), leaders of the warriors, age grades, and able shamans. Formerly, there were only two village elders, two warrior leaders, and, ideally, two favorite children in a village. Today, with congregation of people from all villages in one, several "noble" families are present and there is an oversupply of "capitaes."

178 582 161 (462) (554)

Marriage arrangements, too, have been affected by depopulation. At present, there are some ten men of marriageable age, for whom there are no possible wives, and immediate families are so broken up that there are no possible groups of women to care for these unattached men. A man must have a wife to cook for him and perform women's tasks. To do any woman's work would play complete havoc with a man's personal prestige, which is a matter of greatest importance. Most of these Tapirapé men have solved their problem by contracting convenient "social" marriages with extremely young girls. They attach themselves to a household, in which they perform a man's customary economic duties, and, in turn, their mothers-in-law do women's work for them.

178 161

Lack of time prevents mention of many other aspects of native life pertaining to marriage, kinship, and leadership, which have been profoundly affected by depopulation. Possibly, in other cultures, the effects of introduced disease have not been quite so disastrous, nor the loss of people so important to the social life, as in the case of the Tapirapé. Without a doubt, however, whenever there have been sporadic contacts with Europeans, these or other alien factors have been introduced and have caused important changes in the structure of native life.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



organization, in technology, in ceremonial and religious 177
life, in economics and, in fact, in almost all realms of life. In the space of a short paper it will be possible to indicate only a few of these modifications. One of the 177
most striking changes has to do with the relations of 574
the Tapirapé with their traditional enemies, the Carajá. 648
In 1940 the Tapirapé told of their fear of the Carajá who had attacked them several times in the past, and Tapirapé men traveling along the Araguaya River with the writer hid in the bottom of the boat in fear of their traditional foe. No Tapirapé would have dared enter a Carajá village without the protection of a Brazilian. But in 1953 the new Tapirapé village was situated within six or seven kilometers of a Carajá village. Two Tapirapé [572]
youths, for lack of Tapirapé women of marriageable age, had married Carajá girls, and following the rule of matrilocal residence which both Carajá and Tapirapé cultures share they lived in the Carajá village and worked with their in-laws. Each day during my 1953 visit there were Carajá visitors in the Tapirapé village. They came [434]
to exchange fish, game or other items for Tapirapé manioc—for the Tapirapé are by tradition better gardeners than the Carajá. A friendly Carajá even joined the Tapirapé men to dance and sing during one of their ceremonials, and one evening a group of Tapirapé accepted the invitation of the Carajá to attend their wrestling matches on the beach in front of the Carajá village. One must conclude that old and traditional enmities and antagonisms between peoples can fade out easily and quickly unless there are deep-seated economic or territorial bases for such antagonisms.

Another striking change between the Tapirapé in 177
1940 and those of 1953 was their recent adaptation to 481
canoe travel. In 1940, the Tapirapé might have been classified as "foot Indians". They neither made nor owned canoes. Many Tapirapé were unable to swim. They were all most inept when forced to travel by canoe. In 1953, six Tapirapé men owned canoes they had acquir- 177
ed from the Carajá, some had to make canoes, and 501

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



a male leader, a man of prestige, who is usually the husband of one the older women of the female kinship group. Apart from these residential groupings, the Tapirapé are divided in two other ways. 591 592

First, all Tapirapé men belong to one of the two patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties (2) and each moiety is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths, two groups of adult men of warrior age, and two groups of older men. Each of these groups bears the name of a mythical bird, the word wéé — bird — itself being used as the generic name for the groups. These wéé function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites; parallel groups also dance against one another in the ceremonials and offer reciprocal feasts to each other. The warrior-age group of each of these moieties has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and other communal work and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. 561 616 [476] [535] [574]

Both men and women of the Tapirapé are also divided into eight "feasting" groups called ritéopawé — literally "live all to eat" (3). Men belong to their father's feasting group and women to their mother's. Feasting groups are not only non-exogamic but people prefer to marry with their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry names of the mythological heads of the legendary original eight households of the first Tapirapé village. On occasion during the dry season the feast groups meet at sunset on the dance plaza for a ceremonial feast, each member bringing his or her contribution to the common meal (4). 577 571 582 [773]

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(2) Baldus (op. cit. pp. 95-96) did not recognize these wéé groups as age groups of men's ceremonial moieties. He calls these groups de trabalho (work groups). He reports these wéé groups among the adult men and writes that formerly there had been these corresponding groups among the boys of the tribe. Nowadays the Tapirapé are so few that lacking older men, younger men pass permanently into the older men's wéé group in order to give the necessary balance for ceremonials. This presents the picture of several groups of equal age; thus accounting, perhaps, for the divergence of opinion on this subject. Careful checking with informants, and observation of dances, feasts, games and wrestling matches where Tapirapé men were grouped according to moiety divisions led me to the definite conclusion that there are age groupings of men's ceremonial moieties as described above. [399]

(3) Baldus (op. cit., p. 90).

(4) Baldus calls the ritéopawé "grupos de comer" (eating groups). He reports seven feast groups functioning in 1937. He vividly describes a ceremonial meal on pages 91 to 95 of his work already cited.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



**Weapons.**—Bows have a circular cross section and average about 6 feet (2 m.) in length. The arrows are of cane about 5 feet (1.5 m.) long with heads of bone, hardwood, and the spur from the sting ray (*Potamotrygon histrix*). They have brilliant feathers, sometimes the red and blue feathers of the red macaw. Clubs are made of several polished hardwoods and are sometimes decorated near the handles with woven strands of cane fibers. 411

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Three distinct social groupings are basic in *Tapirapé* social organization: men's ceremonial societies, feast societies, and the kinship groups. 561 616

**Ceremonial societies.**—All *Tapirapé* men belong to one of the patrilineal ceremonial societies. Each of these societies is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths (those up to 15 years of age); two groups of men of warrior age (15 to 40 years); and two groups of older men (40 to 60 years). Each group bears the name of a bird, the word "wirá" (bird) being the generic name for the group. These age groups (Baldus, 1937, p. 96, calls them "work groups") function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites at the cooperative work festival; parallel groups also dance against each other in various ceremonials and reciprocally feast each other. Each moiety [345] owns half of the men's house, and its portion is subdivided into sections [423] owned by the three age grades. The warrior age group of each moiety has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and communal work, and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. As a man becomes elderly, he entirely drops out of the "bird" groups and is no longer affiliated, as he cannot take part in their economic and ceremonial activities. At present, the *Tapirapé* are so reduced in number that, lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's age grade in order to retain the necessary balance for ceremonials.

**Feast groups.**—Both men and women are divided into eight feasting groups called tikuqawá (literally, "fire all to eat") Men belong to their 579 fathers' feast group and women to their mothers'. Feast groups are not 264 only exogamic, but people prefer to marry within their own group so [582] that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry the names of the mythological heads of the original eight households of the first *Tapirapé* village. They unite at various times throughout the year for ceremonial meals. The feasts take place at traditional spots in the village plaza, at times when there is an abundance of honey, maize, or meat from the hunt. Each member brings his contribution. Baldus (1937, p. 88) calls these "eating groups," and emphasizes that they are consumers' groups providing a means of distributing food when more is available than a family can eat. Today only six groups meet for feasts, two being extinct for lack of members.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



A son

and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite child, being given special attention and education and being highly decorated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life. 554 858

**Puberty.**—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong. 882 [302] [301]

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, *top, left*). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance. [302] 881 [292]

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of women. [302] [582]

**Marriage.**—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antagonism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage marriage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people. 621 [578] [582] [574]

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule. 582

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him. [161] [182] [178] [591]

302 [108:124] [Fig. 4 appears here.] I have sometimes seen Tapirapé men whose painting merely consisted of a series of handprints scattered all over the body. They called this vaipapé, a word [112] which may be derived from vaitepe, "many," and pa, "hand."

The Tapirapé often blacken their hands with genipap or outline their mouths with it. In the vuangkané painting (Fig. 2), the man also has a black border around the mouth. This decora- [111] tion is also used by the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Fig. 48a). [108: 125] The genipap design on the inside of a man's thigh (Fig. 6) [584] was drawn by his lover at the outset of their relationship. They call it anampaf and maintain that it is a "fish." They also draw

Fig. 3. Ipihauíua male body painting.

it on the arms.

While the above-mentioned male paintings are worn by the 302 men from their initiation up to the time when they no longer 881 participate in daytime dances, boys have their entire bodies blackened with genipap for a whole year preceding the day of their

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



586 Until the first child is born, marriage bonds are rather weak, but henceforth the marriage is comparatively stable. There are, however, frequent [837] cases of adultery, and a guilty woman who is found out is thrashed by her [684] husband. When a marriage is dissolved, the man leaves the house, which is considered the wife's property, although built by him.

788 Upon a man's death, his widow remains in the house. After about 2 [877] months of free sexual relations, she chooses a new husband.

**Death.**—The *Tapirapé* believe that death is brought about by sorcery 761 and never by natural causes. Frequently, when the relatives of the [692] deceased enjoyed sufficient prestige, they kill the shaman whom they [759] suspect.

As soon as it is certain that the sick man will die, mourning begins in 763 the form of a wailing dirge by both men and women. The men dance around the hammock of the dying or dead man, while the women remain seated on the ground. Burial takes place on the day after death. The 764 corpse is stretched out on the hammock. Its feet and head are decorated with urucú dye, and its face is painted black with genipa. The grave is dug in the dead man's house under the place where his hammock was usually hung. The body is buried in the hammock, which is set up in the grave between two poles. All contact with the earth is avoided. Personal possessions of the deceased are buried with him, except that all feather ornaments and bows and arrows are burned.

Five days after the funeral, the relatives walk in file to the ceremonial 765 hut, where they leave the spirit of the dead man. The wailing goes on for many days, sometimes months, and always takes place at sunset. Close-cropped hair is a token of mourning for both sexes.

## ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 **Art.**—Obvious esthetic pleasure is derived from skillfully done basket-531 work; a good workman will destroy a basket which is not turning out well, even though it would serve as a receptacle. Great use is made of highly colored feathers; feathers are both tied and stuck with rosin and wax on to the object to be decorated. Elaborate geometric designs are painted on children's bodies with genipa. The incise work on gourds is also especially striking.

534 **Musical instruments.**—Gourd rattles are frequently used to keep time to singing. No sacred powers are attributed to rattles. During the shamanistic ceremony (p. 177), a bamboo trunk is pounded against the ground in time to the music.

533 **Music.**—By far the most important *Tapirapé* pastime is singing. A man with a good voice and a large repertoire of songs is much admired by the community. All ceremonies are, basically, singing festivals. Each ceremony during the year has a large set of specific songs: those to be sung by the shaman during the shamanistic "battle with Thunder" (p. 177);

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



not at once offered coffee, he left offended. But the very next day he might return, gay and joking, yet without his former patience for teaching or explaining Tapirapé culture. Once he returned tired from a hunting trip, and, irritated by his wife, he beat her with the flat side of his bushknife and marched off in anger, thoughtfully taking the family hammock and a basket of manioc flour, to sleep four nights in the forest near his garden. Soon afterwards, he left his wife to take the wife of a younger man. This did not become a major scandal in the village. After some tense yet calm words between the two men, it seemed clear that the young woman preferred Champukwi and the abandoned husband peacefully moved into the man's house. Champukwi's former wife and their two young daughters continued to live with her relatives as is the Tapirapé rule. But the switch of spouses caused tension between Champukwi and his former wife's kinsmen, and between Champukwi and the abandoned husband's kinsmen; and, to multiply his woes, he now had a new set of in-laws to satisfy. For about a month thereafter I rarely saw Champukwi; he obviously avoided our house. When we met in the village or in the men's house, he simply said that he was busy repairing his house or hunting.

Discussing emotions with someone from a culture as widely different as Tapirapé is from my own was difficult, and the language barrier was still a real one. Although my Tapirapé vocabulary was increasing, it was hardly adequate to probe deeply into emotional responses; nor was Champukwi given to introspection. I shall probably never fully understand Champukwi's temporary rejection of me, but the cause was probably both sociological and psychological. First, his apparent influence with me and our close friendship had created antagonism on the part of other villagers. By rejecting the outsider, he now hoped to reinstate himself in his own society. A second, deeper and more personal reason, contributed to his rejection of me; he had told me too much about himself, and feared that he had lost face in the process. Also, it was obvious that I was growing less dependent upon him for knowledge as my facility with the language improved and my information about the culture grew. Finally, the rejection was not one-sided. Now additional informants were desirable for my research. Also, if I remember correctly (it is not stated in my notebooks), I was annoyed by Champukwi's neglect and disappointed by his lack of loyalty.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



fell, he struggled to his feet and tried to run. The young men who followed him seized him. Informants explained that in such a state he might have run wildly through the village, breaking property and causing bodily harm to others, in the same way that young novice shamans "run". Afterwards Kamaiuabo told me that he would never again take part in this ceremony because Thunder might trap his soul during a visit to Thunder's house and cause his death. 756 781 796 [761]

*Case of Panini*

Panini is a young shaman who has been treating the sick for several years. He took part in all the ceremonies during the first two days. During the sundown phase of the third day, he touched the headdress, then being carried by Urukumu, screamed, fell backwards, and in falling, broke open his scalp against one of the house poles. Upon regaining consciousness an hour or so later, he said that he remembered nothing. All that he knew, he explained, was that he returned from a dreamtrip covered with blood.

*Case of Anawani*

Anawani is a layman, notably the laziest of the village and thus unmarried. He took part in only one sundown phase of the Thunder ceremony, openly admitting that he was afraid to continue. During that one session Anawani caught hold of Panteri several times as he moved back and forth with the group. Each time that he did this he fell at once to the ground, screaming. It was explained that to touch a powerful *panié* during the process of the ceremony is dangerous: for the shaman attracts the arrows of *tapi*. [561, 589]

*Case of Kanacipá*

Kanacipá is a novice and is considered a potentially powerful shaman. He vomited violently during each phase of the ceremony and during the sundown phases he staggered about bumping into house poles. When he was pressed by a group, he invariably fell to the ground. Several other men were seized thus when pressed by a group. During one of the sessions of the ceremony, it took about a half hour to bring Kanacipá out of this seizure. His wife began the crying chant characteristic of funerals while Urukumu massaged and fumigated him. She cried out that he was dead several times before she saw him returning to consciousness. [764 533]

171 houses, since in both cases the structures stand around the central
361 plaza. The chief difference lies in the fact that the large men's house stands in the center of the Tampiitaua plaza, while according to all references and pertinent woodcuts the Tupinambá village plaza had no building whatever in the center.

There seems to be a closer similarity between Tapirapé and Mundurukú [Mundurucu] villages. [Ed., the remainder of p. 106 and all but the last paragraph on p. 107 are omitted.]

[111:107] On the plan of Tampiitaua (Fig. 8), the arrange-
361 ment of houses around the takana clearly reveals two semicircles
621 standing [111:108] at some distance from each other, one on the
616 northern side and the other on the southern side. The largest house in each group stands in the middle of the others, so that these two larger houses, a and e, stand more or less opposite with the takana between them. The important kauibó dance, which
[535] will be described in a later chapter, was performed first in house a, and immediately afterward by the same persons in house e. In various masked dances, the pairs, when crossing the village plaza, moved alternately from one of these houses to the other. The
[622] heads of the two houses, Kamairabó and Vuatanamy, not only were the main leaders of Tampiitaua, but also performed as a pair in one of those dances. It is thus possible that they represented the "patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties" mentioned by Wagley (4, 7 [Tr., in English at 4, 63]).

591 According to that author (ibid.), Tapirapé residence is matri-
114 local. At the time of my stay in Tampiitaua, there were eight couples with living ancestors: (1) in house a, the couple designated by the numbers 3 and 10 on the village plan (Fig. 8) lived with No. 1, that is, the husband's father (the husband's mother and the wife's parents were dead); (2) couple 11 and 16, in the same house, did not live with No. 29, that is, the wife's father, in house b (the husband's parents and the wife's mother were dead); (3) couple 13 and 18 lived in the same house, a, as No. 8, that is, the husband's mother, and this was also the house of 17 and 24, that is, the wife's parents (the husband's father was dead); (4) couple 29 and 36, in house b, did not live with No. 22, that is, the wife's mother, in house a (the husband's parents and the wife's father were dead); (5) couple 33 and 42, in house b, lived

114 in this house with No. 48, that is, the husband's mother (the hus-
591 band's father and the wife's parents were dead); (6) couple 36 and 40, in the same house, did not live with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother, who lived in house d (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (7) couple 51 and 58, in house d, lived in this house with No. 56, that is, the husband's mother (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead); (8) couple 85 and 92, in house f, did not live with No. 22, that is, the husband's mother, in house a (the husband's father and the wife's parents were dead). As we can see, these data do not permit us to mention the existence of either a matrilocal or a patrilocal pattern among the Tapirapé in 1935, nor do they contribute any answer to the question as to whether these Indians were formerly patrilocal or matrilocal. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 108, p. 109, and the first paragraph of p. 110 are omitted.]

[111:110] Thus, while the villages of various tribes at the
171 headwaters of the Xingu resemble Tampiitaua in their inclusion
361 of a ceremonial house and in the arrangement of the dwellings around it, they differ from it in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of dwellings and ceremonial houses. In that
171 region of the Xingu basin, the houses do not have, like those of the
342 Tapirapé, a rectangular plan. They are elliptical or round, and similar in their beehive shape to the hemispherical houses of the Rio das Mortes Chavante rather than to the elongated dome (cf. Max Schmidt 3, 460-461; Meyer, 1, 62; and the figure in Von den Steinen 1, 124). There, in addition, the ceremonial house
171 is not larger than the family dwellings around it, as is the takana
345 at Tampiitaua, but as a rule is actually smaller (Max Schmidt 3, 462). [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 110, p. 111, and all but the last two paragraphs on p. 112 are omitted.]

[10] [111:112] The use of a sleeping hammock also points out the
171 kinship of the Tapirapé with the Tupinambá and with the Pupi fam-
513 ily as a whole (cf. Métraux 2, 60-62). Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá also slept naked and without blankets, maintaining a fire beside the net through the night (cf. Staden p. 4; Dialogos
114 das grandezas do Brazil [Dialogues on the Grandeurs of Brazil] 270;
171 Salvador 35). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] While according to
513 Father Vicente de Salvador (35), the Tupinambá husband usually

4: Wagley E-S (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



241 and planting, which begins after the first light rains of October, is done
462 individually and principally by the men. Cotton and peanuts, however,
[423] are women's crops. The women plant these in their husband's garden plots and harvest them themselves. While a new garden plot is cleared each year, a particular garden plot is generally used for two years and then abandoned. A man plants such crops as maize, beans, and peppers on the plot the first year and as they are harvested, he replants the plot with manioc. Maize is harvested from the end of December through February, the season of heaviest rains; while other crops are harvested at the end of the rains in May and June.

[241] Large gardens with many different crops guarantee to the Tapi-
262 rapé a variety and abundance of garden stuff, but meat and fish are
22 definitely luxuries. People in the village could not remember a time when there had been real hunger among them, but they were frequently hungry for meat and fish. This lack in the diet is supplied by frequent trips to the near-by Tapirapé River and the grass plains that border it where fish and game, principally wild pork (*Tagassu pecari*), deer, peccary (*Tagassu tajacu*), water fowl, and tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*) are found in abundance. During the dry season these plains abound in piqui (*Caryocar villosum*), palm nuts especially andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), used for body oil — and other wild fruits.

556 Among the Tapirapé wealth is not reckoned in terms of basic sub-
435 sistance, for these goods are so easy to obtain as to be considered with little regard. The possessions that lend real distinction of wealth are such luxury articles as the breast and tail feathers of the red parrot (*Ara chloroptera?*), beads, and pieces of hardware acquired through contact with white men or trading with other Indians. These goods are accordingly the most valued media of exchange in the community. Other goods used for a medium of exchange were urucú (*Bixa orellana*), tobacco, extra hammocks, decorated gourds, string for binding feathers to arrows, and cane arrow shafts.

361 The houses of a Tapirapé village form a circle around a great central ceremonial men's house. There are nine of these large thatch dwellings with rounded roofs in the modern Tapirapé village; four to eight simple
591 families (father, mother, and children) share a house. Each simple family
592 has a section of the unpartitioned house where they lead a domestic life separate from the others. Residence is matrilocal and the women of such a household are ideally related by kinship; yet each large household has

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



a male leader, a man of prestige, who is usually the husband of one the older women of the female kinship group. Apart from these residential groupings, the Tapirapé are divided in two other ways. 591 592

First, all Tapirapé men belong to one of the two patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties (2) and each moiety is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths, two groups of adult men of warrior age, and two groups of older men. Each of these groups bears the name of a mythical bird, the word *wirá* — bird — itself being used as the generic name for the groups. These *wirá* function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites: parallel groups also dance against one another in the ceremonials and offer reciprocal feasts to each other. The warrior-age group of each of these moieties has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and other communal work and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. 561 616 [476] [535] [574]

Both men and women of the Tapirapé are also divided into eight "feasting" groups called *tátápawá* — literally "fire all to eat" (3). Men belong to their father's feasting group and women to their mother's. Feasting groups are not only non-exogamic but people prefer to marry with their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry names of the mythological heads of the legendary original eight households of the first Tapirapé village. On occasion during the dry season the feast groups meet at sunset on the dance plaza for a ceremonial feast, each member bringing his or her contribution to the common meal (4). 577 571 582 [773]

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(2) Baldus (op. cit. pp. 95-98) did not recognize these *wirá* groups as age groups of men's ceremonial moieties. He calls them *grupos de trabalho* (work groups). He reports these *wirá* groups among the adult men and women that formerly there had been three corresponding groups among the boys of the tribe. Nowadays the Tapirapé are so few that lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's *wirá* group in order to give the necessary balance for ceremonials. This presents the picture of several groups of equal ages; thus accounting, perhaps, for the divergence of opinion on this subject. Careful checking with informants, and observation of dances, hunts, races and wrestling matches when Tapirapé men were grouped according to moiety divisions led me to the definite conviction that there are age groupings of men's ceremonial moieties as described above. [114]

(3) Baldus (op. cit., p. 90).

(4) Baldus calls the *tátápawá* "grupos de comer" (eating groups). He reports seven feast groups functioning in 1937. He vividly describes a ceremonial meal on pages 91 to 95 of his work already cited.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



Ta 262 Te 262 169 "hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is land was in the past just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size. Ta 169 183 262 Population control among the Tapirapé seems as to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

Ta 161 168 182 [165] This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new diseases for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid Te 161 168 182 [165] population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Te Ta 596 591 612 Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapé, on the other Ta 616 561 hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial moieties limited to men. Each moiety was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the Ta 476 264 574 616 [796] [535] Tapirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's moieties and age grades and the "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic prodution and distribuition. The masked dances with impersonation of

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1948) 1948
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



*Tapirapé* do not use the tipiti (the long woven tube in which the water is 252
squeezed from poisonous manioc), but squeeze poisonous manioc with their hands. The pulp is then spread out on a platform in the sun to be thoroughly dried. The flour is toasted in a clay pot over a very hot fire.

**Wild foods.**—Meat is a definite luxury to the agricultural *Tapirapé*. 224
Monkeys, armadillos, forest fowls, coati (*Nasua* sp.), and both kinds of peccary (*Tayassu tajacu* and *T. pecari*) are occasionally killed in the forest at any time during the year. The hunting and fishing season, [221]
however, is from June through October, when the savanna country is dry. The savannas are extraordinarily rich with game. Plains deer, wild pigs, peccary, and wild duck, and geese near the drying swamps are plentiful.

Fish are shot with the bow and arrow and stupefied with timbó 226
(*Paullinia pinnata* or *Serjania* sp.) in the almost dry streams and lakes. The village is almost deserted in September and October, after garden 221
sites have been cleared and before planting. Men, women, and children move out to the plains country near the Tapirapé River and set up a temporary camp. They collect turtle eggs and kill turtles in the river. 222
They gather piqui fruit (*Caryocar villosum*), andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), and other wild fruits, and, from October through November, they find wild honey both on the savanna and in the forest.

Hunting is done with the bow and arrow, but a club is used to finish [224]
the kill, especially wild pigs or jaguars.

## HOUSES AND VILLAGES

The houses of a *Tapirapé* village form an oval around a large ceremonial 361
men's house (tikana), which is forbidden to the women. Both the large men's house, approximately 20 by 65 feet (6 by 20 m.), and the residential 342
houses, averaging 13 by 33 feet (4 by 10 m.), have a quadrangular floor 345
plan with arched roofs made by bending flexible poles and tying them together over a roof beam (pl. 19, *bottom, left*). The walls and the roof are covered with leaves of buriti palm and wild banana.

In the surviving village, called Tampitawa, there were nine residential 592
houses, each housing from four to eight simple families. Each family occupies a determined sector of the house where they cook, keep their belongings, and hang their sleeping hammocks. Household utensils, such 422
as baskets, pots, hammocks, and gourds, are owned by the women of each simple family. Houses, though built by men, are said to be the property [423]
of the women of the house. The house frame is constructed cooperatively 342
by all the men of the house. Each man covers the portion to be used by his wife and children.

Ideally, residence is matrilocal, and the house is inhabited by a group [591]
of closely related women and their husbands. The household leader is 592
generally the husband of the oldest woman of the group (see p. 172). Owing perhaps to great depopulation and the accumulation of refugees

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite child, being given special attention and education and being highly decorated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life.

**Puberty.**—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong.

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, *top, left*). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance.

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of women.

**Marriage.**—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antagonism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage marriage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people.

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule.

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him.

not at once offered coffee, he felt offended. But the very next day he might return, gay and joking, yet without his former patience for teaching or explaining Tapirapé culture. Once he returned tired from a hunting trip, and, irritated by his wife, he beat her with the flat side of his bushknife and marched off in anger, thoughtfully taking the family hammock and a basket of manioc flour, to sleep four nights in the forest near his garden. Soon afterwards, he left his wife to take the wife of a younger man. This did not become a major scandal in the village. After some tense yet calm words between the two men, it seemed clear that the young woman preferred Champukwi and the abandoned husband peacefully moved into the men's house. Champukwi's former wife and their two young daughters continued to live with her relatives as is the Tapirapé rule. But the switch of spouses caused tension between Champukwi and his former wife's kinsmen, and between Champukwi and the abandoned husband's kinsmen; and, to multiply his woes, he now had a new set of in-laws to satisfy. For about a month thereafter I rarely saw Champukwi; he obviously avoided our house. When we met in the village or in the men's house, he simply said that he was busy repairing his house or hunting.

Discussing emotions with someone from a culture as widely different as Tapirapé is from my own was difficult, and the language barrier was still a real one. Although my Tapirapé vocabulary was increasing, it was hardly adequate to probe deeply into emotional responses; nor was Champukwi given to introspection. I shall probably never fully understand Champukwi's temporary rejection of me, but the cause was probably both sociological and psychological. First, his apparent influence with me and our close friendship had created antagonism on the part of other villagers. By rejecting the outsider, he now hoped to reinstate himself in his own society. A second, deeper and more personal reason, contributed to his rejection of me; he had told me too much about himself, and feared that he had lost face in the process. Also, it was obvious that I was growing less dependent upon him for knowledge as my facility with the language improved and my information about the culture grew. Finally, the rejection was not one-sided. Now additional informants were desirable for my research. Also, if I remember correctly (it is not stated in my notebooks), I was annoyed by Champukwi's neglect and disappointed by his lack of loyalty.

164 apparently was aggravated by pneumonia. During the rainy season
731 that followed, this epidemic caused great mortality throughout
[165] the tribe, also killing Ikaranchó and his wife. Then the separa-
[166] tists returned to Tampiitáua.

The eighteenth century map reproduced in this work points
361 out with three triangles the "Aldeas do Gentio Tapirapé [villages of the Tapirapé people]." In his account of Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira's 1911 expedition, Angyone Costa (222-223) writes as follows about the Tapirapé of the time: "These Indians occupy three villages, the first one located two days' journey from the riverbank, the second one three days' away. The explorer did not visit the third one."

The following appears in the account of the Dominican ex-
[113] pedition of 1914 printed in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosário (317): "The Tapirapé form three groups, or rather three malocas [villages], five days' journey apart. The Indians can walk 50 kilo-
[481] meters a day. This shows how huge is the region inhabited by such a relatively sparse tribe. The village we visited had 16 huts,
•[592] each one sheltering several families. It is true that when the
[609] Fathers drew near, some of the huts were emptied, and families,
[161] urged on by a suspicious chief, ran to hide in the forest. The people we found did not exceed 160 souls, and from this it may easily be inferred that the tribe does not include more than about a thousand members."

[103:186] The note published in 1912 about Dr. Francisco
621 Mandacarú's journey states that the Tapirapé village visited by
[161] this explorer contained 268 inhabitants and that "almost invariably, a village merely consists of a single and numerous family." The number of villages, however, is not mentioned (cf. Kissenberth 2, 43-44).

The same applies to the account of the trip by the inspector
[161] of the Indians, mentioned earlier, which only states that "some 1,000 or 1,500" Tapirapé were found (Glass, 139).

Reverend Kegel told me that in August of 1932 he found in
[161] Tampiitáua some 14 houses with slightly more than 220 occupants. These people, as we have already mentioned, split up in September, but were together again when we visited them the following
[165] year. From 50 to 60 of them died during the 1932-1933 rainy season, and only three or four children born at that time were seen by this missionary.

162 621 In the age group ranging from 15 to 30, there were 30 males and 20 females, that is, 50 individuals of both sexes.

In the age group ranging from 31 to 60, there were 13 males and 12 females, that is to say, 25 individuals of both sexes. Only two among them were older than 45, one woman who was 48 and one who was 60.

There was not a single individual older than 60.

The most striking fact is the small number of individuals over 30 years of age. On the other hand, the number of individuals younger than 15 is not, in proportion, as small as the corresponding group among certain "civilized" peoples. [Ed., the remainder of p. 187 is omitted.]

[103:188] The 35 Tampiitsua couples included 20 where [582] the husband appeared to be older than the wife, 12 where the opposite seemed to be the case, and three where they seemed to be of the same age. I say "appeared to be older" to acknowledge minor inaccuracies in reckoning people's ages, even though I did not do this alone but in collaboration with Mr. Kegel, who had more points of reference than I because he had observed these Indians for several years.

592 162 The following table shows the number, sex, and age of the occupants of each house indicated on the ground plan of the village. [Table appears here.]

621 166 I heard in 1935, and published in 1937, that the Tapirapé formerly had five villages whose descendants make up the present population of Tampiitsua (cf. Baldus 17, 86). Wagley (2, 408-409) confirmed this, adding (4, 5) that those five villages "probably existed as late as the turn of the century and are said to have had a population of about 200 people each." He also refers (ibid.) [731] to epidemics as the only cause for the abandonment of these villages. I have already mentioned that in the case of the village [648] abandoned in 1932 fear of the Kayapó must have been a contributing factor. It is worth noting the explanation given for the move of 758 the occupants of three other villages to Tampiitsua: there were 166 no médicos-feiticeiros [Tr., sorcerers--medicine men] left 621 among them. This might, of course, have occurred as the result of an epidemic. The interesting fact, however, is that the Tapirapé did not mention disease but the lack of pagés [Tr., shamans] as the reason for abandoning the villages. Nothing could

[Text continues on p. 42]

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| | MALES | | | FEMALES | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Under 15 | 15 and over | Total | Under 15 | 15 and over | Total | Total Number of Occupants |
| House a | 2 | 12 | 14 | 8 | 9 | 17 | 31 |
| House b | 2 | 4 | 6 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 13 |
| House c | 2 | 3 | 55 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 8 |
| House d | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| House e | 5 | 9 | 14 | 7 | 6 | 13 | 27 |
| House f | 3 | 4 | 7 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 12 |
| House g | 4 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 9 |
| House h | 2 | 4 | 6 | 6 | 2 | 8 | 14 |
| Takana | 5 | 3 | 8 | - | - | - | 8 |
| Total | 26 | 43 | 69 | 29 | 32 | 61 | 130 |

1:Baldus--41 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

1:Baldus--76 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

[facing p. 193]

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342
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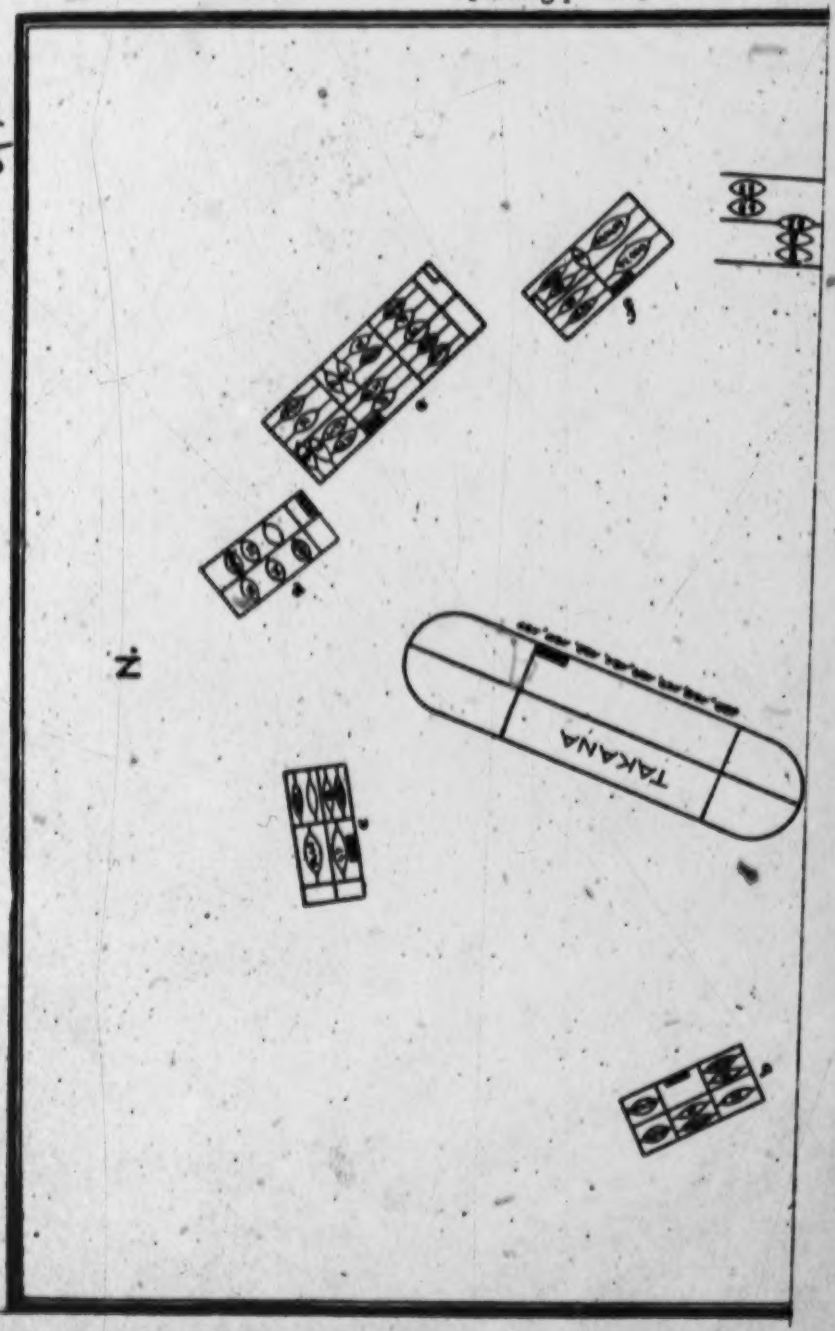


[FIG. 8- TOP HALF]

1:Baldus--77 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

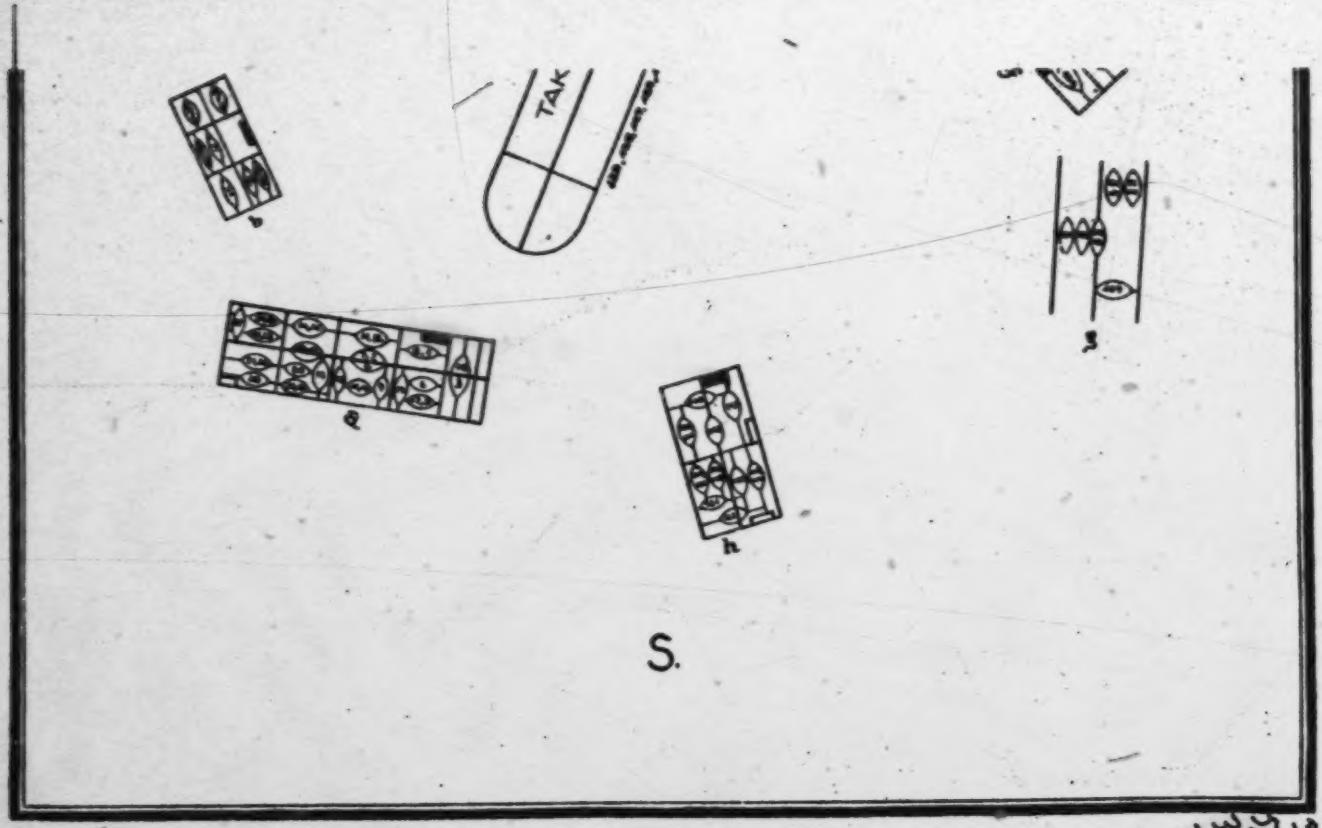


Fig. 8. Ground plan of the village.

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[FIG. 8 - BOTTOM HALF]

size of the houses also varies, of course, with the number of their occupants. The ground plan of the village (Fig. 8) shows this numerical distribution, listed in Chapter 5, as it stood at the time of my visit.

Since I did not witness the construction of houses (avuyra-ham, "to build a house"), the following description of the procedure is based on what my companion, Mr. Kegel, observed on a previous visit. In August, during the day, the men cut down tree trunks of varying thickness in the forest, as well as leaves of the so-called "wild banana" (Heliconia spec.) and of the palm called macaba by the frontiersmen of the Araguaia. These provide the beams, poles, and thatch for the houses. The Indians carry these materials to the site of the future village in the late afternoon, thus avoiding the daytime heat which would cause the "banana" leaves to curl in transit and the bearers to tire unduly.

The construction work begins around four or five in the afternoon. First, the framework of beams is erected. The vertical shafts are laid out in three parallel rows, both outer rows being of the same height and the middle one being higher. Thus, in house a (Fig. 10), the outer shafts are about 1.60 meters high while the inner ones are about 3.80 meters high, and this represents a general average for all the houses except the takana. In house a, the outer rows stand about 2.75 meters from the inner one, and the intervals between the shafts in each row (marked with circles in Fig. 9) are one meter, 3.40 meters, 3.90 meters, 3.25 meters, 3.50 meters, and 1.30 meters, respectively. Since these intervals are the same in all three lines, seven other rows of shafts result, which stand perpendicular to the others and divide the house into rectangular quadrilaterals. This division, which is socially important because it reflects the distribution of the occupants [110:194] into couples and nuclear families, is emphasized further by crossbeams that form the sides of the quadrilaterals and are tied with embira cord [Tr., bast fiber yielded by a tree] at a height of 1.60 meters when they do not rest on the forked tips of the outer vertical shafts (cf. Fig. 10 and Photos. 3 and 48). In addition, the inner vertical shafts are connected to one another with several poles (marked with circles in Fig. 10) at a height varying from 3.20 to 3.80 meters.

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



and only 147 inhabitants. This is an extraordinary example of the ravages of European diseases among a native American people. 161 165

Tampitawa (Village of the Tapir) is composed, therefore, of a residue from all of the five original villages. All of the customs and ceremony attached to inter-village relations have of course disappeared. People remember their former village affiliation, or that of their parents. They still speak of a person as being "the son of Fish Village," but village loyalty, once strong, has disappeared. Formerly, villages were basically endogamous, but some marriage outside of the village did take place. Today, only three people can say that they are descendants of people from Tapir Village. Ancient inter-village antagonism existed, especially between Tapir and the village which joined with it in 1900. Today, this conflict is only remembered under the stress of some quarrel and is referred to only as a taunt. 621 161 [578]

Depopulation has had little effect on the economic life of the Tapirapé. They are basically a forest agricultural people with large plantations. Manioc is their staple. Plantations are large enough, and the economic organization fluid enough, to allow for the support of large numbers of refugees for a year or so until they can make gardens for themselves. Refugees have joined one of the large households, at present eight, each with some twenty-five to thirty people. Formerly these households were matrilineal groups headed by a man of high prestige. His wife's relatives formed the matrilineal group and he demanded labor from his numerous sons-in-law (husbands of daughters of wife, including extended "daughters"). The coming of refugees disrupted these matrilocal households. If a refugee woman lacked a close female kin, her husband often arranged for habitation with a friend or a relative of his. Men of high status offered the hospitality of their houses to incoming men of rank. Today, therefore, many reassortments of relatives live under one roof, and two and even three separate groups of female relatives live under as many older men, whereas formerly they would have formed one household under the leadership of one household head. In no one case, does a man control a complete household as he would have done under the old system. 178 [241] 592 621 161 [607]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



241 and planting, which begins after the first light rains of October, is done
462 individually and principally by the men. Cotton and peanuts, however,
[423] are women's crops. The women plant these in their husband's garden plots and harvest them themselves. While a new garden plot is cleared each year, a particular garden plot is generally used for two years and then abandoned. A man plants such crop as maize, beans, and peppers on the plot the first year and as they are harvested, he replants the plot with manioc. Maize is harvested from the end of December through February, the season of heaviest rains; while other crops are harvested at the end of the rains in May and June.

[241] Large gardens with many different crops guarantee to the Tapi-
262 rapé a variety and abundance of garden stuff, but meat and fish are
22 definitely luxuries. People in the village could not remember a time when there had been real hunger among them, but they were frequently hungry for meat and fish. This lack in the diet is supplied by frequent trips to the near-by Tapirapé River and the grass plains that border it where fish and game, principally wild pork (*Tagassu pecari*), deer, peccary (*Tagassu tajacu*), water fowl, and tapir (*Tapirus terrestris*) are found in abundance. During the dry season these plains abound in piqui (*Caryocar villosum*), palm nuts especially andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), used for body oil — and other wild fruits.

556 Among the Tapirapé wealth is not reckoned in terms of basic sub-
435 sistance, for these goods are so easy to obtain as to be considered with little regard. The possessions that lend real distinction of wealth are such luxury articles as the breast and tail feathers of the red parrot (*Ara chloroptera ?*), beads, and pieces of hardware acquired through contact with white men or trading with other Indians. These goods are accordingly the most valued media of exchange in the community. Other goods used for a medium of exchange were urucú (*Bixa orellana*), tobacco, extra hammocks, decorated gourds, string for binding feathers to arrows, and cane arrow shafts.

361 The houses of a Tapirapé village form a circle around a great central ceremonial men's house. There are nine of these large thatch dwellings with rounded roofs in the modern Tapirapé village; four to eight simple
591 families (father, mother, and children) share a house. Each simple family
592 has a section of the unpartitioned house where they lead a domestic life separate from the others. Residence is matrilocal and the women of such a household are ideally related by kinship; yet each large household has

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



a male leader, a man of prestige, who is usually the husband of one the 591
older women of the female kinship group. Apart from these residential 592
groupings, the Tapirapé are divided in two other ways.

First, all Tapirapé men belong to one of the two patrilineal non-exo- 561
gamic ceremonial moieties (2) and each moiety is further divided into 616
three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths, two groups of adult men of warrior age, and two groups of older men. Each of these groups bears the name of a mythical bird, the word *wirá* — bird — itself being used as the generic name for the groups. These [476]
*wirá* function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites: parallel [535]
groups also dance against one another in the ceremonials and offer [574]
reciprocal feasts to each other. The warrior-age group of each of these moieties has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and other communal work and a "singing leader" for ceremonials.

Both men and women of the Tapirapé are also divided into eight 574
"feasting" groups called *tãtáupawã* — literally "fire all to eat" (3). Men 571
belong to their father's feasting group and women to their mother's. 582
Feasting groups are not only non-exogamic but people prefer to marry with their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry names of the mythological heads of the legend- [773]
ary original eight households of the first Tapirapé village. On occasion during the dry season the feast groups meet at sunset on the dance plaza for a ceremonial feast, each member bringing his or her contribution to the common meal (4).

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(2) Baldus (op. cit. pp. 95-98) did not recognize these *wirá* groups as [314]
age groups of men's ceremonial moieties. He calls them *grupos de trabalho* (work groups). He reports three wirá groups among the adult men and writes that formerly there had been three corresponding groups among the boys of the tribe. Nowadays the Tapirapé are so few that lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's *wirá* group in order to give the necessary balance for ceremonials. This presents the picture of several groups of equal ages: thus accounting, perhaps, for the divergence of opinion on this subject. Careful checking with informants, and observation of dances, hunts, races and wrestling matches when Tapirapé men were grouped according to moiety divisions led me to the definite conviction that these are age grouping of men's ceremonial moieties as described above.

(3) Baldus (op. cit., p. 90).

(4) Baldus calls the tãtáupáwã "grupos de comer" (eating groups). He reports seven feast groups functioning in 1937. He vividly describes a ceremonial meal on pages 91 to 95 of his work already cited.

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



132
152 against the supposed menace and to kill the shaman who is suspected of having
756 become an evil sorcerer.

152 Though, also as regards the institution of shamanism, fear works out as a
184 factor of socialization by exorcising the dangers to the tribal life, we cannot say
648 the same about the fear which produces in many Tapirapé a disposition to adapt themselves complacently to the white man. During my stay in 1935, in the village called Tampiitawa, I could distinguish clearly between the great group of timorous people led by Kamairahó who received with open arms all that came from our civilization, and a smaller group composed of decided and valorous people who didn't want anything to do with us. So there were two opposite trends in their "foreign policy" and consequently germs of tribal disintegration.

123 Of the direct causes of fear I want to mention the following: The Tapirapé
152 were alarmed by my fury when I saw a man whipping his wife. To relate this
593 case means to confess a most ethnocentric and therefore in no way ethnological behaviour. But I think that in order to be an ethnologist it is necessary to be able not to be an ethnologist in certain situations. At noon on July 15 I see that
[592] behind the house in which I was living with Kamairahó and thirty other
[562] Indians, the athletic Inamoréo, nearly twenty-two years old, is beating a woman. With a cane and the blade of his bush-knife he is whipping his wife. She is so small and tender that she seems to be a child in spite of being perhaps twenty years old. I run towards the couple to interfere. The little woman is weeping despairingly, but doesn't go away. The man tries to tug her towards the house which is their house and mine also. She struggles. There he enters the house. Finally she follows. I enter also. The man holds the knife. I have nothing in my hands, but I am bound by my upbringing; I am the weapon of my culture and my culture is my weapon. I say to Inamoréo that people do not beat a woman like a dog. (I refer to this animal because frequently, among the Tapirapé, it can only thus be prevented from eating the people's food.) Inamoréo pronounces insults and his wife sobs. Now I explain to all the people present that beating a woman is a bad thing. Later, when I am sitting together with Kamairahó and his wife, I tell them that if a white man should whip his wife, another white man would kill him with a revolver. Jokingly I add: "If you, Kamairahó, beat your wife, I have to kill you with my revolver." With these words I go away.

[576] After a while Kamairahó passed me with a depressed face. I ask him:
123 "Where are you going?" Without smiling he answers: "I am afraid of you."
152 I embrace him, I kiss him impetuously in the Tapirapé manner, that is, rubbing my nose against his nose; but all this is in vain. He waits patiently until I let him go, continues walking, and tells the men and women whom he is passing that he is afraid of me, the white man who kills those who beat women. May I observe here that I always went around without a weapon among the Tapirapé, keeping the revolver, as Kamairahó knew, in my hammock hanging close to his hammock, and even there the revolver was at hand only to be at the disposal of the same Kamairahó in order to protect him against the event of nocturnal attack by the Kayapó Indians, the most terrible neighbours. Kamairahó enters his house and immediately from there sounds an agitated and long talk. With the speed of lightning the news spreads through the village that Kamairahó is afraid of me and is lying in his hammock and that I would kill with a revolver the husbands who whip their wives. A middle-aged woman joins me, saying: "I am afraid of you." I assure her again that I am not bad, that, on the con-

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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*Tapirapé* do not use the tipiti (the long woven tube in which the water is 252
squeezed from poisonous manioc), but squeeze poisonous manioc with their hands. The pulp is then spread out on a platform in the sun to be thoroughly dried. The flour is toasted in a clay pot over a very hot fire.

**Wild foods.**—Meat is a definite luxury to the agricultural *Tapirapé*. 224
Monkeys, armadillos, forest fowls, cuati (*Nasua* sp.), and both kinds of peccary (*Tayassus tajacu* and *T. pecari*) are occasionally killed in the forest at any time during the year. The hunting and fishing season, [221]
however, is from June through October, when the savanna country is dry. The savannas are extraordinarily rich with game. Plains deer, wild pigs, peccary, and wild duck, and geese near the drying swamps are plentiful.

Fish are shot with the bow and arrow and stupefied with timbó 226
(*Paullinea pinnata* or *Serjania* sp.) in the almost dry streams and lakes. The village is almost deserted in September and October, after garden 221
sites have been cleared and before planting. Men, women, and children move out to the plains country near the Tapirapé River and set up a temporary camp. They collect turtle eggs and kill turtles in the river. 222
They gather piqui fruit (*Caryocar villosum*), andiroba (*Carapa guyanensis*), and other wild fruits, and, from October through November, they find wild honey both on the savanna and in the forest.

Hunting is done with the bow and arrow, but a club is used to finish [224]
the kill, especially wild pigs or jaguars.

### HOUSES AND VILLAGES

The houses of a *Tapirapé* village form an oval around a large ceremonial 361
men's house (tãkana), which is forbidden to the women. Both the large 342
men's house, approximately 20 by 65 feet (6 by 20 m.), and the residential 345
houses, averaging 13 by 33 feet (4 by 10 m.), have a quadrangular floor plan with arched roofs made by bending flexible poles and tying them together over a roof beam (pl. 19, *bottom, left*). The walls and the roof are covered with leaves of buriti palm and wild banana.

In the surviving village, called Tampitawa, there were nine residential 592
houses, each housing from four to eight simple families. Each family occupies a determined sector of the house where they cook, keep their belongings, and hang their sleeping hammocks. Household utensils, such 422
as baskets, pots, hammocks, and gourds, are owned by the women of each simple family. Houses, though built by men, are said to be the property [423]
of the women of the house. The house frame is constructed cooperatively 342
by all the men of the house. Each man covers the portion to be used by his wife and children.

Ideally, residence is matrilocal, and the house is inhabited by a group [591]
of closely related women and their husbands. The household leader is 592
generally the husband of the oldest woman of the group (see p. 172). Owing perhaps to great depopulation and the accumulation of refugees

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



592 from many villages in the one village, many combinations of relatives now form residential groups.

### DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Both sexes are nude. Men tie the prepuce over the glans penis with a palm fiber. Both men and women pull out pubic, axillary, and all facial
302 hair. Even eyebrows are considered ugly. Men wear cotton string ligatures around their legs, just below the knee. Men, and sometimes women,
301 wear large cotton wrist bands crocheted directly on to their arms. Young boys and girls sometimes wear similar ornaments on their ankles; these ornaments are painted with a thick coat of red urucú dye and have round cuffs, often 2 to 3 inches (5 to 7.5 cm.) wide. Necklaces of beads given by Neo-Brazilians are highly valued and used almost to excess. Men
[302] paint their feet and the calves of their legs red with urucú; both men and women trace a multitude of patterns on their body with black genipa dye.

304 Men have their lower lip pierced and wear a small wooden lip plug. Two years or so after women have begun sexual life, patterns in the form of a three-quarter moon are made on their faces by scarification with a paca
[386] (*Cuniculus paca*) tooth knife. Charcoal and plant juices are rubbed into the wounds to leave dark blue designs.

### TRANSPORTATION

[501] The *Tapirapé* do not have canoes. All cargoes are carried by the men
482 in a carrying knapsack made from buriti-palm fibers strapped to their backs.

### MANUFACTURES

286 **Weaving.**—Hammocks are made by women from native cotton spun on
462 wooden spindles. The technique used is the simple twine weaving used by the *Tupinambá* and other *Tupí* groups.

323 **Ceramics.**—At present, the art of ceramics is declining. Pottery is
462 usually for cooking, and is made by women. Sometimes it bears incised
531 geometrical decorations.

531 **Gourds.**—Gourds are decorated with geometric incisions.

**Basketry.**—The most highly developed basketry techniques among the
285 *Tapirapé* are woven and twilled. Two types of baskets are flexible and nonflexible ones; both are of buriti fiber. They generally have a quadrangular base and a narrow, round top, and are used mostly to store manioc or maize flour. Flat, round baskets are used as cotton containers
[53] or flour sifters. They are usually ornamented with motifs originating in the weave itself; frequently the finished basket is smeared with black genipa and odd strands are scraped off, giving a negative decorative effect.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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601 **Kinship.**—Kinship is more important in furthering solidarity among
[182] the *Tapirapé* than either the moieties or the feast groups. *Tapirapé* kin-
[611] ship is bilateral, its chief principle being that all cousins, whether cross- or parallel-cousins, no matter how distant, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of people calling each other siblings are also called siblings. Mother's sisters are called mother, and father's brothers, father. Mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, a man's brothers' children are considered his sons and daughters, and a woman's sisters' children are her children. Children of a man's sisters or a woman's brothers are given special terms.

[621] The wide inclusiveness of kinship affiliation makes it possible for an
[178] individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers—and in former days many people in other villages—by terms of close relationship.

An older man of some prestige gathers around him by adoption as many
554 "daughters" or as many of his wife's "daughters" as possible. By the
581 marriage of these "daughters," he attracts a group of younger men within
597 his household who contribute constantly to his larder through the hunt and
592 garden activities. At present, only three of the nine houses in the village were formed in this way, but reduced numbers, we were told, forced various combinations of relatives to share a household.

## LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth.**—Although aware that pregnancy is brought about by sexual intercourse, the *Tapirapé* believe that conception takes place when a shaman, serving as intermediary, brings a "child spirit" to the woman. Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, and various fish and insects are supposed to contain child spirits.

843 When the woman is certain that she is pregnant, she tells her husband. They both paint their bodies with genipa and cover their hair with urucú. During the first few days of pregnancy, no restraints are imposed upon the child's parents, but as birth approaches, all sexual contact must cease.
[851] All men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers of the future child, together with the real father.

844 At childbirth the woman is assisted by her mother and sister and by two male relatives. The husband retires to his hammock and is forbidden to partake of any liquid refreshment.

847 Infanticide is practiced because it is considered bad to have more than three children, or two children of the same sex. The fourth child, or third of the same sex, of one mother is buried in a hole dug inside the residence for the afterbirth.

852 On the day after birth, a male child has his lower lip perforated. Until
304 the child is weaned, the parents must refrain from sexual relations and
851 must not eat salt, sugar, honey, or the meat of various animals and forest
262 fowls. Both boys and girls also are restricted in their meat diet. A son

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few 177
months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of [197]
Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and [191]
verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these 114
youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals 123
we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," [621]
the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses [361]
arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were [592]
each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the per- [551]
sonal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Maria-
pawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let
alone pronounce. 114

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study [122]
intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the wide- [197]
spread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least
passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms
of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed
explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which [241]
manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops
were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poison- [462]
ous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I [252]
watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture [323]
their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm- [285]
thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building [462]
was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly [345]
became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and [291]
the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude [834]
women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never
to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also [302]
to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed
their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on
their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many [126]
other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes
and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather 123
pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our
antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversa-
tions that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales
of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

171 Another occasion to cut the hair short is the death of a close
302 relative, when not only the males (cf. Photos. 51 and 52) but the
765 opposite sex as well (Photo. 64) are compelled to undergo this procedure. This custom is quite widespread in South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

302 Among the Tapirapé at the present time, the hair is cut with
[177] scissors received from the Whites. [Ed., the remainder of p. 107
[412] is omitted, which includes the beginning of the sentence finished at the top of p. 108.]

[107:108] . . . in 1614, Father Claude d'Abbeville (267)
302 wrote of the hair of the Tupinambá of Maranhão: "[Ed., two
171 sentences are omitted.] They [the women] are quite meticulous
515 about combing their hair and do not fail to wash it and rub it with oil and Roucou every morning" [translated from French]. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

Some Tapirapé comb their hair with great care, although they do not wash it as frequently as the Tupinambá women observed by Father Claude, or massage it as often with oil and urucú. They
[314] would no doubt anoint it more frequently if it were not for the scarcity of the raw material, a palm nut that grows only at certain times of year. This scarcity impelled an honest matron to steal from us our only bottle of oil, which we had brought to remedy the lack of fat in the diet. Instead of lining our stomachs, the entire liter of nutritious liquid ended up on the good woman's head. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 108 is omitted.]

302 [107:109] The Tapirapé also put urucú in their hair, but only on special occasions. They apply it to boys on the festive day of
[881] initiation, to girls on the day when their first menstruation ends,
[764] and to the dead. It may have religious significance, but I cannot tell.

515 Aside from hair combing, delousing is a gesture of love. The
● 593 bugs caught end their existence between the teeth of the catcher, who thus swallows the blood of his or her beloved. This tender duty is performed on a mutual basis by parents and children and by loving spouses. Girls show the greatest enthusiasm for this type of quest. It does happen, however, that an old man still delouses an already married son (cf. Photo. 55).

826 Not only do they avoid losing the blood stolen by lice and
261 mosquitoes by eating the culprits caught in the act, but they also

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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The eight living men (*marántxunkanera* or "killers") who had 683
killed *pančés* attest to the frequency of revenge killing of shamans because of suspected sorcery. Within the memory of one informant, Kamairá, who was approximately forty years old, ten shamans had been killed (14). During his youth he had killed a shaman, *Pančewáni*, because he believed him responsible for his younger brother's death. Going to the shaman's house the second night after his brother's death, Kamairá found the shaman asleep and killed him with several arrows through the abdomen. According to various informants, the epidemic of deaths that had been occuring then came to a halt, thus proving *Pančewáni*'s guilt. In another case the killer hid in the forest and shot the suspected shaman as he passed on his way to his garden: still another shaman was clubbed to death as he sat with his family in the village plaza. Two living "killers" had murdered women shamans by [756
clubbing them to death. *Kučanančé* (*kučan*, woman; *pančé*, shaman) 562]
generally die by violence, according to informants: women shamans "are dangerous". They dream more than men [shamans] and they kill many Tapirapé [in dreams]", said one man. Ironically, all three of the more powerful shamans living today, at least two of whom are currently in danger because they are considered powerful enough to be suspected of "evil dreaming", murdered shamans during their youth (15).

Informants could not remember any one occasion when a shaman 593
thus murdered was avenged by his relatives; yet informants did say that 683
a shaman with several adult brothers — true siblings — strong enough 756

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(14) The span of this man's life has seen the tremendous depopulation of [161]
the Tapirapé from imported diseases; thus it represents an abnormal period with more than the usual number of deaths and perhaps, therefore, an unusual number of revenge murders of shamans.

(15) As I write this paper, a letter comes from Valentim Gomes, my guide, and companion during both trips to the Tapirapé. I quote in part this letter translated from Portuguese: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the twenty-sixth of July [1941]. They were all in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, etc. — There were few bananas".

"But I am sorry to say that after we left them [in May, 1940] twenty-nine [165]
adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Campakwi, the best informant in the village. Also Urukumu had been killed by the young Tapirapé I called Antonio". (During my stay the Tapirapé had several times spoken of the necessity of liquidating Urukumu and several had predicted that it would occur).

683 to avenge him, is generally not murdered (16). A strong shaman makes
[573] an effort to have a strong family group about him for protection. Infor-
[256] mants could not remember that murdered shamans had ever been revenged by their familiar spirits, although one man made the point that shamans were murdered only by persons under the influence of great anger or grief, for people normally are afraid of the familiars of shamans.
683 Special rites are observed by anyone who has murdered a shaman, to
783 protect him and the rest of the tribe against possible danger. On the day following the murder the *maréntxunkanéra* must retire to his hammock and here eat of a white clay, *ĩwĩ činga*, and drink until he vomits of a
[827] brew made of boiling a man's leg ornament in water. Vomiting cleanses
[302] his body "of the blood of the shaman". The killer must paint his entire body black with *genipa* (*Genipa americana*) and put red urucu paint in his hair; he should also scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back
[881] with teeth of the dog fish, just as he did in the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult. Then, each year at the annual ceremony during the harvests in May and June, all who have killed shamans must drink of *kauió* (17) until they vomit, so cleansing themselves of the shaman's blood for the period until the next harvest.

## DUTIES OF THE SHAMAN

276 Among the Tapirapé tobacco is a sacred plant necessary for curing and for all shamanistic activities; yet, while it is found widely near Tapirapé village and near their gardens, it is not strictly a cultivated plant. People know where a patch of tobacco grows and go there to pick it. Occasionally they transplant tobacco nearer to their houses or to their gardens but for the most part the patches seed themselves. When an

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[578 (16) When I left the Tapirapé in May, 1940, a grudge existed between two
521] men of high status because of the murder of a shaman. Kamairabo disliked, avoided, and criticized Kamairá because he had killed Kančiwanj, Kamairabo's wife's father. The antagonism was never overt. When they met they treated each other formally and calmly. Other Tapirapé told me that Kamairabo's wife continually gossiped about the behavior of Kamairá's wife, "because her husband had killed Kantuowa's father".

[272 (17) A brew made of a few grains of maize and much water. It is believed
279] to be poisonous.

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



182 152 against the supposed menace and to kill the shaman who is suspected of having 756 become an evil sorcerer.

152 Though, also as regards the institution of shamanism, fear works out as a 184 factor of socialization by exorcising the dangers to the tribal life, we cannot say 648 the same about the fear which produces in many Tapirapé a disposition to adapt themselves complacently to the white man. During my stay in 1935, in the village called Tampiitawa, I could distinguish clearly between the great group of timorous people led by Kamairahó who received with open arms all that came from our civilization, and a smaller group composed of decided and valorous people who didn't want anything to do with us. So there were two opposite trends in their "foreign policy" and consequently germs of tribal disintegration.

123 Of the direct causes of fear I want to mention the following: The Tapirapé 152 were alarmed by my fury when I saw a man whipping his wife. To relate this 543 case means to confess a most ethnocentric and therefore in no way ethnological behaviour. But I think that in order to be an ethnologist it is necessary to be able not to be an ethnologist in certain situations. At noon on July 15 I see that [512] behind the house in which I was living with Kamairahó and thirty other [562] Indians, the athletic Inamoréo, nearly twenty-two years old, is beating a woman. With a cane and the blade of his bush-knife he is whipping his wife. She is so small and tender that she seems to be a child in spite of being perhaps twenty years old. I run towards the couple to interfere. The little woman is weeping despairingly, but doesn't go away. The man tries to tug her towards the house which is their house and mine also. She struggles. There he enters the house. Finally she follows. I enter also. The man holds the knife. I have nothing in my hands, but I am bound by my upbringing; I am the weapon of my culture and my culture is my weapon. I say to Inamoréo that people do not beat a woman like a dog. (I refer to this animal because frequently, among the Tapirapé, it can only thus be prevented from eating the people's food.) Inamoréo pronounces insults and his wife sobs. Now I explain to all the people present that beating a woman is a bad thing. Later, when I am sitting together with Kamairahó and his wife, I tell them that if a white man should whip his wife, another white man would kill him with a revolver. Jokingly I add: "If you, Kamairahó, beat your wife, I have to kill you with my revolver." With these words I go away.

[576] After a while Kamairahó passed me with a depressed face. I ask him: 123 "Where are you going?" Without smiling he answers: "I am afraid of you." 152 I embrace him, I kiss him impetuously in the Tapirapé manner, that is, rubbing my nose against his nose; but all this is in vain. He waits patiently until I let him go, continues walking, and tells the men and women whom he is passing that he is afraid of me, the white man who kills those who beat women. May I observe here that I always went around without a weapon among the Tapirapé, keeping the revolver, as Kamairahó knew, in my hammock hanging close to his hammock, and even there the revolver was at hand only to be at the disposal of the same Kamairahó in order to protect him against the event of nocturnal attack by the Kayapó Indians, the most terrible neighbours. Kamairahó enters his house and immediately from there sounds an agitated and long talk. With the speed of lightning the news spreads through the village that Kamairahó is afraid of me and is lying in his hammock and that I would kill with a revolver the husbands who whip their wives. A middle-aged woman joins me, saying: "I am afraid of you." I assure her again that I am not bad, that, on the con-

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



trary, I am good, and in order to demonstrate it, I embrace cordially a man on her side so that I don't need to embrace her. And I say to my English companion who at this moment joins me: "Certain research-workers who were killed by the Indians with whom they lived, as, for instance, Boggiani among the Chamakoko, were murdered only through fear." At that instant, as if he had understood my words, the man I have just embraced asks me if the Shavante really have killed the white man by the name of Father John and if they have murdered him with a club. I don't know from where the Tapirapé had received this information and if his question represented a reaction or only conversation. What I know is that the man couldn't have understood my comment about the murders through fear.

An hour later I see Kamairahó going to the brook carrying two calabash rattles which he had obtained from the Karajá neighbours, but never used. I follow him and ask him what he intends to do with the rattles. He explains that they are dirty and that he wants to clean them with water, and adds: "When you go away and I remain here, the rattles will go with you." He continues with a mournful face. Besides, everyone looks sad, and when I enter our hut, I am not received as usual with the friendly exclamation: "You arrive!" But, looking to this or that person, I immediately receive a polite smile. Even at night Kamairahó says to the Englishman that he is still afraid of me, and when my companion reassures him, confirming the jocose character of my threat, he is invited immediately by Kamairahó to eat bananas and by other inhabitants of the house to have kauí, a fermented drink, in payment for this consolation. Meanwhile Inamoréo, who had beaten his wife, has already gone peacefully to sleep with her in the hammock and explains later that he whipped her only with the arrow—which is not true. I invite Kamairahó for a dinner of deer. He eats well, but with a sad face complaining of a headache. He receives aspirin.

It is necessary to consider that the fear described above may have been caused less by the threat with the revolver than by the agitated manner with which I expressed my indignation and which contrasts with Tapirapé behaviour. Even Kamairahó's wife, who used to quarrel much, always pronounced insults in a monotonous voice and with apparent calm, quite different, for instance, from the Karajá women who shout without reserve. But it may be mentioned that the Tapirapé were also afraid of the Englishman when a woman had stolen a great quantity of kitchen oil from him, putting it in her hair, and when dogs of the village tore his towel to pieces. And my companion was less explosive than I!

Graver causes of fear are the Kayapó attacks. I have already mentioned that, on account of these, I was asked to sleep armed. When a rumour maker is talking about the approach of these Indians, all the village is immediately alarmed. And there are reasons for this, because in 1947, soon after my second visit to the Tapirapé, these warlike neighbours assaulted the village, plundered it, and burned it, killing and kidnapping women.

Fear was produced also by the eclipse of the moon on 15th of June, 1935. When at night I was awakened with the words "chahy vuy" "moon blood," all the people were dejected and the men were talking only in low tones. Really, the moon appears dark red like coagulated blood. Next day everybody was still preoccupied with the phenomenon, considering it a bad omen of carnage.

But while the eclipse was an uncommon cause of fear, there were other causes in every moment and in any place, for the Tapirapé lives surrounded by malevolent spirits. Here is the so-called "imaginary fear" regarding which Mira y López[9] observes that "even the bravest warriors, able to throw themselves

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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upon an expectant father. This same set of taboos now bothered him again. A series of foods, mainly meats and particularly venison, is prohibited to fathers of infants and to husbands of pregnant women. On two excursions to the savanna (which abounds with deer) Champukwi had eaten venison. Moreover, since the Tapirapé identified cattle with deer, and thus beef with venison, he had broken the taboo several additional times by partaking also of this forbidden meat. The rather scrawny conditon of his 2-year-old daughter, he feared, resulted from his faults. Just after our return to the village in early November, his wife gave birth to a second daughter. She had a difficult delivery, and he remembered his transgressions. Several village gossips, without knowing anything about his misdeeds, had nevertheless accused him of this breach of taboo.

Champukwi's home life was not a happy one. He was frequently in conflict with his second wife, who had, indeed, considerable basis for complaint. She could not claim that he was a poor provider, for Champukwi was a good hunter and a diligent gardener. But he confided to me that he did not find her attractive, or at least not as attractive as other women in the village. Champukwi had a lusty sense of humor and enjoyed joking with Valentim and me. In this mood he told of his many extramarital affairs, which were in truth but slightly concealed. I would in any event have heard of these liaisons; he gave his paramours beads which everyone in the village knew I had given him as presents. This practice caused trouble for the women because their husbands could readily identify the source of the gifts. It also created trouble for Champukwi at home. His wife complained of his affairs and on one occasion, according to Champukwi, she attacked him, grabbing him by his pigtail and squeezing his exposed testicles until he fell helpless into a hammock. On other occasions, she retaliated in a manner more usual for a Tapirapé woman—she simply refused to carry drinking water from the creek, to cook food for him, and to allow him to sleep in the hammock which she and Champukwi shared. For a Tapirapé man to carry drinking water, to cook, or to sleep on a mat is considered ridiculously funny. In other circumstances, Champukwi would have had to seek recourse with a female relative. However, to do so would be tantamount to a public announcement of his marital difficulties; the whole village would have known, to their considerable merriment and jest. But having *tori*[1] friends in the village, Champukwi

[1] [i.e. non-Indian -- Analyst]

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



could come quietly to us at night to drink water, to ask for something to eat, and even to sleep in an extra hammock we had for visitors. His affairs were evidently extensive, for he once divided all of the adult women of the village into two categories—those "I know how to talk with" (i.e., to seduce) and those "I do not know how to talk with." There were many with whom he "could talk."

Unfortunately, by late November of 1939, I knew too much about Champukwi's affairs either for his comfort or for mine. His wife sometimes came to my house to ask if I knew where he had gone (I could generally guess), and once an irate husband even came to inquire of his whereabouts. His Don Juan activities had evidently increased. His friendship with me caused him trouble with other Tapirapé who were envious of the presents he received. The story was circulated that he had stolen a pair of scissors which, in fact, I had given to him. Moreover, several people caught colds, and he was accused of bringing the infection from Furo de Pedra (actually it was probably transmitted by the frontiersman who had helped transport us to the village in November). Champukwi sought revenge by cutting down one of the main supports of the men's house, which promptly caved in. No one died or was seriously injured and the destruction of the men's house was soon forgotten since it is normally rebuilt each year. However, people continued to criticize Champukwi, much of their criticism revolving around his relationship with me. There are no realms of esoteric secrets in Tapirapé culture (as there are in many cultures) that must not be revealed to an outsider; there is only the "secret" of the men from the women that the masked dancers are not supernatural beings but merely masquerading men, but I had been fully and openly brought into this "secret." I was, moreover, exceedingly careful in conversation never to refer to any bit of personal information that some informant, Champukwi or another, had told me. But rumors were rife in the small village—that I was angry and would soon leave (I was by then a valuable asset), that Champukwi told me lies about others, that I refused to give a bushknife to a household leader because Champukwi had urged me not to do so (I refused because I had already given him one bushknife), and the like.

Champukwi reacted moodily, often violently, to this situation. I could no longer count on his visits nor on our research interviews. He now visited us with a glum look on his face, and when he was

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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not at once offered coffee, he left offended. But the very next day he might return, gay and joking, yet without his former patience for teaching or explaining Tapirapé culture. Once he returned tired from a hunting trip, and, irritated by his wife, he beat her with the flat side of his bushknife and marched off in anger, thoughtfully taking the family hammock and a basket of manioc flour, to sleep four nights in the forest near his garden. Soon afterwards, he left his wife to take the wife of a younger man. This did not become a major scandal in the village. After some tense yet calm words between the two men, it seemed clear that the young woman preferred Champukwi and the abandoned husband peacefully moved into the men's house. Champukwi's former wife and their two young daughters continued to live with her relatives as is the Tapirapé rule. But the switch of spouses caused tension between Champukwi and his former wife's kinsmen, and between Champukwi and the abandoned husband's kinsmen; and, to multiply his woes, he now had a new set of in-laws to satisfy. For about a month thereafter I rarely saw Champukwi; he obviously avoided our house. When we met in the village or in the men's house, he simply said that he was busy repairing his house or hunting.

Discussing emotions with someone from a culture as widely different as Tapirapé is from my own was difficult, and the language barrier was still a real one. Although my Tapirapé vocabulary was increasing, it was hardly adequate to probe deeply into emotional responses; nor was Champukwi given to introspection. I shall probably never fully understand Champukwi's temporary rejection of me, but the cause was probably both sociological and psychological. First, his apparent influence with me and our close friendship had created antagonism on the part of other villagers. By rejecting the outsider, he now hoped to reinstate himself in his own society. A second, deeper and more personal reason, contributed to his rejection of me; he had told me too much about himself, and feared that he had lost face in the process. Also, it was obvious that I was growing less dependent upon him for knowledge as my facility with the language improved and my information about the culture grew. Finally, the rejection was not one-sided. Now additional informants were desirable for my research. Also, if I remember correctly (it is not stated in my notebooks), I was annoyed by Champukwi's neglect and disappointed by his lack of loyalty.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



Ta 262 Te 262 168 "hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is (and was in the past) just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size. Ta 168 183 262 Population control among the Tapirapé seems ne to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

Ta 161 168 182 [165] This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new diseases for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families were not large enough to replace the adult population. Te 161 168 182 [165] The less rigid population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Te Ta 596 591 612 Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. Ta 616 561 The Tapirapé, on the other hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial moieties limited to men. Each moiety was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Ta 476 264 574 616 [796] [535] Second, both men and women among the Tapirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's moieties and age grades and the "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic prodution and distribuition. The masked dances with impersonation of

621 by this missionary. There was at the time only one couple with
[163] three children, while other couples with progeny only had one or two. When Mr. Kegel was in Tampiitáua in 1934, after the departure of the oft-mentioned "20" who had not yet returned in
[161] 1935, he only saw seven houses with 113 occupants. It is to be assumed that a few additional families were absent during the missionary's visit that year, for in 1935 I counted 130 Tapirapé. They were living in the seven houses seen by Mr. Kegel the
[342] previous year, and also in the so-called takana [men's house] and in another hut (marked with the letter g on the ground plan of the village) which was not as finished as the others. The distribution of those 130 individuals among the houses is indicated on the ground plan of the village (Fig. 8).

V62 621 The following table shows the ratios by age, sex, marital status, and progeny. [Table appears here.]

[103:187] It is apparent, therefore, that at the time of this census, made in 1935, there were 70 married individuals and 60 unmarried ones in Tampiitáua.

The 38 men between the ages of 18 and 45 included the fathers of 20 children. The 26 women between the ages of 21 and 60 included the mothers of 32 children. These 64 men and women, therefore, included the fathers and mothers of 52 children.

These 52 children do not include those who were cited as
● [597] stepchildren or adopted offspring. It is possible, furthermore, that they may include step- or adopted children who were not cited as such. In this case, the number of children with a living father or mother, which is already relatively small, would be even smaller.

Among the couples who had issue from their current marriages, there was one with three children, two with two, and five with one child each.

There was a 45-year-old grandfather with a three-year-old granddaughter, and a grandmother of 60 with a granddaughter who was also three. A man of 33 said that he was the grandfather of a girl of five who had neither father nor mother. He may have been the brother of the girl's grandfather.

No less striking than the above figures are the following.

In the age group ranging from less than one year to 14, there were 26 males and 29 females, that is to say, 55 individuals of both sexes.

[Text continues on p. 40]

264 [92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of
574 various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets.
476 These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kãũũãnõí, owing to
their small numbers, had joined the Ãvãinkĩ to form a single group.
All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group.
[262] There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce
and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of kará [Tr.,
a kind of yam], peanut kãũí, etc. Before that, there was a great
431 distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom
574 he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such
[622] as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of
this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better
[177] use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay
264 the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted to-
476 gether, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they
574 [554] pleased. Kamairahõ, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk
123 of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother.
We called each other "Txankanépéra," and Ampitánya, his little
[597] adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Ané Txankané-
péra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other
groups also called me "Txankanépéra," and I called them by the name
of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

264 [93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that
574 there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots
and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The
535 plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the
[776] good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kãũihõ and
vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness,
132 the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season
with its "good shadows," summer.

574 They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they
796 also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

224 On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tãtáupáũã of an
264 eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Ãvãinkĩ had killed
476 with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting
574 the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group.
[462] In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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[182] the *Tapirapé* than either the moieties or the feast groups. *Tapirapé* kin-
[611] ship is bilateral, its chief principle being that all cousins, whether cross- or parallel-cousins, no matter how distant, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of people calling each other siblings are also called siblings. Mother's sisters are called mother, and father's brothers, father. Mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, a man's brothers' children are considered his sons and daughters, and a woman's sisters' children are her children. Children of a man's sisters or a woman's brothers are given special terms.

[621] The wide inclusiveness of kinship affiliation makes it possible for an
[178] individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers—and in former days many people in other villages—by terms of close relationship.

554 An older man of some prestige gathers around him by adoption as many
581 "daughters" or as many of his wife's "daughters" as possible. By the
597 marriage of these "daughters," he attracts a group of younger men within
592 his household who contribute constantly to his larder through the hunt and garden activities. At present, only three of the nine houses in the village were formed in this way, but reduced numbers, we were told, forced various combinations of relatives to share a household.

## LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth.**—Although aware that pregnancy is brought about by sexual intercourse, the *Tapirapé* believe that conception takes place when a shaman, serving as intermediary, brings a "child spirit" to the woman. Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, and various fish and insects are supposed to contain child spirits.

843 When the woman is certain that she is pregnant, she tells her husband. They both paint their bodies with genipa and cover their hair with urucú. During the first few days of pregnancy, no restraints are imposed upon the child's parents, but as birth approaches, all sexual contact must cease.
[851] All men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers of the future child, together with the real father.

844 At childbirth the woman is assisted by her mother and sister and by two male relatives. The husband retires to his hammock and is forbidden to partake of any liquid refreshment.

847 Infanticide is practiced because it is considered bad to have more than three children, or two children of the same sex. The fourth child, or third of the same sex, of one mother is buried in a hole dug inside the residence for the afterbirth.

852 On the day after birth, a male child has his lower lip perforated. Until
304 the child is weaned, the parents must refrain from sexual relations and
851 must not eat salt, sugar, honey, or the meat of various animals and forest
262 fowls. Both boys and girls also are restricted in their meat diet. A son

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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The wide inclusiveness of these kinship affiliation makes it possible for an individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers — and in former days those of other villages — by terms of close relationship. Siblings are under obligation to lend aid to one another when it is needed and, in the case of sorcery, to avenge wrong done to any of them. The
[182] kinship system accordingly provides an important bond of solidarity within this society which lacks strong centralized control to hold it together.

## SOURCE OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

775 A multitude of spirits populate the unseen world of the Tapirapé.
776 These spirits, known by the generic term of *ancûnga* (5), are of two general types: ghosts, *ancûnga iúnwera*, the disembodied souls of the dead; and second, malevolent beings of many classes and descriptions. Ghosts inhabit abandoned village sites where they relive their earthly lives, yet frequently they travel about at night and, especially during the rainy season, they come near the village of the living, for "they are cold" and come near human habitations to get warm. People are accordingly afraid to venture beyond the village plaza at night. Now and again, ghosts appear to living people, frightening them, sometimes throwing a dust-like substance over them and causing them to fall insensible.

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morning we embarked downriver. My last memory of Champukwi was of him standing on the bank waving in *tori* style until our boat made the curve of the river.

I did not return to visit the Tapirapé until 1953, but news of them came to me at intervals. Valentim Gomes returned to the region in 1941 as an officer of the Brazilian Indian Service, and his post was charged with the protection of the Tapirapé Indians. In his first year in this capacity, he wrote me: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the 26th of July [1941]. They were in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, and the like. There were plenty of bananas. But I am sorry to say that after we left them, twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Champukwi, the best informant in the village, and our best friend." Several slow exchanges of letters brought further details from Valentim. In some manner, perhaps through a visit from a Brazilian frontiersman, several Tapirapé had contracted common colds. Its fatalness to them is indicated by the name they give it—*ó-ó* (*ó* is the augmentative which might be translated as "big, big"). Since they have no knowledge of the process of contagion and have not acquired immunity to the common cold, the disease spread rapidly throughout the village. The Tapirapé realized, I knew, that colds and other diseases such as measles which they had suffered before, were derived from visitors. Yet they also believed that death resulted from evil magic or sorcery. Why do some people who are very sick from colds get well, they asked, while others who are no more ill, soon die? It is only because those who die are the victims of sorcery, they had explained to me. So, following many deaths, including that of a young man like Champukwi, who enjoyed prestige and had many kinsmen, I was not surprised to learn from Valentim Gomes that the powerful shaman, Urukumu, had been assassinated. As Champukwi had told me, suspicion of Urukumu had already been growing even during my residence in the village. After the death of Champukwi, one of his many "brothers" (actually a cousin but called by the same term as brother in Tapirapé) had entered Urukumu's house late at night and clubbed him to death. To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
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and only 147 inhabitants. This is an extraordinary example of the ravages of European diseases among a native American people. 161 165

Tampitawa (Village of the Tapir) is composed, therefore, of a residue from all of the five original villages. All of the customs and ceremony attached to inter-village relations have of course disappeared. People remember their former village affiliation, or that of their parents. They still speak of a person as being "the son of Fish Village," but village loyalty, once strong, has disappeared. Formerly, villages were basically endogamous, but some marriage outside of the village did take place. Today, only three people can say that they are descendants of people from Tapir Village. Ancient inter-village antagonism existed, especially between Tapir and the village which joined with it in 1900. Today, this conflict is only remembered under the stress of some quarrel and is referred to only as a taunt. 621 161 [578]

Depopulation has had little effect on the economic life of the Tapirapé. They are basically a forest agricultural people with large plantations. Manioc is their staple. Plantations are large enough, and the economic organization fluid enough, to allow for the support of large numbers of refugees for a year or so until they can make gardens for themselves. Refugees have joined one of the large households, at present eight, each with some twenty-five to thirty people. Formerly these households were matrilineal groups headed by a man of high prestige. His wife's relatives formed the matrilineal group and he demanded labor from his numerous sons-in-law (husbands of daughters of wife, including extended "daughters"). The coming of refugees disrupted these matrilocal households. If a refugee woman lacked a close female kin, her husband often arranged for habitation with a friend or a relative of his. Men of high status offered the hospitality of their houses to incoming men of rank. Today, therefore, many reassortments of relatives live under one roof, and two and even three separate groups of female relatives live under as many older men, whereas formerly they would have formed one household under the leadership of one household head. In no one case, does a man control a complete household as he would have done under the old system. 178 [241] 592 621 161 [607]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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upon an expectant father. This same set of taboos now bothered him again. A series of foods, mainly meats and particularly venison, is prohibited to fathers of infants and to husbands of pregnant women. On two excursions to the savanna (which abounds with deer) Champukwi had eaten venison. Moreover, since the Tapirapé identified cattle with deer, and thus beef with venison, he had broken the taboo several additional times by partaking also of this forbidden meat. The rather scrawny conditon of his 2-year-old daughter, he feared, resulted from his faults. Just after our return to the village in early November, his wife gave birth to a second daughter. She had a difficult delivery, and he remembered his transgressions. Several village gossips, without knowing anything about his misdeeds, had nevertheless accused him of this breach of taboo.

Champukwi's home life was not a happy one. He was frequently in conflict with his second wife, who had, indeed, considerable basis for complaint. She could not claim that he was a poor provider, for Champukwi was a good hunter and a diligent gardener. But he confided to me that he did not find her attractive, or at least not as attractive as other women in the village. Champukwi had a lusty sense of humor and enjoyed joking with Valentim and me. In this mood he told of his many extramarital affairs, which were in truth but slightly concealed. I would in any event have heard of these liaisons; he gave his paramours beads which everyone in the village knew I had given him as presents. This practice caused trouble for the women because their husbands could readily identify the source of the gifts. It also created trouble for Champukwi at home. His wife complained of his affairs and on one occasion, according to Champukwi, she attacked him, grabbing him by his pigtail and squeezing his exposed testicles until he fell helpless into a hammock. On other occasions, she retaliated in a manner more usual for a Tapirapé woman—she simply refused to carry drinking water from the creek, to cook food for him, and to allow him to sleep in the hammock which she and Champukwi shared. For a Tapirapé man to carry drinking water, to cook, or to sleep on a mat is considered ridiculously funny. In other circumstances, Champukwi would have had to seek recourse with a female relative. However, to do so would be tantamount to a public announcement of his marital difficulties; the whole village would have known, to their considerable merriment and jest. But having *tori* friends in the village, Champukwi

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[522]
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* [i.e. non-Indian -- Analyst]

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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115
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ing less dependent upon him for knowledge as my facility with the
language improved and my information about the culture grew. Fi-
nally, the rejection was not one-sided. Now additional informants
were desirable for my research. Also, if I remember correctly (it is
not stated in my notebooks), I was annoyed by Champukwi's neg-
lect and disappointed by his lack of loyalty.

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Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life, [608] namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group companions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond oc- [621] casionally bringing together the inhabitants of different houses from birth to death.

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On July 3, the time of the kãũihó, or "bad kãũí" (literally, "big kãũí" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the [252] chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kãũí, which formerly was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was warm and so good that I ate my fill.

648 When I stretched out in my hammock, Kamairahó, who was
129 already lying in his hammock with his wife, smiled at me as usual and greeted me courteously with the customary "papaneká (you have come)." I asserted, no less decorously, "Hm, hm, ẽ, ẽ." He went on, still smiling, "Kananchahó around. Kananchahó coming. I'm afraid." Although he did not seem particularly scared in spite of this statement, I calmed him with a few words as I had done with the others, and he immediately laughed, changed the subject, and jested with his wife.

Later, it became evident that the presence of Kayapó in the
648 neighboring forest had been invented by Anavaní, a somewhat
609 foolish youth of about 17. On the following morning he confessed that he had lied. He probably wanted to make himself important. The general readiness to believe him shows the state of mind of the Tapirapé toward their feared neighbors. Incidentally, on the day when Kamairahó showed me the smoke pillars of the "Ampaneá" to the southwest, he showed me a similar display by the Kayapó to the north.

The non-material defenses show that the Kananchahó are regarded as the Number One enemy. Although the Karajá are also feared, only the northern neighbors, by what I was able to observe, are the object of parodies, violently abusive songs, and mocking pantomimes. On June 24, the Tapirapé, in a weeping tone, sang
[533] a seemingly obscene chant about the Kananchahó, which aroused
[831] endless laughter. It was sung in the men's house, where other
[522] youths gave a ludicrous impersonation of those enemies, emitting
[536] their would-be tribal cry, running and jumping crazily hither and yon, gesticulating with angry excitement, and hitting the house stakes with their clubs. At the same time, in front of the house,
[535] other men accompanied by the women and children danced and sang the kaó, the danced song that derives its warlike character not only from the weapons in the hands of the warriors and from their serious look, but also from the powerful rhythm of stamping feet and the menacing quality of the guttural sounds.

536 [102:125] While all this pertains to night performances, an-
726 other spectacle took place two days later in daylight. It was a dramatization of the supposed Kayapó attack on the 20 Tapirapé who had failed to return from the hunt during the previous year. Six youths, holding on to each other in friendly fashion two by two,

536 with the pairs one behind the other, walked peacefully from house
726 to house. They hummed a song. The first two pairs carried a blanket on their back, and the last pair carried a straw mat. A masked man followed, bent forward, dancing and shooting arrows at the mat. After a while the pairs lined up one beside the other and stayed put, humming their song, while the masked figure emitted the Kayapó tribal cry and danced in menacing fashion, stepping always on the same spot. A little later, the walk was resumed. This scene was repeated several times. Suddenly, however, when the pairs were standing still once more in front of a hut, two masked "Kayapó" rushed headlong from behind it, and four others emerged from behind the neighboring house. All
[177] these "Kayapó" had bows or clubs in their hands and were completely disguised with hammocks, blankets, and other belongings of the White guests. Their faces were covered with sifters, and my straw hat had also found a use. While the three Tapirapé pairs kept walking as peacefully as before, the masked figures alternately ran furiously hither and yon, giving their typical cry, and performed a circular dance. In this dance, some of them faced the back of the man in front while others were turned
[535] toward the man behind. They all jumped on one leg and then the other, tossing their arms and legs about and gesticulating with their weapons (Photo. 73). After repeating all this several times for half an hour, the "Kayapó" attacked one another and quarreled among themselves. Then the Tapirapé pairs quietly broke up and vanished.

This performance, therefore, contrasts the mildness which
191 is indeed the tribal behavior pattern of the Tapirapé with the nervous aggressiveness of the Kayapó. This seems to be a symbol of universal significance, when we look at the pacifists and militarists in other parts of the world.

The opinion of the Tupí tribe about the nature of these
• 609 neighbors[1] seems to be expressed even in their mythology. While
773 the Karajá are regarded as descendants of a water serpent, the ancestor of the Kayapó is tantevoga, the tick. One of the proofs of kinship with those bugs, my informants say, is the falsetto tribal cry that they attribute to their northern foe. This proof, although it might not satisfy a biologist, is sufficient for the ethnologist. Actually, everyone knows that the tick is a pesky nuisance.

[1] [i.e., the Kayapó.—Analyst]

164 apparently was aggravated by pneumonia. During the rainy season
731 that followed, this epidemic caused great mortality throughout
[165] the tribe, also killing Ikaranchó and his wife. Then the separa-
[166] tists returned to Tampiitáua.

The eighteenth century map reproduced in this work points
361 out with three triangles the "Aldeas do Gentio Tapirapé [villages of the Tapirapé people]." In his account of Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira's 1911 expedition, Angyone Costa (222-223) writes as follows about the Tapirapé of the time: "These Indians occupy three villages, the first one located two days' journey from the riverbank, the second one three days' away. The explorer did not visit the third one."

The following appears in the account of the Dominican ex-
[113] pedition of 1914 printed in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosário (317): "The Tapirapé form three groups, or rather three malocas [villages], five days' journey apart. The Indians can walk 50 kilo-
[481] meters a day. This shows how huge is the region inhabited by such a relatively sparse tribe. The village we visited had 16 huts,
[592] each one sheltering several families. It is true that when the
[609] Fathers drew near, some of the huts were emptied, and families, urged on by a suspicious chief, ran to hide in the forest. The peo-
[161] ple we found did not exceed 160 souls, and from this it may easily be inferred that the tribe does not include more than about a thousand members."

[103:186] The note published in 1912 about Dr. Francisco
621 Mandacarú's journey states that the Tapirapé village visited by
[161] this explorer contained 268 inhabitants and that "almost invariably, a village merely consists of a single and numerous family." The number of villages, however, is not mentioned (cf. Kissenberth 2, 43-44).

The same applies to the account of the trip by the inspector
[161] of the Indians, mentioned earlier, which only states that "some 1,000 or 1,500" Tapirapé were found (Glass, 139).

Reverend Kegel told me that in August of 1932 he found in
[161] Tampiitáua some 14 houses with slightly more than 220 occupants. These people, as we have already mentioned, split up in September, but were together again when we visited them the following
[165] year. From 50 to 60 of them died during the 1932-1933 rainy season, and only three or four children born at that time were seen by this missionary.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



Tapirapé village which he would have hesitated to relate on home grounds. He told me of adulterous affairs in process and of the growing determination among one group of kinsmen to assassinate Urukumu, the powerful medicine man, because they suspected him of performing death-dealing sorcery.

After two weeks in Furo de Pedra, I found that it would be necessary for Valentim Gomes and me to go to Rio de Janeiro. It was not possible for Champukwi to accompany us and so I arranged for two Brazilian frontiersmen to return him to a point on the Tapirapé River from which he could easily hike to his village in a day. Valentim and I then began our slow trip up the Araguaia River to the motor road and thence to Rio de Janeiro. Two months later, rid of malaria and with a new stock of supplies, we returned to spend the long rainy months from November until the end of May in the Village of the Tapirs. Champukwi was there to welcome us, and he came each day to help repair and enlarge our house. We easily fell into our former friendly relationship, now strengthened by the experience in common of the trip to Furo de Pedra and by the feeling which many anthropologists have shared with the people of their communities—that anyone who returns is an "old friend."

My return to the village that November marked, in a sense, the end of what might be called the first phase of my relationship with Champukwi as friend and as anthropological informant. During the course of at least 200 hours of conversation (many of which may be methodologically dignified as interviews), I had learned much about Champukwi as a person as well as about Tapirapé culture. I knew that as a small boy he had come from Fish Village, where his parents had died, to live in the Village of the Tapirs. He had lived with his father's younger brother, Kamaira, who was the leader of a large household. He even confided to me his boyhood name; Tapirapé change their names several times during their lifetimes and mention of a person's first childhood name, generally that of a fish, an animal, or simply descriptive of some personal characteristic, causes laughter among the audience and considerable embarrassment to the individual. I knew that Champukwi had been married before he took his current wife, and that his first wife had died in childbirth. He revealed that her kinsmen had gossiped that her death was caused by his lack of respect for the food taboos imposed

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264 476 574 such as the head and legs, which they gave to those members of their [224] family who did not belong to the same eating group.

The feasting had already begun before the sun was up. In the [345] takána, the large dance house, which is essentially a men's house and [562] thus as a rule not visited by women, the Ãvãinki´ of both sexes sat [352] [ 94] on straw mats stretched for the purpose around large pots containing the roasted pig. The animal was cut up in such a way that the pieces could easily be held in the hand.

When I appeared, they all graciously invited me to help myself. [123] I declined, stating that I was a Txankanépéra, and in view of this they did not insist further.

Naturally, members of other eating groups may ask the feast participants for a piece. Custom, however, demands that they withdraw after receiving what they requested. Only members of the same group may sit in the circle surrounding the pots. As a rule, however, a member of another group does not come to the people who are feasting and ask for a piece.

123 264 476 574 In any case, I did not want to carry my pride in being a Txankanépéra too far, and therefore I accepted the invitation of a special friend, Vuãnomantxí, whose wife had prepared the bulk of the food for the Ãvãinki´ and thus earned the pig's head for her family. While she sat with her group-fellows in the takána, her husband and son, and a few other persons who were not relatives but who belonged to the family, so to speak, because they were the only other occupants of the small hut, lay across their hammocks and chewed contentedly. When I came in, Vuãnomantxí tore from the pig's head the piece that he considered the best and offered it to me. I began to chew on it, and this required much fortitude because the meat was very tough. [ 95] When my chin began to hurt badly and I was certain that I had swallowed enough of those awful bites, I craved a bonus and asked for the brains. My friend smiled--he always had a friendly smile for me, thoroughly joyous and relaxed--and gave me to understand that my tastes were not inferior to those of the most illustrious Tapirapé. Then, with his athletic strength, he broke open the skull, handed me the bulk of the brains, and stuffed the rest into his mouth.

Before the sun was up, only the pig's bones remained in Vuãnomantxi 264 house and in the takána.

476 Aside from the tãtãupãũã, there is another institution which also [574] involves eating in hereditary groups. It is called apatxirũ. Its purpose, [611]

264 476 only by their respective owners. I do not know, however, whether [622] the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the prepara- [651] tion of the principal chief's garden.)

The ãntaiva of the Anantxá were the chief Tanupantxóa and [624] Vuĭraí, and those of the Vuirantxinió were the chief Kamairá and the sorcerer--medicine man Maninohó.

476 In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three 857 groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were called Vuanankóra, Vuirantxína, and Vuĭrantxinoí. The last one is now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tãnãvé or Anantxá belong [611] to the first one, and the sons of the Vuirantxinió to the second one. The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were Vuirantxinió. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work- [881] group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution, [462] for "the women and girls stay home when the men do collective work."

[98] They say that each apatxirũ group has its specific ornament 301 for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I 476 was not with the Tapirapé. The Tãnãvé wear three large red macaw 535 feathers hanging from the head onto the back. The Anantxá also wear 237 three large macaw feathers in the same fashion, but two are from the blue and yellow macaw and only the middle one is red; in addition, they wear on their arms the white breast fluff of the king vulture. The Vuirantxinió are not differentiated from the Tãnãvé. The Vuanankóra wear smaller red feathers from the tail of the macaw, hanging from the head onto the back. The Vuirantxína are similarly adorned and also wear macaw fluff on their arms.

Concerning the word apatxirũ, Curt Nimuendajú wrote me as fol- 192 lows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word apatxirũ is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is omitted.]

476 [99] On July 30, Kamairahó invited me to go with him to the [123] apatxirũ. On the previous day, Chief Tanupantxóa had already begun the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



601 **Kinship.**—Kinship is more important in furthering solidarity among
[182] the *Tapirapé* than either the moieties or the feast groups. *Tapirapé* kin-
[611] ship is bilateral, its chief principle being that all cousins, whether cross- or parallel-cousins, no matter how distant, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of people calling each other siblings are also called siblings. Mother's sisters are called mother, and father's brothers, father. Mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, a man's brothers' children are considered his sons and daughters, and a woman's sisters' children are her children. Children of a man's sisters or a woman's brothers are given special terms.

[621] The wide inclusiveness of kinship affiliation makes it possible for an
[178] individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers—and in former days many people in other villages—by terms of close relationship.

An older man of some prestige gathers around him by adoption as many
554 "daughters" or as many of his wife's "daughters" as possible. By the
581 marriage of these "daughters," he attracts a group of younger men within
597 his household who contribute constantly to his larder through the hunt and
592 garden activities. At present, only three of the nine houses in the village were formed in this way, but reduced numbers, we were told, forced various combinations of relatives to share a household.

## LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth.**—Although aware that pregnancy is brought about by sexual intercourse, the *Tapirapé* believe that conception takes place when a shaman, serving as intermediary, brings a "child spirit" to the woman. Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, and various fish and insects are supposed to contain child spirits.

843 When the woman is certain that she is pregnant, she tells her husband. They both paint their bodies with genipa and cover their hair with urucú. During the first few days of pregnancy, no restraints are imposed upon the child's parents, but as birth approaches, all sexual contact must cease.
[851] All men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers of the future child, together with the real father.

At childbirth the woman is assisted by her mother and sister and by
844 two male relatives. The husband retires to his hammock and is forbidden to partake of any liquid refreshment.

847 Infanticide is practiced because it is considered bad to have more than three children, or two children of the same sex. The fourth child, or third of the same sex, of one mother is buried in a hole dug inside the residence for the afterbirth.

852 On the day after birth, a male child has his lower lip perforated. Until
304 the child is weaned, the parents must refrain from sexual relations and
851 must not eat salt, sugar, honey, or the meat of various animals and forest
262 fowls. Both boys and girls also are restricted in their meat diet. A son

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 50 6



Ta 262 Te 262 168 "hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is (and was in the past) just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size. Ta 168 183 262 Population control among the Tapirapé seems no to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

Ta 161 168 182 [165] This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new disease for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid Te 161 168 182 [165] population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Te Ta 596 591 612 Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapé, on the other Ta 616 561 hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial moieties limited to men. Each moiety was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the Ta Ta 476 264 574 616 [796] [535] pirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's moieties and age grades and the "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic prodution and distribuition. The masked dances with impersonation of

171 houses, since in both cases the structures stand around the central
361 plaza. The chief difference lies in the fact that the large men's house stands in the center of the Tampiitaua plaza, while according to all references and pertinent woodcuts the Tupinambá village plaza had no building whatever in the center.

There seems to be a closer similarity between Tapirapé and Mundurukú [Mundurucu] villages. [Ed., the remainder of p. 106 and all but the last paragraph on p. 107 are omitted.]

[111:107] On the plan of Tampiitaua (Fig. 8), the arrange-
361 ment of houses around the takana clearly reveals two semicircles
621 standing [111:108] at some distance from each other, one on the
616 northern side and the other on the southern side. The largest house in each group stands in the middle of the others, so that these two larger houses, a and e, stand more or less opposite with the takana between them. The important kauihó dance, which
[535] will be described in a later chapter, was performed first in house a, and immediately afterward by the same persons in house e. In various masked dances, the pairs, when crossing the village plaza, moved alternately from one of these houses to the other. The
[622] heads of the two houses, Kamairahó and Vuatanamy, not only were the main leaders of Tampiitaua, but also performed as a pair in one of those dances. It is thus possible that they represented the "patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties" mentioned by Wagley (4, 7 [Tr., in English at 4, 63]).

591 According to that author (ibid.), Tapirapé residence is matri-
114 local. At the time of my stay in Tampiitaua, there were eight couples with living ancestors: (1) in house a, the couple designated by the numbers 3 and 10 on the village plan (Fig. 8) lived with No. 1, that is, the husband's father (the husband's mother and the wife's parents were dead); (2) couple 11 and 16, in the same house, did not live with No. 29, that is, the wife's father, in house b (the husband's parents and the wife's mother were dead); (3) couple 13 and 18 lived in the same house, a, as No. 8, that is, the husband's mother, and this was also the house of 17 and 24, that is, the wife's parents (the husband's father was dead); (4) couple 29 and 36, in house b, did not live with No. 22, that is, the wife's mother, in house a (the husband's parents and the wife's father were dead); (5) couple 33 and 42, in house b, lived

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



The men's moieties form the basis for Tapirape ceremonial 178
and for cooperative gardening and hunting. Each moiety is 561
divided into three age grades. Thus, in the village, there are two 616
groups of "boys" and "youths" (up to sixteen years of age), two 161
of mature men or "warriors" (up to approximately 45), and two groups of "older men." Really old and inactive men give up moiety activity and have no affiliation. A boy belongs automatically to the moiety of his father and formerly he progressed through the three age grades of that moiety. All ceremonies involve the moiety age grades, which dance against each other, race against each other, and give reciprocal feast exchanges. Cooperative hunts and clearing of the forest likewise involve reciprocal activities. However, with the great loss of population, and especially a loss of men of the oldest age group, this organization was thrown out of balance. In order to continue ceremonial life, several youths, who were spoken of as "lazy" and who were not capable hunters or workers, passed into the "older men's" age groups, in which there is little active cooperative hunting and gardening, in order to give those groups sufficient numbers for ceremonial activity. This rapid passing from boys' age grade to that of older men has influenced native thought in two ways:—First, young men are losing the idea of automatic progression through the three age grades, and there is a tendency now to think that the better young men become "warriors," while less capable ones pass rapidly to the older men's group. Second, the 554
older men's age grades, formerly the groups of highest prestige, tend to be looked on with little favor, and only those individuals are thought of with respect who have status for other reasons.

Depopulation has also affected the second Tapirape social 178
grouping—the feast groups. These are made up of all men and 571
women. They are matrilocal for women and patrilocal for men. 574
These feast groups meet periodically during the dry season for 161
ceremonial meals. At present, three of the original ten feast groups have disappeared because of lack of members.

Chieftainship has changed under the influence of both depop- 178
ulation and the sporadic contacts with Brazilians. All men of 622
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4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



a male leader, a man of prestige, who is usually the husband of one the 591
older women of the female kinship group. Apart from these residential 592
groupings, the Tapirapé are divided in two other ways.

First, all Tapirapé men belong to one of the two patrilineal non-exo- 561
gamic ceremonial moieties (2) and each moiety is further divided into 616
three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths, two groups of adult men of warrior age, and two groups of older men. Each of these groups bears the name of a mythical bird, the word *wirã* — bird — itself being used as the generic name for the groups. These [476]
*wirã* function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites; parallel [535]
groups also dance against one another in the ceremonials and offer [574]
reciprocal feasts to each other. The warrior-age group of each of these moieties has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and other communal work and a "singing leader" for ceremonials.

Both men and women of the Tapirapé are also divided into eight 574
"feasting" groups called *tãtáupawã* — literally "fire all to eat" (3). Men 571
belong to their father's feasting group and women to their mother's. 582
Feasting groups are not only non-exogamic but people prefer to marry with their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry names of the mythological heads of the legend- [773]
ary original eight households of the first Tapirapé village. On occasion during the dry season the feast groups meet at sunset on the dance plaza for a ceremonial feast, each member bringing his or her contribution to the common meal (4).

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(2) Baldus (op. cit. pp. 95-98) did not recognize these *wirã* groups as [114]
age groups of men's ceremonial moieties. He calls them *grupos de trabalho* (work groups). He reports three wirã groups among the adult men and writes that formerly there had been three corresponding groups among the boys of the tribe. Nowadays the Tapirapé are so few that lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's *wirã* group in order to give the necessary balance for ceremonials. This presents the picture of several groups of equal ages; thus accounting, perhaps, for the divergence of opinion on this subject. Careful checking with informants, and observation of dances, hunts, races and wrestling matches when Tapirapé men were grouped according to moiety divisions led me to the definite conviction that these are age grouping of men's ceremonial moieties as described above.

(3) Baldus (op. cit., p. 90).

(4) Baldus calls the tãtáupawã "grupos de comer" (eating groups). He reports seven feast groups functioning in 1937. He vividly describes a ceremonial meal on pages 91 to 95 of his work already cited.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



756 789 nions in order to protect the gardens and even the people themselves from his violence. This four-day ceremony is the culmination of shamanistic activity among the Tapirapé and its most exotic and violent manifestation (22).

## SOCIAL POSITION OF THE SHAMAN

554 622 The Tapirapé do not have chieftains with highly centralized authority. Instead one finds among them respected individuals who are described modernly by the Tapirapé with the Portuguese term "*capitão*". Such men of great prestige have in every instance gained the respect of their fellow tribesmen in one or more — usually at least two — of three ways.

622 554 858 First, an individual may be singled out by his parents, who must themselves be people of some prestige for especial treatment as a *čirikakántu*, a favored child (23). Parents bestow upon such a child a series of important names which in themselves carry respect and he is taught with special care the myths, songs, dances, and manual techniques of the tribe. His parents may wait upon him, bringing him water to drink and to wash himself with and preparing special foods for him. Special care is taken in oiling and painting his body and elaborate decorations are made for him to wear during the annual harvest ceremonies, for the *čirikakántu* are the central figures in part of this ceremony. Again, his body decorations are more elaborate than those of an ordinary youth when he dances during the ceremony of reaching maturity (24).

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(22) See page 84 for a detailed treatment of Thunder as a supernatural and of the Thunder Ceremony.

[616 562] (23) I use the masculine pronoun, for most *čirikakántu* are boys, although girls have been selected for this special treatment within the memory of my informants. Usually there are two mate "favored children" in the village, one from each moiety.

[114] (24) On this subject of chieftainship, I again disagree with Baldus. He reports a "*chefe principal*" and a "vice-*chefe*". He considers such offices hereditary, the oldest son of the chief becoming chief and the next oldest becoming vice-chief (*op. cit.* page 81). But I believe the impression of primogeniture was created only by the fact that important names and the position of *čirikakántu* were generally passed on by parents to their oldest child and the parents of outstanding importance

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



776 and in myth the sun is called Ancerika and the moon Tamparawa, both
821 names of people. According to the Tapirape, the moon is sister to the sun
773 and is married to Anchopeteri, a culture hero who was instrumental in
776 dividing all birds into two groups,[11] and who taught Tapirape how to
821 wrestle and sing many songs. Because of sexual misbehavior, Sun is said to have slapped Moon full in the face with his hand which was wet with black *genipa* dye, thus the marks on the face of the moon are explained.

Two large planets were formerly Tapirape culture bearers. Apuwenonu[12] (Venus) came down from the sky one night after having watched Anuntero, a Tapirape woman, for a long time, and lived with the Tapirape. At night he was a young man, husband of Anuntero, but by day he appeared to people as a decrepit old man. He taught Anuntero how to plant cotton and how to spin. He taught the Tapirape[13] how to plant their modern garden products, maize, maniac, *caru*, yams. Finally Apuwenonu returned to the sky, taking with him his earthly son by Anuntero who is called Imauawango (Jupiter). Today, the Tapirape point to these two planets, recounting their story and saying, "Apuwenonu is young at night when he is in the sky, but by day he is old again as he was when he left us."

Many other constellations are known, but of importance in story are
821 possibly only that called by the Tapirape "the jaguar,"[14] and the Pleiades.[15]
787 One shaman told me that he had travelled (in dreams) to visit this jaguar. He was "friendly" with it, he said, and if he should be killed, the jaguar of the sky would send many real jaguars to prey upon the Tapirape. "Men would be afraid to step into the forest at night." The jaguar had become one of his retinue of familiar powers which would aid him in struggles with other shamans.

821 The Pleiades are important calendrically. They are watched anxiously
805 and impatiently as the rains diminish, and their disappearance over the
796 western horizon in May signals the end of the rains. This is the time for

[616] [81] [825] [11] At the present time men's societies are divided into three age grades. Each age grade of each society carries the name of a bird: one being species of small *papagaio*, and the other species of white water birds. According to myth, these groups derived from similar divisions of the bird world in which Anchopeteri lived.

[171] [12] This is probably identical with Monan (or Maire-monan, according to Métraux), civilizing god of Tupinamba, who created earth, people, birds and animals, and finally taught the Tupinamba to distinguish useful plants. He was put to death by men, at which time he was transformed into a star "with two of his companions." Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 11.

[13] One text calls them Karaiganawera (pre-Tapirape) at this time (see p. 294).

[171] [14] Ancient Guarani said that there was a very large tiger or dog which on certain occasions ate the sun and moon, causing an eclipse. Apapocuva-Guarani speak of a celestial jaguar; and the Chaco Indian Chiriguano explain the eclipse in this same manner. Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 90.

[171] [15] "Les Pleiades paraissaient avoir été chez les Tupinamba l'objet de croyances particulières. Ils avaient notamment la conviction qu'elles favorisaient la croissance du manioc." Métraux, Religion des Tupinamba, p. 91.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara SO 6



Ta 262 Te 262 168 "hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is (and was in the past) just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size. Ta 168 183 262 Population control among the Tapirapé seems no to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

Ta 161 168 182 [165] This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new disease for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population Te 161 168 182 [165] during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Te Ta 596 591 612 Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapé, on the other hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial moieties limited to Ta 616 561 men. Each moiety was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the Tapirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Ta 476 264 574 611 [196] [535] Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's moieties and age grades and the "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic production and distribution. The masked dances with impersonation of

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



forest spirits performed by the men during the dry season were a function of the men's moieties. The "Feast Groups" met at intervals during the dry seasons at their traditional stations in the central plaza for ceremonial meals. At such times, as Herbert Baldus has shown, these "Feast Groups" functioned as a mechanism for food distribution in a season when more food was available than a family would normally consume. (7) The "Feast Groups" sometimes formed to collect honey and to hunt. The age grades of the men's moieties also frequently acted together economically; they organized work parties for clearing of large garden sites and they went out on large cooperative hunts after herds of wild pigs.

In aboriginal Tapirapé society ceremonial life and many important cooperative subsistence activities were based upon this balanced set of associations. A Tapirapé village in order to assure adequate representation in the various age grades of the men's moieties as well as in the "Feast Groups" by necessity had to consist of about 200 people or more. A small village of fifty to a hundred people, for example, would not have provided sufficient number of males of the proper ages to allow the age graded moieties to carry out their ceremonials nor to organize their cooperative subsistence activities. Tapirapé village organization was therefore not conducive to a process of "splitting off" of groups from one village to form another. The size of Tapirapé villages was limited by their tecnological equipment within their tropical forest environment yet the social structure made the formation of numerous small villages difficult. In contrast, the less formalized social structure of the Tenetehara allowed for villages of varying size within the limits of their ecological adjustment. Extended family groups easily might break off from a larger village to form a new settlement fully able to carry out the cooperative economic activities and even ceremonials of the society. This process is constantly occurring in contemporary Tenetehara society. When tensions arise between extended families, one group simply splits off from the parent village to join another or to form a separate village without serious effects on the ceremonial or economic system. Tenetehara social structure offered a favorable condition for an expanding population after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected population.

Tapirapé social structure seems also to have been more vulnerable to disorganization in face of a rapid change in population size. Rapid depopulation after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected the normal functioning of their highly segmented and balanced social structure. By 1940, the lack of men had thrown the system of reciprocal and competitive activities of the men's age-graded moieties out of balance. There were not enough men of the "older" age-grade of either moiety nor of the young men "warrior" age-grade of one moiety to form functioning units to reciprocate in cooperative garden clearing and to participate in group hunts. Several of the "Feast Groups" had been disbanded for lack of numbers

(7) Baldus (1937) p. 88 ff.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



## CULTURE

### SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

137 The region inhabited by the *Tapirapé* is one of dense tropical forest; yet near the Tapirapé River and parallel to its small tributaries, there are great strips of semiarid savanna country characterized by scrub growth 133 and groups of buriti palms. These plains are flooded during the excessive 132 rains from October to April, and they are arid during the latter part of the dry season (May through September).

**Farming.**—The *Tapirapé* make great clearings in the forest for their 241 villages, traveling occasionally to the savanna country for hunting. Their [484] large gardens guarantee them an economy of abundance. They plant several varieties of both sweet and poisonous manioc, four varieties of maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, cará (*Dioscorea* sp.) and yams, peanuts, squash, several varieties of bananas and beans, cotton, and papaya.

[221] Each year, from June to September, the men clear away the forest for 241 their gardens. Clearing is frequently done individually; frequently also it is done cooperatively by the men's ceremonial moiety groups in a work 616 festival (apačirú). When communally prepared, the large clearings are 47% afterward divided into individual garden lots. Gardens are, thus, gener- [423] ally individual property; now and again, however, a younger man plants together with an older man (his father-in-law) or a close relative. When clearing is done by apačirú, plots are allocated for ceremonial moiety leaders, who use the produce during the harvest feast (kaô) at the end 241 of the rainy season. Vegetation and tree trunks, cut down during the dry season and left to dry, are burned in September. Just after the first rains of October, planting is begun. All crops are planted without order or division within the garden plot, and weeds are never cleared away as [462] the garden grows. All gardening is done by men except the planting and harvesting of peanuts and cotton, which is done entirely by women.

Harvest takes place as the various crops ripen. Maize planted in late October or early November ripens in January; in April and May squash, cará, beans, etc. begin to ripen. Manioc is harvested as needed throughout [422] the year. All food from the gardens is said to belong to the wife once it is brought into the house.

Garden plots are planted for 2 years and then abandoned. The second year only manioc is generally planted in the plot. Yet each year a new plot is cleared from virgin forest and thus each gardener has generally two current garden plots—one newly cleared and a second-year plot planted with manioc. The lack of virgin forest on high ground for garden clear- [361] ings within accessible distance to the village, as well as the fear of the spirits of recent dead, force the *Tapirapé* to move their village site each 4 or 5 years to a new site.

232 Manioc is by far the most important *Tapirapé* crop, as manioc flour is 252 the basis of their diet. Different from other *Tupí* groups, however, the

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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**Weapons.**—Bows have a circular cross section and average about 6 feet (2 m.) in length. The arrows are of cane about 5 feet (1.6 m.) long with heads of bone, hardwood, and the spur from the sting ray (*Potamotrygon histrix*). They have brilliant feathers, sometimes the red and blue feathers of the red macaw. Clubs are made of several polished hardwoods and are sometimes decorated near the handles with woven strands of cane fibers. 411

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Three distinct social groupings are basic in *Tapirapé* social organization: men's ceremonial moieties, feast societies, and the kinship groups. 561

**Ceremonial moieties.**—All *Tapirapé* men belong to one of the patrilineal ceremonial moieties. Each of these moieties is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths (those up to 15 years of age); two groups of men of warrior age (15 to 40 years); and two groups of older men (40 to 60 years). Each group bears the name of a bird, the word "wirã" (bird) being the generic name for the group. These age groups (Baldus, 1937, p. 96, calls them "work groups") function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites at the cooperative work festival; parallel groups also dance against each other in various ceremonials and reciprocally feast each other. Each moiety owns half of the men's house, and its portion is subdivided into sections owned by the three age grades. The warrior age group of each moiety has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and communal work, and a "singing leader" for ceremonials. As a man becomes elderly, he entirely drops out of the "bird" groups and is no longer affiliated, as he cannot take part in their economic and ceremonial activities. At present, the *Tapirapé* are so reduced in number that, lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's age grade in order to retain the necessary balance for ceremonials. 616 [345] [423]

**Feast groups.**—Both men and women are divided into eight feasting groups called tãtáupawã (literally, "fire all to eat") Men belong to their fathers' feast group and women to their mothers'. Feast groups are not only nonexogamic, but people prefer to marry within their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry the names of the mythological heads of the original eight households of the first *Tapirapé* village. They unite at various times throughout the year for ceremonial meals. The feasts take place at traditional spots in the village plaza, at times when there is an abundance of honey, maize, or meat from the hunt. Each member brings his contribution. Baldus (1937, p. 88) calls these "eating groups," and emphasizes that they are consumers' groups providing a means of distributing food when more is available than a family can eat. Today only six groups meet for feasts, two being extinct for lack of members. 574 264 [582]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



those for group singing during the harvest ceremonies and the ceremony 533
of kawi (p. 176); those for the masked dancers during the dry season;
and a very large number of songs specifically for the "Big Sing"
(monikahô) during the latter part of the rainy season. During this
period (approximately March through April), singing takes place
throughout each night from sundown to sunrise. On these occasions, [66]
the singing leader and the men of one of the moieties introduce the verse
of each song and the refrain is then taken up by the men of the other
moiety and the women of the tribe. Women sing in a higher key than the
men and, generally, a phrase behind the men. The songs of the masked
dancers, each representing a supernatural being, differ stylistically from
those used on other occasions in being sung in a falsetto tone, in a manner [171]
similar to that of the neighboring *Carajá*. Many such songs have been [177]
admittedly learned from the *Carajá*.

**Dancing.**—Both men and women dance as they sing. In general, the 535
*Tapirapé* dance bending slightly forward, stamping out the time of the
music with one foot. Dancing differs greatly, however, according to the
occasion. During the harvest ceremonies, men dance in a line, side by [241]
side, each man's wife dancing directly behind him. During the group
singing of the "Big Sing," the men dance in moiety groups facing each
other, and women dance behind the moiety group of their husbands. On
one occasion during this time, men dance with women, side by side, with
a curious skipping step.

**Games.**—Men's moieties run foot races against each other after the 526
communal work festival (p. 168); they race in a straight line across the
village plaza. Wrestling takes place at one wet-season ceremony, and,
now and again, throughout the year as sport. The *Tapirapé* explain, [171]
however, that the *Carajá* are better wrestlers and that it is more properly
a *Carajá* sport. In wrestling, opponents stand face to face, grasping each
other about the neck, and attempt to force or to trip the other to the
ground. During one festival, men, one from each moiety at a time,
compete by throwing blunt-headed spears at each other. Gambling games [525]
are unknown.

**Stimulants.**—Native tobacco, though used for leisure-time smoking, is 276
principally a stimulant and medicine. A *Tapirapé* will not travel without 755
a supply of tobacco to blow smoke over his tired body at the end of the
day, in order to take out soreness and tiredness. Tobacco is necessary
to shamans in all their activities. They blow tobacco smoke over the
patient in curing (p. 177), and, to induce dreams and a trance, they
swallow large gulps of smoke until they become intoxicated and nauseated.
When people have seen ghosts, shamans fumigate them with tobacco [751]
smoke, in order to drive away the ghost's influence. Shamans fumigate 276
new maize, the first honey of the season and, sometimes, fresh meat to 756
drive out possible supernatural danger. This native tobacco is smoked [789]

101 identified with the Tapirapé, than that there should have existed
174 in the Tocantins basin two different tribes with such similar
[114] names. [Ed., the last half of p. 110 and the first half of p. 111 are omitted.]

[98:111] Assuming, now, that the "Caatingas" and "Pirapés" were the seventeenth century ancestors of the Tapirapé, which is not impossible in the case of the former and probable in the case of the latter, it must be admitted that the Tapirapé reached their present habitat from the north.

The hypothesis in favor of such an origin is strengthened
173 further by the statements made to me by the Tapirapé themselves. They say that they lived formerly to the north of Conceição and closer to the Araguaia than today, but that they gradually moved farther south out of fear of the Kayapó [Cayapo] and farther west out of fear of the Karajá. They add, however, that they never lived south of the Tapirapé River, which is the southern boundary of their present territory.
619 It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the inhabitants
648 of Tampiitáua maintained continuous relations with another Tapirapé village located "ten days' march to the north," and therefore, in any case, at a considerable distance, while they had no contact whatever with their supposed neighbors to the southwest, the so-called Ampaneá, who apparently are also Tupí and who are much less distant from Tampiitáua than that northern Tapirapé village. It is possible that the Ampaneá
[174] and Tapirapé reached their present habitats from different directions, or that the former got there long before the Tapirapé became their neighbors.

[98:112] Kissenberth (2, 40-41, 75-78) believes it possi-
114 ble that the potsherds he found on the Morro dos Cayapós [Hill
172 of the Cayapo], located in the hinterland west of Conceição
174 do Araguaia and almost at the same latitude as this locality, are products of the Tapirapé ceramic industry (see ibid., 37, map). Stating that he is not familiar with Tapirapé pottery, the same author goes on to say (ibid., 77): "Even a cursory comparison of these fragments with the ceramics and potsherds of South American peoples forcibly suggests the Tupí-Guaraní."
[323] Regarding this, I must say that I did not encounter among present-day Tapirapé pottery the ornamentation found on these potsherds.

648 offer them a refuge in case of northern Kaiapó advances or attacks. It might also preclude the entry of adventurers into the lands to the south and west, which are assumed to be inhabited by the Akué-Chavante and by the Tupi tribe of the Ampaneá (in this respect, cf. my works, "Uma ponte etnográfica entre o Xingu e o Araguaia, [An ethnographic bridge between the Xingu and the Araguaia]," [113] Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 43, São Paulo, 1938, and "Os Tapirapé, tribo tupi no Brasil Central [The Tapirapé, a Tupi tribe of Central Brazil]," ibid., Vol. 100, São Paulo, 1945).

[911] [144] Since the Tapirapé are traditionally forest Indians, we must consider the possibility of establishing the new post in the vicinity of the recently burned village, that is, at the edge of the great forest. I regard this possibility as extremely slight owing to the difficulties of communication during the yearly floods that cover the savanna and the forest ground.

Another possible way of protecting the Tapirapé would be to gather them into a post to be established on Bananal Island. The advantage here would be their localization in a Federal territory intended exclusively as a reservation for the local Indians and more easily accessible than the upper Tapirapé River. On the other hand, this very accessibility might make it difficult to preserve the tribe as an ethnic entity. In addition, the following factors must be con-
131 sidered: although some Tapirapé groups, according to certain sources,
182 lived for a while on Bananal Island more than 100 years ago, everything indicates that the bulk of the tribe has lived in its present habitat since the eighteenth century (cf. my study of this question in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 98, São Paulo, 1944), and the Tapirapé, therefore, are physically and culturally adapted to this environment and capable of preserving their culture within it. It should
619 be added that in this case, also, the contact between the inhabitants of
166 Tampiitáua and Txitxutáua would be retained, and with it the possibility of marrying outside the village or moving from one village to the other as a result of disappointments, political factors, etc. (1).

648 1. In a report on his visit to the Tapirapé that
166 took place in September, 1948, Mr. Harald Schultz tells me that "none of the Tapirapé like the idea of being transferred to a spot near

114 The Kayapó who have intimidated the Tapirapé over the
175 past few years, however, do not belong to the bands visited by
726 Krause in 1908 and by Kissenberth in the same year and the following one, that is to say, the Indians called Kayapó-Mẽkubengokré by this author. Kissenberth (2, 40) heard Mẽkubengokré elders relate that the last hostile encounters between their people and the Tapirapé had occurred approximately in the middle of the last century. This traveler does not [102:126] explain, however, how the near-sexagenarian Tapirapé he saw in a Mẽkubengokré village (ibid., 47 and Figs. 4 and 5; 1, Figs. 18 and 19) got there and was annexed to the tribe.

171 I shall show later that the Tapirapé have a few cultural traits that are similar to traits of these Kayapó, but not as many as the ones that reveal their kinship with the Karajá. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 102, pp. 126-130, is omitted.]

[103:183] Chapter 5

## The Number of Villages and of Tribal Members

621 Sixteenth-century authors, such as Pero de Magalhães de
171 Gandavo (45) and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (362), already pointed out the propensity of the Tupí Indians to divide into bands as a result of certain dissensions. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

621 In the case of the Tapirapé, the disruptive forces were not only countered by the authority of Kamairahó in Tampiitáua, but were also kept at bay by more powerful destructive forces, that is
[731] to say, terrible epidemics. Kamairahó's authority became ap-
[554] parent when I attempted to ascertain in which of the various villages, now extinct, the individuals who make up the present population of Tampiitáua had originated. Those who had revealed their birthplace to me [103:184] did not dare repeat the information in the presence of this most influential leader. The unifying
[578] activity of Kamairahó was justified by the fact that old antagonisms between the villages were not yet entirely forgotten, although they were seldom recalled.

578 In this regard one should mention, first and foremost, the
621 survivors of the village abandoned in 1932. They may be distinguished from the other inhabitants of Tampiitáua by their scowl, their perennial tendency to make mocking remarks in a low voice, and their lack of hospitality. Their village, located "ten days' march" to the north, reputedly hated the Whites. It established contact with Tampiitáua through trade and a few marriages. I still found about 20 of those "enemies," counting the men, women, and children. I got along well with them. One of them, Maninohó,
[123] became my close friend and an exception among his people in his increasingly hospitable behavior toward me. This did not prevent many Tampiitáua people from hating him. Perhaps it even increased the antagonism.

Gradually, I learned that the 20 individuals who disappeared
621 in 1934 had been, for the most part, former inhabitants of the vil-
66 lage that became extinct in 1932. Mr. Kegel recalled that al-
578 ready in 1933 there was a rumor in Tampiitáua that they would move far away. They were, on the whole, unpopular and remained enemies of the Whites. When they left, they took with them everything they owned. They walked away towards the north.
[622] A sorcerer--medicine man, an influential and vigorous man who had been accused of causing the death of Kamairá's wife, joined them and became their leader. They had not been seen again in 1935, and it was so widely believed that they had been killed by the Kayapó that, as I have already mentioned, the whole tribe wanted to run away to Macauba and later commemorated the attack through the pantomime described earlier. There was no absolute certainty, however, as to the end met by the 20 persons. It was said, as I have already mentioned, that they never returned from a hunting trip. All the Tapirapé I asked spoke of this com-
[627] munal hunt, but it is probable that those 20 persons were expelled from the community. It is well to note, however, that this hypothesis would not be corroborated by the fact that they took with them everything they owned. Indeed, they left at the very time
[361] when the entire village was being transferred to a new site. Fur-
[224] thermore, when people leave the village for several days with their
[226] families in order to hunt or fish communally, they usually take along all their household goods, which as a rule are quite easy to
[352] carry because they are few and light in weight.

166 621 [627] It may be that the emigrants, leaving under the pressure of public opinion, stated that they were merely going on a hunt. Such a statement might have been motivated by a wish not to ruin any possibility of return with a definitive and hostile farewell. It actually seems that they returned a few years later and were not killed by the Kayapó. Wagley, indeed, told me that when he was in Tampiitáua in 1939 he heard of a Tapirapé village named Chichutáua, located six days' journey to the north and inhabited by 45 people. The inhabitants of that village appeared one fine day and joined the people of Tampiitáua, making a total of 147 [103:185] individuals (cf. Wagley 2, 409). In 1935, I counted 130 inhabitants in Tampiitáua. The discrepancy of 17 may well tally with the figure "20" for the emigrants, granting that among the total Tapirapé population the number of deaths was higher than that of births and taking into account the inadequate familiarity of this tribe with numbers. The quoted figure of "45" relating to the number of inhabitants in Chichutáua may be explained by the fact that the population of this village had increased since 1935 with the arrival of other emigrants from Tampiitáua. When he looked at the photographs I had taken, Wagley found that a large number of the Chichutáua inhabitants had been in Tampiitáua at the time of my visit. This is a good example of "horizontal social mobility" (cf. Baldus and Willems 153).

Regarding the propensity of these Tupí Indians for splitting up, it is fitting to cite also the following case. In September, 1932, the young and forceful "capitain" Ikaranchó, who had quarreled with Kamairahó, founded a new village one league [115] east of Tampiitáua. Reverend Kegel, to whom I owe this piece of information, visited both villages. Ikaranchó had so much [721] energy that he managed to post well-disciplined sentries around his settlement at night. Such a precaution, taken probably on account of the Kayapó, was unheard-of among the Tapirapé. One third of the inhabitants of Tampiitáua moved to the new village. Nearly all of them were young people [Ed., the remainder of the sentence is omitted]. At the time when Ikaranchó's vil- 164 731 lage was founded, camaradas of the Dominicans at Conceição transmitted to the Tapirapé, with whom they had been in contact on the river of the same name, an attack of influenza which

164 apparently was aggravated by pneumonia. During the rainy season
731 that followed, this epidemic caused great mortality throughout
[165] the tribe, also killing Ikaranchó and his wife. Then the separa-
[166] tists returned to Tampiitáua.

The eighteenth century map reproduced in this work points
361 out with three triangles the "Aldeas do Gentio Tapirapé [villages of the Tapirapé people]." In his account of Alfredo Olímpio de Oliveira's 1911 expedition, Angyone Costa (222-223) writes as follows about the Tapirapé of the time: "These Indians occupy three villages, the first one located two days' journey from the riverbank, the second one three days' away. The explorer did not visit the third one."

The following appears in the account of the Dominican ex-
[113] pedition of 1914 printed in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosário (317): "The Tapirapé form three groups, or rather three malocas [villages], five days' journey apart. The Indians can walk 50 kilo-
[481] meters a day. This shows how huge is the region inhabited by such a relatively sparse tribe. The village we visited had 16 huts,
[592] each one sheltering several families. It is true that when the
[609] Fathers drew near, some of the huts were emptied, and families, urged on by a suspicious chief, ran to hide in the forest. The peo-
[161] ple we found did not exceed 160 souls, and from this it may easily be inferred that the tribe does not include more than about a thousand members."

[103:186] The note published in 1912 about Dr. Francisco
●621 Mandacarú's journey states that the Tapirapé village visited by
[161] this explorer contained 268 inhabitants and that "almost invariably, a village merely consists of a single and numerous family." The number of villages, however, is not mentioned (cf. Kissenberth 2, 43-44).

[161] The same applies to the account of the trip by the inspector of the Indians, mentioned earlier, which only states that "some 1,000 or 1,500" Tapirapé were found (Glass, 139).

Reverend Kegel told me that in August of 1932 he found in
[161] Tampiitáua some 14 houses with slightly more than 220 occupants. These people, as we have already mentioned, split up in September, but were together again when we visited them the following year. From 50 to 60 of them died during the 1932-1933 rainy
[165] season, and only three or four children born at that time were seen by this missionary.

621 by this missionary. There was at the time only one couple with
[163] three children, while other couples with progeny only had one or two. When Mr. Kegel was in Tampiitáua in 1934, after the departure of the oft-mentioned "20" who had not yet returned in
[161] 1935, he only saw seven houses with 113 occupants. It is to be assumed that a few additional families were absent during the missionary's visit that year, for in 1935 I counted 130 Tapirapé. They were living in the seven houses seen by Mr. Kegel the
[342] previous year, and also in the so-called takana [men's house] and in another hut (marked with the letter g on the ground plan of the village) which was not as finished as the others. The distribution of those 130 individuals among the houses is indicated on the ground plan of the village (Fig. 8).

162 The following table shows the ratios by age, sex, marital
621 status, and progeny. [Table appears here.]

[103:187] It is apparent, therefore, that at the time of this census, made in 1935, there were 70 married individuals and 60 unmarried ones in Tampiitáua.

The 38 men between the ages of 18 and 45 included the fathers of 20 children. The 26 women between the ages of 21 and 60 included the mothers of 32 children. These 64 men and women, therefore, included the fathers and mothers of 52 children.

These 52 children do not include those who were cited as
[597] stepchildren or adopted offspring. It is possible, furthermore, that they may include step- or adopted children who were not cited as such. In this case, the number of children with a living father or mother, which is already relatively small, would be even smaller.

Among the couples who had issue from their current marriages, there was one with three children, two with two, and five with one child each.

There was a 45-year-old grandfather with a three-year-old granddaughter, and a grandmother of 60 with a granddaughter who was also three. A man of 33 said that he was the grandfather of a girl of five who had neither father nor mother. He may have been the brother of the girl's grandfather.

No less striking than the above figures are the following.

In the age group ranging from less than one year to 14, there were 26 males and 29 females, that is to say, 55 individuals of both sexes.

[Text continues on p. 40]

162
621

1:Baldus--39 E-5 (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

| | MALES | | | | FEMALES | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Individuals | Married | Sons | Daughters | Individuals | Married | Sons | Daughters |
| Less than 1 year | — | — | — | — | 2 | — | — | — |
| 1-2 years | 1 | — | — | — | 2 | — | — | — |
| 3-5 years | 9 | — | — | — | 7 | — | — | — |
| 6-10 years | 7 | — | — | — | 11 | — | — | — |
| 11-14 years | 9 | — | — | — | 7 | 6 | — | — |
| 15-17 years | 5 | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — |
| 18-20 years | 9 | 8 | — | 2 | 6 | 6 | — | — |
| 21-25 years | 11 | 10 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 2 |
| 26-30 years | 5 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 9 | 9 | 4 | 10 |
| 31-35 years | 8 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 7 | 6 | 5 | 2 |
| 36-40 years | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 41-45 years | 2 | 2 | 1 | — | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| 46-50 years | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — |
| 56-60 years | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | 2 | — |
| Total | 69 | 35 | 6 | 14 (sic) | 61 | 35 | 16 | 16 |

162 621 In the age group ranging from 15 to 30, there were 30 males and 20 females, that is, 50 individuals of both sexes.

In the age group ranging from 31 to 60, there were 13 males and 12 females, that is to say, 25 individuals of both sexes. Only two among them were older than 45, one woman who was 48 and one who was 60.

There was not a single individual older than 60.

The most striking fact is the small number of individuals over 30 years of age. On the other hand, the number of individuals younger than 15 is not, in proportion, as small as the corresponding group among certain "civilized" peoples. [Ed., the remainder of p. 187 is omitted.]

[103:188] The 35 Tampiitáua couples included 20 where [582] the husband appeared to be older than the wife, 12 where the opposite seemed to be the case, and three where they seemed to be of the same age. I say "appeared to be older" to acknowledge minor inaccuracies in reckoning people's ages, even though I did not do this alone but in collaboration with Mr. Kegel, who had more points of reference than I because he had observed these Indians for several years.

592 162 The following table shows the number, sex, and age of the occupants of each house indicated on the ground plan of the village. [Table appears here.]

621 166 I heard in 1935, and published in 1937, that the Tapirapé formerly had five villages whose descendants make up the present population of Tampiitáua (cf. Baldus 17, 86). Wagley (2, 408-409) confirmed this, adding (4, 5) that those five villages "probably existed as late as the turn of the century and are said to have had a population of about 200 people each." He also refers (ibid.) [731] to epidemics as the only cause for the abandonment of these villages. I have already mentioned that in the case of the village [648] abandoned in 1932 fear of the Kayapó must have been a contributing factor. It is worth noting the explanation given for the move of 756 the occupants of three other villages to Tampiitáua: there were 166 no médicos-feiticeiros [Tr., sorcerers--medicine men] left 621 among them. This might, of course, have occurred as the result of an epidemic. The interesting fact, however, is that the Tapirapé did not mention disease but the lack of pagés [Tr., shamans] as the reason for abandoning the villages. Nothing could

[Text continues on p.42]

166 [756] [621] underline more clearly the importance of these men.

The village abandoned in 1932 was called Moytáua, a word made up of moyva, "cane," and táua, "village." The other three extinct villages were called (1) Kuruantáua, from kuruá or koruá "squash" (Brazilian Cucurbitacea), which remained in the Brazilian vernacular as cruá [Tr., Sicana odorifera]; (2) Mankotáua, from Manko, the name of a Karajá who was the village chief; and (3) Chechotáua, chechó probably being jejú (Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus), a fish akin to the traíra [Tr., Amazon lungfish], or else a contraction of chechoó, "big chechó," that is to say, the piracurú (Arapaima gigas). It may be that Chechotáua was the "Chichutáua" Wagley heard about, and that the Tampiitáua emigrants [103:189] moved to the site of the former village of this name on account of the food plants which undoubtedly still grew in the surrounding plots.

Tampiitáua, the "village of the tapir," no longer stands where it was at the time of my visit. It was moved farther from the river. This represents a move away from the Whites and, to some extent, "toward the Kayapó." Such a move appears to me as a "healthy policy." There were, and continue to be, attempts to relocate the Tapirapé at a "Protective Post" located near the Araguaia. The immediate and continuous contact of these Indians with the most varied representatives of our civilization, which would be inevitable if the above-mentioned project were to be carried out, would bring about the certain annihilation of this peaceful Tupí tribe, whose numbers, as I write this (1944), probably do not reach 150. [Ed., end of Vol. 103; the section in Vol. 104, pp. 93-100, is omitted.]

[105:77] Chapter 6

## Physical Appearance and Ornamentation

Coming from the Karajá to the Tapirapé, one immediately notices that the latter, on the average, are much shorter and less sturdy, especially shorter than the Karajá I saw in Santa Isabel, and less sturdy than the inhabitants of Beroromandú and other villages located north of the mouth of the Tapirapé River. Fritz

249 476 that the Indians suck. It was, incidentally, the only cultivated plot within the clearing where Tampiitaua stood.

361 342 345 The center of Tampiitaua was the takana, the large men's house. Eight communal huts were grouped around it, with their entrances set in such a way that it was impossible to look from the inside of one hut into that of another (cf. Fig. 8, in which the chief entrances are represented with black rectangles and the secondary ones with blank rectangles). The village plaza stretched between the front of the takana and the semicircle formed by the houses on the east side of the settlement, and it was the setting for dances, singing, games, races, speeches, and banquets.

361 166 The "village of the tapirs," however, had not always stood in the clearing where I found it, nor did it remain there after my departure (cf. Ch. 5). At certain times, the Tapirapé move far away. At regular intervals varying from two to five years, however, they move the village to a spot only one or a few leagues away. When they abandoned the village located on the banks of the lower Tapirapé, the distance they covered was considerable, that is to say, probably a few dozen kilometers. Long distances [621] [578] were also covered at various times when villages split up or joined together, as a result, in the former case, of internal dissensions, and in the latter case of dwindling population [Fig. 8 appears here] [110:193] or lack of shamans. The chief causes for the smaller, 136 166 361 habitual moves are the plagues of cockroaches and the number of graves within the huts. The unchecked proliferation of Blattella germanica L. compels the Indians to abandon and burn down all their houses every few years. The recurrence of this event is ensured by the carelessness of the Indians, for after the village has been destroyed the household goods carried to the new site are never sufficiently free from cockroaches to prevent them from [764] [731] soon swarming all over the dwellings. When epidemics cause the floors of the huts to fill rapidly with graves, this manner of burial may entail the erection of a new village within an even shorter period of time.

361 Not only does the settlement change as to site, however, but it also changes in size. I have already mentioned in Chapter 5 the data furnished by Reverend Kegel, according to which [342] Tampiitaua consisted of about 14 houses in August, 1932. The

[Text continues on p. 78]

171 houses, since in both cases the structures stand around the central
361 plaza. The chief difference lies in the fact that the large men's house stands in the center of the Tampiitaua plaza, while according to all references and pertinent woodcuts the Tupinambá village plaza had no building whatever in the center.

There seems to be a closer similarity between Tapirapé and Mundurukú [Mundurucu] villages. [Ed., the remainder of p. 106 and all but the last paragraph on p. 107 are omitted.]

[111:107] On the plan of Tampiitaua (Fig. 8), the arrange-
361 ment of houses around the takana clearly reveals two semicircles
● 621 standing [111:108] at some distance from each other, one on the
616 northern side and the other on the southern side. The largest house in each group stands in the middle of the others, so that these two larger houses, a and e, stand more or less opposite with the takana between them. The important kauihó dance, which
[535] will be described in a later chapter, was performed first in house a, and immediately afterward by the same persons in house e. In various masked dances, the pairs, when crossing the village plaza, moved alternately from one of these houses to the other. The
[622] heads of the two houses, Kamairahó and Vuatanamy, not only were the main leaders of Tampiitaua, but also performed as a pair in one of those dances. It is thus possible that they represented the "patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties" mentioned by Wagley (4, 7 [Tr., in English at 4, 63]).

591 According to that author (ibid.), Tapirapé residence is matri-
114 local. At the time of my stay in Tampiitaua, there were eight couples with living ancestors: (1) in house a, the couple designated by the numbers 3 and 10 on the village plan (Fig. 8) lived with No. 1, that is, the husband's father (the husband's mother and the wife's parents were dead); (2) couple 11 and 16, in the same house, did not live with No. 29, that is, the wife's father, in house b (the husband's parents and the wife's mother were dead); (3) couple 13 and 18 lived in the same house, a, as No. 8, that is, the husband's mother, and this was also the house of 17 and 24, that is, the wife's parents (the husband's father was dead); (4) couple 29 and 36, in house b, did not live with No. 22, that is, the wife's mother, in house a (the husband's parents and the wife's father were dead); (5) couple 33 and 42, in house b, lived

736 male orphans are neglected. In Tampiitaua in 1947, I found a single child under ten without father or mother. He was a boy of about two years. He was captured by the Kayapó when they [726] attacked the village shortly after my visit. The fact that he was the only child to be abducted at the time may help to define the position of orphans under four years of age.

In contrast to these insufficiently protected children, we found 858 among the Tapirapé a figure who differed from the usual child in 554 being treated with far greater attention and pampering. In 1935 Ampitania was the "favorite child." This girl of four or five was indeed the little princess of Tampiitaua. She was always gentle and polite, and constantly disclosed new charms. She was far more ornamented than other children, wearing white fluff glued to her body and several bead necklaces, aside from the cotton ornaments painted with urucú. She stayed alternately with the two most important men in the village, spending one day and one night with Kamairahó and his wife, and the following day and night with Vuatanamy and wife. She lived, therefore, in the two largest houses and with the leaders who were, to some extent, •[621] rivals. She thus held, undoubtedly, a unifying function. Kamairahó made a point of telling me repeatedly that she was descended from "captains," thus calling my attention to the girl's "blue blood." Incidentally, he himself also seems to have been a "favorite child" (cf. Wagley 4, 23).

The institution of the "favorite child" also exists among the [171] Karajá, according to my inquiry of 1935 (cf. Baldus 7, 83) and confirmed years later by Lipkind (2, 186). These Indians of the Araguaia have a special term for such children, whom they call ioló.

Among the Tapirapé, as among all other South American tribes 171/ I visited, I observed the behavior of children among themselves 858 and in relation to adults, which differs markedly from the behavior of the children I knew in Germany. These seemed, so to speak, much more "childish" than the Indian children and many neo-Brazilian children. They had less interest in the adult world because it was much less accessible to them than it is to the children of the Brazilian forests and cities. Because they did not talk to adults on an equal footing, as children here so commonly do, the

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



and only 147 inhabitants. This is an extraordinary example of the ravages of European diseases among a native American people. 161 165

Tampitawa (Village of the Tapir) is composed, therefore, of a residue from all of the five original villages. All of the customs and ceremony attached to inter-village relations have of course disappeared. People remember their former village affiliation, or that of their parents. They still speak of a person as being "the son of Fish Village," but village loyalty, once strong, has disappeared. Formerly, villages were basically endogamous, but some marriage outside of the village did take place. Today, only three people can say that they are descendants of people from Tapir Village. Ancient inter-village antagonism existed, especially between Tapir and the village which joined with it in 1900. Today, this conflict is only remembered under the stress of some quarrel and is referred to only as a taunt. 621 161 [578]

Depopulation has had little effect on the economic life of the Tapirapé. They are basically a forest agricultural people with large plantations. Manioc is their staple. Plantations are large enough, and the economic organization fluid enough, to allow for the support of large numbers of refugees for a year or so until they can make gardens for themselves. Refugees have joined one of the large households, at present eight, each with some twenty-five to thirty people. Formerly these households were matrilineal groups headed by a man of high prestige. His wife's relatives formed the matrilineal group and he demanded labor from his numerous sons-in-law (husbands of daughters of wife, including extended "daughters"). The coming of refugees disrupted these matrilocal households. If a refugee woman lacked a close female kin, her husband often arranged for habitation with a friend or a relative of his. Men of high status offered the hospitality of their houses to incoming men of rank. Today, therefore, many reassortments of relatives live under one roof, and two and even three separate groups of female relatives live under as many older men, whereas formerly they would have formed one household under the leadership of one household head. In no one case, does a man control a complete household as he would have done under the old system. 178 [241] 592 621 161 [607]

that all participants in the tãtãupãũã [90] are called this. Nothing could point up the importance of the institution more effectively than this observation. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The word tãtã is used both by the Tapirapé and by the Karajá [Caraja] to designate cultivated bananas in general. It also means "fire" in their language, as in all Tupí-Guaraní tongues, and it differs from these only in its nasalization, an element which is peculiar to the Tapirapé language as a whole.

The word upãũã means "everything eaten."

The word tãtãupãũã may mean that the fire went out, or that everything that was near the fire was eaten.

Every individual belongs to the same eating group through life. Sons belong to their father's group, daughters to their mother's.

The eating groups are not important to marriage; some of the men belong to the same group as their wives, while others belong to a different group.

[91] The principal chief, Kamairahó, was a Txankanépéra, while the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ', was a Pananíviũãna. As I lived in Kamairahó's household and belonged, in a way, to his family, I also became a Txankanépéra, and they explained to me that as a consequence my own relatives, although absent, had also become Txankanépéra.

Within their group, all members regard one another as brothers and sisters.

Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life, namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group companions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond occasionally bringing together the inhabitants of different houses from birth to death.

At certain times the entire population of the village gathers together for the tãtãupãũã, which at such times is not really a feast carried out to meet the obligations imposed by the consumption-group organization, but a veritable banquet.

On July 3, the time of the kãũihó, or "bad kãũĩ" (literally, "big kãũĩ" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kãũĩ, which formerly was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was warm and so good that I ate my fill.

121 [137] Having been invited by Dr. Modesto Donatini Dias da
[122] Cruz, Director of the Indian Service, to represent the São Paulo Museum and the Free School of Sociology and Political Science of São Paulo on the team he organized to inspect the Indian posts and to explore certain areas of central Brazil, I imparted to him in a report dated October 31, 1947, the observations made in the course of the journey carried out during the months of June, July, and August of the same year, as well as a few suggestions on the matter. The following pages are a reproduction of this report with a few modifications and additions.

## I. The Tapirapé

On July 19, 1947, we counted 62 inhabitants in the Tapirapé vil-
162 lage of Tampiitsua, 59 of whom were subjected to a medical exami-
•621 nation by my traveling companion, Dr. Harolodo Cândido de Oliveira. The following table provides the age and sex ratios:

| | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 years and under | 5 | 3 | 8 |
| from 6 to 15 years | 7 | 3 | 10 |
| from 16 to 30 years | 14 | 17 | 31 |
| over 30 years old | 6 | 4 | 10 |
| Total | 32 | 27 | 59 |

It is to be assumed that the three who evaded the examination were boys. In addition, we found at Pôrto Velho a Tapirapé woman over 30 years old who was living among the frontier people.

In 1935, Tampiitsua had 130 inhabitants, 69 of them male and 61 female.

It should be mentioned that since that time certain individuals
[166] have emigrated to Txitxutsua, another Tapirapé village located quite a distance away. Their number, however, seems to be inferior to that of persons who have moved from there to Tampiitsua. According to various [138] reports, Txitxutsua is much smaller than this village,
[166] so that today the entire Tapirapé tribe probably does not exceed 100 members.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



Te 177 648 [731] [164] Te Ta 177 Ta Te [171]

by Bento Maciel Parente in 1616 made war upon the Tenetehara. Epidemics, which raged in the early 17th century among the Indian populations of northeast Brazil, certainly reached the Tenetehara. From time to time smallpox, measles, and other diseases have taken a heavy toll among these Indians. The impact of the dominant culture upon the Tenetehara was more intense than it has been upon the Tapirapé. In addition to differences in the nature of the contact continuum, factors inherent in the society and the culture of the two tribes were responsible for the reaction of these societies to Luso-Brazilian contact and for the population trends which followed. Since the Tenetehara and the Tapirapé have historically related cultures sharing many patterns and institutions common to most Tupi speaking tribes, a comparison of the two societies and cultures should allow us to determine the variables responsible for their contrasting reactions.

Te Ta 22 [241] [361]

The subsistence methods of the tribes were in aboriginal times basically similar. Both were tropical forest horticulturalists depending upon hunting, fishing, and forest fruits to supplement their diet. For fishing, the Tenetehara had an advantage since their villages were normally situated near rivers and streams while the Tapirapé villages were located inland many kilometers from the river. In hunting, the Tapirapé had the advantage of nearby open plains country where hunting was more productive than in the tropical forest. Neither tribe had a land problem: the nearest village of the Karajá, who were Tapirapé neighbors, was at least two hundred kilometers away and the Timbira neighbors of the Tenetehara were savanna people offering no competition for forest land. Both tribes during aboriginal times had sufficient territory to move their villages every five or six years when suitable garden sites near their villages had been used up by the slash-and-burn system of horticulture. The two tribes inhabited similar physical environments and they had approximately the same technological equipment to cope with it. Their technology and their subsistence methods must have limited the maximum population of any one village and there are indications that approximately two hundred people was the average village size for both groups. On the other hand, a lack of territory evidently did not enforce a limitation on the number of villages for the tribe. Yet while the Tapirapé tell of only five villages in aboriginal times many times that number are reported by early observers for the Tenetehara. Although specific data is not available, it seems that in aboriginal times Tapirapé population was relatively small and stable while the Tenetehara population was at least twice as large and probably expanding.

Te Ta 311 361 [166] [241] Te Ta [162] [621] Te Ta 161

This difference in population level between the two tribes in aboriginal times was related to the population policies held by the two groups as well as to differences in social structure of the groups concerned. These cultural values relating to population level are explicit in attitudes toward family size and in positive actions to limit families. Among the Tenetehara infanticide is indicated only in the case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused

Te Ta 169 847 Te [842] [845] 847

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara S06



forest spirits performed by the men during the dry season were a function of the men's moieties. The "Feast Groups" met at intervals during the dry seasons at their traditional stations in the central plaza for ceremonial meals. At such times, as Herbert Baldus has shown, these "Feast Groups" functioned as a mechanism for food distribution in a season when more food was available than a family would normally consume. (7) The "Feast Groups" sometimes formed to collect honey and to hunt. The age grades of the men's moieties also frequently acted together economically; they organized work parties for clearing of large garden sites and they went out on large cooperative hunts after herds of wild pigs.

Ta [535] 264 574 476 [796] Ta 224 561 616

In aboriginal Tapirapé society ceremonial life and many important cooperative subsistence activities were based upon this balanced set of associations. A Tapirapé village in order to assure adequate representation in the various age grades of the men's moieties as well as in the "Feast Groups" by necessity had to consist of about 200 people or more. A small village of fifty to a hundred people, for example, would not have provided sufficient number of males of the proper ages to allow the age graded moieties to carry out their ceremonials nor to organize their cooperative subsistence activities. Tapirapé village organization was therefore not conducive to a process of "splitting off" of groups from one village to form another. The size of Tapirapé villages was limited by their tecnological equipment within their tropical forest environment yet the social structure made the formation of numerous small villages difficult. In contrast, the less formalized social structure of the Tenetehara allowed for villages of varying size within the limits of their ecological adjustment. Extended family groups easily might break off from a larger village to form a new settlement fully able to carry out the cooperative economic activities and even ceremonials of the society. This process is constantly occurring in contemporary Tenetehara society. When tensions arise between extended families, one group simply splits off from the parent village to join another or to form a separate village without serious effects on the ceremonial or economic system. Tenetehara social structure offered a favorable condition for an expanding population after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected population.

Ta 182 621 476 561 616 Te 182 621 Te [578] Te [161]

Tapirapé social structure seems also to have been more vulnerable to disorganization in face of a rapid change in population size. Rapid depopulation after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected the normal functioning of their highly segmented and balanced social structure. By 1940, the lack of men had thrown the system of reciprocal and competitive activities of the men's age-graded moieties out of balance. There were not enough men of the "older" age-grade of either moiety nor of the young men "warrior" age-grade of one moiety to form functioning units to reciprocate in cooperative garden clearing and to participate in group hunts. Several of the "Feast Groups" had been disbanded for lack of numbers

Ta 182 [61] Ta [561] [616] [476] [574] [264]

(7) Baldus (1937) p. 88 ff.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



601 **Kinship.**—Kinship is more important in furthering solidarity among the *Tapirapé* than either the moieties or the feast groups. *Tapirapé* kin-
[182] ship is bilateral, its chief principle being that all cousins, whether cross-
[611] or parallel-cousins, no matter how distant, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of people calling each other siblings are also called siblings. Mother's sisters are called mother, and father's brothers, father. Mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, a man's brothers' children are considered his sons and daughters, and a woman's sisters' children are her children. Children of a man's sisters or a woman's brothers are given special terms.

[621] The wide inclusiveness of kinship affiliation makes it possible for an
[178] individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers—and in former days many people in other villages—by terms of close relationship.

An older man of some prestige gathers around him by adoption as many
554 "daughters" or as many of his wife's "daughters" as possible. By the
581 marriage of these "daughters," he attracts a group of younger men within
597 his household who contribute constantly to his larder through the hunt and
592 garden activities. At present, only three of the nine houses in the village were formed in this way, but reduced numbers, we were told, forced various combinations of relatives to share a household.

## LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth.**—Although aware that pregnancy is brought about by sexual intercourse, the *Tapirapé* believe that conception takes place when a shaman, serving as intermediary, brings a "child spirit" to the woman. Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, and various fish and insects are supposed to contain child spirits.

843 When the woman is certain that she is pregnant, she tells her husband. They both paint their bodies with genipa and cover their hair with urucú. During the first few days of pregnancy, no restraints are imposed upon the child's parents, but as birth approaches, all sexual contact must cease.
[851] All men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers of the future child, together with the real father.

At childbirth the woman is assisted by her mother and sister and by
844 two male relatives. The husband retires to his hammock and is forbidden to partake of any liquid refreshment.

847 Infanticide is practiced because it is considered bad to have more than three children, or two children of the same sex. The fourth child, or third of the same sex, of one mother is buried in a hole dug inside the residence for the afterbirth.

852 On the day after birth, a male child has his lower lip perforated. Until
304 the child is weaned, the parents must refrain from sexual relations and
851 must not eat salt, sugar, honey, or the meat of various animals and forest
262 fowls. Both boys and girls also are restricted in their meat diet. A son

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



A son

and sometimes a daughter of important people may le treated as a favorite 554
child, being given special attention and education and being highly decor- 858
ated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life.

**Puberty.**—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over 882
the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his heal, and his entire body [302]
is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip [301]
plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong.

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowel to grow and is tied [302]
at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation 881
for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the [292]
main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, *top, left*). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance.

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced
with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual [302]
relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of [582]
women.

**Marriage.**—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and 621
people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antag- [578]
onism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable [582]
intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage mar- [574]
riage was not rare. Today, with refugees from al villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exis only in the memory of older people.

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites and the women, at 582
least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule.

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage [161]
rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there [182]
are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year-old girls. There are [178]
also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where [591]
his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

115 Champuki was not the first person who came to mind when a contribution to this volume was considered. I thought of Gregorio Martin, a dignified and wise old Mayan Indian of Santiago Chimaltenango in Guatemala, who in 1937 had taught me the way of life of his people. I thought of Camirang, the dynamic young chieftain whom I had known in 1941 in a village of Tenetehara Indians along the Pindaré River in northeastern Brazil. I thought also of Nhunduca, a gifted and witty storyteller from a small Amazon community, who in 1948 introduced me to the rich folklore of the Amazon *caboclo* or peasant. But then, among all the people I had known in the various primitive and peasant cultures in which I [554] have done ethnological research, I chose Champukwi, a man of no outstanding talent, yet talented all the same—a man of not the [123] highest prestige in his society, yet admired by all. For the brief span of about a year he was my most intimate friend.

115 I knew Champukwi some 20 years ago when I lived in his small 123 village of about 175 Tapirapé Indians in central Brazil. I must have [162] seen him at once, for presents were distributed to the whole popu- [62] lation on the day of my arrival in late April of 1939. But I did not [131] distinguish Champukwi as an individual, nor did he, at first, stand out in any way from the other men of his village. His name does not appear in the notes taken during my first month among the Tapirapé.

114 For me, and even more for Valentim Gomes, the Brazilian fron- [103] tiersman who was my companion and employee, the first weeks in the Village of the Tapirs, as the small settlement was known, were a period of grappling with a strange and often confusing world. 177 The Tapirapé Indians lived between the Araguaia and Xingú Rivers, [131] an area at that time almost entirely isolated from modern Brazil. They had been visited by only a few people from the "outside"—by one or two missionaries; by Herbert Baldus, a German-Brazilian anthropologist; and by a few frontiersmen from the Araguaia River. The nearest Brazilian settlement to the Village of the Tapirs was Furo de Pedra, a town of 400–500 persons that lay some 300 miles

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few 177
months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of [197]
Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and [191]
verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these 114
youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals 123
we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," [621]
the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses [361]
arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were [592]
each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the per- [551]
sonal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Maria-
pawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let 114
alone pronounce. [122]

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study [197]
intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the wide-
spread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least
passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms
of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed
explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which [241]
manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops
were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poison- [462]
ous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I [252]
watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture [323]
their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm- [285]
thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building [462]
was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly [345]
became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and [291]
the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude [334]
women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never
to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also [302]
to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed
their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on
their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many [126]
other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes
and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather 123
pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our
antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversa-
tions that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales
of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

578 In this regard one should mention, first and foremost, the
621 survivors of the village abandoned in 1932. They may be distin-
guished from the other inhabitants of Tampiitáua by their scowl,
their perennial tendency to make mocking remarks in a low voice,
and their lack of hospitality. Their village, located "ten days'
march" to the north, reputedly hated the Whites. It established
contact with Tampiitáua through trade and a few marriages. I
still found about 20 of those "enemies," counting the men, women,
[123] and children. I got along well with them. One of them, Maninohó,
became my close friend and an exception among his people in his
increasingly hospitable behavior toward me. This did not prevent
many Tampiitáua people from hating him. Perhaps it even in-
creased the antagonism.

Gradually, I learned that the 20 individuals who disappeared
621 in 1934 had been, for the most part, former inhabitants of the vil-
166 lage that became extinct in 1932. Mr. Kegel recalled that al-
578 ready in 1933 there was a rumor in Tampiitáua that they would
move far away. They were, on the whole, unpopular and re-
mained enemies of the Whites. When they left, they took with
them everything they owned. They walked away towards the north.
[622] A sorcerer--medicine man, an influential and vigorous man who
had been accused of causing the death of Kamairá's wife, joined
them and became their leader. They had not been seen again in
1935, and it was so widely believed that they had been killed by
the Kayapó that, as I have already mentioned, the whole tribe
wanted to run away to Macauba and later commemorated the at-
tack through the pantomime described earlier. There was no abso-
lute certainty, however, as to the end met by the 20 persons. It
was said, as I have already mentioned, that they never returned
[627] from a hunting trip. All the Tapirapé I asked spoke of this com-
munal hunt, but it is probable that those 20 persons were expelled
from the community. It is well to note, however, that this
hypothesis would not be corroborated by the fact that they took with
them everything they owned. Indeed, they left at the very time
[361] when the entire village was being transferred to a new site. Fur-
[224] thermore, when people leave the village for several days with their
[226] families in order to hunt or fish communally, they usually take
[352] along all their household goods, which as a rule are quite easy to
carry because they are few and light in weight.

171 houses, since in both cases the structures stand around the central
361 plaza. The chief difference lies in the fact that the large men's house stands in the center of the Tampiitaua plaza, while according to all references and pertinent woodcuts the Tupinambá village plaza had no building whatever in the center.

There seems to be a closer similarity between Tapirapé and Mundurukú [Mundurucu] villages. [Ed., the remainder of p. 106 and all but the last paragraph on p. 107 are omitted.]

[111:107] On the plan of Tampiitaua (Fig. 8), the arrange-
361 ment of houses around the takana clearly reveals two semicircles
621 standing [111:108] at some distance from each other, one on the
616 northern side and the other on the southern side. The largest house in each group stands in the middle of the others, so that these two larger houses, a and e, stand more or less opposite with the takana between them. The important kauihó dance, which
[535] will be described in a later chapter, was performed first in house a, and immediately afterward by the same persons in house e. In various masked dances, the pairs, when crossing the village plaza, moved alternately from one of these houses to the other. The
• [622] heads of the two houses, Kamairahó and Vuatanamy, not only were the main leaders of Tampiitaua, but also performed as a pair in one of those dances. It is thus possible that they represented the "patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties" mentioned by Wagley (4, 7 [Tr., in English at 4, 63]).

591 According to that author (ibid.), Tapirapé residence is matri-
114 local. At the time of my stay in Tampiitaua, there were eight couples with living ancestors: (1) in house a, the couple designated by the numbers 3 and 10 on the village plan (Fig. 8) lived with No. 1, that is, the husband's father (the husband's mother and the wife's parents were dead); (2) couple 11 and 16, in the same house, did not live with No. 29, that is, the wife's father, in house b (the husband's parents and the wife's mother were dead); (3) couple 13 and 18 lived in the same house, a, as No. 8, that is, the husband's mother, and this was also the house of 17 and 24, that is, the wife's parents (the husband's father was dead); (4) couple 29 and 36, in house b, did not live with No. 22, that is, the wife's mother, in house a (the husband's parents and the wife's father were dead); (5) couple 33 and 42, in house b, lived

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
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The men's moieties form the basis for Tapirape ceremonial 178
and for cooperative gardening and hunting. Each moiety is 561
divided into three age grades. Thus, in the village, there are two 616
groups of "boys" and "youths" (up to sixteen years of age), two 161
of mature men or "warriors" (up to approximately 45), and two groups of "older men." Really old and inactive men give up moiety activity and have no affiliation. A boy belongs automatically to the moiety of his father and formerly he progressed through the three age grades of that moiety. All ceremonies involve the moiety age grades, which dance against each other, race against each other, and give reciprocal feast exchanges. Cooperative hunts and clearing of the forest likewise involve reciprocal activities. However, with the great loss of population, and especially a loss of men of the oldest age group, this organization was thrown out of balance. In order to continue ceremonial life, several youths, who were spoken of as "lazy" and who were not capable hunters or workers, passed into the "older men's" age groups, in which there is little active cooperative hunting and gardening, in order to give those groups sufficient numbers for ceremonial activity. This rapid passing from boys' age grade to that of older men has influenced native thought in two ways:—First, young men are losing the idea of automatic progression through the three age grades, and there is a tendency now to think that the better young men become "warriors," while less capable ones pass rapidly to the older men's group. Second, the 574
older men's age grades, formerly the groups of highest prestige, tend to be looked on with little favor, and only those individuals are thought of with respect who have status for other reasons.

Depopulation has also affected the second Tapirape social 178
grouping—the feast groups. These are made up of all men and 571
women. They are matrilocal for women and patrilocal for men. 574
These feast groups meet periodically during the dry season for 161
ceremonial meals. At present, three of the original ten feast groups have disappeared because of lack of members.

Chieftainship has changed under the influence of both depop- 178
ulation and the sporadic contacts with Brazilians. All men of 622
161

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



ALL MEN OF
status are, today, called "capitaoes" (The Tapirape use the Portuguese word. There is no equivalent in their language.) These "capitaoes" are village elders (who were village "favorite children" in their youth, and therefore people of prestige), leaders of the warriors, age grades, and able shamans. Formerly, there were only two village elders, two warrior leaders, and, ideally, two favorite children in a village. Today, with congregation of people from all villages in one, several "noble" families are present and there is an oversupply of "capitaoes." 178 622 161 554

Marriage arrangements, too, have been affected by depopulation. At present, there are some ten men of marriageable age, for whom there are no possible wives, and immediate families are so broken up that there are no possible groups of women to care for those unattached men. A man must have a wife to cook for him and perform women's tasks. To do any woman's work would play complete havoc with a man's personal prestige, which is a matter of greatest importance. Most of these Tapirape men have solved their problem by contracting convenient "social" marriages with extremely young girls. They attach themselves to a household, in which they perform a man's customary economic duties, and, in turn, their mothers-in-law do women's work for them. 178 582 161 [462] [554]

Lack of time prevents mention of many other aspects of native life pertaining to marriage, kinship, and leadership, which have been profoundly affected by depopulation. Possibly, in other cultures, the effects of introduced disease have not been quite so disastrous, nor the loss of people so important to the social life, as in the case of the Tapirape. Without a doubt, however, wherever there have been sporadic contacts with Europeans, these or other alien factors have been introduced and have caused important changes in the structure of native life. 178 161

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



756 789 nions in order to protect the gardens and even the people themselves from his violence. This four-day ceremony is the culmination of shamanistic activity among the Tapirapé and its most exotic and violent manifestation (22).

## SOCIAL POSITION OF THE SHAMAN

554 622a The Tapirapé do not have chieftains with highly centralized authority. Instead one finds among them respected individuals who are described modernly by the Tapirapé with the Portuguese term "*capitão*". Such men of great prestige have in every instance gained the respect of their fellow tribesmen in one or more — usually at least two — of three ways.

622 554 858 First, an individual may be singled out by his parents, who must themselves be people of some prestige for especial treatment as a *čirikakántu*, a favored child (23). Parents bestow upon such a child a series of important names which in themselves carry respect and he is taught with special care the myths, songs, dances, and manual techniques of the tribe. His parents may wait upon him, bringing him water to drink and to wash himself with and preparing special foods for him. Special care is taken in oiling and painting his body and elaborate decorations are made for him to wear during the annual harvest ceremonies, for the *čirikakántu* are the central figures in part of this ceremony. Again, his body decorations are more elaborate than those of an ordinary youth when he dances during the ceremony of reaching maturity (24).

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(22) See page 84 for a detailed treatment of Thunder as a supernatural and of the Thunder Ceremony.

[616 562] (23) I use the masculine pronoun, for most *čirikakántu* are boys, although girls have been selected for this special treatment within the memory of my informants. Usually there are two mate "favored children" in the village, one from each moiety.

[114] (24) On this subject of chieftainship, I again disagree with Baldus. He reports a "chefe principal" and a "vice-chefe". He considers such offices hereditary, the oldest son of the chief becoming chief and the next oldest becoming vice-chief (op. cit. page 81). But I believe the impression of primogeniture was created only by the fact that important names and the position of *čirikakántu* were generally passed on by parents to their oldest child and the parents of outstanding importance

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



Secondly, an individual may gain respect through being chosen as a leader of the warrior-age group of his ceremonial moiety. His companions may select him as their "walking leader" — *antá úwa* — or as their "song leader" — *amoniká úwa* — because of his special abilities in hunting, gardening, manual technique, singing, or dancing. It frequently happens that these chosen leaders were *čirikakántu* when they were children, for the special treatment and educational advantages given such children develop qualities of leadership. 554 561 622 [858]

The third and most important road to prestige lies in shamanism. It has been shown that the Tapirapé depend upon their shamans to control the dangerous spirit world, to remove danger from first fruits, to predict the future, to bring spirits of children to their parents, and to cure the ill. In all life situations where chance or the unpredictable figure the Tapirapé depend markedly upon their shamans. Thus the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman (25). This prestige is reflected in the concepts of a separate afterlife for shamans and in the identification of ancestral culture heroes as shamans. Informants telling of Petura, the bringer of such phenomena as fire and daylight to the Tapirapé, and of Ware, who killed so many dangerous *ančúnga*, frequently referred to them as "great shamans". While a Tapirapé layman becomes a disembodied soul at death, the afterlife of a shaman is but a continuation of his present life under ideal circumstances. His soul goes to Maratawa (26), the home of the culture heroes. This home of the privileged dead lies far to the north- 555 622 756 775 [773]

were the ones who generally produced *čirikakántu*. The man whom Baldus reported as "chefe principal" carried an important name, had been a favored child, had been a "song-leader" of his wirã, and was currently a shaman of some power, and I believe held his position because of these things and had not inherited it. Wantamanu, whom Baldus mentions as "vice-chefe", had also before his death in 1940, been a shaman and a "walking leader". [114]

(25) The unusual importance of the shaman to the Tapirapé was well put by one of my informants: "Without our *pancé*, all we Tapirapé die".

(26) If a shaman meets death by murder, his trip to Maratawa is delayed. He goes temporarily to another "home of shamans" in the west until his wounds are healed; only then does he go to Maratawa. If his skull has been crushed by a club, a new cranium of metal is made for him at this temporary residence. A "metal" cranium is obviously an introduced concept yet informants were not able to explain of what material the new cranium might have been made before metal was known to the Tapirapé.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



555 west "where the earth ends and the water begins" and where the sun
622 returns to sleep after its travels across the sky. In Maratawa shamans
756 have an inexhaustible supply of tobacco, many red parrot feathers,
775 much manioc, kaui, bananas, meat, and all the other necessities and
[766] luxuries of life. Frequently a shaman is buried with a pipe filled with tobacco in his mouth, so that he may have smoke to drive out fatigue on the trip to Maratawa; and sometimes food is buried with the body so he may eat, for the journey to Maratawa is long.

556 Aside from these non-material considerations, there is one very
756 real factor which insures social respect to the Tapirapé shaman. Shamans are in general the wealthiest men among the Tapirapé. Although they may at times receive meat or honey for their cures or as presents for bringing the spirits of children to parents, payments to them are usually in those luxury goods that are the marks of wealth. It was readily observed that the beads and hardware which I gave as presents to the Tapirapé soon passed into the hands of shamans as payments for cures.

756 Payments to the shamans for curing the ill depend upon the seriousness of the illness and upon what the patient or his family has to offer. Frequently a shaman names his fee when his cure has been successful, asking for specific objects, for he knows full well what each family owns. Unsuccessful cures are never paid. For example, for the treatment of his sister's son and of his daughter, who were both sick at once, Kamairaho, a shaman himself, called three shamans and paid each the price that he asked. He paid one, Panteri, a machete and two strings of beads; to another, Urukumu, he gave an axe, a pocket knife, a pair of scissors, and five tail feathers of a red parrot; he gave only four strings of beads to Kamairai, who was considered a shaman of less power than the other two. Another young man with few possessions gave five arrows to a shaman who successfully treated his wife; still another paid the breast feathers from his parrot and four string of
[262] beads to a shaman. When Txawaniuma killed a *paca*, the meat of
[224] which is highly prized by the Tapirapé, he gave some to his companion of the hunt and divided the rest between two shamans who had treated his small daughter successfully. Neither shaman had to ask for any specific gift or payment. People often complain to others about the
[577] high price they had to pay to a shaman, but generally they pay what is

192 476 574 that all participants in the tãtáupáũã [90] are called this. Nothing
264 could point up the importance of the institution more effectively than
[101] this observation. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The word tãtá is used both by the Tapirapé and by the Karajá
171 824 [Caraja] to designate cultivated bananas in general. It also means "fire" in their language, as in all Tupí-Guaraní tongues, and it differs
[194] from these only in its nasalization, an element which is peculiar to the Tapirapé language as a whole.

[192] The word upáũã means "everything eaten."

The word tãtáupáũã may mean that the fire went out, or that everything that was near the fire was eaten.

Every individual belongs to the same eating group through life.
264 476 Sons belong to their father's group, daughters to their mother's.
574 The eating groups are not important to marriage; some of the
[611] men belong to the same group as their wives, while others belong to a different group.

[91] The principal chief, Kamairahó, was a Txankanépéra, while
123 the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ', was a Pananĩvũãna. As I lived in
[622] Kamairahó's household and belonged, in a way, to his family, I also became a Txankanépéra, and they explained to me that as a consequence my own relatives, although absent, had also become Txankanépéra.

264 Within their group, all members regard one another as brothers
476 and sisters.
574 Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life,
[608] namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group companions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond oc-
[621] casionally bringing together the inhabitants of different houses from birth to death.

264 At certain times the entire population of the village gathers to-
574 gether for the tãtáupáũã, which at such times is not really a feast
621 carried out to meet the obligations imposed by the consumption-group organization, but a veritable banquet.

On July 3, the time of the kãũihó, or "bad kãũĩ" (literally, "big kãũĩ" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the
[252] chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kãũĩ, which formerly was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was warm and so good that I ate my fill.

264 [92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of
574 various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets.
476 These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kãũũãnõĩ, owing to
their small numbers, had joined the Ãvãinkĩ' to form a single group.
All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group.
[262] There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce
and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of kará [Tr.,
a kind of yam], peanut kãũĩ, etc. Before that, there was a great
431 distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom
574 he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such
●[622] as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of
[177] this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better
use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay
264 the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted to-
476 gether, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they
574 [554] pleased. Kamairahõ, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk
123 of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother.
We called each other "Txankanépéra," and Ampitánya, his little
[597] adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Ané Txankané-
péra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other
groups also called me "Txankanépéra," and I called them by the name
of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

264 [93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that
574 there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots
535 and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The
plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the
[776] good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kãũihõ and
vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness,
132 the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season
with its "good shadows," summer.

574 They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they
796 also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tãtáupáũã of an
224 eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Ãvãinkĩ' had killed
264 with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting
476 the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group.
574 [462] In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts

264 476 however, is totally different from that of the tãtáupáũa. It is not a group organization for consumption, but for production. For this reason, also, the feasts in specific groups associated with this institution are merely accessory.

The social significance of apatxirũ resides in the possibility of sharing a collective task in such a way that no member of the tribe will [461] feel discredited by an unfair assignment. This is done by turning work into a festive occasion and a sports competition.

"When there is a lot of water everywhere in the rainy season, the [776] ãũvanaí 'shadows' live in the takána. Their headdress and breechcloth [291] are of muriti leaves, but their headdress does not have any macaw [535] feathers. [96] They dance through the entire rainy season. At that time, there are no other 'shadows' (antxína) but them. Unlike other 'shadows,' these do not live in the hills or in the waters, but only in the takána. They do not sing, but only grunt in a low voice. During [261] the moons of the great rains, the belly does not get as full as during the dry season. But the ãũvanaí have to eat. Then they go to the gardens and 'steal.' They take what they stole to the takána, where they eat it. In the apatxirũ, we prepare the gardens where they seek their food. They 'steal' only from those gardens that are prepared for them alone. The ãũvanaí are not evil. All Tapirapé men are ãũvanaí.

Such is, in summary, the information I received when I asked the purpose of the common gardens prepared in the apatxirũ.

For the apatxirũ, all Tapirapé men are divided into three work-groups called vuĩra. The word vuĩra means "bird," and the name of [551] each group designates a mythical bird which is represented not only by the group as a whole but by each of its individual members. They are called Tãnãvé, Anantxá, and Vuirantxinió.

The Tãnãvé group was the smallest one at the time of my visit, [624] but it included the individuals of highest social status: the principal chief, Kamairahó; the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ´; the chief and most [123] eminent sorcerer--medicine man, Urukumĩ´; and myself. (Naturally, Kamairahó stated immediately that I would be a Tãnãvé like himself.)

[97] Each of the three work groups has two leaders called ãntaĩva. 264 The ãntaĩva of the Tãnãvé were Vũãtanamĩ´ and Urukumĩ´. (Although 622 Kamairahó was also a Tãnãvé, he seemed to be the head of all three 476 groups in his capacity as principal chief. He is also the only one whose 651 private plot is prepared by the village inhabitants as a collective endeavor, while the private plots of other tribal members are prepared

264 476 only by their respective owners. I do not know, however, whether
[622] the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the prepara-
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[624] Vuĩraí, and those of the Vuirantxinió were the chief Kamairã and the sorcerer--medicine man Maninohó.

476 In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three
857 groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were called Vuanankóra, Vuirantxína, and Vuĩrantxinoí. The last one is now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tãnãvé or Anantxã belong
[611] to the first one, and the sons of the Vuirantxinió to the second one. The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were Vuirantxinió. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work-
[881] group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in
[462] all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution, for "the women and girls stay home when the men do collective work."

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301 for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I
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Concerning the word apatxirũ, Curt Nimuendajú wrote me as fol-
192 lows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word apatxirũ is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is omitted.]

476 [99] On July 30, Kamairahó invited me to go with him to the
[123] apatxirũ. On the previous day, Chief Tanupantxóa had already begun the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working

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578 In this regard one should mention, first and foremost, the
621 survivors of the village abandoned in 1932. They may be distinguished from the other inhabitants of Tampiitáua by their scowl, their perennial tendency to make mocking remarks in a low voice, and their lack of hospitality. Their village, located "ten days' march" to the north, reputedly hated the Whites. It established contact with Tampiitáua through trade and a few marriages. I still found about 20 of those "enemies," counting the men, women, and children. I got along well with them. One of them, Maninohõ, [123] became my close friend and an exception among his people in his increasingly hospitable behavior toward me. This did not prevent many Tampiitáua people from hating him. Perhaps it even increased the antagonism.

Gradually, I learned that the 20 individuals who disappeared
621 in 1934 had been, for the most part, former inhabitants of the vil-
66 lage that became extinct in 1932. Mr. Kegel recalled that al-
578 ready in 1933 there was a rumor in Tampiitáua that they would move far away. They were, on the whole, unpopular and remained enemies of the Whites. When they left, they took with them everything they owned. They walked away towards the north. [622] A sorcerer--medicine man, an influential and vigorous man who had been accused of causing the death of Kamairá's wife, joined them and became their leader. They had not been seen again in 1935, and it was so widely believed that they had been killed by the Kayapó that, as I have already mentioned, the whole tribe wanted to run away to Macauba and later commemorated the attack through the pantomime described earlier. There was no absolute certainty, however, as to the end met by the 20 persons. It was said, as I have already mentioned, that they never returned from a hunting trip. All the Tapirapé I asked spoke of this com- ¶[627] munal hunt, but it is probable that those 20 persons were expelled from the community. It is well to note, however, that this hypothesis would not be corroborated by the fact that they took with them everything they owned. Indeed, they left at the very time [361] when the entire village was being transferred to a new site. Fur- [224] thermore, when people leave the village for several days with their [226] families in order to hunt or fish communally, they usually take [352] along all their household goods, which as a rule are quite easy to carry because they are few and light in weight.

166 621 [627] It may be that the emigrants, leaving under the pressure of public opinion, stated that they were merely going on a hunt. Such a statement might have been motivated by a wish not to ruin any possibility of return with a definitive and hostile farewell. It actually seems that they returned a few years later and were not killed by the Kayapó. Wagley, indeed, told me that when he was in Tampiitáua in 1939 he heard of a Tapirapé village named Chichutáua, located six days' journey to the north and inhabited by 45 people. The inhabitants of that village appeared one fine day and joined the people of Tampiitáua, making a total of 147 [103:185] individuals (cf. Wagley 2, 409). In 1935, I counted 130 inhabitants in Tampiitáua. The discrepancy of 17 may well tally with the figure "20" for the emigrants, granting that among the total Tapirapé population the number of deaths was higher than that of births and taking into account the inadequate familiarity of this tribe with numbers. The quoted figure of "45" relating to the number of inhabitants in Chichutáua may be explained by the fact that the population of this village had increased since 1935 with the arrival of other emigrants from Tampiitáua. When he looked at the photographs I had taken, Wagley found that a large number of the Chichutáua inhabitants had been in Tampiitáua at the time of my visit. This is a good example of "horizontal social mobility" (cf. Baldus and Willems 153).

Regarding the propensity of these Tupí Indians for splitting up, it is fitting to cite also the following case. In September, 1932, the young and forceful "capitain" Ikaranchó, who had quarreled with Kamairahó, founded a new village one league [115] east of Tampiitáua. Reverend Kegel, to whom I owe this piece of information, visited both villages. Ikaranchó had so much [721] energy that he managed to post well-disciplined sentries around his settlement at night. Such a precaution, taken probably on account of the Kayapó, was unheard-of among the Tapirapé. One third of the inhabitants of Tampiitáua moved to the new village. Nearly all of them were young people [Ed., the remainder of the sentence is omitted]. At the time when Ikaranchó's vil-
164 731 lage was founded, camaradas of the Dominicans at Conceição transmitted to the Tapirapé, with whom they had been in contact on the river of the same name, an attack of influenza which

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



115
not at once offered coffee, he left offended. But the very next day he [123]
might return, gay and joking, yet without his former patience for
teaching or explaining Tapirapé culture. Once he returned tired from
a hunting trip, and, irritated by his wife, he beat her with the flat [593]
side of his bushknife and marched off in anger, thoughtfully taking
the family hammock and a basket of manioc flour, to sleep four 115
nights in the forest near his garden. Soon afterwards, he left his 57I
wife to take the wife of a younger man. This did not become a [B37]
major scandal in the village. After some more yet calm words be- [591]
tween the two men, it seemed clear that the young woman preferred [627]
Champukwi and the abandoned husband peacefully moved into the
men's house. Champukwi's former wife and their two young daugh- [586]
ters continued to live with her relatives as is the Tapirapé rule. But [802]
the switch of spouses caused tension between Champukwi and his
former wife's kinsmen, and between Champukwi and the abandoned
husband's kinsmen; and, to multiply his woes, he now had a new
set of in-laws to satisfy. For about a month thereafter I rarely saw [123]
Champukwi; he obviously avoided our house. When we met in the
village or in the men's house, he simply said that he was busy re-
pairing his house or hunting.

Discussing emotions with someone from a culture as widely dif- 115
ferent as Tapirapé is from my own was difficult, and the language 123
barrier was still a real one. Although my Tapirapé vocabulary was 154
increasing, it was hardly adequate to probe deeply into emotional [122]
responses; nor was Champukwi given to introspection. I shall prob-
ably never fully understand Champukwi's temporary rejection of me,
but the cause was probably both sociological and psychological.
First, his apparent influence with me and our close friendship had [578]
created antagonism on the part of other villagers. By rejecting the
outsider, he now hoped to reinstate himself in his own society. A [558]
second, deeper and more personal reason, contributed to his rejec-
tion of me; he had told me too much about himself, and feared that
he had lost face in the process. Also, it was obvious that I was grow-
ing less dependent upon him for knowledge as my facility with the
language improved and my information about the culture grew. Fi-
nally, the rejection was not one-sided. Now additional informants
were desirable for my research. Also, if I remember correctly (it is
not stated in my notebooks), I was annoyed by Champukwi's neg-
lect and disappointed by his lack of loyalty.

114 The Tupí tribe found by a bandeira [Tr., pioneering expedi-
175 tion] that left São Paulo in 1613 lived not far from the mouth of the Itacaiunas, namely, on the right bank of the Araguaia, two leagues above its confluence with the Tocantins. The account of this meeting, published only recently by Serafim Leite (1, 103-110), is as far as I know the first reference to a Tupí tribe on the Araguaia. According to Taunay (181-192), several bandeiras left São Paulo between the beginning of the seventeenth century and the departure of the above-mentioned expedition. The data relating to these expeditions are so defective, however, that it is possible to identify the place names on the itinerary only in a few cases. Among the few expeditions which may thus be identified, there is not one to the Araguaia. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The above-mentioned document dealing with the 1613 expedition, recently published by Father Leite, was written by the Jesuit Antonio de Araujo and covers the information provided by Pero Domingues, one of the 30 inhabitants of the São Paulo settlement who made up the expedition. Referring to "seven very large villages" found by the
175 travelers "about two leagues from the bar of the Iabeberi," that is, the Tocantins (cf. Leite 1, 101), the report goes on to say (ibid., 105-106): "The Indians in these villages were called Caatingas. Their language was the tongue common to these shores. Our men found
[439] among them many iron tools, scythes, wedges, axes, many glass beads, and large quantities of Rouen shirts, along with numerous hats, all of which they said they had obtained in trade from the French for feathers and arrows, of which they had many canoefuls in their houses, and also for cotton. They asserted that the French were at a distance of only 11 days' journey down-river and lived in a fortress they had built many years previously, and added that they had a sugar mill and made sugar from the cane plantations they owned. They
[648] confessed that they had put to death seven Frenchmen who must have fled the fortress of their countrymen, at whose request the Indians killed them. And, without being asked, they said that so many days' journey away, on another arm of the same Pará River, lived those whom we call Almazonas and whom they call [98:108] Camaíma, that is to say, 'breastless women.' They also stated that there were large numbers of villages down-river on both sides of the stream, and
175 that they were not scarce up-river but toward the interior. The in-
648 habitants of the seven villages sent messengers forthwith to the other

175 villages, asking them to come and visit the Whites who were with
648 them. The 30 men, wary and afraid that some treachery might be afoot, resolved not to stay long in those parts. They sang the praises of the Whites, asked the Indians to come with them to São Paulo where they would be near their churches and all that was necessary for their salvation, but they did all this deceitfully, in a professional backwoods way. They stirred 3,000 souls. And since the
[241] Indians not long before had changed the site [of their gardens] and the provisions of manioc flour from the plots they had abandoned
[501] were almost exhausted, they embarked four days later in 300 canoes out of the many they owned. On embarking, the 30 men managed to take from them all their bows and arrows. They proceeded up-river, touching ground every day to rest and sleep. Among the 3,000 souls was an Indian woman (who must have been the daughter of one of the seven Frenchmen, whose progeny was numerous), the wife of the son of a certain chief who had followed our men. This woman (who had been neatly endowed by nature, according to the informant, with all the parts requisite to a perfect body) was given by the captain to one of his henchmen. The latter, either to rid himself of the worry caused by the presence of the woman's husband, or perhaps to add to it still further, returned the woman to the captain. The wretched Indian was so deeply affected by the usurpation of his rightful matrimony, and the others by the fact that within a few days they would all be separated, that at a certain time and place they got together and rose against the 30 men, killing 16 and a few of the Indians they had taken with them. Satisfied with the death of these men, they turned back toward their villages in the same canoes. The 14 men who got away, but whom the Indians could have killed, proceeded up-river with only two of the aforementioned Caatingas, who either would not or could not follow the other Indians. They reached the São Paulo settlement, which they had left 19 months earlier..."

174 The identification of their language with Lingua-geral [Tr., 161
the Tupi lingua franca] characterizes the "Caatingas" as Tupí. To
[197] my knowledge, there is no evidence of the existence of other Tupí Indians, besides the Tapirapé, along the part of the Araguaia that stretches between its confluence with the Tocantins and the northern part of Bananal Island. We must take into account, however, that

101 identified with the Tapirapé, than that there should have existed
174 in the Tocantins basin two different tribes with such similar
[114] names. [Ed., the last half of p. 110 and the first half of p. 111 are omitted.]

[98:111] Assuming, now, that the "Caatingas" and "Pirapés" were the seventeenth century ancestors of the Tapirapé, which is not impossible in the case of the former and probable in the case of the latter, it must be admitted that the Tapirapé reached their present habitat from the north.

The hypothesis in favor of such an origin is strengthened
173 further by the statements made to me by the Tapirapé themselves. They say that they lived formerly to the north of Conceição and closer to the Araguaia than today, but that they gradually moved farther south out of fear of the Kayapó [Cayapo] and farther west out of fear of the Karajá. They add, however, that they never lived south of the Tapirapé River, which is the southern boundary of their present territory.
619 It is interesting to note, in this connection, that the inhabitants
448 of Tampiitáua maintained continuous relations with another Tapirapé village located "ten days' march to the north," and therefore, in any case, at a considerable distance, while they had no contact whatever with their supposed neighbors to the southwest, the so-called Ampaneá, who apparently are also Tupí and who are much less distant from Tampiitáua than that northern Tapirapé village. It is possible that the Ampaneá
[174] and Tapirapé reached their present habitats from different directions, or that the former got there long before the Tapirapé became their neighbors.

[98:112] Kissenberth (2, 40-41, 75-78) believes it possi-
114 ble that the potsherds he found on the Morro dos Cayapós [Hill
172 of the Cayapo], located in the hinterland west of Conceição
174 do Araguaia and almost at the same latitude as this locality, are products of the Tapirapé ceramic industry (see ibid., 37, map). Stating that he is not familiar with Tapirapé pottery, the same author goes on to say (ibid., 77): "Even a cursory comparison of these fragments with the ceramics and potsherds of South American peoples forcibly suggests the Tupí-Guaraní."
[923] Regarding this, I must say that I did not encounter among present-day Tapirapé pottery the ornamentation found on these potsherds.

114 174 Kissenberth (ibid., 41) states in further support of the assumption that the Tapirapé came to their present habitat from the north: "The first right-hand tributaries of some importance on the Itacaiunas River bear the legitimate Tupí names of Kateté and Tapirapé. As the Mẽkubenokré-Kayapó relate, there lives at the present time, right in that virgin forest area at the headwaters of the Itacaiunas, an anthropophagous people, the Kubẽnépre (meaning 'Bat Indians'), who according to their description must belong to the Tupí group." These arguments, though interesting, are rather weak at the present stage. [Ed., the remainder of p. 112, pp. 113-122, and the first half of p. 123 are omitted.]

[98:123] According to repeated statements made to me by [173] the Tapirapé, their tribe, although in the past it lived closer to the Araguaia than today, never crossed this river and never lived to the east of it. This, however, does not make me doubt the veracity of Cunha Mattos when he writes of Bananal Island (2, 392-393): "The island is inhabited by Javahés and Carajás Indians, and occasionally by Carajahys, Xambioás [Shamboia], Tapirapés, Gradaús, and other barbarians..." Since this author's Chorographia [Chorography] bears the date of 1824, it is quite possible that after several generations had elapsed the Tapirapé lost recall of those "occasional settlements."

In addition, Dr. William Lipkind, the North American ethnologist who worked on Bananal Island in 1938 and 1939, told me that he obtained the following information from the Karajá of Santa Isabel, Fontoura, and other locations: in the past there were Tapirapé living with the Javahé, that is, in the interior of Bananal Island. In setting fire once to a stretch • [648] of grassland, they [the Tapirapé] burned the village of those Indians. Then the Javahé chased them away. The Tapirapé crossed the Araguaia a little to the north of Mato Verde, and thus not too far from the mouth of the Tapirapé River. This happened some 70 or 100 years ago.

After having visited the Tapirapé in Wagley's company, 114 Dr. Lipkind wrote to me (letter of September 10, 1939): 173 "The Tapirape themselves say that they learnt the masked 174 dances [98:124] -- the most marked cultural similarity with

823 that they may have heard this word from Whites talking about
[173] the Xingu. As I was told in Tampiitšua, no Tapirapé had seen
that chinghó river except for one single youth "who was there
174 once, about 20 years ago." I could not obtain any further information about the life or death of this traveler. It may be that he accompanied Valadar, the Karajá famed for his exploring journeys, who visited the Tapirapé in 1911 with Alfredo de Oliveira of Ceará. The Tapirapé Kamairahó indeed told me that Valadar had taken a few of them along when he made a trip to the Xingu at that time. It may be that only one of those Tapirapé actually got to see the great river, perhaps only that single youth of which they spoke to me in the village. Be that as it may, by what I know of the cultures of the upper Xingu tribes and that of the Tapirapé, it is unquestionable that the latter did not come to their present habitat from the west.

Everything indicates, in fact, that they have lived since the eighteenth century in the hinterland of the left bank of the Tapirapé, or in other words, in the northern part of this river basin. [Ed., the last paragraph, which concludes the section in Vol. 98, is omitted.]

## Chapter 3

### [99:63] Contact with the Whites

175 Both Tapirapé and Karajá call the Whites torí. [Ed., the
● [648] remainder of p. 63, p. 64, and most of p. 65 are omitted.]

[99:65] The contact of the Tapirapé with the Whites during the seventeenth century is neither more nor less uncertain than the identification of these Tupí Indians with the "Caatingas" and "Pirapés." We must assume, however, that White men visited the Tapirapé in their present habitat in the course of the following century. This is implied not only by the path of [99:66] the pioneers indicated by a dotted line on the eighteenth century map, but also by a reference cited by Ehrenreich (2, 88), according to which these Indians had contact with

114 in the Guaraní-Tupí family makes it probable that it was unknown
174 at the time, not only to scholars, but possibly even to the Brazilian frontiersmen. It is to be supposed that the latter would have recognized it as akin to the Lingua-Geral, which was much more widely known by "civilized" or "Christian" people over 100 years ago than it is now. The lack of contact which may be inferred from the above-mentioned unfamiliarity is made understandable by the observation of the contemporaneous Cazal [I, 259] that the "Tappiraquia" region is unexplored "except for its eastern boundary along the Araguaia."

The first volume of Pohl's work (I, 341), which appeared in
175 1832, contains the information, also included in the Memoria
[648] [Memoir] written by Silva e Sousa in 1812, that the capitão-mor [Tr., military officer in charge of local militia] João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira had imprisoned 100 "Tapirapéz" who all died in Vila-Boa.

Castelnau (II, 114) says that in 1844, when he went down the Araguaia, he was told about the existence of a village "of Tapirapé, which is located in the province of Mato Grosso, at the approximate latitude of the northern tip of Bananal Island, on a large stream which flows into the Furo River from the left" [translated from French].

In his classical outline of Brazilian tribes published in 1867, Martius (2, I, 205) includes the Tapirapé with the "Central Tupí," although he does not provide a Tapirapé vocabulary in his "Glossarios de diversas lingoas e dialectos, que fallão os Indios no imperio do Brazil [Glossary of the various languages and dialects spoken by the Indians of the Empire of Brazil]" (2, II). Furthermore, giving as his source the Diccionario [Dictionary] of Milliet de Saint-Adolphe, he lists (2, I, 205) the Tapirapé, "who are said, according to one tradition, to have come from Rio de Janeiro," as inhabitants of the "Tapirapés River (a western tributary of the Araguaia)." Since Martius gives no reason for classi-
[114] fying the Tapirapé as Tupí, it is to be assumed that he was familiar with the data of Souza Villa Real concerning the names of eight "prominent" Tapirapé, while apparently these data were not taken into account by the linguistic study of Ferdinand Denis since they were published 22 years later, in 1848.

175 (ibid.). [Ed., the last few lines of p. 68 and most of p. 69 are omitted.]

[99:69] Concerning the contact of the Tapirapé with the
175 Whites during the past century, one should also mention the
648 Colégio Isabel [Isabel School], which Couto de Magalhães (2, 132) referred to as follows a few years after its founding in 1871: "... all the tribes of the Araguaia are now represented among its 52 pupils." According to the preface to the second edition of the Viagem ao Araguaya [Journey to the Araguaia] by the same author (1, p. XXV), "About 20 children of both sexes immediately entered from the tribes of the Chavantes, Gorotirés, Cayapós, Tapirapés, and three from the extinct tribe of the Guajajaras."

In this connection, one should note that while the Guajajara are not yet extinct, the same cannot be said of the Colégio Isabel. Its existence was brief. In the account [99:70] of his 1888 journey published in 1892, Ehrenreich (3, 4) writes as follows: "On August 14, a number of Kayapó arrived in Leopoldina. They came from the so-called Colégio Isabel, which is now located two leagues down-river on the left bank, near Dumbazàinho. They were in the company of their headmaster. They provided us with linguistic and somatic data. At the same time, we learned something of the situation in that colony, which is quite typical of the way in which the civilizing task is often carried out in this country. The institute was founded by Couto de Magalhães in the year 1871, with the aim of Christianizing Indian children, turning them into sedentary colonists, and attracting, at the same time, their savage tribal fellows. The government furnished clothes and other imported articles, especially agricultural tools. It also provided a considerable quantity of cattle, of which, at the time of his marriage, every Indian received a certain number. In addition, the government also provided an annual subvention of 5 contos. At the time of Couto de Magalhães, and especially during Sebastião's administration, the school prospered and enjoyed universal respect, even among the most distant savage tribes. Kayapó and Tapirapé children entered the school. I was told that a Tapirapé who had been educated there and who had later returned to his tribe, appeared a few years later on the river bank and awaited the arrival of the steamer for two months in a Karajá encampment so he could send his son to the same institution.

000 Only the Karajá, who will not part from their children under any circumstances, did not want to have anything to do with the school. Unfortunately, the mistake was made once of taking children from these Indians by force. As a result, they now keep all the children away whenever a ship comes by. At the time 175 of our visit, the institute was badly neglected. The headmaster 648 treated the Indians as slaves and ordered them to work in his personal service. The forlorn boys were exposed to his brutality and to that of his friends. The girls had to attend to the pleasure of all their oppressors. Most of them had already borne children or were about to do so. No new Indians had appeared for a long time, for the outrages of the White civilizers had increasingly kept them away. Most of the school Indians had already reached the age of 30, but not one of them thought of leaving. Trained all along to slavery and tutelage, they carried on their services with dumb indolence. Of course, there was no longer any question of teaching. The cattle had been stolen or had run away. The funds provided by the government ended up in the headmaster's pocket. Later, [99:71] Dr. Baggi, who as a good republican attempted to uncover and prosecute all the abuses of the current regime, achieved the suppression of the institute."

Although a few Tapirapé individuals encountered Whites during the nineteenth century, there is no evidence that the latter had any direct contact at that time with the bulk of the tribe. Ehrenreich (5), who in his classification cited above, published in 1891, includes the Tapirapé among the "Central Tupí," confesses as late as 1905 that they are known only by hearsay and this makes it impossible to state whether they are related to the Eastern or the Central Tupí. He adds that possibly they are a separate group that originated in Pará or Maranhão.

The few Tapirapé who were seen by Whites during the first ten years of this century were chiefly women and children abducted by the Karajá. Krause (2, 320 and 404) says that the [439] Karajá carried out these abductions at the times when the men of the Tupí tribe left their families to go and trade with them on a sand bar of the Tapirapé River. The captive women served them as laborers and sexual partners, and the resulting children became 175 part of the tribe. Some of those women and children were made 726 prisoners in the course of an attack when the Karajá killed several

175 726 men. Concerning this, there is the following reference by Glass (139) who was in the village of the attackers in 1909: "... the women and children were carried away captive to the Bananal Island, and they either became part of the Carajá tribe we had seen or else were sold to any bidder sometimes to white men in exchange for an ox or other thing, their equivalent for money" [cited in English].

175 648 Krause, who explored the Araguaia in 1908, writes (2, 405): "In the villages of the Karajá I saw, in all, two women, three young girls, and two boys of the Tapirapé tribe." Kissenberth, who was in the same area in that year and the following one, observed (2, 47): "I saw, in all, only seven individuals belonging to the Tapirapé: the near-sexagenarian Ngroatí (Figs. 4 and 5), whom I found in a village of Mẽkubengokrẽ-Kayapó called Ororogdjakamkikrẽ, located on the large stream Salobro, a tributary of the Pau-d'arco; two boys, one of whom was in the power of a rubber trader coming down the Araguaia, while the other was a slave of Tamanako, chief of the Karajá village Woudó; in addition, there were three women and one girl, slaves of Chief Crisóstomo of Weheriadó village, Chief Tamanako, and Chief Iwaná of Dozahákã village."

Dona Delfina de Arruda Correia told me when I passed through the city [sic] of Goiás on September 5, 1935, [99:72] that when she was a teacher at the Leopoldina school she had among her pupils three or four Tapirapé boys brought by the Karajá. "The latter had abducted them and sold them," said the lady, without specifying, however, when those events took place.

A reference by Krause (2, 29) deserves special mention. 114 175 648 According to him, an Italian with his camaradas had abducted a Tapirapé girl whom he later sold to the Karajá, shortly before Krause reached the Araguaia. If this really happened, the Italian would be, to the best of our knowledge, the first White to make contact with the Tapirapé on tribal territory in this century. When I wrote this to Professor Krause, he answered me (letter of July 9, 1937): "I do not believe that the Italian really visited the Tapirapé. He may have abducted, or attempted to abduct, a Tapirapé girl who lived with the Karajá. This at least may be inferred from the hostility that the Karajá are said to have shown

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[648] towards him. But even such an assumption is more than doubtful. I lend no importance whatever to that rumor."

This explanation once accepted, Fritz Krause himself becomes, to our knowledge, the first White who made a systematic attempt to contact the Tupí tribe in the twentieth century. In August and September, 1908, he ascended the Tapirapé River with great difficulty to its last navigable stretch, and then traveled over the area lying to the north of its upper course. He found footprints on the sand, dams in the water, barbecues in the forest, and the remnants of summer dwellings on the savanna.

In April of the following year, Wilhelm Kissenberth, another German ethnographer, was even less successful. He gave up on the second day of his journey up the Tapirapé River, having reached the conclusion that "the only practical access to the Tapirapé villages is by land, since the inherent difficulties of an ascent of the Tapirapé River must be the same in the dry season as they are at flood time" (Kissenberth 1, 4).

Finally, in the course of an expedition in search of rubber trees that was carried out in 1911, a few men from Ceará led by their countryman Alfredo Olímpio de Oliveira, after having gone up the Tapirapé River and crossed the savanna, met the Tapirapé Indians and lived with them for a while in their villages. The first information about this was given to me by Colonel João Crisóstimo de Oliveira, a brother of Mr. Alfredo. Later, when I was in Tampiitáua, the Indian Kamairahó [99:73] frequently recalled with praise Mr. Alfredo and his companions. Actually, this journey of the Ceará men was described by Angiope Costa (221-224), who published an article about it in July 29, 1912, in the
[113] Folha do Norte [a newspaper] of Belém, Pará. In addition, the following passage appears in the report on the Dominican expedition of 1914 called "Entre os Tapirapés [Among the Tapirapé]" and published in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosario (316-317): "In 1911, a group of rubber gatherers thought that the banks of the waterway (H.B. [author]: the Tapirapé River) would be rich in rubber. The leader of the expedition was one Mr. Alfredo. The starting point was Conceição. The explorations lasted for several months, from May to November. Instead of rubber, they discovered Indian villages, the three villages of the Tapirapé. It

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175 was the first time that these savages had seen civilized people, or, to use the popular term, Christians. It was God's will that savages and Christians should fraternize. Alfredo became a friend of the Tapirapé and brought to Conceição a group consisting of an elderly woman, her granddaughter of 11 or 12, and a few men. During the trip the men ran away. The girl was provided with clothes when she reached the mission."

[13] On October 9, 1912, the Rio newspaper O Paiz transcribed from the fortnightly Goiás paper O Estado de Goyaz of September 15 of the same year an article entitled "Proteção aos Indios [Indian Protection Service]," according to which Dr. Francisco Mandacarú had visited a Tapirapé village located six and three-quarters leagues from the river of the same name and had returned "a Tapirapé woman and her son of 12" whom he had "rescued" in Conceição, where they were "enslaved" (Kissenberth 2, 36, 43). They were probably the grandmother and granddaughter brought by Mr. Alfredo and mentioned in the report of the Dominicans quoted above.

Speaking of the tribes of the Araguaia, Glass (139) says that in 1913, "the Government Inspector of the Indians of this region [161] ascended the Tapirapé River and discovered about 1000 or 1500 [648] of this tribe still existing, but living forty miles away from the river for fear of the Carajás. He estimates that the Carajás, Tapirapés, Javahés, Cherentes [Sherente], Chavantes, and one or two other tribes around that district, number over 20,000 Indians" [cited in English].

In June, 1914, the French Dominicans, Domingos Carrerot, Sebastião Thomas, and Francisco Bigorre, visited the Tapirapé village located 50 kilometers from the river. They were led by the Indian Valadar, the son of a Karajá father and a Tapirapé mother. This guide had participated in Mr. Alfredo's expedition.

Ten years later, according to the Mensageiro do Santo [113] Rosario of April, 1934, page 207, the "regular catechization" of 797 the [99:74] Tapirapé by the Dominicans had a "definitive start." 175 That means that the Fathers of Conceição do Araguaia have ascended the Tapirapé River to the port of São Domingos every two years or so since 1924, awaiting there the arrival of the Indians, alerted to their presence by the smoke rising from burned grassland. Sometimes they proceed on foot to the summer dwellings

171 Xingu headwaters, writes that the dance of the jacuí ("yakuí") is
535 "original to" the Auetõ and Kamayurá [Camayura], that is, the
[114] Tupí tribes of the Culuene basin and thus the eastern part of that region which is separated from Tapirapé territory by the waters of the Xingu and the Araguaia. Furthermore, [100:192] both the Auetõ and the Kamayurá had two kinds of masked dances, the dance of the jacuí and that of a fish called koahálu among the former and hõvát among the latter (ibid., 310-317). True, the masks used by those tribes (ibid., Figs. 107-114) differ completely from the masks made by the Tapirapé. In addition, what little may be inferred from the brief references to the dancing and songs of those Xingu Indians (ibid., 313-315) discloses no similarity to the chankuí and iranchá performances. On the other hand, the Tapirapé also differ from the Karajá in the design of their masks, their songs, and their dance motions.

Thus, the complex of masked dances that extends between the Xingu and the Araguaia assumes special forms in each of the above-mentioned tribes, and these forms, although they hint at a mutual relationship, do not reveal which of the tribes was the first to use masks or where it got the idea to do so. It can only be said
●[648] that there are no historical data to substantiate contact between the Tapirapé and the tribes of the Culuene basin, while age-old relations between the Tapirapé and the Karajá are thoroughly documented. [Ed., the remainder of this section in Vol. 100, pp. 192-198, and the section in Vol. 101, pp. 67-75, are omitted.]

[102:123] While in Tampiitáua no one bothered with the
648 neighboring Kyrydjá [Tr., Ge-speaking, in this case Chavante] to the south, the Kayapó neighboring on the north, called Kananchahó, were mentioned frequently and with feeling. When dealing with the "Karajá of the Xingu," I referred to them and to the fear they inspire. I was informed that in 1932 they had de-
[726] stroyed a large Tapirapé village located "ten days' march" north of Tampiitáua and killed most of its inhabitants. According to
[731] other reports, an epidemic depopulated that village and compelled the survivors to abandon it. No matter what the cause of this
648 mortality may have been, fear of the Kananchahó undoubtedly con-
166 tributed to the desire of the survivors to put as much distance as possible between themselves and these neighbors and to take refuge in the southernmost village of their tribe, that is Tampiitáua. The

648 same feeling, the same fear of the Kananchahó, aroused even in
166 the inhabitants of this latter village a desire to abandon it and to
settle under the protection of the Whites on Bananal Island. Rev-
797 erend Kegel told me that when he arrived at Porto Salvação in
166 1934 he was visited by Kamairahó who came to the river bank
648 especially to ask him to come back, to have large boats built,
and to take the entire tribe to Macauba. The reason for this re-
quest was fear of the Kayapó. It was assumed that they had killed
20 men and women from Tampiitáua who had not returned from
a hunting trip. Mr. Kegel told the most influential man among
the Tapirapé that it would be impossible to feed the whole tribe
since there was no longer time to prepare plots on the land of the
Evangelical Union.

When we heard the harrowing cry of the potoo during the
648 night of June 23, 1935, the Tapirapé took this as a sign that the
[825] Kayapó were coming. Four days later, at night, as I stretched out
on my net beside Kamairahó's hammock, the Indian "bigwig" said,
"I am afraid." I retorted, with the courteous arrogance proper to
a "captain [chief]" of my rank, "I am here, and therefore you
need not be afraid." A little later [102:124], Kamairahó inquired,
[23] on account of the Kayapó, whether I had with me the "little killer,"
as we used to call the revolver to differentiate it from the "big
killer," or rifle. I told him that I always slept well armed, and he
laughed happily.

At the nocturnal group dances, the men hold a heavy club or
[535] bush knife in their hands, and this is not just to mark time since
[411] during the day they find an arrow or bow adequate for that purpose.

On the evening of July 8, as I talked with Mr. Kegel in front
of the little house beside the village which had been built for him
and camarada Daniel, several men and women came running, one
of the men holding a bush knife and another a club, and they told
us excitedly that there were Kananchahó in the neighboring forest.
Followed by an Indian, I proceeded immediately to the spot they
had pointed out. We found nothing, and I calmed the Tapirapé by
telling them that the Kananchahó were sleeping very far away.
They returned in silence to their hammocks, and a middle-aged
woman merely said, "They will come when the moon goes to
sleep."

648 When I stretched out in my hammock, Kamairahó, who was
125 already lying in his hammock with his wife, smiled at me as usual and greeted me courteously with the customary "papanekã (you have come)." I asserted, no less decorously, "Hm, hm, ẽ, ẽ." He went on, still smiling, "Kananchahó around. Kananchahó coming. I'm afraid." Although he did not seem particularly scared in spite of this statement, I calmed him with a few words as I had done with the others, and he immediately laughed, changed the subject, and jested with his wife.

648 Later, it became evident that the presence of Kayapó in the
609 neighboring forest had been invented by Anavanf, a somewhat foolish youth of about 17. On the following morning he confessed that he had lied. He probably wanted to make himself important. The general readiness to believe him shows the state of mind of the Tapirapé toward their feared neighbors. Incidentally, on the day when Kamairahó showed me the smoke pillars of the "Ampanef" to the southwest, he showed me a similar display by the Kayapó to the north.

The non-material defenses show that the Kananchahó are regarded as the Number One enemy. Although the Karajá are also feared, only the northern neighbors, by what I was able to observe, are the object of parodies, violently abusive songs, and mocking
[533] pantomimes. On June 24, the Tapirapé, in a weeping tone, sang
[831] a seemingly obscene chant about the Kananchahó, which aroused
[522] endless laughter. It was sung in the men's house, where other
[596] youths gave a ludicrous impersonation of those enemies, emitting their would-be tribal cry, running and jumping crazily hither and yon, gesticulating with angry excitement, and hitting the house stakes with their clubs. At the same time, in front of the house,
[535] other men accompanied by the women and children danced and sang the kaó, the danced song that derives its warlike character not only from the weapons in the hands of the warriors and from their serious look, but also from the powerful rhythm of stamping feet and the menacing quality of the guttural sounds.

596 [102:125] While all this pertains to night performances, an-
726 other spectacle took place two days later in daylight. It was a dramatization of the supposed Kayapó attack on the 20 Tapirapé who had failed to return from the hunt during the previous year. Six youths, holding on to each other in friendly fashion two by two,

162 621 In the age group ranging from 15 to 30, there were 30 males and 20 females, that is, 50 individuals of both sexes.

In the age group ranging from 31 to 60, there were 13 males and 12 females, that is to say, 25 individuals of both sexes. Only two among them were older than 45, one woman who was 48 and one who was 60.

There was not a single individual older than 60.

The most striking fact is the small number of individuals over 30 years of age. On the other hand, the number of individuals younger than 15 is not, in proportion, as small as the corresponding group among certain "civilized" peoples. [Ed., the remainder of p. 187 is omitted.]

[103:188] The 35 Tampiitsúa couples included 20 where [582] the husband appeared to be older than the wife, 12 where the opposite seemed to be the case, and three where they seemed to be of the same age. I say "appeared to be older" to acknowledge minor inaccuracies in reckoning people's ages, even though I did not do this alone but in collaboration with Mr. Kegel, who had more points of reference than I because he had observed these Indians for several years.

592 162 The following table shows the number, sex, and age of the occupants of each house indicated on the ground plan of the village. [Table appears here.]

621 166 I heard in 1935, and published in 1937, that the Tapirapé formerly had five villages whose descendants make up the present population of Tampiitsúa (cf. Baldus 17, 86). Wagley (2, 408-409) confirmed this, adding (4, 5) that those five villages "probably existed as late as the turn of the century and are said to have had a population of about 200 people each." He also refers (ibid.) [731] to epidemics as the only cause for the abandonment of these villages. I have already mentioned that in the case of the village [648] abandoned in 1932 fear of the Kayapó must have been a contributing factor. It is worth noting the explanation given for the move of 758 the occupants of three other villages to Tampiitsúa: there were 166 no médicos-feiticeiros [Tr., sorcerers--medicine men] left 621 among them. This might, of course, have occurred as the result of an epidemic. The interesting fact, however, is that the Tapirapé did not mention disease but the lack of pagés [Tr., shamans] as the reason for abandoning the villages. Nothing could

[Text continues on p.42]

166 756 621 underline more clearly the importance of these men.

The village abandoned in 1932 was called Moytsua, a word
103 made up of moyva, "cane," and tsua, "village." The other three
166 extinct villages were called (1) Kuruantsua, from kurus or koruś "squash" (Brazilian Cucurbitacea), which remained in the Brazilian vernacular as cruś [Tr., Sicana odorifera]; (2) Mankotsua, from Manko, the name of a Karajá who was the village chief; and (3) Chechotsua, chechó probably being jejú (Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus), a fish akin to the traira [Tr., Amazon lungfish], or else a contraction of chechoś, "big chechó," that is to say, the piracurú (Arapaima gigas). It may be that Chechotsua was the "Chichutsua" Wagley heard about, and that the Tampiitsua emigrants [103:189] moved to the site of the former village of this name on account of the food plants which undoubtedly still grew in the surrounding plots.

Tampiitsua, the "village of the tapir," no longer stands
166 where it was at the time of my visit. It was moved farther from
361 the river. This represents a move away from the Whites and, to some extent, "toward the Kayapó." Such a move appears to me as a "healthy policy." There were, and continue to be, attempts to
●648 relocate the Tapirapé at a "Protective Post" located near the Araguaia. The immediate and continuous contact of these Indians with the most varied representatives of our civilization, which would be inevitable if the above-mentioned project were to be carried out, would bring about the certain annihilation of this peaceful
[161] Tupí tribe, whose numbers, as I write this (1944), probably do not reach 150. [Ed., end of Vol. 103; the section in Vol. 104, pp. 93-100, is omitted.]

[105:77] Chapter 6

## Physical Appearance and Ornamentation

Coming from the Karajá to the Tapirapé, one immediately
142 notices that the latter, on the average, are much shorter and less sturdy, especially shorter than the Karajá I saw in Santa Isabel, and less sturdy than the inhabitants of Beroromandú and other villages located north of the mouth of the Tapirapé River. Fritz

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291 welcome, this important man lay in his small hammock without
[513] the slightest intention of hiding his skin, which was occasionally illuminated by the wavering flames.

[105:89] The same was true with regard to all other clothing of similar provenience. Kamairahó also possessed a large piece of fabric which he used as a sort of cloak, but only during the day and not as frequently as the dress. Vuatanamy, another influential leader, wrapped himself during the hottest hours of the day in a heavy poncho, which was of such good quality that I tried to find out the name of the person who had given out such presents (cf. Photo. 58). Then the evil tongues told me that this Gaucho gar-
[191] ment had belonged to a missionary, who lost it unwittingly with the full cooperation of Vuatanamy. The former owner may derive some consolation from the fact that his unintended beneficiary continued to sleep naked through mosquito bites and cold spells.

The shirts, vests, and trousers that I gave to some of the young men were also restricted to daytime use. The enthusiasm for this kind of ornament lasted only a few days. Then the law of the least effort prevailed, and the pieces were put away in a corner of the house. Incidentally, of all my gifts, the vests were the least valued. Their new owners noted signs of wear with obvious displeasure, and perhaps also felt that since the vests had no sleeves they were mere fragments of jackets and thus scorned by the Whites.

The aim of these Indians, however, was to be esteemed by the
• 648 Whites by conforming to their behavior. I do not mean to say that
177 this was the aim of every Tapirapé. There were some, however, who made it quite clear. There was, for example, Kamairá, the tallest and sturdiest man in Tampiitsua and a leader on certain occasions. Kamairá sometimes liked to use a rather dirty rag as a
[191] loincloth. This was the only loincloth I saw in the tribe, and its use was probably inspired by a desire to reach the ideal proclaimed by some missionary with highly modest sentiments.

Such propensities for adaptation, however, did not preclude
177 the use of ornaments furnished by us, even when such objects had
291 never appeared on our own bodies. Thus, Vuatanamy wore a
301 multicolored cap (cf. Photo. 68); Kamanané, the song leader, liked to wear a piece of brightly colored cloth on his head; the
177 red and black cardboard wrapper of my soap contributed to the
301 mosaic of bird feathers that adorned a dance mask; and beads were

224 pig killed on July 14 was brought to bay by Tapirapé dogs. Krause
23 (2, 407) found numerous tracks of Tapirapé dogs on a sandbar of the river that goes by the same name. The same author (2, 245 and 386) mentions dogs belonging to the Karajá (kjolozá in their
171 language) and the Kayapó. According to the Tapirapé, the
231 Ampanéá stole young dogs from them. The complete absence of
[648] dogs in the upper Xingu region, which was noted by Von den Steinen (1, 326) in 1884, was confirmed in 1924 by Hintermann (255).

224 I was unable to obtain a satisfactory explanation for the following custom, which was related to me by my companion Kegel: the Tapirapé, after killing game, place a number of small sticks, corresponding to the number of animals killed, at the spot where they re-enter one of the paths used by the tribe; they tear each stick slightly and insert a feather or a few hairs of the slain animal in the resulting slit. I encountered the same custom in 1946 among the Kaingang [Caingang] of the upper Ivaí. There, the Indian Salvador Veiniá, after hunting baitaca [Tr., parrots of the Pionias genus], plucked a few feathers from one of these birds in my presence and tossed them beside the path. This same Kaingang, while in [112:59] the company of my assistant Harald Schultz, once found a stick lying on a footpath with two clusters of tateto hair in its split upper tip, and he said that two of those wild pigs had been killed at that spot and that the stick with the hair had been left there by the hunter to impart the news to passersby.

I did not observe any magic with the explicit purpose of catch-
224 ing or multiplying game. It is uncertain whether the animal dances
533 and songs which I shall describe in the chapter dealing with re-
535 ligion [Tr., apparently not published] have such a purpose, or whether their aim is merely to express joy. The Indians themselves
[226] say that there is a lot of fish when they sing, but that there is also a lot of fish when they do not sing. To judge from this statement, the animal songs and dances are not hunting magic. The Tapirapé
533 sing and dance because they like to sing and dance. For this reason,
535 also, they borrowed songs and dances from the Karajá. It would
177 be necessary to find out (1) whether the animal dances and songs were originally magical, (2) whether anyone still regards them as such, and (3) if so, who does. I was unable to settle these questions.

There were no vestiges of a pair of
231 pigs brought in shortly before that time by a White friend who
[648] hoped to induce the Indians to raise these animals.

I referred to the dogs above when I spoke about hunting. The puppies of those canines of the harrier type were suckled by women, and unfortunately not by old ones, but by the most beautiful girls. In one house, hung alongside the sleeping hammocks, there was even an incredibly small net which was the bed of one of these four-footed children. After a childhood replete with such pampering, however, the dog's life becomes a dog's life. He goes through it hungry, his ribs showing, stealing remnants of human food and sometimes even bananas, and granted as his only truly inexhaustible and non-forbidden means of subsistence the gathering of cockroaches. Just as he must now chew on these bugs instead of sucking on a kind Tapirapé breast, he must, instead of being petted, submit to curses, blows, and kicks, even though they are usually administered with a certain restraint and even gentleness. When, at a male gathering, a man's flatulence gives rise to unpleasant odors, the nearest dog is blamed for it, and the men grunt disapprovingly and kick in the animal's direction, an uncertain kick aimed at the air rather than at the dog.

The chickens are not usually fed by human hands either and
235 therefore resort to hunting the cockroaches which abound on the walls and floor of the house. At night, by the light of the fires, I often saw hens with their chicks walking around the house in search of those bugs. This does not mean that they ate anything else during the day.

Just as dogs are never confined in any way, so do the chickens enjoy complete freedom and at the time of my visit used to roost on top of the houses. Their role in Tapirapé culture is to supply feathers on rare occasions, and even more rarely to supply a dish of meat.

The Tapirapé word for "chicken" is vuyranchampokáinia,
[192] which corresponds to the guirá çapucaya listed in the Vocabulário da Língua Brasílica, which, according to Ayrosa, was probably compiled by Anchieta. [Ed., all but the last paragraph of p. 198 is omitted.]

262 The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts,
178 for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such a change in the food situation affects the tribal
[574] behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality. It is true that this may also have resulted in
177 part from contact with the White neighbors who have settled on
291 the Tapirapé river over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer, or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their bodies are undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. Thus, instead of satisfying the appetite of their Indian visitors, they are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural rather than physical, one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitaua women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them wear complete dresses. It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actual-
262 ly experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their
177 new neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the
• 648 number of inhabitants of their village has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following were not lacking, however: "Now the Tapirapé eat only small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., a large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs. These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the dry spell, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna, as well as the human beings in the region, have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the frontiersmen, by settling permanently on all the habitable spots along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitaua has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers" (Baldus 12).

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



161 had continued during the last thirteen years. Yet I found
179 that even with so small a population Tapirapé society still functioned as an organised unit and Tapirapé culture persisted, although highly modified by the events of the last thirteen years. Several points of theoretical importance can be learned from recent Tapirapé history and from some observations on social and cultural changes since 1940.

175 The sketchy outline of Tapirapé history between
[127] 1940 and 1953, which I have been able to piece together with the help of the Indians themselves, of Sr. Valentim Gomes (the officer of the post of the Brazilian Indian Service which services the Tapirapé, and my companion during both visits to the tribe in 1939-40), and of a published report by Herbert Baldus,[3] indicates the tremendous shocks this society has suffered in the last decade. Briefly, this history is as follows: In 1941, just a year after my 1940 visit, a serious epidemic broke out in the
[131 Tapirapé village in which I had lived. As usual, following
578] an epidemic during which there is a series of deaths, dissension broke out within the village. A well-known shaman was killed and a group of Tapirapé ("perhaps thirty in number") fled the village to the Brazilian town of Furo de Pedra, some two hundred kilometers from their village. It is reported that at least two people died during this trip and that the group returned to their village infected with common colds. By August of 1940, Sr. Gomes was able to ascertain that twenty-six people had died since June of the same year. In September of
175 1941 an Indian Post for the protection of the Tapirapé
648 was opened, but it was established at the mouth of the Tapirapé River, near the Carajá whom the Tapirapé feared and near Brazilians from whom they contracted new infections. That year, a few Indians visited the Post but after the death of a young Tapirapé man at the Post and an unfortunate experience with a group of drunken Brazilian men, only rarely did a Tapirapé

3. "Tribus da Bacia do Araguaia e o Serviço de Proteção aos Índios", in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, N. S., Vol. II, São Paulo, 1948, pp. 137-198.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



Indian venture to visit the Post. For almost three years, their only contact with Brazilian culture was via the Dominican priests and an occasional hunter who visited them upriver in their own village or at one of the ports along the Tapirapé River which they were accustomed to approach. For a few years, the Tapirapé lived in relative peace.

175
648
[797]

In 1947, the year when Herbert Baldus again visited the Tapirapé, two events took place which were crucial in the further disorganization of their society. First, he encountered eight families of Brazilians at Porto Velho, half-way up the Tapirapé River, in an area which had always been traditional hunting and fishing territory of the Tapirapé. This was but the beginning of the steady occupation of the lands along the Tapirapé River by Brazilians; by 1953 it was estimated that 120 families were living along the river, and there were three cattle ranches at spots along the banks where the Indians often came to fish and hunt during the dry season. The vast and open *campos* along the Tapirapé River, which before 1940 simply teemed with game, now provided grazing lands for cattle. No longer was the contact of the Tapirapé with Brazilians sporadic and brief, but it had become continuous and frequent.

Secondly, it was in 1947 that the Tapirapé were attacked by the northern Kayapo as related by Baldus.[4] Four women were killed during the attack and two young women captured by the Kayapo, and the Tapirapé village was burned along with most of their belongings such as hammocks, utensils and tools. The entire Tapirapé group were driven by fear and hunger to the margins of the Tapirapé River where they depended upon a Brazilian rancher and the simple Brazilian frontiersmen for food. From 1947 until 1950, Tapirapé society as an organised unit might be said not to have existed; a group of families lived near a ranch on the Tapirapé River attempting to plant gardens in the narrow strip of forest along the river but they were mainly existing on what

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 142

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



175 they might beg from the Brazilian. Another group of
648 families came to live at the Indian post near the mouth of the Tapirapé River, where the Indian officer helped them build temporary shelters and provided them with food. And earlier, before the Kayapo attack, a small group of families had broken from the main village to migrate to a distant village site called Čičutawa, far to the north.[4] During these years, ceremonial and religious life, normal family life, aboriginal economic activities, and in fact most of the regular activities of their society were either completely suspended or affected by a marginal existence to the Brazilian frontiersmen.

131 But in 1950 Tapirapé society was, in a sense, re-
166 -organized. As a result of the efforts of the Indian officer,
178 all of the remaining Tapirapé (except those who had
[648] migrated to the north) came together to form a village which they called *Tawidho* (New Village), some six kilometers from the Post Heloísa Alberto Torres. By 1953 this village had been fully completed, and the Tapirapé had relatively large and productive gardens in the forest
361 some three or four kilometers from it. The village had
178 been constructed, as in aboriginal times, in a circle surrounding a large men's ceremonial house. The houses were in general of the aboriginal type, each housing several biological families. Ceremonials had begun again and, as before, the nights were filled with singing. Although considerably modified, normal Tapirapé social life was again possible. Although for a short period Tapirapé *society* might be said not to have existed, Tapirapé *culture* continued to live in the minds of these few remaining individuals and it allowed them, given the opportunity, to recreate, although in a much attenuated form, their social life. This is a striking example of the difference between a society and its culture.

177 But both Tapirapé society and Tapirapé culture had been considerably modified by the events of the last decade. There were striking differences in social

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128. This group has never been heard of since they left. It is the opinion of the remaining Tapirapé that they were killed by the Kayapo since Čičutawa is near Kayapo territory.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



organization, in technology, in ceremonial and religious 177
life, in economics and, in fact, in almost all realms of life. In the space of a short paper it will be possible to indicate only a few of these modifications. One of the 177
most striking changes has to do with the relations of 574
the Tapirapé with their traditional enemies, the Carajá. 648
In 1940 the Tapirapé told of their fear of the Carajá who had attacked them several times in the past, and Tapirapé men traveling along the Araguaya River with the writer hid in the bottom of the boat in fear of their traditional foe. No Tapirapé would have dared enter a Carajá village without the protection of a Brazilian. But in 1953 the new Tapirapé village was situated within six or seven kilometers of a Carajá village. Two Tapirapé [582]
youths, for lack of Tapirapé women of marriageable age, had married Carajá girls, and following the rule of matrilocal residence which both Carajá and Tapirapé cultures share they lived in the Carajá village and worked with their in-laws. Each day during my 1953 visit there were Carajá visitors in the Tapirapé village. They came [434]
to exchange fish, game or other items for Tapirapé manioc — for the Tapirapé are by tradition better gardeners than the Carajá. A friendly Carajá even joined the Tapirapé men to dance and sing during one of their ceremonials, and one evening a group of Tapirapé accepted the invitation of the Carajá to attend their wrestling matches on the beach in front of the Carajá village. One must conclude that old and traditional enmities and antagonisms between peoples can fade out easily and quickly unless there are deep-seated economic or territorial bases for such antagonisms.

Another striking change between the Tapirapé in 177
1940 and those of 1953 was their recent adaptation to 481
canoe travel. In 1940, the Tapirapé might have been classified as "foot Indians". They neither made nor owned canoes. Many Tapirapé were unable to swim. They were all most inept when forced to travel by canoe. In 1953, six Tapirapé men owned canoes they had acquir- 177
ed from the Carajá, some had to make canoes, and 501

/320 cont./

13. Political Conditions.

C 721 Wars seem to have taken place only because of the abduction of women, for it was always reported that the men of the foe were killed, but women and children were brought back to the C 648 village. The position of the Karajá with respect to their neighbors in this respect is the following: with Bororo and southern Kayapó they do not seem to come into contact. With Chavánte battles occurred in which the Karajá always had the greater losses. With the Šavajé of Bananal Island they are on friendly terms, whereas the Canoeiros, likewise on Bananal, are at present their most feared enemies. With the Tapirapé the C 648 [439] Karajá formerly had friendly trade relations; the Karajá furnished iron goods and in return obtained net coverings, bows, stone lip-plugs, food, araras, etc. The Karajá took advantage of the occasion of this trading on a sandbank in the Tapirapé River, far from the village, to lead off in the meantime women and children who were busy in the plantings. The Tapirapé did not know for a long time who was abducting their women. About six or seven years ago the Karajá had again abducted five or six women; on the way home, the latter fled, but the Karajá pursued them and killed all but one who came back to the Tapirapé and reported that the Karajá were the abducters of the women. When, in the following year, the Karajá again undertook their trade journey to the Tapirapé, the latter apparently agreed to the transaction, but then fell upon the Karajá and killed several men. Since then all communication between the two tribes has ceased; the Karajá no longer journey to the trading place and the Tapirapé, too, have moved farther upstream.

C 648 With the northern Kayapó the Karajá likewise seem to live on a hostile footing. I did not hear any reports about former combats. But the antagonistic, rejecting attitude that my Karajá displayed toward the minion Kayapó in Conceição was striking.

T /404 cont./
105 center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language
C differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand
[197] each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé
C seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the
648 Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs,
[439] food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé,
opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the
C Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The
[121] Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret
the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has
been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally
a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago;
C since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far
[129] upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave
women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are
taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and
263 appear here./

C 3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the
162 Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys
T from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than
[142] /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black
T incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b
304 /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).
302

C In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the
439 Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near
126 the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (klíwáà; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method
T of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very
303 regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The
T spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ
283 in any way from those of the Karajá.

T The club (ĩwĩrĩ, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round
411 clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved
and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of
cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the
handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and
depressions.

[TEXT Continues on P. 339]

162 What strikes us in the above table is, on the one hand, the small number of children in relation to adults (18 individuals through 15 years of age and 41 over 15 years of age), and, on the other hand, [165] the brevity of the life span (only ten individuals were over 30). Only one man and one woman were slightly over 40.

According to the reports that I received in October, 1947, from [115] Mr. Valentim Gomes, the man in charge of the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres, and from Father M. H. Lelong at Conceição do Araguaia, the numerical ratios listed above underwent modifications [726] caused by the Kaiapó [Cayapo] attack on Tampiitsúa at the end of August, in the course of which three women were killed and two women and one boy were abducted. Of the 59 individuals examined, therefore, there remained 31 males and 22 females.

[847] Aside from illness, the custom of killing newborn children under certain circumstances contributes to the decimation of the tribe.

Of the changes in Tapirapé culture which occurred since my first 178 visit 12 years ago, I wish to mention primarily the scarcity of 262 vegetable foods. The literature on these peaceful and industrious 241 Tupi Indians contains numerous references to their large plots. I may add that in the quantity and variety of their garden produce they outstripped not only the neighboring tribes but also the frontier people. In 1935, in the months of June to August, I found the village provided abundantly with the most delicious bananas, five varieties of manioc and numerous other tubers, beans, peanuts, and maize. In 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little cará [Tr., a variety of yam], or manioc cake. The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts, for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such [574] a change in the food situation affects the tribal behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality.

It is true that this may also have resulted in part from contact 177 with the neighboring Whites who have settled on the Tapirapé River [648] over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their 177 body is undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. 291 Thus, instead of satisfying the appetites of their Indian visitors, they

177 are compelled to inflict a new need upon them, the purely cultural
291 rather than physical one of covering themselves. In 1935, all Tampiitsúa women went altogether naked. Now, in the presence of the Whites, many of them use rags tied about the waist, and some of them are completely clothed.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the Tapirapé are actually
177 experiencing a shortage of animal foods brought about by their new
262 neighbors. It should be kept in mind that the decrease in the number
[161] of Tampiitsúa inhabitants has been more rapid than the increase in the number of river dwellers. Such complaints as the following [139] were not lacking, however. "Now the Tapirapé only eat small fish, they can no longer eat tucunaré [Tr., large fish], turtles, or turtle eggs."

These words refer to the occupation of the entire river by frontiersmen, who have thus taken over the principal source of animal protein and fats. It is well to keep in mind also that every year during the
[261] dry season, when streams and lakes vanish, the fauna as well as the human beings in the region have to cluster around that watercourse in order to satisfy their thirst and hunger. There is no doubt that the
[136] frontiersmen, by settling permanently in all the habitable places along the river and by becoming increasingly numerous, will continue to deplete the game and fish, which the Indians used to exploit only at
[361] certain times of the year. In any case, the fact that Tampiitsúa has been moved lately farther from the river and farther north seems to prove that the Tapirapé felt threatened by the proximity of the White settlers.

When I ascended the length of the Tapirapé River in a canoe in
311 1935, its banks were uninhabited. There was a single inhabitant at the river mouth, and he manned, so to speak, the most advanced
• 648 post of our civilization. In July, 1947, there were eight houses in Pôrto Velho, which stands more or less at the middle point of the navigable stretch, that is, 15 or 18 leagues from the mouth, and nearly all of their occupants came from the state of Pará and had lived previously at various spots on the Araguaia.

Their settlement, and with it the occupation of the Indian lands, began about five years ago and presents aspects characteristic of the processes that were repeated, with certain variations, throughout the colonization of Brazil. Their leader is a farmer by the name of Lucio

648 Penna da Luz, who lives at Mato Verde, a hamlet established in 1934 on the Mato Grosso side of the Araguaia about 15 leagues above the mouth of the Tapirapé. In the course of time, it became known that it was relatively easy to move cattle from this river to Mato Verde, the land journey from Pôrto Velho being made in a day and a half. Thus, inhabitants of Furo de Pedra and of the mouth of the Tapirapé River ascended this watercourse and settled on its left bank.

When, a few years ago, all regular boat transportation on the middle Araguaia came to a stop after the dissolution of the enterprise that handled the service with motor launches, life in those two locations deteriorated to the point of despair, for there was no longer any outlet for local products. In the entire area, there remained but one man who bought them: Mr. Lúcio. He was and remains the chief supplier of the principal goods needed by the frontiersmen: salt, and some fabric for clothing. Furthermore, he gives them credit. They sell to this man, who owns an outboard motor, a house covered with tiles, and thousands of head of cattle, what little rice and manioc flour they have left over and an occasional cow out of the half dozen that constitute their wealth. They speak well of the man and regard him as their greatest benefactor.

Mutual attraction led Mr. Lucio and his clientele to meet halfway. He set up a ranch on the upper Tapirapé, and the people from the mouth of this river and from Furo de Pedra settled more or less nearby, that is, at Pôrto Velho and inland and up-river from it. As happens to most of the Araguaia settlements, however, the yearly floods trap [149] the new dwellings on the Tapirapé River, so that here too, for months on end, the canoe replaces the horse for visits to neighbors. Naturally, in such an environment, the cultivation of the soil remains quite restricted, and this, incidentally, suits the nomadic bent of these small herders of cattle, who tend to exploit the soil extensively rather than intensively. This type of frontiersman, who originated on the fringes of our society and who has been for centuries the vanguard of our civilization in the penetration of Brazil, proceeds forward, ever forward, leaving behind him the huge empty spaces so characteristic of this country. He calls sertão bruto ["raw wilderness"] the land which is not yet familiar to him and to his fellows, and when he settles upon it, he regards it as his without any qualms. His ethnocentrism prevents him from understanding that the wilderness which has not yet

648 been explored by the Whites nevertheless has its owners. Those owners, that is, the Indians, do not as a rule overstep the boundaries of their own territory and strictly respect adjoining areas unless they intend to make war or to trade. Since ethnocentrism is the very human tendency to regard all things exclusively from the standpoint of one's own people, as though, with their concepts, they were the center of the world, it is not surprising that what seems "raw" to us often is not so to men of another culture. This attitude leads people of limited intellectual horizons, such as the frontiersmen, to regard the differences between themselves and the Indians as so enormous that the latter do not seem to be "people." Taking this as a premise, they act with impeccable logic when they conclude that the land of the aborigines is untenanted. And the authorities who ratify this conclusion prove themselves equally ethnocentric.

Far be it from me to depict the inhabitants of the Tapirapé River as furious invaders. They are humble people, movingly naive, who represent what is conventionally called "good people." It seems that it is not only for reasons of numerical inferiority that they seek peace with the Indians by treating them with kindness. In spite of this, of course, shocks are unavoidable. There are encounters where no blood is shed. Economic interests are met in the hunting and fishing zone of the Tapirapé, and the latter are deprived of protein. The interests which spread gonorrhea among the Karajá [Caraja] are of a different sort. In both cases, however, the Indians concerned are so pleasant that these encounters, in spite of their baleful consequences for the tribes concerned, are at worst "mild shocks" to the frontiersmen as compared with those they suffered from Indians of quite a different temper, namely, the Kaiapó and Chavante.

These Chavante and Kaiapó are Gê Indians, that is, they belong to the large group of tribes that offered greater resistance and gave greater frights to the White intruders than most other Brazilian Indians. They usually find the clash of solid clubs preferable to idle talk. [101] Tapirapé territory is wedged in between them. The northern Kaiapó are feared more than the Chavante, and in fact the number of their victims is larger than that of the strangers who lost their lives in [726] Chavante territory. Furthermore, the Kaiapó not only march on the Araguaia to do away with the frontiersmen and their houses, but also march south and attack Tampiitsua, as I shall mention later.

648 [141] The superiority complex, a characteristic product of ethnocentrism, is not lacking among the new inhabitants of the Tapirapé River. These people, who are called caboclo [backwoodsmen] by the city dwellers of Rio and São Paulo, in turn call the Indians by this term, thus following the custom of the north Brazilians. To us, caboclo is the man who goes barefoot. To those shoeless frontiersmen, however, caboclo is the man who does not even bother to wear pants. Although pants and shoes delimit the cultural distance that separates them from the Indians on the one hand and from us on the other hand, there is one fact that marks them as members of our society and of no other. These poor conquerors of the unknown are not exempt from taxes. They have to pay them in heads of cattle.

Concerning this, one should mention the historic settlement of São José, an aggregation of about 30 houses, swarming with disease and misery, located at one of the most beautiful spots on the Araguaia. The inhabitants pay taxes of various sorts and say that the government does nothing for them. They pay a school tax, for example, but they have no school. Our companion, Dr. Haroldo Cândido de Oliveira, was the first doctor to visit them in 20 years. When the launch of the Indian Service goes by, these forlorn inhabitants of Goiás get a few medicines.

What would contribute to the frontiersman's feeling of superiority over the Indian, however, aside from the pants and the taxes, the taxes which enable him to belong to the capitalist world? Rifles are already found among the Karajá. And the Indians of the Araguaia are better fed, wash more often, and, as disclosed by the medical examination, suffer less from malaria and enjoy better general health than the so-called "civilized people" around them, who are for the most part, incidentally, Negroes and mulattoes. As an ethnocentric man, however, the frontiersman regards everything that differs from his own culture as inferior. The cultural differences between him and the Indian extend so thoroughly to every aspect of life, moreover, that they almost conceal the similarities caused by the identical geographical environment and by the fact that both groups belong to the same human species. Such tasty Indian dishes as the peanut, [262] maize, and manioc soups, masticated by the women to saccharify [252] them with the saliva, are, to the frontiersman, "filthy stuff" from which he turns in disgust. Tapirapé houses, covered with palm and

648 [342] Tapirapé houses, covered with palm and "wild banana" leaves, a sturdy protection against heat, cold, and rain, are worth nothing in the eyes of those who own earthen walls. The language which they do not understand seems as ugly to them as all the strange customs seem ridiculous or horrifying, be they facial painting, masked dances, or the practices of the sorcerers--medicine men. This does not prevent them from being no less "primitive" than the Indians in certain aspects of their material culture. In Pôrto Velho, for example, a family from Conceição used a tree trunk with hollowed-out steps as a ladder, thus resembling in this respect the Oiampi [Oyampi] Indians of Guiana who reach their raised houses by similar contraptions.

726 Retreating before the White intruders with the transfer of Tampiitsua, the Tapirapé fell once more into the hands of that neighbor who has probably been for centuries the Number One enemy of their tribe. In 1935 they had already shown their fear openly at night, asking me not to let go of my revolver when I lay down in my net so as to be ready to defend them from the Kaiapó, who [142] had attacked and destroyed another village of theirs three years earlier and killed most of its inhabitants. When I reached Pôrto Velho last July, the same preoccupation had seized the frontiersmen. They spoke of the nearness of the Kaiapó in the same terms as it had been mentioned 12 years earlier in Tampiitsua. These rumors were confirmed by the presence of three families who had come from the plains near Conceição do Araguaia. They said that they had left it only out of fear of those Indians, who had killed seven persons in the previous year.

Unfortunately, the expected danger was not imaginary. A few weeks after our last visit, the Kaiapó attacked Tampiitsua. Details [115] of this tragic occurrence are related in a letter I received from Father [648] M. H. Lelong (1). In it we read that the village was sacked and burned [727]

1. Conceição do Araguaia, 11 October 1947

Dear Professor:

I am the Frenchman you met on the Araguaia as you went up from the Tapirapé toward Leopoldina.

I know how interested you were in this small group of attractive Indians, and thus, after arriving at Conceição the day before yesterday, I hasten to send you the news, which is very sad.

726 During the last days of August, Cayapo warriors--Gorotirés evidently--attacked the Tapirapé village while all the men were at Lake Tucunaré. Only the women, children, and the old man Camaraé were left. They killed two women and a young girl: Eirõa, wife of Tampiri, Amoou, wife of Perera, and Tamamãtchoa, and abducted a woman, a young girl, and a small boy: Iparénahí, wife of Camaraé, Amarai, daughter of Pereira, and Uãcuré, son of Eirõa (please excuse the transcription of these Tupy [Tupi] words). The old man shot his arrows, and the Cayapo "braves" fled after burning down two houses. [648] Father Palha and I found the frightened population at Pôrto Velho, where they had sought refuge, lacking everything, hungry, disheartened. In short, a heart-rending sight similar to what I have seen in Europe. We convinced the Tapirapés to go to their village. The women were afraid and tried to dissuade the men. Seven left with us, and four stuck it out to the end. We found this charming little village, which you were the last to visit along with Dr. Haroldo, savagely looted. We brought back the cudgels that were used in the slaughter. I shall describe them to you and give you many other details of this event. The Cayapos had returned that very morning to continue the looting. Unfortunately, we did not come upon them. We remained one day and one night. The three Tapirapés took up a load of cotton and flour (they have no more hammocks and suffer a great deal) and set fire to their village to prevent the enemy from utilizing it further. It was rather tragic. We returned to Pôrto Velho. They intend to settle [166] a few leagues from São João. I saw the large 648 plots of these good, industrious, peaceful

648 people, and it is a pity. Ten armed men would suffice to clear the territory of these assassins, but no one does anything about it. I shall leave in three or four days for Maraba, where I shall catch the plane. I hope to proceed directly to São Paulo, where I shall promptly look you up to see whether it would be possible to obtain urgent help for these poor Tapirapés.

I hope to see you soon and send you, esteemed Professor, my sincerest regards.

(S) M. H. Lelong, O.P.

[Translated from French.]

648 727 and that the survivors sought refuge in Pôrto Velho, where they lack foodstuffs, sleeping hammocks, cotton to make new hammocks, agricultural tools, and kitchen implements (2).

2. I have omitted those parts of my report in which I emphasized the need to send help to the survivors. The man who saved them was Mr. Lucio Penna da Luz, who gave them shelter and food. In September, 1948, Mr. Harald Schultz, Assistant in Ethnology at the São Paulo Museum, found the majority of them living in sheds at the São Pedro ranch, the property of Mr. Lucio, located on the right bank of the Tapirapé.

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648 An urgent measure to be taken is the establishment of a post on the upper Tapirapé River. Up to now, the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres [143], located at the mouth of that river, was intended to protect the Tapirapé Indians. It turned out to be inadequate for the purpose because it was too far removed from the habitat of the tribe. On the other hand, as early as 1942, when I commented on the attempts to resettle the Tapirapé at that spot on the Araguaia, I called attention to the fact that "the immediate and continuous contact of these Indians with the most varied representatives of our civilization, which would be inevitable if the above-mentioned project were to be

•648 carried out, would bring about the certain annihilation of this peaceful Tupi tribe" (Sociologia, Vol. 4, p. 407). In this respect, indeed, the Tapirapé are unlike the true masters of the Araguaia, namely, the Karajá, who have been in contact with the Whites for centuries and who have seemingly developed, at least to some extent, a certain physical and mental resistance to them.

The impracticality of settling the Tapirapé at the mouth of the river of the same name does not imply the abandonment of the Heloisa Alberto Torres post. This post is indispensable not only to protect the northern Karajá group that is settled there and the other groups living down the Araguaia, but also to control the entrance to the Tapirapé River.

As a location for the future protective post of the Tapirapé, I would suggest the spot on the left bank called Pôrto Frederico by the frontiersmen in memory of my traveling companion of 1935, a British missionary who built a shelter there. It is located on a steep bank half a league from São Domingos, the spot where the Dominicans from Conceição do Araguaia usually land on their apostolic journeys. It is the last place where it is possible to moor a boat on the navigable stretch, for there is a waterfall not far above it. Here the trail begins, [487] perhaps several centuries old, that connects the river with the great forest inhabited by the Tapirapé from distant times, the edge of which may be reached in one day on foot or horseback during the dry season. A canoe with a motor at the stern takes two days, traveling from morning to nightfall, from Pôrto Frederico down to the mouth of the river, and usually takes no longer going up since the current is weak. Pôrto Velho is reached similarly in one day.

Apparently, Mr. Lucio Penna da Luz also noticed the advantages of Pôrto Frederico. When we arrived there on July 17, 1947, we found two families of vaqueros who had arrived on the previous day. On the orders of that rancher, they had already erected the framework of their future dwelling and they were preparing palm leaves to cover it. They explained that they had come to set up a ranch on these lands, and that their master intended to establish yet another one up-river, so that the entire margin of the Tapirapé River which has belonged so far to the Indians of the same name would now be occupied.

An Indian post established at Pôrto Frederico or its vicinity would not serve only to guard the territory set aside for the Tapirapé and to

648 offer them a refuge in case of northern Kaiapó advances or attacks. It might also preclude the entry of adventurers into the lands to the south and west, which are assumed to be inhabited by the Akué-Chavante and by the Tupi tribe of the Ampaneá (in this respect, cf. my works, "Uma ponte etnográfica entre o Xingu e o Araguaia, [An ethnographic bridge between the Xingu and the Araguaia]," [113] Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 43, São Paulo, 1938, and "Os Tapirapé, tribo tupi no Brasil Central [The Tapirapé, a Tupi tribe of Central Brazil]," ibid., Vol. 100, São Paulo, 1945).

[911] [144] Since the Tapirapé are traditionally forest Indians, we must consider the possibility of establishing the new post in the vicinity of the recently burned village, that is, at the edge of the great forest. I regard this possibility as extremely slight owing to the difficulties of communication during the yearly floods that cover the savanna and the forest ground.

Another possible way of protecting the Tapirapé would be to gather them into a post to be established on Bananal Island. The advantage here would be their localization in a Federal territory intended exclusively as a reservation for the local Indians and more easily accessible than the upper Tapirapé River. On the other hand, this very accessibility might make it difficult to preserve the tribe as an ethnic entity. In addition, the following factors must be con-
131 sidered: although some Tapirapé groups, according to certain sources,
182 lived for a while on Bananal Island more than 100 years ago, everything indicates that the bulk of the tribe has lived in its present habitat since the eighteenth century (cf. my study of this question in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 98, São Paulo, 1944), and the Tapirapé, therefore, are physically and culturally adapted to this environment and capable of preserving their culture within it. It should
619 be added that in this case, also, the contact between the inhabitants of
166 Tampiitáua and Txitxutáua would be retained, and with it the possibility of marrying outside the village or moving from one village to the other as a result of disappointments, political factors, etc. (1).

648 1. In a report on his visit to the Tapirapé that
166 took place in September, 1948, Mr. Harald Schultz tells me that "none of the Tapirapé like the idea of being transferred to a spot near

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Conceição do Araguaia, as was Father Luiz Palha's plan." He says that these Indians wish to build a village near the houses of the above-mentioned São Pedro ranch, on the right margin of the Tapirapé, and he adds: "If the Indian Service is not in a position to establish a post for the Tapirapé Indians, it would be worth studying the possibility of entrusting Mr. Lucio da Luz with their protection. Mr. Lucio da Luz is a man of great means, and he would not be primarily interested in the meager wages of a man-in-charge or whatever he might be to those Indians, but would do this rather out of the humanitarian feelings which he seems to possess."

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Whatever the case may be, there are three basic needs to be considered in any resettlement of the Tapirapé: 1) the existence of an extensive forest adequate for the large gardens of this essentially farming tribe; 2) the exclusion of all representatives of our civilization who are not employees of the Indian Service, anthropologists, or physicians associated with the Service; 3) the exclusion of members of other aboriginal tribes.

I believe that Father Lelong is correct when he writes in his letter with reference to the Kaiapó who invaded Tapirapé territory: "Ten armed men would suffice to clear the territory of these assassins." These ten men, however, should be under the orders of the Indian Service so as to catch the culprits in the slaughter without shedding blood and take them to the idyllic penitentiary established at the Indian post of Icatu in the state of São Paulo. One of the most urgent tasks is unquestionably the lasting pacification of the northern Kaiapó who, unlike the Akué-Chavante, have the habit of leaving the traditional boundaries of their territory to attack harmless neighbors (cf. what I wrote about this in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 102, São Paulo, 1945, pp. 123-130).

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



against the supposed menace and to kill the shaman who is suspected of having become an evil sorcerer.

Though, also as regards the institution of shamanism, fear works out as a factor of socialization by exercising the dangers to the tribal life, we cannot say the same about the fear which produces in many Tapirapé a disposition to adapt themselves complacently to the white man. During my stay in 1935, in the village called Tampiitawa, I could distinguish clearly between the great group of timorous people led by Kamairahó who received with open arms all that came from our civilization, and a smaller group composed of decided and valorous people who didn't want anything to do with us. So there were two opposite trends in their "foreign policy" and consequently germs of tribal disintegration.

Of the direct causes of fear I want to mention the following: The Tapirapé were alarmed by my fury when I saw a man whipping his wife. To relate this case means to confess a most ethnocentric and therefore in no way ethnological behaviour. But I think that in order to be an ethnologist it is necessary to be able not to be an ethnologist in certain situations. At noon on July 15 I see that behind the house in which I was living with Kamairahó and thirty other Indians, the athletic Inamoréo, nearly twenty-two years old, is beating a woman. With a cane and the blade of his bush-knife he is whipping his wife. She is so small and tender that she seems to be a child in spite of being perhaps twenty years old. I run towards the couple to interfere. The little woman is weeping despairingly, but doesn't go away. The man tries to tug her towards the house which is their house and mine also. She struggles. There he enters the house. Finally she follows. I enter also. The man holds the knife. I have nothing in my hands, but I am bound by my upbringing; I am the weapon of my culture and my culture is my weapon. I say to Inamoréo that people do not beat a woman like a dog. (I refer to this animal because frequently, among the Tapirapé, it can only thus be prevented from eating the people's food.) Inamoréo pronounces insults and his wife sobs. Now I explain to all the people present that beating a woman is a bad thing. Later, when I am sitting together with Kamairahó and his wife, I tell them that if a white man should whip his wife, another white man would kill him with a revolver. Jokingly I add: "If you, Kamairahó, beat your wife, I have to kill you with my revolver." With these words I go away.

After a while Kamairahó passed me with a depressed face. I ask him: "Where are you going?" Without smiling he answers: "I am afraid of you." I embrace him, I kiss him impetuously in the Tapirapé manner, that is, rubbing my nose against his nose; but all this is in vain. He waits patiently until I let him go, continues walking, and tells the men and women whom he is passing that he is afraid of me, the white man who kills those who beat women. May I observe here that I always went around without a weapon among the Tapirapé, keeping the revolver, as Kamairahó knew, in my hammock hanging close to his hammock, and even there the revolver was at hand only to be at the disposal of the same Kamairahó in order to protect him against the event of nocturnal attack by the Kayapó Indians, the most terrible neighbours. Kamairahó enters his house and immediately from there sounds an agitated and long talk. With the speed of lightning the news spreads through the village that Kamairahó is afraid of me and is lying in his hammock and that I would kill with a revolver the husbands who whip their wives. A middle-aged woman joins me, saying: "I am afraid of you." I assure her again that I am not bad, that, on the con-

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



tury, I am good, and in order to demonstrate it, I embrace cordially a man on her side so that I don't need to embrace her. And I say to my English companion who at this moment joins me: "Certain research-workers who were killed by the Indians with whom they lived, as, for instance, Boggiani among the Chamokoko, were murdered only through fear." At that instant, as if he had understood my words, the man I have just embraced asks me if the Shavante really have killed the white man by the name of Father John and if they have murdered him with a club. I don't know from where the Tapirapé had received this information and if his question represented a reaction or only conversation. What I know is that the man couldn't have understood my comment about the murders through fear.

An hour later I see Kamairahó going to the brook carrying two calabash rattles which he had obtained from the Karajá neighbours, but never used. I follow him and ask him what he intends to do with the rattles. He explains that they are dirty and that he wants to clean them with water, and adds: "When you go away and I remain here, the rattles will go with you." He continues with a mournful face. Besides, everyone looks sad, and when I enter our hut, I am not received as usual with the friendly exclamation: "You arrive!" But, looking to this or that person, I immediately receive a polite smile. Even at night Kamairahó says to the Englishman that he is still afraid of me, and when my companion reassures him, confirming the jocose character of my threat, he is invited immediately by Kamairahó to eat bananas and by other inhabitants of the house to have kasi, a fermented drink, in payment for this consolation. Meanwhile Inamoréo, who had beaten his wife, has already gone peacefully to sleep with her in the hammock and explains later that he whipped her only with the arrow—which is not true. I invite Kamairahó for a dinner of deer. He eats well, but with a sad face complaining of a headache. He receives aspirin.

It is necessary to consider that the fear described above may have been caused less by the threat with the revolver than by the agitated manner with which I expressed my indignation and which contrasts with Tapirapé behaviour. Even Kamairahó's wife, who used to quarrel much, always pronounced insults in a monotonous voice and with apparent calm, quite different, for instance, from the Karajá women who shout without reserve. But it may be mentioned that the Tapirapé were also afraid of the Englishman when a woman had stolen a great quantity of kitchen oil from him, putting it in her hair, and when dogs of the village tore his towel to pieces. And my companion was less explosive than I!

Graver causes of fear are the Kayapó attacks. I have already mentioned that, on account of these, I was asked to sleep armed. When a rumour maker is talking about the approach of these Indians, all the village is immediately alarmed. And there are reasons for this, because in 1947, soon after my second visit to the Tapirapé, these warlike neighbours assaulted the village, plundered it, and burned it, killing and kidnapping women.

Fear was produced also by the eclipse of the moon on 15th of June, 1935. When at night I was awakened with the words "chahy vuy" "moon blood," all the people were dejected and the men were talking only in low tones. Really, the moon appears dark red like coagulated blood. Next day everybody was still preoccupied with the phenomenon, considering it a bad omen of carnage.

But while the eclipse was an uncommon cause of fear, there were other causes in every moment and in any place, for the Tapirapé lives surrounded by malevolent spirits. Here is the so-called "imaginary fear" regarding which Mira y López[9] observes that "even the bravest warriors, able to throw themselves

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



152 in the open against a rampart of fire or lances, recede terrified in view of the
775 suspicion of a tenuous and invisible enemy." In fact, the Tapirapé who opposes
[761] the jaguar with only bow and club as I had occasion to observe, and who is not afraid of dying, as they frequently assured me, is terrified by the presence of the souls of the dead and of other bad beings. It is not only the soul of a dead shaman which causes fear. I knew a kind father who became afraid of the soul of his beloved little child when this was deceased. And whoever is not a shaman feels a dread of dreaming while asleep, because during the dream he has to travel through the dangerous supernatural world. And not infrequently boys who wanted to drink water at night in the nearby brook asked me to go with them, because a ghost had been seen taking a bath. Unfortunately, whenever I arrived, the well-scrubbed ghost had already gone away. Frequently the boys sang loudly when going to the brook at night in order to calm their fear as I have observed in Europe when children went for something in a dark cellar.

123 Although the Tapirapé didn't react in any way against the fear produced by
152 the eclipse, they were not always so passive as regards the fear caused by the
648 white men, the Kayapó, and the spirits. When my English companion fell ill, they didn't hesitate in demanding his departure, and when a little girl of the house where I was living fell sick, all the people around me wore a threatening air as if I had been the magic author of the disease. The fear inspired by the Kayapó was combated not only by the Tapirapé holding clubs during the nocturnal collective dances, but also by their parodying their neighbours by a pantomime which represented a supposed attack against peaceful tribesmen.
[514] The fear of the spirits gives not only great prestige to the shaman, official protector against them, but also puts in the hand of every Tapirapé a torch which he agitates without interruption if by night he has to go out of the house in order to relieve himself.

152 So far the frightened Tapirapé also, life is struggle, action and reaction, fear
157 and wrath. And this fearful people is the gayest I ever found in my life, and Kamairabó, the pessimist who more than anyone declared himself to be afraid, had a glad smile on his face everytime when I saw him awake in the morning.

*São Paulo, Brazil.*

## Notes

113 1. Cf. Herbert Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*. S. Paulo, 1937, pp. 156–158.
2. Ashley Montagu: *The Natural Superiority of Women*. London, 1954, p. 92.
3. Emilio Mira y López: *Quatro gigantes da alma*. 3a. edição, Rio de Janeiro, 1955, pp. 39–40.
4. Cf. Herbert Baldus: Os Tapirapé. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, 110: 192, 1946. S. Paulo.
5. Cf. Amilcar A. Botelho de Magalhães: *Pelas matas do Brasil*, 2a. edição, S. Paulo, 1941, pp. 497–498; Martin Gusinde: *Die Feuerlandindianer, I: Die Selk'nam*, Mödling bei Wien, 1931, pp. 456–458.
6. Cf. Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, p. 86.
7. Xamanismo tapirapé (Tapirapé Shamanism), *Boletim do Museu Nacional*, n.s., Antropologia, 3: 79, 1943. Rio de Janeiro.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

# WORLD VIEW OF THE TAPIRAPE INDIANS

By Charles Wagley

The Tapirape live in Central Brazil north of the Tapirape River, a western affluent of the Araguaya River. They are a Tupi-speaking people isolated from other peoples speaking the same language. Culturally they are related more closely to the Tupi-speaking people of the coast than to those of the head waters of the Xingu River. The only peoples with whom they have had contacts within historic times are their northern neighbors, the Gês-speaking Northern Kayapo and the Carajá (including the Javahe branch) of the Araguaya. Because of hostility with both these neighboring peoples, the Tapirape have withdrawn farther from the Araguaya and have contacts at present with the Carajá only through occasional European visitors. Introduced disease, acquired from these visitors and earlier from the Carajá, have reduced the Tapirape from five large villages (originally more than two hundred per village) to one with less than 150 people. Contacts with Europeans, however, have been short and few, leaving the Tapirape aboriginal culture little changed.

According to Tapirape tradition, they came to their present home from the north and east.[1] One group of them lived on the Araguaya and for a time shared a common village with the Javahe branch of the Carajá. The Tapirape are traditionally interested in country to the east, not to the west. It is to the east that Maratawa, the "home of the gods," lies, and in this direction, too, is the home of two legendary peoples: the Wanchira, a cannibalistic tribe which are a famous mythical ancestor of the Tapirape, and the "other Tapirape," speaking the same language and sharing the same culture. East of the Araguaya River there is said to be another large river and great mountains where various supernaturals live.

Formerly, Tapirape who were captives of the Carajá returned to tell of that country and people, and in modern times Tapirape have visited both Carajá and Kayapo, as well as various Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya. No foreign or hostile tribes prevent them from wandering westward into the open country toward the Xingu River, but it is a region of little interest to them, and they never travel far in this direction. Of the Xingu River and people, they know only what Brazilian visitors have told

[1] According to Métraux, the Tapirape were known to have been on the Araguaya as early as the 18th century. He believes the Tapirape to be fugitives from the coast of Brazil, probably from the vicinity of Rio, possibly from the Tamoyo. Certainly they came from the east, but my material points to a migration from the northeast rather than from the southeast, as would be the case if migration had been from the forests of Rio. Métraux, Alfred, Migrations Historiques des Tupi-Guarani, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N.S.* 19, 24 (1927).

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
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contact and to revive, or which led to quasi — or total extinction of a people may also be found in the culture and the society of peoples concerned. Each culture has a population policy — — — an implicit or explicit set of cultural values relating to population size. The social structure of each society is closely inter-related with a specific population level. A modification of the external environment, such as that brought about by contact with Europeans, generally calls for change both in cultural values as well as in social structure. In addition to environment, technology, and other material factors, cultural values and social structure act also to determine population size and demographic trends in face of modified external circumstances. A rapid decrease in population due to new disease or an increase in population resulting from an increased food supply calls for adjustments in population policy (implicit or explicit) and in social structure. It is the purpose of the present paper to examine the relationship between these social and cultural factors and the population trends following European contact of two Tupi speaking tribes of Brazil.

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The two Tupi speaking tribes in question are the Tenetehara of northeastern Brazil and the Tapirapé of central Brazil. (2) After more than 300 years of contact with Luso-Brazilians the Tenetehara in 1945 still numbered some 2000 people —— not much less, if at all, than the aboriginal population. On the other hand, by 1947 the Tapirapé with less than forty years of sporadic and peaceful contact with Luso-Brazilians had been reduced to less than one hundred people, the remnant of an aboriginal population which must have numbered more than one thousand. While the Tenetehara still maintained a functioning social system and continued as a distinct ethnic group, Tapirapé society was in 1947 almost totally disorganized and the Tapirapé as a distinct people were clearly on the road to extinction. (3)

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A partial answer to this very different reaction to Luso-Brazilian contact may be found in the nature of the acculturation process which each has experienced. Although the first decades of Tenetehara relations with Europeans were marked by slave raids, massacres, and epidemics, the protection of the Jesuits during more than one century (1653-1759) seems to have given the Tenetehara time to make adjustments in their culture and society to changing external circumstances. The missionaries were able to prevent the movement of colonists into Tenetehara territory; and after the expulsion

(2) Basic description of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara have been published elsewhere; Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1948 A, 1948 B, and 1949. Baldus, 1937, 1944-1948, 1948 B, 1949 BB, Ma. Only directly pertinent descriptive data is present in this paper.

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(3) Cf. Wagley (1948) and Baldus (1948 vol. CIII, 1948 B, 1949 B), for discussion of Tapirapé depopulation and disorganization. Baldus (1948 B) pp. 137-138, who found the village called Tampitéua inhabited by 130 individuals in 1938, and only 63 in 1947, mentions that during this lapse of time several inhabitants had emigrated to another Tapirapé village very far from Tampitéua, but that their number seems to be lower than the number of those who came from there to Tampitéua. According to information received by this author, the other village is smaller than Tampitéua, so that in 1947 the whole tribe probably counted less than a hundred members. In the same year, shortly after Baldus' visit, the Tapirapé were attacked by Karajá Indians and lost several individuals.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
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of the Jesuits in 1759, the increased importation of African slaves into Maranhão eased the pressure for Indian slaves. Close relations with the missionaries, and later with the civil authorities and the rural Luso-Brazilian population, presented the Tenetehara with new culture patterns, new attitudes which either replaced aboriginal elements or were incorporated in their culture as alternative patterns. The missionaries urged larger families in order to have numerous innocents to baptize. Warfare was prohibited in the area. (4) The Tenetehara learned that children might be useful in collecting babassu nuts for sale to Luso-Brazilians. Steel instruments and new plants (such as rice, bananas, lemons, etc.) made agriculture more productive. The sale of babassu nuts, copaiba oil, and other forest products brought the Tenetehara imported products. Although Tenetehara culture and society were modified, the aboriginal and the borrowed elements slowly combined to form a new culture and a new social system which at least met the minimum requirements for survival.

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The Tapirapé, on the other hand, have had only intermittent contact with Luso-Brazilians. Since about 1911, the Tapirapé have had occasional contact with Luso-Brazilians. A few Tapirapé have visited Luso-Brazilian settlements and missionary stations on the Araguaya River and a few Luso-Brazilians have visited Tapirapé villages. Tapirapé contact with Luso-Brazilians has been limited to relatively short periods and to small groups of people. They have acquired a few axes, hoes, some salt, cloth, beads and other material objects from their occasional visitors but, on the whole, their culture was little modified by borrowed patterns and elements from Luso-Brazilians. Yet the presence of Luso-Brazilians brought about a crucial modification in their environment. With the arrival of Luso-Brazilians in the area, the Tapirapé were subjected to a series of foreign diseases. If the memory of older Tapirapé informants may be trusted, foreign disease (common colds, measles, and smallpox) came at first via the neighboring Karajá sometime before their first meeting with Luso-Brazilians. Since about 1911 to 1914, however foreign disease acquired directly from Luso-Brazilians, has steadily decimated the Tapirapé. Unlike the Tenetehara, before the Tapirapé were presented with a broad segment of Luso-Brazilian culture, which might have provided them with alternative patterns and values with which they might have made adjustments to their new circumstances, they have been practically wiped out.

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Still, the difference in population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact of these two tribes cannot be explained entirely in terms of the differences in the contact continuum. The first fifty years of contact between the Tenetehara and Europeans was more violent than anything the Tapirapé have experienced. In the early 17th century organized slave raiding parties penetrated into Tenetehara territory and armed forces such as the one led

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(4) There are no indications that the Tenetehara shared the warfare-cannibalism complex of the Tupinambá, but the lower reaches of the Mearim-Grajaú-Pindaré River system and the Island of Maranhão at its mouth were inhabited by Tupinambá groups. Métraux (1948) p. 95 ff. See also Fernandes (1949).

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# THE TAPIRAPÉ

By Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvão

## INTRODUCTION

Isolated from other *Tupi-Guarani*-speaking people, the *Tapirapé* live in Central Brazil, west of the Araguaya River and north of the Tapirapé River, a western tributary flowing into the Araguaya near the northern tip of the Island of Bananal (lat. 2° S., long. 52° W.). According to tradition, the *Tapirapé* lived for a time on the banks of the Araguaya and Javahé Rivers with the *Carajá*. They quarreled, and the *Tapirapé* moved west to their present territory (map 1, *No. 1;* see Volume 1, map 7). At the beginning of last century, five *Tapirapé* villages formed a line stretching northward into *Cayapó* country beginning at a point a few miles back from the Tapirapé River about 150 miles from its mouth. The *Tapirapé* have always been at war with the *Cayapó*, except for a brief period. Each of these villages contained at least 200 individuals with a total *Tapirapé* population of about 1,000. Since 1900, however, there has been a terrific reduction of *Tapirapé* population.

In 1939, there was only one remaining *Tapirapé* village situated about 20 miles north of the Tapirapé River with a total population of 147 people. This decline in population is basically due to disease (smallpox, respiratorial diseases, etc.) acquired either directly from Neo-Brazilians or from the *Carajá*, who are continually in contact with Neo-Brazilians. *Tapirapé* groups have been also massacred on several occasions by both the *Carajá* and *Cayapó*.

The *Tapirapé* have had but few contacts, however, with Neo-Brazilians. Except for the demoralizing effect of depopulation, their culture has been little modified. Although stories are told of Neo-Brazilian hunters visiting the *Tapirapé* in 1909, the first registered contact with them was in 1912. During that year, Señor Mandacurú, leading an expedition of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service, visited the village nearest the Tapirapé River. In 1914, the Dominican priests visited the *Tapirapé*. From that date on, the Dominicans returned each year or so to a camp on the Tapirapé River for 3 or 4 days at a time and were met by the *Tapirapé*, to whom they distributed trade goods. About 1934, a Protestant missionary, Frederick Kiegel, made several trips, staying 2 or 3 months in a *Tapirapé* village. In 1935, the first trained ethnologist, Dr. Herbert Baldus, resided several months with the *Tapirapé*, and in 1939–40, Wagley spent 12 months with them making the study on which this article is based.

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Champukwi on the Trip to Furo do Pedro.

of my life, a feeling that was shared, I believe, by Valentim Gomes and by Champukwi.

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Champukwi adjusted to Furo do Pedro with amazing rapidity. His short visit as a youth to the mission station undoubtedly contributed to his quick adaptation although, to be sure, there were minor problems and incidents. The Brazilians of Furo de Pedro were accustomed to Indians, for nearby there was a village of semi-civilized Caraja Indians who frequently visited and traded in the settlement. Yet, Champukwi was a bit of a curiosity—the townspeople had seen only one other Tapirapé. The local Brazilians invited him into their homes and offered him coffee and sweets. Both Valentim Gomes and I watched over his movements with all the anxiety of overprotective parents for fear that he might be exposed to a respiratory infection (he did not contract *any*) or that the hospitality of the local Brazilians might persuade him to drink cachaça (sugar cane *aguardiente*). Alcoholic beverages were unknown to the Tapirapé who are unlike most South American groups in this respect.

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13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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in this respect. According to Champukwi's own report, he tried cachaça only once in Furo de Pedra and (quite normally) found it distasteful and unpleasant. Yet there were moments that were awkward at the time however humorous they seem in retrospect. One day when I bought several dozen oranges in the street, Champukwi calmly removed the trousers that had been provided for him and made a sack to carry home the oranges by tying up the legs. In Furo de Pedra, he often went nude in the house we had rented for our stay. Even the Brazilian woman who came to prepare our meals became more or less accustomed to his nakedness, but sometimes he forgot to dress before sallying forth into the street. The rural Brazilian diet, derived in large measure from native Indian foods, seemed to please Champukwi, but he could not be comfortable eating at the table. He preferred during meals to sit across the room on a low stool.

Champukwi's reaction to this rural form of Brazilian civilization was not childlike in any way. He in turn became an ethnologist. He wanted to see the gardens that provided the food for so many people (Furo de Pedra had hardly more than 400 people at that time). He was fascinated by the sewing machines with which he saw the women working. He attended the Catholic ceremonies held in the little chapel. He saw pairs of men and women dance face to face in semblance of an intimate embrace. About these and other strange customs he had many questions. But like the inquisitive anthropologist who had come to live in his village, his own curiosity sometimes became obtrusive. He peered into the homes of people and sometimes entered uninvited. And he followed the Brazilian women to their rather isolated bathing spot in the Araguaia River to discover if there were any anatomical differences between these women and those in his village. He even made sexual advances to Brazilian women, actions which, if he had known, were very dangerous in view of the jealous zeal with which Brazilian males protect the honor of their wives and daughters. On the whole, however, Champukwi became quite a favorite of the local Brazilians during his two week visit to Furo de Pedra. His Portuguese improved while he visited in their homes, and he collected simple presents, such as fish hooks, bottles, tin cans, and the like, to take home with him. Even during this short period away from the village, my work with him continued. He told me of antagonisms, gossip, and schisms in the

To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *Iwiterahé*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of

264 however, is totally different from that of the tãtãupãũa. It is not a
476 group organization for consumption, but for production. For this reason, also, the feasts in specific groups associated with this institution are merely accessory.

The social significance of apatxirũ resides in the possibility of sharing a collective task in such a way that no member of the tribe will
[461] feel discredited by an unfair assignment. This is done by turning work into a festive occasion and a sports competition.

"When there is a lot of water everywhere in the rainy season, the
[776] ãũvanaĩ 'shadows' live in the takãna. Their headdress and breechcloth
[291] are of muriti leaves, but their headdress does not have any macaw
[535] feathers. [96] They dance through the entire rainy season. At that time, there are no other 'shadows' (antxĩna) but them. Unlike other 'shadows,' these do not live in the hills or in the waters, but only in the takãna. They do not sing, but only grunt in a low voice. During
[261] the moons of the great rains, the belly does not get as full as during the dry season. But the ãũvanaĩ have to eat. Then they go to the gardens and 'steal.' They take what they stole to the takãna, where they eat it. In the apatxirũ, we prepare the gardens where they seek their food. They 'steal' only from those gardens that are prepared for them alone. The ãũvanaĩ are not evil. All Tapirapé men are ãũvanaĩ.

Such is, in summary, the information I received when I asked the purpose of the common gardens prepared in the apatxirũ.

For the apatxirũ, all Tapirapé men are divided into three work-groups called vuĩra. The word vuĩra means "bird," and the name of
[551] each group designates a mythical bird which is represented not only by the group as a whole but by each of its individual members. They are called Tãnãvẽ, Anantxã, and Vuirantxinió.

The Tãnãvẽ group was the smallest one at the time of my visit,
[624] but it included the individuals of highest social status: the principal chief, Kamairahó; the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ´; the chief and most
[123] eminent sorcerer--medicine man, Urukumĩ´; and myself. (Naturally, Kamairahó stated immediately that I would be a Tãnãvẽ like himself.)

[97] Each of the three work groups has two leaders called ãmaĩva.
264 The ãmaĩva of the Tãnãvẽ were Vũãtanamĩ´ and Urukumĩ´. (Although
622 Kamairahó was also a Tãnãvẽ, he seemed to be the head of all three
476 groups in his capacity as principal chief. He is also the only one whose
● 651 private plot is prepared by the village inhabitants as a collective endeavor, while the private plots of other tribal members are prepared

only by their respective owners. I do not know, however, whether the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the preparation of the principal chief's garden.)

The ãntaiva of the Anantxã were the chief Tanupantxóa and Vuĩraí, and those of the Vuirantxinió were the chief Kamairá and the sorcerer--medicine man Maninohó.

In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were called Vuanankóra, Vuirantxína, and Vuĩrantxinoí. The last one is now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tãnãvé or Anantxã belong to the first one, and the sons of the Vuirantxinió to the second one. The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were Vuirantxinió. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work-group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution, for "the women and girls stay home when the men do collective work."

[ 98] They say that each apatxirũ group has its specific ornament for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I was not with the Tapirapé. The Tãnãvé wear three large red macaw feathers hanging from the head onto the back. The Anantxã also wear three large macaw feathers in the same fashion, but two are from the blue and yellow macaw and only the middle one is red; in addition, they wear on their arms the white breast fluff of the king vulture. The Vuirantxinió are not differentiated from the Tãnãvé. The Vuanankóra wear smaller red feathers from the tail of the macaw, hanging from the head onto the back. The Vuirantxína are similarly adorned and also wear macaw fluff on their arms.

Concerning the word apatxirũ, Curt Nimuendajú wrote me as follows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word apatxirũ is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is omitted.]

[ 99] On July 30, Kamairahó invited me to go with him to the apatxirũ. On the previous day, Chief Tanupantxóa had already begun the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working

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Conceição do Araguaia, as was Father Luiz Palha's plan." He says that these Indians wish to build a village near the houses of the above-mentioned São Pedro ranch, on the right margin of the Tapirapé, and he adds: "If the Indian Service is not in a position to establish a post for the Tapirapé Indians, it would be worth studying the possibility of entrusting Mr. Lucio da Luz with their protection. Mr. Lucio da Luz is a man of great means, and he would not be primarily interested in the meager wages of a man-in-charge or whatever he might be to those Indians, but would do this rather out of the humanitarian feelings which he seems to possess."

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Whatever the case may be, there are three basic needs to be considered in any resettlement of the Tapirapé: 1) the existence of an extensive forest adequate for the large gardens of this essentially farming tribe; 2) the exclusion of all representatives of our civilization who are not employees of the Indian Service, anthropologists, or physicians associated with the Service; 3) the exclusion of members of other aboriginal tribes.

I believe that Father Lelong is correct when he writes in his letter with reference to the Kaiapó who invaded Tapirapé territory: "Ten armed men would suffice to clear the territory of these assassins." These ten men, however, should be under the orders of the Indian Service so as to catch the culprits in the slaughter without shedding blood and take them to the idyllic penitentiary established at the Indian post of Icatu in the state of São Paulo. One of the most urgent tasks is unquestionably the lasting pacification of the northern Kaiapó who, unlike the Akué-Chavante, have the habit of leaving the traditional boundaries of their territory to attack harmless neighbors (cf. what I wrote about this in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 102, São Paulo, 1945, pp. 123-130).

177 301 the favorite ornament of both sexes, of adults as well as children (cf. Photos. 3, 4, 5, 8, and many others).

The Tapirapé showed the same love for those beads as did the 301 Karajá, wanting always the smallest and whitest ones (cf. Photo. [171] 2) and showing intense dislike for those of other colors and those made of clear [105:90] glass. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the beads I saw were used merely as necklaces. It is true that these Indians are also very fond of deck- [855] ing out their children in these ornaments, and the larger the number of beads at the neck of a girl, the more beautiful she seems in everyone's eyes. People often borrow beads from each other to enhance this sort of beauty, and not only do married couples use their beads in turn, but this is also done between parents and children and between friends belonging to different families.

Beads were the object of the only theft between two Tapirapé [674] committed during my stay at Tampiitáua. When Maeyma was deserted by his wife and hung his hammock next to that of Taipá, a matronly widow, she appeared on the following morning with beads around her neck. [Ed., the last sentence, which concludes the section in Vol. 105, is omitted; there is no section in Vol. 106.]

[107:107] Tapirapé of both sexes usually wear their hair cut 302 straight across the forehead just above the eyes, so that it cannot fall across the face (Photos. 3 and 28). They do allow it to grow on the sides and in the back, however. Some of the men, women, and children sometimes part their hair anywhere on the forehead, thus partly baring it (Photos. 59, 61, and 63). The hair reaches shoulder length in the back, and this occurs more frequently among the women than among the men (Photos. 4, 67, and 69). The latter sometimes hold it with a strip of inner bark tied around the head (Photos. 4 and 5) or gather it into a pigtail (Photos. 1, 4, and 7), while the women and children always wear it loose. The hair 171 of some boys seems to have been cut at several lengths (Photos. 2 302 and 8), as described by Krause (2, 209 and Fig. 37) for Karajá boys. It may be said that, as a rule, there are many similarities between Tapirapé and Karajá hair styles. In both tribes also, the hair of boys [852] is cut all over to half a centimeter when they are about ten years old, except for a narrow strip of hair three centimeters long that surrounds the head like a crown (cf. Krause, ibid. and Plate 43, Fig. 2).

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirape SP22



Fear was present in the formalization of quarrels full of hatred, a formalization which obliged the opponents to avoid direct contact. They had to remain hidden from one another and not interrupt the speech of their antagonist, but only reply when he had finished. One such quarrel began in the afternoon of June 27, 1935. Kamairahó lay in his hammock with open eyes and didn't answer when several people called him. Maninohó, the eldest man of the neighbouring house, begin to pronounce insults. He stays inside his house. The entrances of the houses are so arranged that it is impossible to look from the interior of one house into the interior of another.[4] Kamairahó's wife stays outside between the two houses without looking towards either of them. She faces the men's house in the centre of the village and replies to Maninohó with extraordinary gravity, in a level voice and with calm gestures. They are discussing a question of shamanism. Maninohó seems to be doing the provoking. The other persons present continue with their habitual activities, neither laughing nor speaking. After a while Maninohó's aggressiveness seems to increase. Kamairahó's wife joins her husband and the eldest man of her house places himself close to the entrance but inside, holding a club and railing violently in a loud and monotonous voice. When he finishes, profound silence rules for some moments. Then the other replies in the same tone. Never does one interrupt the other. This rule is also observed when two Tapirapé women have a quarrel as well as among other South American tribes.[5] The quarrel between the two men, one always hidden from the other, lasted until sunset. Late that night the old man of Kamairahó's house, where I was also living, asked me for my electric torch and went with his wife for water by a very roundabout way in order to avoid the proximity of Maninohó's house. These precautionary measures—the lamp, the company of his wife, and the détour—reveal clearly the fear he had of the adversary. Supposing then that fear has contributed to create the institution of formalized quarrels we may consider it a factor of socialization. But is it only a tribal behaviour pattern or also fear that causes the victim of theft to abstain from any exteriorized reaction? Frequently I observed that the theft of some thing obtained from the white men, for instance a necklace of glass beads, was known immediately in the whole village; the victim, however, suffers in silence without any demonstration and doesn't attempt any revenge.

As an institution which is essentially a product of fear appears that of the shamans. Nonexistent in certain South American tribes and little developed in others, it is so important to the Tapirapé that they informed me of certain local groups having renounced their independence and joined the inhabitants of another village because there were no more shamans among them.[6] This becomes credible when one considers Charles Wagley's[7] quotation of one of his informants' words: "Without our pancé, all we Tapirapé die." According to the same author,[8] "the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman." This means that the first place in Tapirapé society belongs to the person who defends the community against the ever terrible dangers of the supernatural world. It is collective fear which gives him this status. But the easy and continuous contact with the forces of destruction makes the shaman for his part also a man to be feared, and consequently exposes him to other dangers, to dangers which we would not call supernatural. When cases of death occur in the village, and especially several in a short time, it is usual to attribute the cause to a shaman and therefore many shamans are murdered. Then it is also collective fear which, in such cases, moves a Tapirapé to defend the community

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



586 Until the first child is born, marriage bonds are rather weak, but henceforth the marriage is comparatively stable. There are, however, frequent [837] cases of adultery, and a guilty woman who is found out is thrashed by her [684] husband. When a marriage is dissolved, the man leaves the house, which is considered the wife's property, although built by him.

768 Upon a man's death, his widow remains in the house. After about 2 [838] months of free sexual relations, she chooses a new husband.

**Death.**—The *Tapirapé* believe that death is brought about by sorcery 761 and never by natural causes. Frequently, when the relatives of the [682] deceased enjoyed sufficient prestige, they kill the shaman whom they [754] suspect.

As soon as it is certain that the sick man will die, mourning begins in 763 the form of a wailing dirge by both men and women. The men dance around the hammock of the dying or dead man, while the women remain seated on the ground. Burial takes place on the day after death. The 764 corpse is stretched out on the hammock. Its feet and head are decorated with urucú dye, and its face is painted black with genipa. The grave is dug in the dead man's house under the place where his hammock was usually hung. The body is buried in the hammock, which is set up in the grave between two poles. All contact with the earth is avoided. Personal possessions of the deceased are buried with him, except that all feather ornaments and bows and arrows are burned.

Five days after the funeral, the relatives walk in file to the ceremonial 765 hut, where they leave the spirit of the dead man. The wailing goes on for many days, sometimes months, and always takes place at sunset. Close-cropped hair is a token of mourning for both sexes.

### ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 **Art.**—Obvious esthetic pleasure is derived from skillfully done basket-531 work; a good workman will destroy a basket which is not turning out well, even though it would serve as a receptacle. Great use is made of highly colored feathers; feathers are both tied and stuck with rosin and wax on to the object to be decorated. Elaborate geometric designs are painted on children's bodies with genipa. The incise work on gourds is also especially striking.

**Musical instruments.**—Gourd rattles are frequently used to keep time 534 to singing. No sacred powers are attributed to rattles. During the shamanistic ceremony (p. 177), a bamboo trunk is pounded against the ground in time to the music.

**Music.**—By far the most important *Tapirapé* pastime is singing. A man 533 with a good voice and a large repertoire of songs is much admired by the community. All ceremonies are, basically, singing festivals. Each ceremony during the year has a large set of specific songs: those to be sung by the shaman during the shamanistic "battle with Thunder" (p. 177);

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



Tapirapé village which he would have hesitated to relate on home grounds. He told me of adulterous affairs in process and of the growing determination among one group of kinsmen to assassinate Urukumu, the powerful medicine man, because they suspected him of performing death-dealing sorcery.

After two weeks in Furo de Pedra, I found that it would be necessary for Valentim Gomes and me to go to Rio de Janeiro. It was not possible for Champukwi to accompany us and so I arranged for two Brazilian frontiersmen to return him to a point on the Tapirapé River from which he could easily hike to his village in a day. Valentim and I then began our slow trip up the Araguaia River to the motor road and thence to Rio de Janeiro. Two months later, rid of malaria and with a new stock of supplies, we returned to spend the long rainy months from November until the end of May in the Village of the Tapirs. Champukwi was there to welcome us, and he came each day to help repair and enlarge our house. We easily fell into our former friendly relationship, now strengthened by the experience in common of the trip to Furo de Pedra and by the feeling which many anthropologists have shared with the people of their communities—that anyone who returns is an "old friend."

My return to the village that November marked, in a sense, the end of what might be called the first phase of my relationship with Champukwi as friend and as anthropological informant. During the course of at least 200 hours of conversation (many of which may be methodologically dignified as interviews), I had learned much about Champukwi as a person as well as about Tapirapé culture. I knew that as a small boy he had come from Fish Village, where his parents had died, to live in the Village of the Tapirs. He had lived with his father's younger brother, Kamaira, who was the leader of a large household. He even confided to me his boyhood name; Tapirapé change their names several times during their lifetimes and mention of a person's first childhood name, generally that of a fish, an animal, or simply descriptive of some personal characteristic, causes laughter among the audience and considerable embarrassment to the individual. I knew that Champukwi had been married before he took his current wife, and that his first wife had died in childbirth. He revealed that her kinsmen had gossiped that her death was caused by his lack of respect for the food taboos imposed

171 25 centimeters wide and 12 centimeters in circumference on the
411 above-mentioned Karajá club which is in my possession. Both specimens are made of heavy wood. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

In hand-to-hand fighting, to kill at a short distance, the club
411 is usually preferable to the arrow. The Tapirapé will also grab
[726] their clubs when quarreling with a member of their own tribe, but
[578] in spite of this menacing gesture the quarrel is usually limited to a string of verbal insults. While in daytime dances the men of
411 Tampiitaua held in their hands an arrow or bow, and only exceptionally a club, in the kaó, or great nocturnal group dance, they
535 held clubs and bush knives. These weapons were not used largely to mark time, as was the case with the bow and arrow in the daytime dances. They were displayed to make clear the character of kaó, which, as shown also by the intonation of the accompanying chant and by other elements, is basically a martial one. Furthermore, when equipped with clubs and bush knives, the warriors
[721] stood ready every night to repel any dreaded attack by their Kayapó neighbors. As far as hunting is concerned, it must be re-
224 called that the density of the forest vegetation and the height of
411 the grass in the savanna frequently ruled against the use of bow and
[137] arrow and impelled the Indian to attack from a short distance, that is to say, to use the club. In spite of this, during the march between the village and the river I observed that all the men carried
[683] bows and arrows, while they did not all carry clubs. Another specialized function of the Tapirapé club is to kill those people who are regarded as evil sorcerers.

The Tapirapé spear (yvyra-háia, "pointed stick," or mina,
114 "spear") may have been imported from the Karajá. There are no
411 references to spears among the ancient Tupinambá or among the
[439] upper Xingu tribes. In Montoya's work (2, II), however, we find
[171] the terms ibirâhaquâbae, "pointed stick" (haquâ, "point") and my, "spear, prong." I did not see any spears while I was with the
[535] Tapirapé, but at Macauba on Bananal Island, Mr. Frederico Kegel showed me one that he had brought back from a previous visit to those Indians, and told me that they used it exclusively in their dances to mark the time, in the same manner as the above-men-
171 tioned weapons. This spear resembled the Karajá spear (donolí)
411 described by Krause (2, 272-273 and Fig. 126). It was likewise a

754 the head or to tie it up and carry it off. The one whose soul is thus
787 either incapacitated or imprisoned soon dies. A shaman may call upon
756 his familiar demonic spirits of the forest to deal with a chosen victim or may in his dreams shoot a victim's spirit with small arrows causing at times death and at times only boils. Still another method of attack is for the shaman to throw a fishbone (*ipirã kunya*) or gnawing worms (*unáka* or *ówai*) into his victim's body causing illness and death.
[755] The treatment of illness consists of removing from the victim's body these malignant arrows, fishbones, and worms that are the cause of illness.

754 In illness and other misfortune, sorcery is always suspected by
756 the Tapirapé and some shaman is accordingly always believed responsible. Sorcery, however, is believed to be the action of shamans in dreams, and although such a negative statement can obviously not be substantiated, it seems never to be consciously practised. But there
[784] is, so far as the writer knows, no use of incantations or mechanical devices for the deliberate inducing of sympathetic magic.

683 All Tapirapé are thought, however, to die by sorcery and at each
761 death suspicion turns toward a shaman (12). At the death of a child
756 or woman of low status, suspicion may arise and then soon die down
[554] but when the deceased is a man of status, his brothers, sons, or sisters' sons become violent in their grief and may murder the shaman toward whom suspicion points. Sometimes, after a long series of deaths, suspicion is fixed upon one famous and strong shaman and the Tapirapé decide informally that he must be killed. In such cases the revenge-murder occurs within the first few days after a death when the relatives are "sad" (13). If the first depression of mourning wears off without violence to the shaman, the anger toward him passes and he is out of danger. Thus, after a man of rather high status had died both Urukumu and Wantanamu, *pajés* of sufficient power to be suspected of causing his death, both left the village, ostensibly on fishing trips, staying away until the brothers of the deceased had calmed down again.

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[753] (12) Informants readily admitted that people may be infected by others, as in the case of the common cold, which they recognize as a disease from whites but it is believed that a person who has a cold slowly gets well if no sorcery is working against him. Death is caused only by sorcery.

[192 152] (13) A Tapirapé uses the word "*iwatéralu*" to describe the condition of anger and sadness.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



The eight living men (*marántxunkanera* or "killers") who had killed *pančés* attest to the frequency of revenge killing of shamans because of suspected sorcery. Within the memory of one informant, Kamairá, who was approximately forty years old, ten shamans had been killed (14). During his youth he had killed a shaman, *Pančewáni*, because he believed him responsible for his younger brother's death. Going to the shaman's house the second night after his brother's death, Kamairá found the shaman asleep and killed him with several arrows through the abdomen. According to various informants, the epidemic of deaths that had been occuring then came to a halt, thus proving *Pančewáni*'s guilt. In another case the killer hid in the forest and shot the suspected shaman as he passed on his way to his garden: still another shaman was clubbed to death as he sat with his family in the village plaza. Two living "killers" had murdered women shamans by clubbing them to death. *Kučapančé* (*kučan*, woman; *pančé*, shaman) generally die by violence, according to informants; women shamans "are dangerous". They dream more than men [shamans] and they kill many Tapirapé [in dreams]", said one man. Ironically, all three of the more powerful shamans living today, at least two of whom are currently in danger because they are considered powerful enough to be suspected of "evil dreaming", murdered shamans during their youth (15).

Informants could not remember any one occasion when a shaman thus murdered was avenged by his relatives; yet informants did say that a shaman with several adult brothers — true siblings — strong enough

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(14) The span of this man's life has seen the tremendous depopulation of the Tapirapé from imported diseases; thus it represents an abnormal period with more than the usual number of deaths and perhaps, therefore, an unusual number of revenge murders of shamans.

(15) As I write this paper, a letter comes from Valentim Gomes, my guide, and companion during both trips to the Tapirapé. I quote in part this letter translated from Portuguese: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the twenty-sixth of July [1941]. They were all in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, etc. — There were few bananas".

"But I am sorry to say that after we left them [in May, 1940] twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Campukwi, the best informant in the village. Also Urukumu had been killed by the young Tapirapé I called Antonio". (During my stay the Tapirapé had several times spoken of the necessity of liquidating Urukumu and several had predicted that it would occur).

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



683 to avenge him, is generally not murdered (16). A strong shaman makes
[573] an effort to have a strong family group about him for protection. Intou-
[756] mants could not remember that murdered shamans had ever been reven-
ged by their familiar spirits, although one man made the point that
shamans were murdered only by persons under the influence of great
anger or grief, for people normally are afraid of the familiars of shamans.
683 Special rites are observed by anyone who has murdered a shaman, to
783 protect him and the rest of the tribe against possible danger. On the day
following the murder the *marántxunkanéra* must retire to his hammock
and here eat of a white clay, *iwi činga*, and drink until he vomits of a
[827] brew made of boiling a man's leg ornament in water. Vomiting cleanses
[302] his body "of the blood of the shaman". The killer must paint his entire
body black with *genipa* (*Genipa americana*) and put red urucu paint
in his hair; he should also scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back
[881] with teeth of the dog fish, just as he did in the ceremony he had per-
formed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult. Then, each year
at the annual ceremony during the harvests in May and June, all who
have killed shamans must drink of *kauió* (17) until they vomit, so cleans-
ing themselves of the shaman's blood for the period until the next
harvest.

## DUTIES OF THE SHAMAN

276 Among the Tapirapé tobacco is a sacred plant necessary for curing
and for all shamanistic activities; yet, while it is found widely near Tapi-
rapé village and near their gardens, it is not strictly a cultivated plant.
People know where a patch of tobacco grows and go there to pick it.
Occasionally they transplant tobacco nearer to their houses or to their
gardens but for the most part the patches seed themselves. When an

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[598 (16) When I left the Tapirapé in May, 1940, a grudge existed between two
521] men of high status because of the murder of a shaman. Kamairaho disliked, avoided,
and criticized Kamairá because he had killed Kančtwani, Kamairaho's wife's father.
The antagonism was never overt. When they met they treated each other formally
and calmly. Other Tapirapé told me that Kamairaho's wife continually gossiped
about the behavior of Kamairá's wife, "because her husband had killed Kantuowa's
father".

[272 (17) A brew made of a few grains of maize and much water. It is believed
279] to be poisonous.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



are called upon to fight Thunder. This, the important *Tapirapé* ceremony, 241 756
lasts for 4 days, and is the high point of shamanistic activity.

Kanawana, the Thunder, lives on distant Maratawa surrounded by 776
the souls of dead shamans and by the topü (probably equivalent to the *Tupinamba* word, "tupan"), small anthropomorphic beings whose bodies are covered with white hair.

The topü travel through space in their canoes (half gourds), the sound [821]
of which produces the noise of the storm. The arrows which the topi shoot cause lightning. During the ceremony, the shamans, completely [781]
intoxicated by the tobacco and stimulated by the unceasing dancing and [276]
singing, fall into a trance (pl. 19, *top, right*) during which they travel [756]
to Thunder's house in order to fight him. Thunder sets the topü against the shamans, who, wounded by the arrows of "Thunder's creatures," fall into unconsciousness.

## SHAMANISM

The *Tapirapé* can visualize the supernatural world through the reports 756
of the dreams of their shamans, whose power grows in proportion to 787
their ability to dream. A dream is a voyage, during which the soul frees [774]
itself of the body and travels through space. In these dreams the shamans travel to regions which are entirely unknown to the living, and in general are inhabited by spirits. With their powers, the shamans succeed in taming some of the spirits, who then become their familiar spirits. The power and prestige of the shaman (pančé) depend on the number of his familiar spirits.

The *Tapirapé* speak of battles between shamans wherein each calls out 754
his familiar spirits against the other while dreaming. More often, a 756
shaman sets his familiar spirits upon laymen and kills them. A shaman may also kill his victim during a dream by throwing a malignant object, usually a piece of bone or a worm, into his body.

The victims of sorcery appeal to friendly shamans, who attempt to 754
cure them by extracting the malignant object by suction, massage, and [755]
blowing tobacco. When many deaths occur simultaneously and the 683
*Tapirapé* suspect a certain shaman of having caused them, they do not hesitate to kill him. One man recalled that during his lifetime 10 shamans suspected of sorcery had been killed. He himself had killed a shaman whom he suspected of having killed his brother. In spite of the constant 755
suspicion surrounding them, the shamans do not employ mechanical tech- 276
niques or sympathetic magic in sorcery.

The shamans make great use of tobacco, which is essential for healing and dreaming. They smoke it in large tubular clay pipes. Cures usually take place at dusk. The shaman squats by the patient's hammock and smokes for a long time, becoming intoxicated and blowing the smoke from the pipe over the patient's body. He then massages the patient,

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

**Charles Wagley**

115 When the heavy rains of late December and January set in, we
123 were all more or less confined to the village as the rivers and streams
124 rose to flood the savanna. What had been brooks in the tropical
132 forest became wide streams, difficult, and sometimes dangerous, to
133 ford. It rained many hours each day. The Tapirapé women and children spent most of the time in their dwellings, and the men and older boys lounged in the men's house. Our house again became a meeting place. And as this was of course an opportune time for interviewing, I joined the men in their club or entertained visitors at home. I began to see more of Champukwi—first, in the men's house and then as he again became a regular visitor at our house. Now, he brought his new (and younger) wife with him. He liked to sit up with us late at night after the other Tapirapé visitors had retired to their dwellings or to the men's house for the night-long sings that are customary during the season of heavy rains. Under the light of our gasoline lamp, we again took up our study of Tapirapé culture. Not once did he mention his period of antagonism except to complain that the Tapirapé gossip too much.

Sometime late in January there began what might be considered the second phase of my relationship with Champukwi. Our friendship was no less intimate than before, but our conversations and more formal interviews were not now as frequent. During the next months, Champukwi became almost my assistant, an entrepreneur of
115 Tapirapé culture. He continued to provide invaluable information,
123 but when I became interested in a subject of which he knew little,
124 he would recommend that I talk to someone else. Though he directed
756 me to Urukumu on the subject of medicine men or shamans, Cham-
754 pukwi himself related dreams he had heard other shamans tell. He
683 explained that he did not want to become a shaman himself, for he had seen grieved relatives beat out the brains of Tapirapé shamans whom they suspected of causing a death by sorcery. He was not cer-
987 tain, he said, whether such shamans had actually performed sorcery;
995 but he reasoned that any shaman might come to such an end.
996 Champukwi did have the frequent dreams that are indicative of one's powers to become a shaman and, in some of his dreams, he saw *anchunga*, the ghosts and supernaturals who are the aids of shamans. He had told only one or two of his kinsmen about this, and he did not want it to be known throughout the village lest there be pressure on him to train for shamanism.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



morning we embarked downriver. My last memory of Champukwi was of him standing on the bank waving in *tori* style until our boat made the curve of the river.

I did not return to visit the Tapirapé until 1953, but news of them came to me at intervals. Valentim Gomes returned to the region in 1941 as an officer of the Brazilian Indian Service, and his post was charged with the protection of the Tapirapé Indians. In his first year in this capacity, he wrote me: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the 26th of July [1941]. They were in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, and the like. There were plenty of bananas. But I am sorry to say that after we left them, twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Champukwi, the best informant in the village, and our best friend." Several slow exchanges of letters brought further details from Valentim. In some manner, perhaps through a visit from a Brazilian frontiersman, several Tapirapé had contracted common colds. Its fatalness to them is indicated by the name they give it—*ó-ó* (*ó* is the augmentative which might be translated as "big, big"). Since they have no knowledge of the process of contagion and have not acquired immunity to the common cold, the disease spread rapidly throughout the village. The Tapirapé realized, I knew, that colds and other diseases such as measles which they had suffered before, were derived from visitors. Yet they also believed that death resulted from evil magic or sorcery. Why do some people who are very sick from colds get well, they asked, while others who are no more ill, soon die? It is only because those who die are the victims of sorcery, they had explained to me. So, following many deaths, including that of a young man like Champukwi, who enjoyed prestige and had many kinsmen, I was not surprised to learn from Valentim Gomes that the powerful shaman, Urukumu, had been assassinated. As Champukwi had told me, suspicion of Urukumu had already been growing even during my residence in the village. After the death of Champukwi, one of his many "brothers" (actually a cousin but called by the same term as brother in Tapirapé) had entered Urukumu's house late at night and clubbed him to death. To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



586 Until the first child is born, marriage bonds are rather weak, but henceforth the marriage is comparatively stable. There are, however, frequent [837] cases of adultery, and a guilty woman who is found out is thrashed by her [684] husband. When a marriage is dissolved, the man leaves the house, which is considered the wife's property, although built by him.

768 Upon a man's death, his widow remains in the house. After about 2 [837] months of free sexual relations, she chooses a new husband.

**Death.**—The *Tapirapé* believe that death is brought about by sorcery 761 and never by natural causes. Frequently, when the relatives of the [682] deceased enjoyed sufficient prestige, they kill the shaman whom they [754] suspect.

As soon as it is certain that the sick man will die, mourning begins in 763 the form of a wailing dirge by both men and women. The men dance around the hammock of the dying or dead man, while the women remain 764 seated on the ground. Burial takes place on the day after death. The corpse is stretched out on the hammock. Its feet and head are decorated with urucú dye, and its face is painted black with genipa. The grave is dug in the dead man's house under the place where his hammock was usually hung. The body is buried in the hammock, which is set up in the grave between two poles. All contact with the earth is avoided. Personal possessions of the deceased are buried with him, except that all feather ornaments and bows and arrows are burned.

Five days after the funeral, the relatives walk in file to the ceremonial 765 hut, where they leave the spirit of the dead man. The wailing goes on for many days, sometimes months, and always takes place at sunset. Close-cropped hair is a token of mourning for both sexes.

### ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

**Art.**—Obvious esthetic pleasure is derived from skillfully done basket- 517 work; a good workman will destroy a basket which is not turning out 531 well, even though it would serve as a receptacle. Great use is made of highly colored feathers; feathers are both tied and stuck with rosin and wax on to the object to be decorated. Elaborate geometric designs are painted on children's bodies with genipa. The incise work on gourds is also especially striking.

**Musical instruments.**—Gourd rattles are frequently used to keep time 534 to singing. No sacred powers are attributed to rattles. During the shamanistic ceremony (p. 177), a bamboo trunk is pounded against the ground in time to the music.

**Music.**—By far the most important *Tapirapé* pastime is singing. A man 533 with a good voice and a large repertoire of songs is much admired by the community. All ceremonies are, basically, singing festivals. Each ceremony during the year has a large set of specific songs: those to be sung by the shaman during the shamanistic "battle with Thunder" (p. 177);

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17



688 at a totemic emblem they are killed by their own group, with the help
672 of any other group that has been offended by their actions. The clan to which they belong is not held responsible except in a minor way. Some years ago the Liagaomir clan was holding a totemic ceremony, using its carpet snake totemic emblems (painted wooden trumpets). Two women stole up to the ceremonial ground and watched the men blowing the trumpet, went back to the women's camp and told them what they had seen. When the men came back to camp and heard of
[696] their behavior, Yanindja, the leader, said, "When will we kill them?"
Everyone replied, "Immediately."

The two women were instantly put to death by members of their own clan with the help of the men from the other group.

Maritja, one of the most conventional men in the society, was making a shark totemic emblem. He had hidden it in a hollow tree near the border of the men's ceremonial grounds. Some women belonging to the visiting Burera tribe had walked near it. This had been established by the identification of their footprints by Maritja and his brothers. Maritja went down to the Burera camp and said to the assembled group, "You all know I never make trouble unless there is very good cause for it. You know I look for peace, but your women have done my people a great wrong. They have walked near the place where I had my totem hidden. I shall be sick and maybe I'll die."

The Burera men said, "You are right. If they have done this you may kill them if you wish." Nothing further was done since it was not considered a very great wrong; but had the women actually looked at his totemic emblem he could have killed them, and their clan would not have retaliated.

688 Munyiryir's wife was burning a patch of brush while hunting for bandicoot. The husband had hidden the string for his totemic emblem in the bushes. The fire destroyed it. The string belonged to the Daiurur clan. They tried to kill her and would have succeeded, but she escaped to the mission with the help of her husband. He was felt to have done wrong in helping her.

A young Warumeri clansman illicitly viewed a stone totemic emblem that is situated on Elcho Island. The men of the clan followed his footsteps and saw what he had done. When they caught him they immediately killed him.

A Mandelpui boy came upon two old Liaalaomir men making a totemic emblem. When they saw him they said, "Come look," and with smiles and gestures indicated their approval of his having a closer

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17



view of their totem. This was to put him off his guard; a few days later they ambushed and killed him. 688

If one of the members of a clan breaks a number of the ritualistic taboos he is seldom killed by members of his own clan. Usually the old men arrange for his death by members of another clan. If such offenses went unpunished the whole structure of Murngin society would fall to pieces, since in time the women and children would be aware of the secrets of the men's associations, and with the knowledge common, the ceremonial ideas would lose their significance. 688 696

Should a young man make a totemic emblem without the permission of the clan's ceremonial leader, the usual method of dealing with this insult to the clan would be to kill him. 688

The finding of the first wild bees' nest, because of its magical significance, is a very important matter to a young boy. Should an older man eat any of it or not allow the boy to consume the honey that was found, the father and father-in-law of the boy would start a camp fight with the man's group. 688 628

At the beginning of the dry season all the underbrush is burned off to secure better hunting, frequently destroying a log coffin. The dead man's clan is always offended, but killing seldom results, for the deed is felt to have been accidental, and no strong feeling surrounds the bones of a dead man. 688 673

The use of obscenity and profanity against a man always results in a camp fight. Profanity usually reflects not only on the man but on his clan and carries an incestuous connotation. Occasionally quarrels result from an unfair division of the game killed in the hunt, but not always open warfare, since those who feel they had a right to the game are near relatives whose solidarity is too strong to allow fighting. 578

Adulteries may cause a husband to give only his wife a thorough beating, but usually the lover is also held responsible and a fight is a consequence. The fights are ordinarily of the nirimaoi-yolno (a fight within the camp) type. If the lover attempts to steal her the more serious narrup (secret killing) and maringo (night attack on a camp) are used, because wife-stealing is a much more serious offense. 684

A number of customs attend these killings that serve as causes for war. When the body of a man killed in a fight or by magic is disinterred, the finger bones are given both to the near relatives of the victim's clan and to related groups as relics to remind them of their duty of blood vengeance. The relic is wrapped with fiber string and covered with beeswax and parrot feathers. It is placed at the bottom 765 628

351 lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the vil-
lage square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstruc-
[372] tions. The trunks served as seats and, bit by bit, as firewood.
They lay in such numbers over the vast area stretching between
the houses and the edge of the forest, and were so entangled and
[114] ensnarled by their branches, that the imaginative Madame de
[712] la Falaise (196), who visited Tampiitaua on August 23, 1935, that
is to say, shortly after my departure, went so far as to write the
following: "We proceeded toward the village, where the tribe,
for fear of armed aggression, has fortified the surroundings. The
felled, tangled trees, the traps and ingenious obstacles, are dis-
couraging. The boldest aggressor would break his neck long be-
fore he got the better of them" [translated from French].

361 In this respect, however, I must confess that the only serious
712 obstacles I encountered daily on crossing the area in question were
114 the products of the tribal digestive processes, for the supposed
[514] fortification held no role other than that of a huge toilet. [110:
192] I do not wish to determine whether such obstacles may be
termed "ingenious," but I wish to emphasize that they did not
discourage me. The truth is that the Tapirapé do not fortify their
[171] village in any way, and differ in this respect from the Tupinambá,
who surrounded their villages (Jean Parmentier apud J.F. de
Almeida Prado, 180; Hans Staden, p. 3; Gabriel Soares de Sousa,
366). The "traps and ingenious obstacles" mentioned above exist
only in the imagination of the author. Even the act of placing
[721] sentries, a precaution referred to in Chapter 5, is strikingly incon-
sistent with the natural bent of the Tapirapé.

Toward the east a stream meandered, a few paces from the
361 village. Its clear, fresh waters ran free of the thick forest for only
[372] a short stretch, which was used at the same time as bathroom and
[515] drinking fountain, and as a spot for fishing and for washing the
[224] sleeping hammocks. A well-beaten path led from it to the vil-
[487] lage plaza, skirting a plot of sugar cane to the left. According to
219 what Reverend Kegel told me, this plot resulted from collective
476 labor performed for Kamaiabó. The latter had ruled on the site
of the plot and concurrently on that of the village, which had been
built later beside the communally prepared garden. It was, so to
speak, a luxury plot, for it contained nothing but the sweet grass

231 interested would remain where it is. Also, I have already men-
364 tioned the enthusiastic battling of the chickens against roaches,
[136] which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé
[825] to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw
one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which
would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (159-160), in-
136 cidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá
192 and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on
European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Arauers by the
savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also
come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find
something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they
get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco
leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such
articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they
get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked
and poorly wrapped at night, these Arauers gnawed them to the
bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning." [trans-
lated from French].

The word written arauers in the French spelling of the sixteenth
century author tallies perfectly with the anavé, anaué, and araué
with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we
171 may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá
[361] in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the
[342] erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the
[476] elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and
[764] in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient
[712] coastal Tupi in not fortifying their village with fences and in
possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in
[345] the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most
typically Tupi are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial,
and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Karajá
[352] in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupi name they
give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses
within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings,
in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The
171 Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:119] of houses
361 around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

166 621 [627] It may be that the emigrants, leaving under the pressure of public opinion, stated that they were merely going on a hunt. Such a statement might have been motivated by a wish not to ruin any possibility of return with a definitive and hostile farewell. It actually seems that they returned a few years later and were not killed by the Kayapó. Wagley, indeed, told me that when he was in Tampiitáua in 1939 he heard of a Tapirapé village named Chichutáua, located six days' journey to the north and inhabited by 45 people. The inhabitants of that village appeared one fine day and joined the people of Tampiitáua, making a total of 147 [103:185] individuals (cf. Wagley 2, 409). In 1935, I counted 130 inhabitants in Tampiitáua. The discrepancy of 17 may well tally with the figure "20" for the emigrants, granting that among the total Tapirapé population the number of deaths was higher than that of births and taking into account the inadequate familiarity of this tribe with numbers. The quoted figure of "45" relating to the number of inhabitants in Chichutáua may be explained by the fact that the population of this village had increased since 1935 with the arrival of other emigrants from Tampiitáua. When he looked at the photographs I had taken, Wagley found that a large number of the Chichutáua inhabitants had been in Tampiitáua at the time of my visit. This is a good example of "horizontal social mobility" (cf. Baldus and Willems 153).

Regarding the propensity of these Tupí Indians for splitting up, it is fitting to cite also the following case. In September, 1932, the young and forceful "capitain" Ikaranchó, who had quarreled with Kamairahó, founded a new village one league [115] east of Tampiitáua. Reverend Kegel, to whom I owe this piece of information, visited both villages. Ikaranchó had so much [721] energy that he managed to post well-disciplined sentries around his settlement at night. Such a precaution, taken probably on account of the Kayapó, was unheard-of among the Tapirapé. One third of the inhabitants of Tampiitáua moved to the new village. Nearly all of them were young people [Ed., the remainder of the sentence is omitted]. At the time when Ikaranchó's village was founded, 164 731 camaradas of the Dominicans at Conceição transmitted to the Tapirapé, with whom they had been in contact on the river of the same name, an attack of influenza which

351 lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the vil-
lage square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstruc-
[372] tions. The trunks served as seats and, bit by bit, as firewood.
They lay in such numbers over the vast area stretching between
the houses and the edge of the forest, and were so entangled and
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following: "We proceeded toward the village, where the tribe,
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[487] sleeping hammocks. A well-beaten path led from it to the vil-
lage plaza, skirting a plot of sugar cane to the left. According to
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of the plot and concurrently on that of the village, which had been
built later beside the communally prepared garden. It was, so to
speak, a luxury plot, for it contained nothing but the sweet grass

171 25 centimeters wide and 12 centimeters in circumference on the
411 above-mentioned Karajá club which is in my possession. Both specimens are made of heavy wood. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

In hand-to-hand fighting, to kill at a short distance, the club
411 is usually preferable to the arrow. The Tapirapé will also grab
[726] their clubs when quarreling with a member of their own tribe, but
[578] in spite of this menacing gesture the quarrel is usually limited to a string of verbal insults. While in daytime dances the men of
411 Tampiitaua held in their hands an arrow or bow, and only excep-
535 tionally a club, in the kaó, or great nocturnal group dance, they held clubs and bush knives. These weapons were not used largely to mark time, as was the case with the bow and arrow in the daytime dances. They were displayed to make clear the character of kaó, which, as shown also by the intonation of the accompanying chant and by other elements, is basically a martial one. Fur-
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224 called that the density of the forest vegetation and the height of
411 the grass in the savanna frequently ruled against the use of bow and
[137] arrow and impelled the Indian to attack from a short distance, that is to say, to use the club. In spite of this, during the march between the village and the river I observed that all the men carried
[683] bows and arrows, while they did not all carry clubs. Another specialized function of the Tapirapé club is to kill those people who are regarded as evil sorcerers.

The Tapirapé spear (yvyra-háia, "pointed stick," or mina,
114 "spear") may have been imported from the Karajá. There are no
411 references to spears among the ancient Tupinambá or among the
[439] upper Xingu tribes. In Montoya's work (2, II), however, we find
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[535] Tapirapé, but at Macauba on Bananal Island, Mr. Frederico Kegel showed me one that he had brought back from a previous visit to those Indians, and told me that they used it exclusively in their dances to mark the time, in the same manner as the above-men-
171 tioned weapons. This spear resembled the Karajá spear (donolf)
411 described by Krause (2, 272-273 and Fig. 126). It was likewise a

T /404 cont./
105 center stripe. Their women also make pottery. Their language
C differs from that of the Karajá; the two peoples do not understand
[147] each other. The relationship between the Karajá and the Tapirapé
C seems to have been peaceful in former times. With iron goods the
648 Karajá bartered for net coverings, bows, araras, stone lip-plugs,
[439] food, etc. The meeting place was a sandbank in the Rio Tapirapé,
opposite a high steep bank, slightly below the place to which the
C Karajá ordinarily extend their annual fishing expeditions. The
[721] Karajá had taken advantage of this opportunity to abduct in secret
the women and children in the places stripped of men. As has
been mentioned above (p. 263), because of this there was finally
a hostile clash between the two tribes about six or seven years ago;
C since then the Karajá avoid this spot, they no longer go so far
[727] upstream. The abducted women are used by the Karajá as slave
women for work, as well as village prostitutes; the children are
taken into the tribe. /Pl. 69 appears here./ /405/ /Ills. 262 and
263 appear here./

C 3. Observations in Karajá villages. In the villages of the
162 Karajá I saw a total of two women, three maidens, and two boys
T from the Tapirapé. They were smaller and more delicate than
[142] /Ills. 264 and 265 appear here/ the Karajá. The women wore black
T incised tattooing on the chins and on the cheeks (see Ill. 262 a, b
304 /see p. 339/). One girl was painted red on the face (Ill. 263).
302

C In the way of objects that were supposed to come from the
439 Tapirapé, I acquired the following in the Karajá villages near
126 the Tapirapé mouth: the comb (kũwãã; Pl. 69, Ill. 1); its method
T of construction is identical with that of the Karajá, but the very
303 regular plaiting pattern is different from that of the Karajá. The
T spindle (Ill. 264) with the double-conical wax whorl does not differ
283 in any way from those of the Karajá.

T The club (ĩwũrã, Ill. 265) is identical in form with the round
411 clubs of the Karajá. One side of the front half of the club is grooved
and flanked on either side by a raised strip which bears groups of
cross-lines. The cylinder on the handle has three grooves; the
handle is grooved and likewise has two strips with cross-lines and
depressions.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 339]

000 Only the Karajá, who will not part from their children under any circumstances, did not want to have anything to do with the school. Unfortunately, the mistake was made once of taking children from these Indians by force. As a result, they now keep all the children away whenever a ship comes by. At the time 175 648 of our visit, the institute was badly neglected. The headmaster treated the Indians as slaves and ordered them to work in his personal service. The forlorn boys were exposed to his brutality and to that of his friends. The girls had to attend to the pleasure of all their oppressors. Most of them had already borne children or were about to do so. No new Indians had appeared for a long time, for the outrages of the White civilizers had increasingly kept them away. Most of the school Indians had already reached the age of 30, but not one of them thought of leaving. Trained all along to slavery and tutelage, they carried on their services with dumb indolence. Of course, there was no longer any question of teaching. The cattle had been stolen or had run away. The funds provided by the government ended up in the headmaster's pocket. Later, [99:71] Dr. Baggi, who as a good republican attempted to uncover and prosecute all the abuses of the current regime, achieved the suppression of the institute."

Although a few Tapirapé individuals encountered Whites during the nineteenth century, there is no evidence that the latter had any direct contact at that time with the bulk of the tribe. Ehrenreich (5), who in his classification cited above, published in 1891, includes the Tapirapé among the "Central Tupí," confesses as late as 1905 that they are known only by hearsay and this makes it impossible to state whether they are related to the Eastern or the Central Tupí. He adds that possibly they are a separate group that originated in Pará or Maranhão.

The few Tapirapé who were seen by Whites during the first ten years of this century were chiefly women and children abducted by the Karajá. Krause (2, 320 and 404) says that the [439] Karajá carried out these abductions at the times when the men of the Tupí tribe left their families to go and trade with them on a sand bar of the Tapirapé River. The captive women served them as laborers and sexual partners, and the resulting children became part of the tribe. Some of those women and children were made 175 726 prisoners in the course of an attack when the Karajá killed several

175 726 men. Concerning this, there is the following reference by Glass (139) who was in the village of the attackers in 1909: "... the women and children were carried away captive to the Bananal Island, and they either became part of the Carajá tribe we had seen or else were sold to any bidder sometimes to white men in exchange for an ox or other thing, their equivalent for money" [cited in English].

Krause, who explored the Araguaia in 1908, writes (2, 405): 175 648 "In the villages of the Karajá I saw, in all, two women, three young girls, and two boys of the Tapirapé tribe." Kissenberth, who was in the same area in that year and the following one, observed (2, 47): "I saw, in all, only seven individuals belonging to the Tapirapé: the near-sexagenarian Ngroatí (Figs. 4 and 5), whom I found in a village of Mẽkubengokrẽ-Kayapó called Ororogdjakamkikrẽ, located on the large stream Salobro, a tributary of the Pau-d'arco; two boys, one of whom was in the power of a rubber trader coming down the Araguaia, while the other was a slave of Tamanako, chief of the Karajá village Woudó; in addition, there were three women and one girl, slaves of Chief Crisóstomo of Weheriadó village, Chief Tamanako, and Chief Iwaná of Dozahákã village."

Dona Delfina de Arruda Correia told me when I passed through the city [sic] of Goiás on September 5, 1935, [99:72] that when she was a teacher at the Leopoldina school she had among her pupils three or four Tapirapé boys brought by the Karajá. "The latter had abducted them and sold them," said the lady, without specifying, however, when those events took place.

A reference by Krause (2, 29) deserves special mention. 114 175 648 According to him, an Italian with his camaradas had abducted a Tapirapé girl whom he later sold to the Karajá, shortly before Krause reached the Araguaia. If this really happened, the Italian would be, to the best of our knowledge, the first White to make contact with the Tapirapé on tribal territory in this century. When I wrote this to Professor Krause, he answered me (letter of July 9, 1937): "I do not believe that the Italian really visited the Tapirapé. He may have abducted, or attempted to abduct, a Tapirapé girl who lived with the Karajá. This at least may be inferred from the hostility that the Karajá are said to have shown

177 All those imports from us, living alongside the traditional traits, are no more than curiosities [ 99:76] in the minds of the Tapirapé, curiosities hardly more important to the functioning of their culture than one of their arrows or legends would be to the average European.

From what I was able to observe, Reverend Kegel usually 177 restricted himself to the teaching of songs and the administration 797 of medicines. Owing to their sporadic quality and short duration, and especially to the difficulty of communicating through words, the encounters with the Dominicans and other visitors have enriched Tapirapé culture even less. Unfruitful, too, were the attempts to wield an influence through individuals who had been taken to the Araguaia by the missionaries and who knew more about the White way of life than those who had never left tribal territory. It is well known how easily many of the Brazilian Indians educated in our civilized centers have re-adjusted to and been re-absorbed by their native environment (cf. Baldus 7, 165, and Araujo Lima 134-135). Actually, I did not see any Tapirapé who had lived with the Whites long enough to experience the conflicts of the "marginal man" of Park, Stonequist, and other American sociologists.

The impoverishment of Tapirapé culture was induced large- 164 ly by the diseases of the Whites, but these were introduced only partly as a result of direct contact. It is probable that the neighboring Karajá, continually exposed to contagion as inhabitants of the Araguaia, frequently acted as transmitters. This at least may be assumed as regards the strange diseases which were introduced prior to direct contact with the Whites. As Wagley (2) masterfully [114] pointed out, the catastrophic depopulation caused by the epidemics [165] that raged around 1895 and 1900, and later ones as well, affected [731] the social organization to such an extent that important traits of [178] Tapirapé culture were modified or lost.

The Tapirapé often told me that in the old days their people 177 knew everything about such celestial phenomena as eclipses and [821] about many other mythological subjects, and now know almost nothing. This may not be solely the result of the mortality caused [731] by epidemics and by the bellicose attacks of neighboring Karajá [726] and Kayapó. Some old people did survive. I can imagine the pressure exercised by the presence of our culture upon the minds

177 of the Tampiitáua inhabitants. This presence is made perceptible through the complex made up of diseases, of the fantastic stories of tribal members who went to the Araguaia, of the domineering behavior of White visitors, and of the latter's display of "riches." The effects of this type of [99:77] inter-ethnic pressure vary from culture to culture. Among peoples of vitality, they may arouse responsive forces which are manifested, for example, in the creation of new magical devices among aborigines, or in improvements in airplanes, tanks, or propaganda techniques among those who regard themselves as more "civilized." Among other peoples, however, they may cause resignation instead of resistance, and bring about what might be called a "cultural shrinkage," that is to say, a disregard for their own things without a concomitant desire to replace them with new ones, whether new creations of their own or imports. Thus, it seems possible to me that this pressure may have caused the Tapirapé to lose interest in certain traditions that did not seem to them to possess any immediate value in the struggle for existence. [Ed., end of Vol. 99.]

## Chap[illegible] 4

### [100:191] Contact with Other Indians

While it is possible to discern, up to a point, the effects of the direct and indirect contacts with the Whites, it is more difficult to perceive the influences derived from other Indian tribes. [726] I have already alluded to the murderous acts the Kayapó and Karajá and to their role as transmitters of epidemics and importers of iron tools. It must be added that the Karajá, aside from acting as intermediaries, also furnished products of their own culture, such as songs. I dare not, however, formulate hypotheses about the 171 535 origin of the masked-dance complex as a whole, to which these songs belong and which is one of the most characteristic aspects of both Tapirapé and the Karajá culture. The Tapirapé attach special importance to the masked dances of the chankuf, that is, jacuf [Tr., little jacu or guan] and of the iranchá, a fish. They perform them daily for weeks on end. Karl von den Steinen (2, [114] 313), when dealing with the masked dances of the Indians of the

171 Xingu headwaters, writes that the dance of the jacuí ("yakuí") is
535 "original to" the Auetõ and Kamayurá [Camayura], that is, the
[114] Tupí tribes of the Culuene basin and thus the eastern part of that region which is separated from Tapirapé territory by the waters of the Xingu and the Araguaia. Furthermore, [100:192] both the Auetõ and the Kamayurá had two kinds of masked dances, the dance of the jacuí and that of a fish called koahálu among the former and hũvát among the latter (ibid., 310-317). True, the masks used by those tribes (ibid., Figs. 107-114) differ completely from the masks made by the Tapirapé. In addition, what little may be inferred from the brief references to the dancing and songs of those Xingu Indians (ibid., 313-315) discloses no similarity to the chankuí and iranchá performances. On the other hand, the Tapirapé also differ from the Karajá in the design of their masks, their songs, and their dance motions.

Thus, the complex of masked dances that extends between the Xingu and the Araguaia assumes special forms in each of the above-mentioned tribes, and these forms, although they hint at a mutual relationship, do not reveal which of the tribes was the first to use masks or where it got the idea to do so. It can only be said
[648] that there are no historical data to substantiate contact between the Tapirapé and the tribes of the Culuene basin, while age-old relations between the Tapirapé and the Karajá are thoroughly documented. [Ed., the remainder of this section in Vol. 100, pp. 192-198, and the section in Vol. 101, pp. 67-75, are omitted.]

[102:123] While in Tampiitáua no one bothered with the
648 neighboring Kyrydjá [Tr., Ge-speaking, in this case Chavante] to the south, the Kayapó neighboring on the north, called Kananchahó, were mentioned frequently and with feeling. When dealing with the "Karajá of the Xingu," I referred to them and to the fear they inspire. I was informed that in 1932 they had de-
●[726] stroyed a large Tapirapé village located "ten days' march" north of Tampiitáua and killed most of its inhabitants. According to
[731] other reports, an epidemic depopulated that village and compelled the survivors to abandon it. No matter what the cause of this
648 mortality may have been, fear of the Kananchahó undoubtedly con-
166 tributed to the desire of the survivors to put as much distance as possible between themselves and these neighbors and to take refuge in the southernmost village of their tribe, that is Tampiitáua. The

648 When I stretched out in my hammock, Kamairahó, who was
129 already lying in his hammock with his wife, smiled at me as usual and greeted me courteously with the customary "papaneká (you have come)." I asserted, no less decorously, "Hm, hm, ẽ, ẽ." He went on, still smiling, "Kananchahó around. Kananchahó coming. I'm afraid." Although he did not seem particularly scared in spite of this statement, I calmed him with a few words as I had done with the others, and he immediately laughed, changed the subject, and jested with his wife.

Later, it became evident that the presence of Kayapó in the
648 neighboring forest had been invented by Anavaní, a somewhat
609 foolish youth of about 17. On the following morning he confessed that he had lied. He probably wanted to make himself important. The general readiness to believe him shows the state of mind of the Tapirapé toward their feared neighbors. Incidentally, on the day when Kamairahó showed me the smoke pillars of the "Ampaneá" to the southwest, he showed me a similar display by the Kayapó to the north.

The non-material defenses show that the Kananchahó are regarded as the Number One enemy. Although the Karajá are also feared, only the northern neighbors, by what I was able to observe, are the object of parodies, violently abusive songs, and mocking pantomimes. On June 24, the Tapirapé, in a weeping tone, sang
[533] a seemingly obscene chant about the Kananchahó, which aroused
[831] endless laughter. It was sung in the men's house, where other
[522] youths gave a ludicrous impersonation of those enemies, emitting
[536] their would-be tribal cry, running and jumping crazily hither and yon, gesticulating with angry excitement, and hitting the house stakes with their clubs. At the same time, in front of the house,
[535] other men accompanied by the women and children danced and sang the kaó, the danced song that derives its warlike character not only from the weapons in the hands of the warriors and from their serious look, but also from the powerful rhythm of stamping feet and the menacing quality of the guttural sounds.

[102:125] While all this pertains to night performances, an-
536 other spectacle took place two days later in daylight. It was a
726 dramatization of the supposed Kayapó attack on the 20 Tapirapé who had failed to return from the hunt during the previous year. Six youths, holding on to each other in friendly fashion two by two,

536 726 with the pairs one behind the other, walked peacefully from house to house. They hummed a song. The first two pairs carried a blanket on their back, and the last pair carried a straw mat. A masked man followed, bent forward, dancing and shooting arrows at the mat. After a while the pairs lined up one beside the other and stayed put, humming their song, while the masked figure emitted the Kayapó tribal cry and danced in menacing fashion, stepping always on the same spot. A little later, the walk was resumed. This scene was repeated several times. Suddenly, however, when the pairs were standing still once more in front of a hut, two masked "Kayapó" rushed headlong from behind it, and four others emerged from behind the neighboring house. All [177] these "Kayapó"[1] had bows or clubs in their hands and were completely disguised with hammocks, blankets, and other belongings of the White guests. Their faces were covered with sifters, and my straw hat had also found a use. While the three Tapirapé pairs kept walking as peacefully as before, the masked figures alternately ran furiously hither and yon, giving their typical cry, and performed a circular dance. In this dance, some of them faced the back of the man in front while others were turned [535] toward the man behind. They all jumped on one leg and then the other, tossing their arms and legs about and gesticulating with their weapons (Photo. 73). After repeating all this several times for half an hour, the "Kayapó" attacked one another and quarreled among themselves. Then the Tapirapé pairs quietly broke up and vanished.

This performance, therefore, contrasts the mildness which 181 is indeed the tribal behavior pattern of the Tapirapé with the nervous aggressiveness of the Kayapó. This seems to be a symbol of universal significance, when we look at the pacifists and militarists in other parts of the world.

The opinion of the Tupí tribe about the nature of these 609 773 neighbors seems to be expressed even in their mythology. While the Karajá are regarded as descendants of a water serpent, the ancestor of the Kayapó is tantevoga, the tick. One of the proofs of kinship with those bugs, my informants say, is the falsetto tribal cry that they attribute to their northern foe. This proof, although it might not satisfy a biologist, is sufficient for the ethnologist. Actually, everyone knows that the tick is a pesky nuisance.

1 [i.e., the Kayapó.—Analyst]

114 The Kayapó who have intimidated the Tapirapé over the
175 past few years, however, do not belong to the bands visited by
726 Krause in 1908 and by Kissenberth in the same year and the following one, that is to say, the Indians called Kayapó-Mẽkubengokré by this author. Kissenberth (2, 40) heard Mẽkubengokré elders relate that the last hostile encounters between their people and the Tapirapé had occurred approximately in the middle of the last century. This traveler does not [102:126] explain, however, how the near-sexagenarian Tapirapé he saw in a Mẽkubengokré village (ibid., 47 and Figs. 4 and 5; 1, Figs. 18 and 19) got there and was annexed to the tribe.

171 I shall show later that the Tapirapé have a few cultural traits that are similar to traits of these Kayapó, but not as many as the ones that reveal their kinship with the Karajá. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 102, pp. 126-130, is omitted.]

[103:183] Chapter 5

## The Number of Villages and of Tribal Members

621 Sixteenth-century authors, such as Pero de Magalhães de
171 Gandavo (45) and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (362), already pointed out the propensity of the Tupí Indians to divide into bands as a result of certain dissensions. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

621 In the case of the Tapirapé, the disruptive forces were not only countered by the authority of Kamairahó in Tampiitáua, but were also kept at bay by more powerful destructive forces, that is [731] to say, terrible epidemics. Kamairahó's authority became ap- [554] parent when I attempted to ascertain in which of the various villages, now extinct, the individuals who make up the present population of Tampiitáua had originated. Those who had revealed their birthplace to me [103:184] did not dare repeat the information in the presence of this most influential leader. The unifying [578] activity of Kamairahó was justified by the fact that old antagonisms between the villages were not yet entirely forgotten, although they were seldom recalled.

171 25 centimeters wide and 12 centimeters in circumference on the
411 above-mentioned Karajá club which is in my possession. Both specimens are made of heavy wood. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

In hand-to-hand fighting, to kill at a short distance, the club
411 is usually preferable to the arrow. The Tapirapé will also grab
[726] their clubs when quarreling with a member of their own tribe, but
[578] in spite of this menacing gesture the quarrel is usually limited to a string of verbal insults. While in daytime dances the men of
411 Tampiitaua held in their hands an arrow or bow, and only excep-
535 tionally a club, in the kaó, or great nocturnal group dance, they held clubs and bush knives. These weapons were not used largely to mark time, as was the case with the bow and arrow in the daytime dances. They were displayed to make clear the character of kaó, which, as shown also by the intonation of the accompanying chant and by other elements, is basically a martial one. Fur-
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171 tioned weapons. This spear resembled the Karajá spear (donolí)
411 described by Krause (2, 272-273 and Fig. 126). It was likewise a

736 male orphans are neglected. In Tampiitaua in 1947, I found a single child under ten without father or mother. He was a boy of about two years. He was captured by the Kayapó when they [726] attacked the village shortly after my visit. The fact that he was the only child to be abducted at the time may help to define the position of orphans under four years of age.

In contrast to these insufficiently protected children, we found 858 among the Tapirapé a figure who differed from the usual child in 554 being treated with far greater attention and pampering. In 1935 Ampitania was the "favorite child." This girl of four or five was indeed the little princess of Tampiitaua. She was always gentle and polite, and constantly disclosed new charms. She was far more ornamented than other children, wearing white fluff glued to her body and several bead necklaces, aside from the cotton ornaments painted with urucú. She stayed alternately with the two most important men in the village, spending one day and one night with Kamairahó and his wife, and the following day and night with Vuatanamy and wife. She lived, therefore, in the two largest houses and with the leaders who were, to some extent, [621] rivals. She thus held, undoubtedly, a unifying function. Kamairahó made a point of telling me repeatedly that she was descended from "captains," thus calling my attention to the girl's "blue blood." Incidentally, he himself also seems to have been a "favorite child" (cf. Wagley 4, 23).

The institution of the "favorite child" also exists among the [171] Karajá, according to my inquiry of 1935 (cf. Baldus 7, 83) and confirmed years later by Lipkind (2, 186). These Indians of the Araguaia have a special term for such children, whom they call ioló.

Among the Tapirapé, as among all other South American tribes 171 I visited, I observed the behavior of children among themselves 858 and in relation to adults, which differs markedly from the behavior of the children I knew in Germany. These seemed, so to speak, much more "childish" than the Indian children and many neo-Brazilian children. They had less interest in the adult world because it was much less accessible to them than it is to the children of the Brazilian forests and cities. Because they did not talk to adults on an equal footing, asschildren here so commonly do, the

162 What strikes us in the above table is, on the one hand, the small number of children in relation to adults (18 individuals through 15 years of age and 41 over 15 years of age), and, on the other hand, [165] the brevity of the life span (only ten individuals were over 30). Only one man and one woman were slightly over 40.

According to the reports that I received in October, 1947, from [115] Mr. Valentim Gomes, the man in charge of the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres, and from Father M. H. Lelong at Conceição do Araguaia, the numerical ratios listed above underwent modifications [726] caused by the Kaiapó [Cayapo] attack on Tampiitáua at the end of August, in the course of which three women were killed and two women and one boy were abducted. Of the 59 individuals examined, therefore, there remained 31 males and 22 females.

[847] Aside from illness, the custom of killing newborn children under certain circumstances contributes to the decimation of the tribe.

Of the changes in Tapirapé culture which occurred since my first 178 visit 12 years ago, I wish to mention primarily the scarcity of 262 vegetable foods. The literature on these peaceful and industrious 241 Tupi Indians contains numerous references to their large plots. I may add that in the quantity and variety of their garden produce they outstripped not only the neighboring tribes but also the frontier people. In 1935, in the months of June to August, I found the village provided abundantly with the most delicious bananas, five varieties of manioc and numerous other tubers, beans, peanuts, and maize. In 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little cará [Tr., a variety of yam], or manioc cake. The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts, for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such [574] a change in the food situation affects the tribal behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality.

It is true that this may also have resulted in part from contact 177 with the neighboring Whites who have settled on the Tapirapé River [648] over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their 177 body is undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. 291 Thus, instead of satisfying the appetites of their Indian visitors, they

648 been explored by the Whites nevertheless has its owners. Those owners, that is, the Indians, do not as a rule overstep the boundaries of their own territory and strictly respect adjoining areas unless they intend to make war or to trade. Since ethnocentrism is the very human tendency to regard all things exclusively from the standpoint of one's own people, as though, with their concepts, they were the center of the world, it is not surprising that what seems "raw" to us often is not so to men of another culture. This attitude leads people of limited intellectual horizons, such as the frontiersmen, to regard the differences between themselves and the Indians as so enormous that the latter do not seem to be "people." Taking this as a premise, they act with impeccable logic when they conclude that the land of the aborigines is untenanted. And the authorities who ratify this conclusion prove themselves equally ethnocentric.

Far be it from me to depict the inhabitants of the Tapirapé River as furious invaders. They are humble people, movingly naive, who represent what is conventionally called "good people." It seems that it is not only for reasons of numerical inferiority that they seek peace with the Indians by treating them with kindness. In spite of this, of course, shocks are unavoidable. There are encounters where no blood is shed. Economic interests are met in the hunting and fishing zone of the Tapirapé, and the latter are deprived of protein. The interests which spread gonorrhea among the Karajá [Caraja] are of a different sort. In both cases, however, the Indians concerned are so pleasant that these encounters, in spite of their baleful consequences for the tribes concerned, are at worst "mild shocks" to the frontiersmen as compared with those they suffered from Indians of quite a different temper, namely, the Kaiapó and Chavante.

These Chavante and Kaiapó are Gê Indians, that is, they belong to the large group of tribes that offered greater resistance and gave greater frights to the White intruders than most other Brazilian Indians. They usually find the clash of solid clubs preferable to idle talk. [101] Tapirapé territory is wedged in between them. The northern Kaiapó are feared more than the Chavante, and in fact the number of their victims is larger than that of the strangers who lost their lives in [726] Chavante territory. Furthermore, the Kaiapó not only march on the Araguaia to do away with the frontiersmen and their houses, but also march south and attack Tampiitáua, as I shall mention later.

648 Tapirapé houses, covered with palm and
[342] "wild banana" leaves, a sturdy protection against heat, cold, and rain, are worth nothing in the eyes of those who own earthen walls. The language which they do not understand seems as ugly to them as all the strange customs seem ridiculous or horrifying, be they facial painting, masked dances, or the practices of the sorcerers--medicine men. This does not prevent them from being no less "primitive" than the Indians in certain aspects of their material culture. In Pôrto Velho, for example, a family from Conceição used a tree trunk with hollowed-out steps as a ladder, thus resembling in this respect the Oiampi [Oyampi] Indians of Guiana who reach their raised houses by similar contraptions.

Retreating before the White intruders with the transfer of
• 726 Tampiitáua, the Tapirapé fell once more into the hands of that neighbor who has probably been for centuries the Number One enemy of their tribe. In 1935 they had already shown their fear openly at night, asking me not to let go of my revolver when I lay down in my net so as to be ready to defend them from the Kaiapó, who [142] had attacked and destroyed another village of theirs three years earlier and killed most of its inhabitants. When I reached Pôrto Velho last July, the same preoccupation had seized the frontiersmen. They spoke of the nearness of the Kaiapó in the same terms as it had been mentioned 12 years earlier in Tampiitáua. These rumors were confirmed by the presence of three families who had come from the plains near Conceição do Araguaia. They said that they had left it only out of fear of those Indians, who had killed seven persons in the previous year.

Unfortunately, the expected danger was not imaginary. A few weeks after our last visit, the Kaiapó attacked Tampiitáua. Details
[115] of this tragic occurrence are related in a letter I received from Father
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1. Conceição do Araguaia, 11 October 1947

Dear Professor:

I am the Frenchman you met on the Araguaia as you went up from the Tapirapé toward Leopoldina.

I know how interested you were in this small group of attractive Indians, and thus, after arriving at Conceição the day before yesterday, I hasten to send you the news, which is very sad.

726 During the last days of August, Cayapo warriors--Gorotirés evidently--attacked the Tapirapé village while all the men were at Lake Tucunaré. Only the women, children, and the old man Camaraé were left. They killed two women and a young girl: Eirõa, wife of Tampiri, Amoou, wife of Perera, and Tamamãtchoa, and abducted a woman, a young girl, and a small boy: Iparénahí, wife of Camaraé, Amarai, daughter of Pereira, and Uãcuré, son of Eirõa (please excuse the transcription of these Tupy [Tupi] words). The old man shot his arrows, and the Cayapo "braves" fled after burning down two houses. [648] Father Palha and I found the frightened population at Pôrto Velho, where they had sought 727 refuge, lacking everything, hungry, disheartened. In short, a heart-rending sight similar to what I have seen in Europe. We convinced the Tapirapés to go to their village. The women were afraid and tried to dissuade the men. Seven left with us, and four stuck it out to the end. We found this charming little village, which you were the last to visit along with Dr. Haroldo, savagely looted. We brought back the cudgels that were used in the slaughter. I shall describe them to you and give you many other details of this event. The Cayapos had returned that very morning to continue the looting. Unfortunately, we did not come upon them. We remained one day and one night. The three Tapirapés took up a load of cotton and flour (they have no more hammocks and suffer a great deal) and set fire to their village to prevent the enemy from utilizing it further. It was rather tragic. We [166] returned to Pôrto Velho. They intend to settle 648 a few leagues from São João. I saw the large plots of these good, industrious, peaceful

To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *iwúterahú*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of

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648 people, and it is a pity. Ten armed men would suffice to clear the territory of these assassins, but no one does anything about it. I shall leave in three or four days for Maraba, where I shall catch the plane. I hope to proceed directly to São Paulo, where I shall promptly look you up to see whether it would be possible to obtain urgent help for these poor Tapirapés.

I hope to see you soon and send you, esteemed Professor, my sincerest regards.

(S) M. H. Lelong, O.P.

[Translated from French.]

648 727 and that the survivors sought refuge in Porto Velho, where they lack foodstuffs, sleeping hammocks, cotton to make new hammocks, agricultural tools, and kitchen implements (2).

2. I have omitted those parts of my report in which I emphasized the need to send help to the survivors. The man who saved them was Mr. Lucio Penna da Luz, who gave them shelter and food. In September, 1948, Mr. Harald Schultz, Assistant in Ethnology at the São Paulo Museum, found the majority of them living in sheds at the São Pedro ranch, the property of Mr. Lucio, located on the right bank of the Tapirapé.

[166]

648 An urgent measure to be taken is the establishment of a post on the upper Tapirapé River. Up to now, the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres [143], located at the mouth of that river, was intended to protect the Tapirapé Indians. It turned out to be inadequate for the purpose because it was too far removed from the habitat of the tribe. On the other hand, as early as 1942, when I commented on the attempts to resettle the Tapirapé at that spot on the Araguaia, I called attention to the fact that "the immediate and continuous contact of these Indians with the most varied representatives of our civilization, which would be inevitable if the above-mentioned project were to be

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177 All those imports from us, living alongside the traditional traits, are no more than curiosities [99:76] in the minds of the Tapirapé, curiosities hardly more important to the functioning of their culture than one of their arrows or legends would be to the average European.

From what I was able to observe, Reverend Kegel usually 177 restricted himself to the teaching of songs and the administration 797 of medicines. Owing to their sporadic quality and short duration, and especially to the difficulty of communicating through words, the encounters with the Dominicans and other visitors have enriched Tapirapé culture even less. Unfruitful, too, were the attempts to wield an influence through individuals who had been taken to the Araguaia by the missionaries and who knew more about the White way of life than those who had never left tribal territory. It is well known how easily many of the Brazilian Indians educated in our civilized centers have re-adjusted to and been re-absorbed by their native environment (cf. Baldus 7, 165, and Araujo Lima 134-135). Actually, I did not see any Tapirapé who had lived with the Whites long enough to experience the conflicts of the "marginal man" of Park, Stonequist, and other American sociologists.

The impoverishment of Tapirapé culture was induced large- 164 ly by the diseases of the Whites, but these were introduced only partly as a result of direct contact. It is probable that the neighboring Karajá, continually exposed to contagion as inhabitants of the Araguaia, frequently acted as transmitters. This at least may be assumed as regards the strange diseases which were introduced prior to direct contact with the Whites. As Wagley (2) masterfully [114] pointed out, the catastrophic depopulation caused by the epidemics [165] that raged around 1895 and 1900, and later ones as well, affected [731] the social organization to such an extent that important traits of [178] Tapirapé culture were modified or lost.

The Tapirapé often told me that in the old days their people 177 knew everything about such celestial phenomena as eclipses and [821] about many other mythological subjects, and now know almost nothing. This may not be solely the result of the mortality caused [731] by epidemics and by the bellicose attacks of neighboring Karajá [726] and Kayapó. Some old people did survive. I can imagine the pressure exercised by the presence of our culture upon the minds

171 Xingu headwaters, writes that the dance of the jacuí ("yakuí") is
535 "original to" the Auetö and Kamayurá [Camayura], that is, the
[114] Tupí tribes of the Culuene basin and thus the eastern part of that region which is separated from Tapirapé territory by the waters of the Xingu and the Araguaia. Furthermore, [100:192] both the Auetö and the Kamayurá had two kinds of masked dances, the dance of the jacuí and that of a fish called koahálu among the former and hüvát among the latter (ibid., 310-317). True, the masks used by those tribes (ibid., Figs. 107-114) differ completely from the masks made by the Tapirapé. In addition, what little may be inferred from the brief references to the dancing and songs of those Xingu Indians (ibid., 313-315) discloses no similarity to the chankuí and iranchá performances. On the other hand, the Tapirapé also differ from the Karajá in the design of their masks, their songs, and their dance motions.

Thus, the complex of masked dances that extends between the Xingu and the Araguaia assumes special forms in each of the above-mentioned tribes, and these forms, although they hint at a mutual relationship, do not reveal which of the tribes was the first to use masks or where it got the idea to do so. It can only be said
[648] that there are no historical data to substantiate contact between the Tapirapé and the tribes of the Culuene basin, while age-old relations between the Tapirapé and the Karajá are thoroughly documented. [Ed., the remainder of this section in Vol. 100, pp. 192-198, and the section in Vol. 101, pp. 67-75, are omitted.]

[102:123] While in Tampiitáua no one bothered with the
648 neighboring Kyrydjá [Tr., Ge-speaking, in this case Chavante] to the south, the Kayapó neighboring on the north, called Kananchahó, were mentioned frequently and with feeling. When dealing with the "Karajá of the Xingu," I referred to them and to the fear they inspire. I was informed that in 1932 they had de-
[726] stroyed a large Tapirapé village located "ten days' march" north of Tampiitáua and killed most of its inhabitants. According to
[731] other reports, an epidemic depopulated that village and compelled the survivors to abandon it. No matter what the cause of this
648 mortality may have been, fear of the Kananchahó undoubtedly con-
166 tributed to the desire of the survivors to put as much distance as possible between themselves and these neighbors and to take refuge in the southernmost village of their tribe, that is Tampiitáua. The

114 The Kayapó who have intimidated the Tapirapé over the
175 past few years, however, do not belong to the bands visited by
726 Krause in 1908 and by Kissenberth in the same year and the following one, that is to say, the Indians called Kayapó-Mẽkubengokré by this author. Kissenberth (2, 40) heard Mẽkubengokré elders relate that the last hostile encounters between their people and the Tapirapé had occurred approximately in the middle of the last century. This traveler does not [102:126] explain, however, how the near-sexagenarian Tapirapé he saw in a Mẽkubengokré village (ibid., 47 and Figs. 4 and 5; 1, Figs. 18 and 19) got there and was annexed to the tribe.

171 I shall show later that the Tapirapé have a few cultural traits that are similar to traits of these Kayapó, but not as many as the ones that reveal their kinship with the Karajá. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 102, pp. 126-130, is omitted.]

[103:183] Chapter 5

## The Number of Villages and of Tribal Members

621 Sixteenth-century authors, such as Pero de Magalhães de
171 Gandavo (45) and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (362), already pointed out the propensity of the Tupí Indians to divide into bands as a result of certain dissensions. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

621 In the case of the Tapirapé, the disruptive forces were not only countered by the authority of Kamairahó in Tampiitáua, but were also kept at bay by more powerful destructive forces, that is [731] to say, terrible epidemics. Kamairahó's authority became ap- [554] parent when I attempted to ascertain in which of the various villages, now extinct, the individuals who make up the present population of Tampiitáua had originated. Those who had revealed their birthplace to me [103:184] did not dare repeat the information in the presence of this most influential leader. The unifying [578] activity of Kamairahó was justified by the fact that old antagonisms between the villages were not yet entirely forgotten, although they were seldom recalled.

166 621 [627] It may be that the emigrants, leaving under the pressure of public opinion, stated that they were merely going on a hunt. Such a statement might have been motivated by a wish not to ruin any possibility of return with a definitive and hostile farewell. It actually seems that they returned a few years later and were not killed by the Kayapó. Wagley, indeed, told me that when he was in Tampiitáua in 1939 he heard of a Tapirapé village named Chichutáua, located six days' journey to the north and inhabited by 45 people. The inhabitants of that village appeared one fine day and joined the people of Tampiitáua, making a total of 147 [103:185] individuals (cf. Wagley 2, 409). In 1935, I counted 130 inhabitants in Tampiitáua. The discrepancy of 17 may well tally with the figure "20" for the emigrants, granting that among the total Tapirapé population the number of deaths was higher than that of births and taking into account the inadequate familiarity of this tribe with numbers. The quoted figure of "45" relating to the number of inhabitants in Chichutáua may be explained by the fact that the population of this village had increased since 1935 with the arrival of other emigrants from Tampiitáua. When he looked at the photographs I had taken, Wagley found that a large number of the Chichutáua inhabitants had been in Tampiitáua at the time of my visit. This is a good example of "horizontal social mobility" (cf. Baldus and Willems 153).

Regarding the propensity of these Tupí Indians for splitting up, it is fitting to cite also the following case. In September, 1932, the young and forceful "capitain" Ikaranchó, who had quarreled with Kamairahó, founded a new village one league [115] east of Tampiitáua. Reverend Kegel, to whom I owe this piece of information, visited both villages. Ikaranchó had so much [721] energy that he managed to post well-disciplined sentries around his settlement at night. Such a precaution, taken probably on account of the Kayapó, was unheard-of among the Tapirapé. One third of the inhabitants of Tampiitáua moved to the new village. Nearly all of them were young people [Ed., the remainder of the sentence is omitted]. At the time when Ikaranchó's village was founded, 164 camaradas of the Dominicans at Conceição • 731 transmitted to the Tapirapé, with whom they had been in contact on the river of the same name, an attack of influenza which

164 apparently was aggravated by pneumonia. During the rainy season
731 that followed, this epidemic caused great mortality throughout
[165] the tribe, also killing Ikaranchó and his wife. Then the separa-
[166] tists returned to Tampiitáua.

The eighteenth century map reproduced in this work points
361 out with three triangles the "Aldeas do Gentio Tapirapé [villages of the Tapirapé people]." In his account of Alfredo Olimpio de Oliveira's 1911 expedition, Angyone Costa (222-223) writes as follows about the Tapirapé of the time: "These Indians occupy three villages, the first one located two days' journey from the riverbank, the second one three days' away. The explorer did not visit the third one."

The following appears in the account of the Dominican ex-
[113] pedition of 1914 printed in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosário (317): "The Tapirapé form three groups, or rather three malocas [villages], five days' journey apart. The Indians can walk 50 kilo-
[481] meters a day. This shows how huge is the region inhabited by such a relatively sparse tribe. The village we visited had 16 huts,
[592] each one sheltering several families. It is true that when the
[609] Fathers drew near, some of the huts were emptied, and families, urged on by a suspicious chief, ran to hide in the forest. The peo-
[161] ple we found did not exceed 160 souls, and from this it may easily be inferred that the tribe does not include more than about a thousand members."

[103:186] The note published in 1912 about Dr. Francisco
621 Mandacarú's journey states that the Tapirapé village visited by
[161] this explorer contained 268 inhabitants and that "almost invariably, a village merely consists of a single and numerous family." The number of villages, however, is not mentioned (cf. Kissenberth 2, 43-44).

[161] The same applies to the account of the trip by the inspector of the Indians, mentioned earlier, which only states that "some 1,000 or 1,500" Tapirapé were found (Glass, 139).

Reverend Kegel told me that in August of 1932 he found in
[161] Tampiitáua some 14 houses with slightly more than 220 occupants. These people, as we have already mentioned, split up in September, but were together again when we visited them the following
[165] year. From 50 to 60 of them died during the 1932-1933 rainy season, and only three or four children born at that time were seen by this missionary.

162 621 In the age group ranging from 15 to 30, there were 30 males and 20 females, that is, 50 individuals of both sexes.

In the age group ranging from 31 to 60, there were 13 males and 12 females, that is to say, 25 individuals of both sexes. Only two among them were older than 45, one woman who was 48 and one who was 60.

There was not a single individual older than 60.

The most striking fact is the small number of individuals over 30 years of age. On the other hand, the number of individuals younger than 15 is not, in proportion, as small as the corresponding group among certain "civilized" peoples. [Ed., the remainder of p. 187 is omitted.]

[103:188] The 35 Tampiitáua couples included 20 where [582] the husband appeared to be older than the wife, 12 where the opposite seemed to be the case, and three where they seemed to be of the same age. I say "appeared to be older" to acknowledge minor inaccuracies in reckoning people's ages, even though I did not do this alone but in collaboration with Mr. Kegel, who had more points of reference than I because he had observed these Indians for several years.

592 162 The following table shows the number, sex, and age of the occupants of each house indicated on the ground plan of the village. [Table appears here.]

621 166 I heard in 1935, and published in 1937, that the Tapirapé formerly had five villages whose descendants make up the present population of Tampiitáua (cf. Baldus 17, 86). Wagley (2, 408-409) confirmed this, adding (4, 5) that those five villages "probably existed as late as the turn of the century and are said to have had a population of about 200 people each." He also refers (ibid.) ●[731] to epidemics as the only cause for the abandonment of these villages. I have already mentioned that in the case of the village [648] abandoned in 1932 fear of the Kayapó must have been a contributing factor. It is worth noting the explanation given for the move of 756 the occupants of three other villages to Tampiitáua: there were 166 no médicos-feiticeiros [Tr., sorcerers--medicine men] left 621 among them. This might, of course, have occurred as the result of an epidemic. The interesting fact, however, is that the Tapirapé did not mention disease but the lack of pagés [Tr., shamans] as the reason for abandoning the villages. Nothing could

[Text continues on p.42]

249 476 that the Indians suck. It was, incidentally, the only cultivated plot within the clearing where Tampiitaua stood.

The center of Tampiitaua was the takana, the large men's 361 house. Eight communal huts were grouped around it, with their 342 entrances set in such a way that it was impossible to look from the 345 inside of one hut into that of another (cf. Fig. 8, in which the chief entrances are represented with black rectangles and the secondary ones with blank rectangles). The village plaza stretched between the front of the takana and the semicircle formed by the houses on the east side of the settlement, and it was the setting for dances, singing, games, races, speeches, and banquets.

The "village of the tapirs," however, had not always stood 361 in the clearing where I found it, nor did it remain there after my 166 departure (cf. Ch. 5). At certain times, the Tapirapé move far away. At regular intervals varying from two to five years, however, they move the village to a spot only one or a few leagues away. When they abandoned the village located on the banks of the lower Tapirapé, the distance they covered was considerable, that is to say, probably a few dozen kilometers. Long distances [621] were also covered at various times when villages split up or joined [578] together, as a result, in the former case, of internal dissensions, and in the latter case of dwindling population [Fig. 8 appears here] [110:193] or lack of shamans. The chief causes for the smaller, 136 habitual moves are the plagues of cockroaches and the number of 166 graves within the huts. The unchecked proliferation of Blattella 361 germanica L. compels the Indians to abandon and burn down all their houses every few years. The recurrence of this event is ensured by the carelessness of the Indians, for after the village has been destroyed the household goods carried to the new site are never sufficiently free from cockroaches to prevent them from [764] soon swarming all over the dwellings. When epidemics cause the [731] floors of the huts to fill rapidly with graves, this manner of burial may entail the erection of a new village within an even shorter period of time.

Not only does the settlement change as to site, however, but 361 it also changes in size. I have already mentioned in Chapter 5 the data furnished by Reverend Kegel, according to which [342] Tampiitaua consisted of about 14 houses in August, 1932. The

[Text continues on p. 78]

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
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had continued during the last thirteen years. Yet I found that even with so small a population Tapirapé society still functioned as an organized unit and Tapirapé culture persisted, although highly modified by the events of the last thirteen years. Several points of theoretical importance can be learned from recent Tapirapé history and from some observations on social and cultural changes since 1940.

The sketchy outline of Tapirapé history between 1940 and 1953, which I have been able to piece together with the help of the Indians themselves, of Sr. Valentim Gomes (the officer of the post of the Brazilian Indian Service which services the Tapirapé, and my companion during both visits to the tribe in 1939-40), and of a published report by Herbert Baldus,[3] indicates the tremendous shocks this society has suffered in the last decade. Briefly, this history is as follows: In 1941, just a year after my 1940 visit, a serious epidemic broke out in the Tapirapé village in which I had lived. As usual, following an epidemic during which there is a series of deaths, dissension broke out within the village. A well-known shaman was killed and a group of Tapirapé ("perhaps thirty in number") fled the village to the Brazilian town of Furo de Pedra, some two hundred kilometers from their village. It is reported that at least two people died during this trip and that the group returned to their village infected with common colds. By August of 1940, Sr. Gomes was able to ascertain that twenty-six people had died since June of the same year. In September of 1941 an Indian Post for the protection of the Tapirapé was opened, but it was established at the mouth of the Tapirapé River, near the Carajá whom the Tapirapé feared and near Brazilians from whom they contracted new infections. That year, a few Indians visited the Post but after the death of a young Tapirapé man at the Post and an unfortunate experience with a group of drunken Brazilian men, only rarely did a Tapirapé

3. "Tribus da Baria do Araguaia e o Serviço de Proteção aos Índios", in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, N. S., Vol. II, São Paulo, 1948, pp. 137-168.

854 over so that the child lay in the shadow of the woman's nude body. Only when she reached the house did the mother hold herself erect and take the child in her arms again.

171 854 As a rule, when carried, the Tampiitaua child rides on the hip of the adult, who holds him with the hand. We also saw this among the Karajá (cf. also Krause 2, 276). I did not observe in either tribe the use of straps for carrying children, which I dealt with in some detail in Chapter 6. Although Tupinambá women, according to Fernão Cardim (170), carried their children "wrapped in hammock strips," they held them in the Tapirapé fashion, "like gypsies, straddling the hip." And just as among the inhabitants of Tampiitaua, so also among the ancient eastern Tupi, according to Vicente de Salvador (37), fathers as well as mothers carried the children in their arms.

Referring to the Taulipáng, Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 147) notes 171 that it is extremely rare for parents to speak harshly to their child 861 or to spank him, and adds, "I never saw corrective punishment." This could be said of nearly all Brazilian tribes, and especially of the Tapirapé. Fernão Cardim (170) notes of the Tupinambá that they did not subject their children to "punishments of any sort." Among the Karajá, according to Lipkind (2, 187), "sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children" [cited in English]. Tapirapé parents usually laugh at a crying child, unless he is sick.

In Tampiitaua in 1935, I found nine children under ten who 736 had neither father nor mother, six of whom were boys, namely, one of three years, three of five years, and two of eight years, and three girls between six and eight. Among the latter, one hung her net beside that of her father's brother, and another had hers in her stepmother's home. One of the five-year-old boys hung his net beside that of his father's sister. I found no close relatives for the other six orphans. The fate of the youngest one, the boy of three, was not an enviable one. He served as the village plaything, and he was the victim of everyone's moods, good and bad. He was dirty and sad. The older orphans, however, were not in such a lamentable state and were not distinguishable in behavior [127:234] from other children of the same age. According to Wagley and Galvão (4, 76), in the Tupi tribe of the Tenetehara (Guajajara) of Maranhão, only

• 736 male orphans are neglected. In Tampiitaua in 1947, I found a single child under ten without father or mother. He was a boy of about two years. He was captured by the Kayapó when they [726] attacked the village shortly after my visit. The fact that he was the only child to be abducted at the time may help to define the position of orphans under four years of age.

In contrast to these insufficiently protected children, we found 858 among the Tapirapé a figure who differed from the usual child in 554 being treated with far greater attention and pampering. In 1935 Ampitania was the "favorite child." This girl of four or five was indeed the little princess of Tampiitaua. She was always gentle and polite, and constantly disclosed new charms. She was far more ornamented than other children, wearing white fluff glued to her body and several bead necklaces, aside from the cotton ornaments painted with urucú. She stayed alternately with the two most important men in the village, spending one day and one night with Kamairahó and his wife, and the following day and night with Vuatanamy and wife. She lived, therefore, in the two largest houses and with the leaders who were, to some extent, [621] rivals. She thus held, undoubtedly, a unifying function. Kamairahó made a point of telling me repeatedly that she was descended from "captains," thus calling my attention to the girl's "blue blood." Incidentally, he himself also seems to have been a "favorite child" (cf. Wagley 4, 23).

The institution of the "favorite child" also exists among the [171] Karajá, according to my inquiry of 1935 (cf. Baldus 7, 83) and confirmed years later by Lipkind (2, 186). These Indians of the Araguaia have a special term for such children, whom they call ioló.

Among the Tapirapé, as among all other South American tribes 171 I visited, I observed the behavior of children among themselves 858 and in relation to adults, which differs markedly from the behavior of the children I knew in Germany. These seemed, so to speak, much more "childish" than the Indian children and many neo-Brazilian children. They had less interest in the adult world because it was much less accessible to them than it is to the children of the Brazilian forests and cities. Because they did not talk to adults on an equal footing, asschildren here so commonly do, the

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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756 on the contrary, they were described as "good wives", and one of them was remembered as small and particularly attractive.

756 828 [736] Certain people regardless of sex are early recognized as future shamans because of their natural inclination to dream. Several informants, for example, told me that a young boy, an orphan, and therefore badly cared for, would certainly be a powerful shaman. He turned and talked in his sleep and had been known to cry during a nightmare. He remembered few of his dreams but did tell of seeing the spirit of his mother, and described an evil spirit which he met during a dream. One of the present powerful shamans is said to have been such a youngster with a predilection for dreaming. Such youngsters are nervous and sensitive; yet no distinct personality traits were observed among adult 756 [2?] shamans. Shamans are frequently emaciated and thin, attributable perhaps to their constant use of tobacco and the resulting nausea, and one shaman, now dead, was described by informants as a nervous ascetic interested only in the supernatural world.

276 756 787 Persons lacking this predilection for dreaming, but with aspirations to shamanism, may solicit dreams. Each year during the days of the dry season all young men who aspire to shamanism, even those who have shown potentialities during boyhood, gather each evening in the central plaza of the village to seek dreams. A novice sits upon the ground near a *pajé*, his mentor, and swallows smoke from his mentor's pipe until violent vomiting occurs. When the novices are too ill to hold the pipe, the shaman holds it for them, forcing them to continue "eating smoke". Generally the neophites fall backwards unconscious and ill from the smoke; during this state they may dream. In any case, when they regain their senses, the pipe is again placed in their mouth until they fall backwards ill and unconscious once more. The process may be repeated several times over a period of two or three hours. Later, when the novice retires to his hammock for the night, he may expect a dream.

756 Such sessions occur each night during the few weeks before the Thunder ceremony and a serious novice should attend all sessions. [934] During this period he refrains from sexual intercourse because it will hinder his dreaming; he also refrains from bathing and so becomes [515] grimey. He must not eat of those animals which "walk at night", such [262] as the jaboti tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) and the monkey, because he must be friendly with all creatures he may meet in his nocturnal dream travels. He should eat manioc flour, yams, pepper, and such bland

291 folding the strip in half, the men fold a small part of it obliquely, and then fold the strip once more so that the triangle is placed exactly over it. The strip is not folded stiffly, since owing to its natural toughness it has a tendency to unfold. As a result of this tendency, the tip folded in this fashion remains securely held in the knot along with the other tip.

As a rule, a man will prepare a new sheath as he gets up in the morning. The prepuce is pushed through the funnel in such a way that it projects beyond the smaller opening and is tied all around like the end of a sausage, remaining erect. Thus, the funnel is worn upside-down, that is to say, with the smaller opening on top and the larger rim facing toward the front (cf. Photos. 5, 63, and 68).

As may be seen in these photographs, the yellow color of the inner-bark strip stands out clearly against the skin. In view of [832] this, a desire to attract the attention of the opposite sex may be involved in the use of the sheath. At the same time, it is also [834] possible that the men assign to the sheath the same purpose that, [171] according to Krause (2, 204), the Karajá assign to their penis cord, that is to say, that of concealing the glans from the eyes of women. There is no doubt, however, that both sheath and cord serve as 751 protection against crustaceans and insects, such as ticks, for example. We have known cases where these parasites fastened their proboscis [105:85] right at the opening of the urethra. The [825] Tapirapé make no distinctions among these various kinds of little creatures and call them all tantevoga. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Small boys do not protect their member. Just as the Karajá 291 adolescents do not use the penis cord until their hair is cut for the [881] initiation, Tapirapé youths first use the sheath at the time of the [171] haircut.

The importance of the penis sheath to the Tapirapé is perhaps [524] made evident by the fact that even the dolls made for fun were supplied with such sheaths (Photo. 77). [Ed., the last half of p. 85, p. 86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted.]

[105:87] The waist cord is called anchekuakuán or [283] chikoanghohúa in Tapirapé. It is made of cotton threads twisted [462] by the women on their thighs, but it is used solely by the men. The latter wear it so that it lies a good distance below the navel

261 826 swallow the hair plucked from their own body. Indeed, like most South American Indians, the Tapirapé have the custom of carefully plucking all the hair from their faces and bodies. They refer to this procedure as ekopaś. They remove body hair by covering it first with hot ashes and then plucking it out with their fingers. They likewise pluck out their whiskers exclusively with the fingers. To remove eyebrows and eyelashes, however, they use a special instrument consisting simply of the caryopsis of a certain grass plant [Tr., identified in a later, omitted passage as the fruit of Streptogyne crinita Beauv., according to F.C. Hoehne (3)] which is equipped with teeth forming hooks at acute angles. The Indian holds this pod between the right thumb and index finger, while holding the eyebrow or eyelashes of the person he is about to beautify with the corresponding fingers of the left hand. Then he places the little hooks against the stretched hair, pushing down. A few hairs are invariably caught in this natural implement and removed along with it. [Ed., the last half of p. 109, which includes a detailed description of the use of Streptogyne crinita Beauv. as an instrument for depilation, pp. 110-113, and the first two lines of p. 114 are omitted.]

302 [413]

[107:114] The Tapirapé apply scarification to men only. They first do this at the time when the boy who is to be initiated is given a haircut, that is to say, one year before the initiation ceremony. The procedure is repeated several times until marriage, and not infrequently it is carried out even after that. The Indians make vertical scratches on the skin of the arm between the shoulder and the elbow, and on the front part of the leg both on the thigh and between the knee and foot. The procedure is carried out by a mature man. Immediately afterward, the patient steps into the water to wash. It is extremely rare for inflammation to result. The aim of the procedure is to "give strength." According to Wagley (4, 17), the killer of a sorcerer--medicine man, in order to protect himself and the rest of his tribe against any possible danger, must, among other precautionary measures, "scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dogfish, just as he did in the course of the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult" [Tr., given in English in 4, 72]. I obtained no such information while I was in Tampiitśua.

304 [881] [827] 751 114 304

The scarifying tool has the same name as the scratches it makes, namely, chainiśua. It is a triangular gourd fragment

304 413 [192]

302 are a characteristic decoration of the men (Photo. 68). I never saw a Tapirapé woman painted with urucú. [Fig. 6 appears here.] Only a few girls sometimes wore urucú designs on their bodies, for example, Kanuana, a pampered eight-year-old girl (Photo. 9).
[531] The girls' cotton ornaments are also dyed with this staining ma-
[881] terial, which also serves, incidentally, to plaster a girl's hair on the day when her first menstruation ends.
[462] As a rule, the women paint not only other members of the female sex, but also their sons, lovers, and husbands. I once saw a man painting a little girl, however.

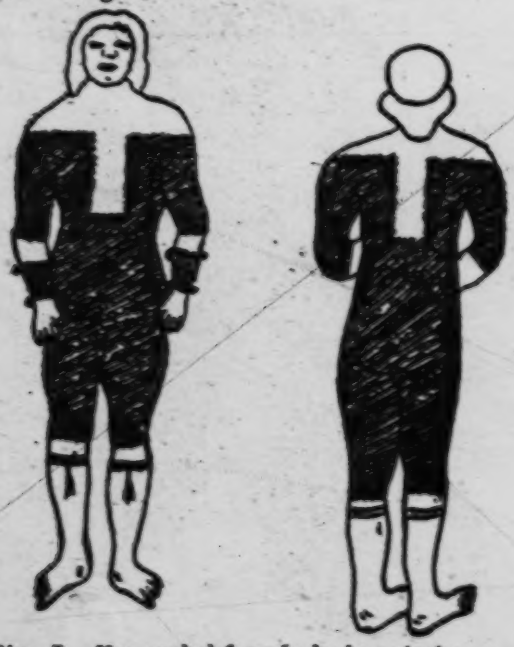

Fig. 5. Kananchahó male body painting.

Genipap paintings, as well as those done with urucú, are applied simply with the hands, that is to say, without any implement (Photo. 7 and 8).

There are authors who regard the application of urucú on the
114 skin as a protection against the rays of the sun and against insect
302 bites. Experiments proved that one of the properties of urucú is its
•751 failure to absorb solar heat in any but very modest amounts. The feet and lower part of the legs, that is to say, the places where

114 urucú "stockings" are often applied, are one of the body parts
302 most frequently exposed to the attack of various troublesome in-
751 sects. The following objections, however, are in order: (1) as
body paint, although widespread in South America, urucú is used
[171] to cover the entire body only in a very few tribes and is usually
applied only to certain skin areas; (2) among the tribes with which
we are familiar, this staining material is not used every day, but
only on certain occasions; (3) on such occasions, the Indians do
not paint all members of the tribe with urucú, but only certain
persons; (4) there are [108:127] tribes who prefer to blacken the

Fig. 6. Design on a man's thigh.

skin with genipap juice rather than anoint it with the oily urucú, although they possess both staining materials in abundance. Such a preference would not be explained by the following sentence in Gabriel Soares de Sousa (215) about genipap: "This dye has the property of drying the yaws pustules of the Indians, and of anyone who uses it as a salve."

The supposition that body painting originally had a magical
302 purpose, which was forgotten by many tribes in the course of time,
789 would seem to me more adequate than any rationalistic explanation
[114] set forth by ethnocentric Europeans.

262 the mangaba [Tr., fruit of the mangabeira] is "the best wild fruit"
824 in the Paressi Range and in many other localities of Mato Grosso and the northeastern part of Brazil.

The palm tree called pinaua by the Tapirapé and macaba by my north-Brazilian camarada, with a nut, slightly larger than a cherry, that ripens in October or November. This nut is boiled
[252] until the flesh is softened and then rubbed on a strainer lying in a pot, so that the flesh is worked loose from the pit and falls into the pot where it is boiled in water. The end result is reminiscent of walnuts in flavor and is refreshing.

[114:195] The small nut of another tree, the tucuma palm or tucum-açu (Astrocaryun spec., chavana in Tapirapé) is prized for its oil content and is gathered in October.

The Tapirapé like to eat a kind of mushroom they call yvãpá.

These Indians cultivate several other plants aside from those
243 mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Maize (Zea mays L.,
252 avandxí in Tapirapé) is harvested while still green, hung inside
262 the house to yellow, and then crushed and used to make porridge
824 or cauí. Its Tapirapé name corresponds to abati in Staden (e 2), auati in Léry (120), ubatim in Soares de Sousa (199), auatî in Stradelli (384), and abatí in Montoya (2, I, 357 and II, 10). [Ed.; the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The seeds of peanuts (Arachis spec., monoví in Tapirapé) are
244 pounded and then added to certain mushes, or else roasted, pounded,
252 and eaten in this way, or roasted and eaten without being subjected
262 to the pestle, or chewed and spit into the pot to ferment and turn
824 into cauí. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195, p. 196, and the first paragraph on p. 197 are omitted.]

[114:197] In the previous chapter, we mentioned that the
262 Tapirapé women participate in sowing and harvesting only peanuts,
824 maize, and cotton. The observation by the sixteenth century
[462] Portuguese author [Gabriel Soares de Sousa] that peanuts are "very
[241] hot when eaten excessively," and harmful in certain cases, seems to agree with the idea expressed by the Tapirapé custom that re-
[351] quires father and mother to abstain from this food during their child's first two years so as not to endanger his life.

The peanuts I saw in large quantities among the Tapirapé seem
137 to be a variety of Arachis nambyquarae. This species was found
17 by Kuhlmann in 1919 among the Nambikuara [Nambicuara] of
244

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapo SP22



*Case of Ipawungi*

756 781 796 Ipawungi, a young man of about twenty years of age, is a novice to shamanism. During one of his dreams, stimulated by "eating smoke" he saw *ančúnga* but was unable to identify which ones they were. During the Thunder ceremony, however, he decorated his body as did the *ančúnga* he had seen in his dream. He painted a cross with urucu [302] on his chest and wore feathers of the white vulture (urubú-rei — *Sarcoramphus papa*) down the sides of his arms. As a protective mea- [751] sure he carried a mirror with him during all ceremonies for, like ghosts of the dead, the beings of Thunder are frightened if they see their own image in a mirror. During one sundown session Ipawungi fell crying wildly, and scratching his body frantically from head to foot, as if the itching were unbearable, letting out blood-curdling screams. This behavior was seen several times during the ceremony in other persons. The [827] itching, informants told me, comes from many invisible fleas which jump from any dog on to the body of a person participating in the ceremony. [231] Dogs, therefore, are securely tied to house posts or to trees at the edge of the village during the four days of the Thunder ceremony but they, of course, escape now and again.

*Case of Campukwi*

Campukwi, a young man of about twenty-four years of age, says that he does not want to be a shaman because "Tapirapé have killed many shamans". He took part rather casually in several of the phases of the ceremony: he "ate smoke" and moved about with the group in the evening session when the creatures of Thunder were being called. At the end of the session, when the powerful shamans saw "many topi", he fell, struck down with the rest of the group. Campukwi's wife was not present but his sister came to his side to help him. She looked at him carefully and laughingly said that he was faking. She kicked him and left him instead of helping him to the sidelines. Campukwi stood up, laughed, and left the group.

Now and again through the ceremonies spectators made such observations concerning participants whose reactions seemed doubtful. Some participants did now and again pretend and people laughed at them. It was all taken in a spirit of fun.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



A man now points to the
southwestern horizon and says, "Ware killed all spirits there; they are only 773
spirit souls now." (To the north and east, however, many demon spirits 776
are still alive and active.) Ware engaged in a constant battle of wits with [823]
the spirit world. He killed many of the dangerous variety by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed behind them, and he also killed off another group of beings which clubbed men to death and drank their blood.

Sometimes shamans (*panche*) see malevolent beings in their dream 756
travels, and may even become friendly with them or receive their aid. For 776
example, one shaman told of wandering far in an unknown forest as he 787
dreamed, and of coming upon the spirits called *oreya*, who have long hair wound in a mass, and who carry only one arrow with which they can kill a man. They were about to shoot him but he shouted "No, I am a shaman!" and they left him alone, gave him food and aided him to return. Only shamans can have such relations with these supernaturals. Tapirape laymen are afraid to dream.

The shaman is indispensable to Tapirape living, not only because he has 756
dealings with the spirit world, and through his wanderings enriches the 842
knowledge of men, but also because he is of value in many practical ways. Thus he controls the pregnancy of women. Pregnancy is known to relate to sexual intercourse, but conception comes only when a shaman brings a child to a woman. Thunder, and several types of birds, animals and fish, [825]
have "children," that is, spirits of children. The shaman brings one of these "spirits" to a woman, putting it inside her while she sleeps. A woman who wants a child can, for example, bring honey to a shaman. This will make [787]
him dream, and he will bring her a child. Similarly, a barren woman presumably "had quarrelled much with the shaman."

When Tapirape swim, while fishing and shooting large turtles in the 756
Tapirape River, their safety depends upon the shaman. In this section of 825
Brazil, rivers are full of alligators, *piranha* (carnivorous fish) and sting 751
rays, and according to Tapirape belief, large snakes lurk in deep pools. [481]
Before men may swim safely the shaman must tie the jaws of the alligators, strike the *piranha* across their teeth so they will not bite, and tie up the tails of the large snakes. When Tapirape go hunting, it is up to the [224]
shaman to tell them where packs of wild pigs will be found, or to lead them down to a good spot in the plains country.[23] Danger may lurk in all food; thus Tapirape often take new corn, fresh meat, or any food, to have danger "blown" out of it by the shaman.

The universe for the Tapirape is not finite or entirely known; it is 772
dangerous. Tales of culture heroes and experiences of shamans provide a 756
773

[23] When the Tapirape have made kills of wild pigs, which are "pets" of Thunder he will [821]
be angry and send a sudden rain or clouding of the sky. If a Tapirape sees an unexpected [776]
rainbow in the sky he will say, "The shaman has been successful against Thunder" (i.e., in finding game).

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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those for group singing during the harvest ceremonies and the ceremony 533
of kawi (p. 176); those for the masked dancers during the dry season; and a very large number of songs specifically for the "Big Sing" (monikahô) during the latter part of the rainy season. During this period (approximately March through April), singing takes place throughout each night from sundown to sunrise. On these occasions, [66]
the singing leader and the men of one of the moieties introduce the verse of each song and the refrain is then taken up by the men of the other moiety and the women of the tribe. Women sing in a higher key than the men and, generally, a phrase behind the men. The songs of the masked dancers, each representing a supernatural being, differ stylistically from those used on other occasions in being sung in a falsetto tone, in a manner [171]
similar to that of the neighboring *Carajá*. Many such songs have been [177]
admittedly learned from the *Carajá*.

**Dancing.**—Both men and women dance as they sing. In general, the 535
*Tapirapé* dance bending slightly forward, stamping out the time of the music with one foot. Dancing differs greatly, however, according to the occasion. During the harvest ceremonies, men dance in a line, side by [241]
side, each man's wife dancing directly behind him. During the group singing of the "Big Sing," the men dance in moiety groups facing each other, and women dance behind the moiety group of their husbands. On one occasion during this time, men dance with women, side by side, with a curious skipping step.

**Games.**—Men's moieties run foot races against each other after the 526
communal work festival (p. 168); they race in a straight line across the village plaza. Wrestling takes place at one wet-season ceremony, and, now and again, throughout the year as sport. The *Tapirapé* explain, [171]
however, that the *Carajá* are better wrestlers and that it is more properly a *Carajá* sport. In wrestling, opponents stand face to face, grasping each other about the neck, and attempt to force or to trip the other to the ground. During one festival, men, one from each moiety at a time, compete by throwing blunt-headed spears at each other. Gambling games [525]
are unknown.

**Stimulants.**—Native tobacco, though used for leisure-time smoking, is 276
principally a stimulant and medicine. A *Tapirapé* will not travel without 755
a supply of tobacco to blow smoke over his tired body at the end of the day, in order to take out soreness and tiredness. Tobacco is necessary to shamans in all their activities. They blow tobacco smoke over the patient in curing (p. 177), and, to induce dreams and a trance, they swallow large gulps of smoke until they become intoxicated and nauseated. [751]
When people have seen ghosts, shamans fumigate them with tobacco 276
smoke, in order to drive away the ghost's influence. Shamans fumigate 756
new maize, the first honey of the season and, sometimes, fresh meat to [789]
drive out possible supernatural danger. This native tobacco is smoked

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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755 rubbing toward the extremities of his body. If he fails to extract the [276] malignant object in this fashion, he sucks it out, swallows it, then vomits it up.

At one time, during an epidemic of fever, a shaman used a different method. He prepared a mixture of honey and water, and, after much smoking, spewed it out over the patients and on the houses where there were sick people.

756 Besides healing, the shamans must protect the people against dangerous [75] spirits (ančunga); they call forth "children's spirits" without which there [789] can be no conception; they prevent wild animals from harming the *Tapirapé* during great hunting or fishing expeditions; and they increase the [787] number of peccaries in the woods. It is also believed that they divine the future in their dreams.

The prestige of shamans is such among the *Tapirapé* that almost all leaders of communities as well as of ceremonial moiety groups and household heads are shamans. As shamans receive payment for successful cures, they accumulate many possessions which they redistribute at a yearly ceremonial. Liberality is essential to prestige in this society where avarice is particularly despised.

## MYTHOLOGY

773 *Tapirapé* myths fall into two categories: legends telling of the deeds of ancestral heroes, and tales of animals. In the latter, the tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) is noted for his shrewdness in his dealings with the [171] other animals of the jungle. These stories follow the general *Tupí* pattern.

Among the various *Tapirapé* heroes are Apũwenonu and Petura. The former descended from heaven and lived with the *Tapirapé*. He taught them to plant and harvest cotton, manioc, and maize. When he was old, Apũwenonu returned to heaven and changed himself into a star.

Petura stole fire from the buzzards and brought light to the *Tapirapé*, who until then had not seen day. It is also told of Petura that he stole hatchets and knives from the emu and gave them to the *Tapirapé*.

Txawanamũ is famous for a series of songs which tell of his adventures among the mythical ampúawa, enemies of the *Tapirapé*, who made him die a lingering death. Wančina, a great shaman, had his whole house, including his family and belongings, transported to heaven by Kanawana, the Thunder. Waré was another shaman who killed many dangerous forest spirits.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 Baldus, 1935, 1937; Bigorre, 1916, 1917; Métraux, 1927; Wagley, 1940 a, 1940 b, 1943 b.

787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a topī). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus Panterí vanquished the topī), but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panterí had not defeated the topī, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow). I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the
[821] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topī and many souls of shamans near
[775] [756] him. I did not talk but returned fast.' He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and
292 again a rare layman, wore the ankungitána, and people marveled
781 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panterí grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a panché-iúnwera. Urukumú picked up the ankungitána. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him."

825 I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of
[292] the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (ibid., Note 30) says in
[237] this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red
[821] feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told
[753] me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not
292 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated
285 by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. ibid., Fig. 1).
114 The figures in Wagley's work (ibid., Figs. 1-9) do not provide any details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the feathers. The frame (Photo. 15) that I acquired in Tampiitáua

171/ 262 otter (No. 22), the [120:54] spider monkey (No. 38), the vultures (Nos. 54-56), the hawk (No. 58), the small lizard (No. 87), Mabuia agilis (No. 88), the teju (No. 89), the papavento (No. 91), the truira-peva (No. 92), the snakes (Nos. 93-98), the toad (No. 101), the mollusks (Nos. 140-142), the arachnoids (Nos. 146-148) (except for the ticks removed from the human body), the myriapods (Nos. 149-151), and the insects (Nos. 152-186) (except for those caught in flagrante sucking human blood and for certain larvae and honey). Most of the animals that are not eaten by the Tapirapé are known to the Karajá, Cherente, and Kaingang and are not eaten by these three tribes either, except for the bat which is eaten by "some men" among the Cherente, the spider monkey which is eaten by Karajá men, and the teju which is eaten by "some men" among the Cherente and by a few present-day Kaingang.

13. Just as I was told that it would not harm a Tapirapé woman to eat of the animals whose flesh is usually eaten only by the men (cf. item 10 above), I also heard that those animals not eaten by any Tapirapé would not harm anyone who should happen to eat them. There are, however, certain animals eaten exclusively by [753] the men, namely, the tapir (No. 27), the marsh deer (No. 30), the rhea (No. 41), and the alligator (No. 81), which, if eaten by the father of a small child, would cause the latter to fall ill and die. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the subsequent paragraph, No. 14, are omitted.]

262 Concerning animal foods, the following observations are also in order.

The Tapirapé do not consume the raw blood of animals, for they regard it as bad.

226 262 In spite of the distance between Tampiitaua and the river, and in spite of the fact that the life of the Tapirapé as forest dwellers and farmers does not allow fish to play as important a role in their [171] diet as in that of the Karajá water-dwellers, this animal is of greater importance to the Tapirapé than any other. From early childhood, they are constantly looking for small fish in the stream near the vil- [787] lage. They dream that there is abundant fish at certain spots, and

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



756 One powerful shaman may have several demonic familiars and his
776 responsibility and prestige grow with their numbers and strength. Panteri,
787 perhaps the most powerful shaman living in 1940, had several breeds of familiars garnered from his dreams. He was, of course, accustomed to visiting the villages of ghosts and frequently saw and talked with ghosts in his nightly dreams. He had visited the *anapi ancünga*, beings with huge penises with which they kill people by sodomy and by copulation. Panteri travelled once in his dreams over a high mountain ridge to the north of the Tapirapé country where he visited with the ghosts of the hostile Gê-speaking Kayapo. These enemy ghosts too became his familiars and he says that they will warn him if and when the living Kayapo plan to attack the Taparipé. Again, in one of his dreams, Panteri travelled two days through a thick forest through which no paths led. Suddenly he found himself at the mouth of the Tapirapé River where it runs into the Aragunya. Inside a near-by hill he visited *anacówa*, the large red parrot from which supernatural beings and the souls of dead shamans pluck their everlasting supply of red feathers for decoration (9).

[753] Panteri also visited the forest demons called *peropi awa*, who have the power to send fevers to the Tapirapé. About this visit to their "house" he related the following: "I saw many pets. They have periquitos, parrots, many pets... I had not seen them before. I saw there a paca. The paca was cold; it was shivering. The paca had fever [chills]. I knew that the Tapirapé would all have fever. I told many people that this would occur but there was nothing I could do about it". During his many dream travels Panteri has also visited Maratawa, the home of heroic ancestors and deseased shamans and he has looked down upon many Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya River.

756 There are certain of the shamans who are said to make frequent trips
787 to the sky in their "canoes" and to count powerful celestial phenomena
821 among their powers. The Milky Way was spoken of as the "Road of the *Pancé*". Once when comparing his powers with those of another shaman, a shaman told me that he dreamed only on earth level and so was not so powerful as the other who frequenty travelled in the sky. The other, he said, "had visited é éco, the Pleiades, and *kopia xawana*,

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(9) Ancestor heroes. Thunder as a supernatural, and souls of dead shamans are always described as having a plentiful supply of red feathers — something that a living Tapirapé envies.

754 the head or to tie it up and carry it off. The one whose soul is thus
787 either incapacitated or imprisoned soon dies. A shaman may call upon
756 his familiar demonic spirits of the forest to deal with a chosen victim or may in his dreams shoot a victim's spirit with small arrows causing at times death and at times only boils. Still another method of attack is for the shaman to throw a fishbone (*ipirã kunya*) or gnawing worms (*uuáka* or *áwai*) into his victim's body causing illness and death.
[755] The treatment of illness consists of removing from the victim's body these malignant arrows, fishbones, and worms that are the cause of illness.

754 In illness and other misfortune, sorcery is always suspected by
756 the Tapirapé and some shaman is accordingly always believed responsible. Sorcery, however, is believed to be the action of shamans in dreams, and although such a negative statement can obviously not be substantiated, it seems never to be consciously practised. But there
[784] is, so far as the writer knows, no use of incantations or mechanical devices for the deliberate inducing of sympathetic magic.

683 All Tapirapé are thought, however, to die by sorcery and at each
761 death suspicion turns toward a shaman (12). At the death of a child
756 or woman of low status, suspicion may arise and then soon die down
[554] but when the deceased is a man of status, his brothers, sons, or sisters' sons become violent in their grief and may murder the shaman toward whom suspicion points. Sometimes, after a long series of deaths, suspicion is fixed upon one famous and strong shaman and the Tapirapé decide informally that he must be killed. In such cases the revenge-murder occurs within the first few days after a death when the relatives are "sad" (13). If the first depression of mourning wears off without violence to the shaman, the anger toward him passes and he is out of danger. Thus, after a man of rather high status had died both Urukumu and Wantanamu, *pancés* of sufficient power to be suspected of causing his death, both left the village, ostensibly on fishing trips, staying away until the brothers of the deceased had calmed down again.

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[753] (12) Informants readily admitted that people may be infected by others, as in the case of the common cold, which they recognize as a disease from whites but it is believed that a person who has a cold slowly gets well if no sorcery is working against him. Death is caused only by sorcery.

[192 152] (13) A Tapirapé uses the word "*iwutérahu*" to describe the condition of anger and sadness.

when an
individual discovers a new patch of tobacco, he hastily builds a low 276
fence around it to inform others that it belongs to him. This native [423]
tabacco is smoked by laymen in short tubular pipes made of wood or clay and by shamans in long clay pipes, sometimes 30 centimeters long.

Tobacco is used for leisure-time smoking for pleasure: but its [517]
principal uses among the Tapirapé are as a stimulant and as a medicine. [278]
Each night after a long day's work or while traveling or hunting, Tapirapé men blow smoke over their tired legs, arms, and backs and sometimes men can be seen fumigating their tired wives or companions. They accompany the fumigation of their bodies with massage, rubbing their arms and legs toward the extremities. Tiredness and soreness are [753
considered extraneous substances acquired during the day through exer- 827]
cise and it is believed they may be massaged and fumigated from the body.

Treatment of the sick is the shaman's most common duty and the 755
use of tobacco is always a necessary prelude and accompaniment to [276]
this. Unless the illness is serious enough to warrant immediate treatment, shamans always cure in the late evening. A shaman comes to his patient, and squats near the patient's hammock, his first act is always to light his pipe. When the patient has a fever or has fallen unconscious from the sight of a ghost, the principal method of treatment is by massage. The shaman blows smoke over the entire body of the patient: then he blows smoke over his own hands, spits into them, and massages the patient slowly and firmly, always toward the extremities of the body. He shows that he is removing a foreign substance by a quick movement of his hands as he reaches the end of an arm or leg.

The more frequent method of curing, however, is by the extraction of a malignant object (18) by sucking. The shaman squats alongside the hammock of his patient and begins to "eat smoke" — swallow large gulps of tobacco smoke from his pipe. He forces the smoke with great intakes of breath deep down into his stomach; soon he becomes intoxicated and nauseated; he vomits violently and smoke spews from his stomach. He groans and clears his throat in the manner of a person gagging with nausea but unable to vomit. By sucking back what he vomits he accumulates saliva in his mouth (19).

(18) Fishbones, worms, arrows which are injected into body by sorcery. [754]

(19) It hardly need be said that *pancé* do not eat before curing in this manner, but prefer to cure with an empty stomach.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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ceremonial rattles which had fallen to the ground and running with them around the whole circuit of the village. 796

The third and fourth days of the ceremony followed closely the pattern of this day, but there were some important variations. On the last two days a new danger was added, accounting for more violent seizures that occurred then. During these days each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate headdress — the *ankungitana*. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer (30). Without exception all who wore the headdress, even Panteri and Urukumu, fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder and genuine fear was shown by all those who wore it. 293 796 786

Before a man could put the headdress on his head, a shaman waved it slowly before his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific "heat." When Urukumu wore the *ankungitana*, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circle of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panteri. Panteri likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song and when he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Panteri related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: "I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a *topi*). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus he would have vanquished the *topi*) but it left the house. Then all was dark. (He had not defeated the *topi* and it had consequently shot him with his arrow) I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days and I climbed a large mountain on the 787 796

(30) Red parrot feathers are "hot like fire", say the Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house. [821] [825] [753]

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



morning we embarked downriver. My last memory of Champukwi was of him standing on the bank waving in *tori* style until our boat made the curve of the river.

I did not return to visit the Tapirapé until 1953, but news of them came to me at intervals. Valentim Gomes returned to the region in 1941 as an officer of the Brazilian Indian Service, and his post was charged with the protection of the Tapirapé Indians. In his first year in this capacity, he wrote me: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the 26th of July [1941]. They were in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, and the like. There were plenty of bananas. But I am sorry to say that after we left them, twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Champukwi, the best informant in the village, and our best friend." Several slow exchanges of letters brought further details from Valentim. In some manner, perhaps through a visit from a Brazilian frontiersman, several Tapirapé had contracted common colds. Its fatalness to them is indicated by the name they give it—*ó-ó* (*ó* is the augmentative which might be translated as "big, big"). Since they have no knowledge of the process of contagion and have not acquired immunity to the common cold, the disease spread rapidly throughout the village. The Tapirapé realized, I knew, that colds and other diseases such as measles which they had suffered before, were derived from visitors. Yet they also believed that death resulted from evil magic or sorcery. Why do some people who are very sick from colds get well, they asked, while others who are no more ill, soon die? It is only because those who die are the victims of sorcery, they had explained to me. So, following many deaths, including that of a young man like Champukwi, who enjoyed prestige and had many kinsmen, I was not surprised to learn from Valentim Gomes that the powerful shaman, Urukumu, had been assassinated. As Champukwi had told me, suspicion of Urukumu had already been growing even during my residence in the village. After the death of Champukwi, one of his many "brothers" (actually a cousin but called by the same term as brother in Tapirapé) had entered Urukumu's house late at night and clubbed him to death. To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related

since the information provided by such dreams is readily accepted, they organize collective fishing trips. Fish constitutes their main source of animal fat and calcium. The calcium comes from the bones, [120:55] crumbled into a strongly spiced sauce, their favorite breakfast food. This is a cold dish, but the flesh of the fish is eaten on the previous day, good and hot, and invariably accompanied by manioc flour. I caused general amazement when I ate small roasted fish for the first time in Tampiitaua, and did so without manioc flour. My friend Vuanomanchi said that fish without flour is bad, gesticulated and spat as though he were smelling bad odor, and wanted to get up and fetch some of his own flour. A woman who was eating seated by my side immediately offered me hers. Of all the pictures in the zoological book that I showed them, it was always those of fish that aroused the greatest interest. The majority of the masked dances I witnessed dealt with fish, and there is an unmasked dance in which most of the text of the song consists of the word ypirá. It was this generic term for fish that I also heard almost invariably when I asked for the cause of a disease. This did not mean, however, that eating fish had been harmful to the sick person, but that a fish bone had been shot into his body as a magic projectile by an evil sorcerer. They also say that all the spirits of the hills and of the waters eat fish, and do not mention any other food for these spirits. Furthermore, as already stated at the beginning of this chapter, fish, along with manioc, is the only food included in the Tapirapé description of the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven that lies above our visible one. They do not fail to add that in this case "very fat fish" are involved. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Concerning head lice, I wish to mention in passing the fact that I never found any on my own body during my stays among various tribes, in spite of the fact that much lousy hair came in contact with mine and that I did not take any special preventive measures. The same proved to be the case among other Whites who stayed with South American Indians. I also know of a blond young man on whose head lice of the Krabo [Craho] Indians settled without biting.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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the Jaguar of the Skies". When this shaman dies, it is thought that many terrestrial jaguars, sent by the Jaguar of the Skies, will haunt the confines of the village. I was told, too, that when the powerful shaman Wantanam died the "sun was large and red with the blood of the shaman"; it was "hot" and "angry" because a shaman had died.

## SORCERY

The Tapirapé tell of great battles between strong shamans, each supported by his own retinue of powers. During my stay with the Tapirapé there were rumors of a possible combat between Urukumu and Panteri, the two strongest shamans. Many people believed that it would be caused by the death of a warm personal friend of Panteri through the suspected sorcery by Urukumu. One man even described how the thought that the combat would take place. "Panteri will smoke much tobaco (10) and then he will go to his hammock to sleep. He will go [in his dream] in his "canoe" to the top of a high mountain. From there he will look about until he sees [the soul of] Urukumu. From there Panteri will throw his *ankungitána* (11); will wrap itself around [the soul of] Urukumu, carrying him off into the sky". Now the various familiar powers of both shamans hasten to their aid; it was at this point that the narrator, visualizing the possible battle of powers, listed the powers that would come to the aid of each shaman. A shaman whose soul has thus been captured by another falls prey to chills and fevers and soon dies, with his last breath whispering in song that he leaves the earth and possibly even telling gaspingly the name of the shaman who caused his death. Both shamans involved in the rumored combat denied knowledge or intention to wage it.

As might be expected, the same methods said to be used by shamans against one another may also be used against the layman. Shamans are believed to steal souls that are wandering in dream journeys. The shaman may send his *ankungitána* to strike the soul of his victim over

(10) See page 72 for the use of tobacco in cures, as stimulants, to induce dreams, and for shamanistic ceremonies.

(11) The *ankungitána* is a ceremonial headdress made of three or four long tail feathers of a parrot and worn by the Tapirapé down the back tied to the shoulders "pig tail" hairdress (See Fig. 1 on page 41).

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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754 the head or to tie it up and carry it off. The one whose soul is thus
757 either incapacitated or imprisoned soon dies. A shaman may call upon
756 his familiar demonic spirits of the forest to deal with a chosen victim or may in his dreams shoot a victim's spirit with small arrows causing at times death and at times only boils. Still another method of attack is for the shaman to throw a fishbone (*ipirã kunga*) or gnawing worms (*uuáka* or *áwai*) into his victim's body causing illness and death.
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[192 152] (13) A Tapirapé uses the word "*iwatrahu*" to describe the condition of anger and sadness.

when an individual discovers a new patch of tobacco, he hastily builds a low fence around it to inform others that it belongs to him. This native tobacco is smoked by laymen in short tubular pipes made of wood or clay and by shamans in long clay pipes, sometimes 30 centimeters long. 276 [423]

Tobacco is used for leisure-time smoking for pleasure: but its principal uses among the Tapirapé are as a stimulant and as a medicine. [517] [278] Each night after a long day's work or while traveling or hunting, Tapirapé men blow smoke over their tired legs, arms, and backs and sometimes men can be seen fumigating their tired wives or companions. They accompany the fumigation of their bodies with massage, rubbing their arms and legs toward the extremities. Tiredness and soreness are considered extraneous substances acquired during the day through exercise and it is believed they may be massaged and fumigated from the body. [753 827]

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The more frequent method of curing, however, is by the extraction of a malignant object (18) by sucking. The shaman squats alongside the hammock of his patient and begins to "eat smoke" — swallow large gulps of tobacco smoke from his pipe. He forces the smoke with great intakes of breath deep down into his stomach; soon he becomes intoxicated and nauseated; he vomits violently and smoke spews from his stomach. He groans and clears his throat in the manner of a person gagging with nausea but unable to vomit. By sucking back what he vomits he accumulates saliva in his mouth (19).

(18) Fishbones, worms, arrows which are injected into body by sorcery. [754]

(19) It hardly need be said that pajés do not eat before curing in this manner, but prefer to cure with an empty stomach.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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586 Until the first child is born, marriage bonds are rather weak, but henceforth the marriage is comparatively stable. There are, however, frequent [837] cases of adultery, and a guilty woman who is found out is thrashed by her [684] husband. When a marriage is dissolved, the man leaves the house, which is considered the wife's property, although built by him.

768 Upon a man's death, his widow remains in the house. After about 2 [837] months of free sexual relations, she chooses a new husband.

**Death.**—The *Tapirapé* believe that death is brought about by sorcery 761 and never by natural causes. Frequently, when the relatives of the [682] deceased enjoyed sufficient prestige, they kill the shaman whom they [754] suspect.

As soon as it is certain that the sick man will die, mourning begins in 763 the form of a wailing dirge by both men and women. The men dance around the hammock of the dying or dead man, while the women remain seated on the ground. Burial takes place on the day after death. The 764 corpse is stretched out on the hammock. Its feet and head are decorated with urucú dye, and its face is painted black with genipa. The grave is dug in the dead man's house under the place where his hammock was usually hung. The body is buried in the hammock, which is set up in the grave between two poles. All contact with the earth is avoided. Personal possessions of the deceased are buried with him, except that all feather ornaments and bows and arrows are burned.

Five days after the funeral, the relatives walk in file to the ceremonial 765 hut, where they leave the spirit of the dead man. The wailing goes on for many days, sometimes months, and always takes place at sunset. Close-cropped hair is a token of mourning for both sexes.

## ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 **Art.**—Obvious esthetic pleasure is derived from skillfully done basket-531 work; a good workman will destroy a basket which is not turning out well, even though it would serve as a receptacle. Great use is made of highly colored feathers; feathers are both tied and stuck with rosin and wax on to the object to be decorated. Elaborate geometric designs are painted on children's bodies with genipa. The incise work on gourds is also especially striking.

**Musical instruments.**—Gourd rattles are frequently used to keep time 534 to singing. No sacred powers are attributed to rattles. During the shamanistic ceremony (p. 177), a bamboo trunk is pounded against the ground in time to the music.

**Music.**—By far the most important *Tapirapé* pastime is singing. A man 533 with a good voice and a large repertoire of songs is much admired by the community. All ceremonies are, basically, singing festivals. Each ceremony during the year has a large set of specific songs: those to be sung by the shaman during the shamanistic "battle with Thunder" (p. 177);

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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are called upon to fight Thunder. This, the important *Tapirapé* ceremony, lasts for 4 days, and is the high point of shamanistic activity. 241 756

Kanawana, the Thunder, lives on distant Maratawa surrounded by the souls of dead shamans and by the topü (probably equivalent to the *Tupinambe* word, "tupan"), small anthropomorphic beings whose bodies are covered with white hair. 776

The topü travel through space in their canoes (half gourds), the sound of which produces the noise of the storm. The arrows which the topü shoot cause lightning. During the ceremony, the shamans, completely intoxicated by the tobacco and stimulated by the unceasing dancing and singing, fall into a trance (pl. 19, *top, right*) during which they travel to Thunder's house in order to fight him. Thunder sets the topü against the shamans, who, wounded by the arrows of "Thunder's creatures," fall into unconsciousness. [821] [781] [276] [756]

### SHAMANISM

The *Tapirapé* can visualize the supernatural world through the reports of the dreams of their shamans, whose power grows in proportion to their ability to dream. A dream is a voyage, during which the soul frees itself of the body and travels through space. In these dreams the shamans travel to regions which are entirely unknown to the living, and in general are inhabited by spirits. With their powers, the shamans succeed in taming some of the spirits, who then become their familiar spirits. The power and prestige of the shaman (pancé) depend on the number of his familiar spirits. 756 787 [774]

The *Tapirapé* speak of battles between shamans wherein each calls out his familiar spirits against the other while dreaming. More often, a shaman sets his familiar spirits upon laymen and kills them. A shaman may also kill his victim during a dream by throwing a malignant object, usually a piece of bone or a worm, into his body. 754 756

The victims of sorcery appeal to friendly shamans, who attempt to cure them by extracting the malignant object by suction, massage, and blowing tobacco. When many deaths occur simultaneously and the *Tapirapé* suspect a certain shaman of having caused them, they do not hesitate to kill him. One man recalled that during his lifetime 10 shamans suspected of sorcery had been killed. He himself had killed a shaman whom he suspected of having killed his brother. In spite of the constant suspicion surrounding them, the shamans do not employ mechanical techniques or sympathetic magic in sorcery. 754 [755] 683 755 276

The shamans make great use of tobacco, which is essential for healing and dreaming. They smoke it in large tubular clay pipes. Cures usually take place at dusk. The shaman squats by the patient's hammock and smokes for a long time, becoming intoxicated and blowing the smoke from the pipe over the patient's body. He then massages the patient,

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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115 124 Tapirapé village which he would have hesitated to relate on home
[837] grounds. He told me of adulterous affairs in process and of the
[578] growing determination among one group of kinsmen to assassinate
[682] Urukumu, the powerful medicine man, because they suspected him
[956] of performing death-dealing sorcery.

[154] After two weeks in Furo de Pedra, I found that it would be
122 necessary for Valentim Gomes and me to go to Rio de Janeiro. It was not possible for Champukwi to accompany us and so I arranged for two Brazilian frontiersmen to return him to a point on the Tapirapé River from which he could easily hike to his village in a day. Valentim and I then began our slow trip up the Araguaia River to the motor road and thence to Rio de Janeiro. Two months
[132] later, rid of malaria and with a new stock of supplies, we returned to spend the long rainy months from November until the end of
[115] May in the Village of the Tapirs. Champukwi was there to wel-
[123] come us, and he came each day to help repair and enlarge our house.
[609] We easily fell into our former friendly relationship, now strengthened by the experience in common of the trip to Furo de Pedra and by the feeling which many anthropologists have shared with the people of their communities—that anyone who returns is an "old friend."

115 My return to the village that November marked, in a sense, the
123 end of what might be called the first phase of my relationship with Champukwi as friend and as anthropological informant. During the course of at least 200 hours of conversation (many of which may be methodologically dignified as interviews), I had learned much about Champukwi as a person as well as about Tapirapé culture. I knew that as a small boy he had come from Fish Village, where his parents had died, to live in the Village of the Tapirs. He had lived with his father's younger brother, Kamaira, who was the leader
[553] of a large household. He even confided to me his boyhood name;
[59] Tapirapé change their names several times during their lifetimes
[622] and mention of a person's first childhood name, generally that of a fish, an animal, or simply descriptive of some personal characteristic, causes laughter among the audience and considerable embar-
[165] rassment to the individual. I knew that Champukwi had been mar-
[843] ried before he took his current wife, and that his first wife had died in childbirth. He revealed that her kinsmen had gossiped that her death was caused by his lack of respect for the food taboos imposed

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115 When the heavy rains of late December and January set in, we
123 were all more or less confined to the village as the rivers and streams
124 rose to flood the savanna. What had been brooks in the tropical
[132] forest became wide streams, difficult, and sometimes dangerous, to
[133] ford. It rained many hours each day. The Tapirapé women and children spent most of the time in their dwellings, and the men and older boys lounged in the men's house. Our house again became a meeting place. And as this was of course an opportune time for interviewing, I joined the men in their club or entertained visitors at home. I began to see more of Champukwi—first, in the men's house and then as he again became a regular visitor at our house. Now, he brought his new (and younger) wife with him. He liked to sit up with us late at night after the other Tapirapé visitors had retired to their dwellings or to the men's house for the night-long sings that are customary during the season of heavy rains. Under the light of our gasoline lamp, we again took up our study of Tapirapé culture. Not once did he mention his period of antagonism except to complain that the Tapirapé gossip too much.

Sometime late in January there began what might be considered the second phase of my relationship with Champukwi. Our friendship was no less intimate than before, but our conversations and more formal interviews were not now as frequent. During the next months, Champukwi became almost my assistant, an entrepreneur of
115 Tapirapé culture. He continued to provide invaluable information,
123 but when I became interested in a subject of which he knew little,
124 he would recommend that I talk to someone else. Though he directed
756 me to Urukumu on the subject of medicine men or shamans, Cham-
[754] pukwi himself related dreams he had heard other shamans tell. He
[683] explained that he did not want to become a shaman himself, for he had seen grieved relatives beat out the brains of Tapirapé shamans whom they suspected of causing a death by sorcery. He was not cer-
[787] tain, he said, whether such shamans had actually performed sorcery;
[775] but he reasoned that any shaman might come to such an end.
[776] Champukwi did have the frequent dreams that are indicative of one's powers to become a shaman and, in some of his dreams, he saw *anchungu*, the ghosts and supernaturals who are the aids of shamans. He had told only one or two of his kinsmen about this, and he did not want it to be known throughout the village lest there be pressure on him to train for shamanism.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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morning we embarked downriver. My last memory of Champukwi was of him standing on the bank waving in *tori* style until our boat made the curve of the river.

I did not return to visit the Tapirapé until 1953, but news of them came to me at intervals. Valentim Gomes returned to the region in 1941 as an officer of the Brazilian Indian Service, and his post was charged with the protection of the Tapirapé Indians. In his first year in this capacity, he wrote me: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the 26th of July [1941]. They were in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, and the like. There were plenty of bananas. But I am sorry to say that after we left them, twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Champukwi, the best informant in the village, and our best friend." Several slow exchanges of letters brought further details from Valentim. In some manner, perhaps through a visit from a Brazilian frontiersman, several Tapirapé had contracted common colds. Its fatalness to them is indicated by the name they give it—*ó-ó* (*ó* is the augmentative which might be translated as "big, big"). Since they have no knowledge of the process of contagion and have not acquired immunity to the common cold, the disease spread rapidly throughout the village. The Tapirapé realized, I knew, that colds and other diseases such as measles which they had suffered before, were derived from visitors. Yet they also believed that death resulted from evil magic or sorcery. Why do some people who are very sick from colds get well, they asked, while others who are no more ill, soon die? It is only because those who die are the victims of sorcery, they had explained to me. So, following many deaths, including that of a young man like Champukwi, who enjoyed prestige and had many kinsmen, I was not surprised to learn from Valentim Gomes that the powerful shaman, Urukumu, had been assassinated. As Champukwi had told me, suspicion of Urukumu had already been growing even during my residence in the village. After the death of Champukwi, one of his many "brothers" (actually a cousin but called by the same term as brother in Tapirapé) had entered Urukumu's house late at night and clubbed him to death. To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related

To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related emotions and there is one word, *iwúterahú*, that describes either or both states of mind. Thus in both word and deed grief can be quickly transformed into vengeful anger.

In 1953, when I returned to the Araguaia River, I found only fifty persons, the remnants of the Tapirapé tribe, settled under the protection of the Brazilian Indian Service in a small village near the mouth of the Tapirapé River. My old companion, Valentim Gomes, was the Indian officer in charge. The history of the intervening years had been a tragic story; the Tapirapé had suffered steady depopulation from imported diseases and they had been attacked by the warlike and hostile Kayapo tribe, who had burned their village and carried off several younger women. They had been forced to leave their own territory to seek the protection of the Indian Service, and then cattle ranchers encroached upon the Tapirapé savannas, once rich with game. Champukwi was but one of the many victims of this disintegration of Tapirapé society. Upon my arrival several of Champukwi's surviving relatives met me with the traditional "welcome of tears"; to the Tapirapé, such a return mixes emotions of joy at seeing an old friend with the sadness of the memory of those who have died during the interim. Both the sadness and the joy are expressed almost ritually by crying. People spoke sympathetically to me of the loss of my friend and they brought a young man, who had been but a small boy in 1940, but who was now known as Champukwi. This boy had visited for many months, and had even studied a little, with the Dominican missionaries on the lower Araguaia River; he therefore spoke Portuguese well. He remembered my friendship with his namesake and perhaps felt, as I did, some strange bond between us. So again for a few days the name of Champukwi was entered into my notebook as my source of information on Tapirapé culture.

In the security of our studies and in the classroom, we claim that anthropology is a social science in which regularities of human behavior and of social systems are studied. But, at its source, in the midst of the people with whom the anthropologist lives and works, field research involves the practice of an art in which emotions, subjective attitudes and reactions, and undoubtedly subconscious motivations participate. Of course, the well-trained anthropologist takes all possible precautions to be objective and to maintain a detached attitude. He gathers information from a "cross section" of

512 Hens and their chicks walk about the floor through the night eating cockroaches, and so do chickens who from infancy are used to the role of nocturnal birds around the fires. From time to time, a dog [231] walks leisurely about, patiently investigating the gastronomic possibilities. The large jars of cauí are closed tight, however, [251] and all other foods are hung out of reach. The dog yawns, urinates from habit against a beam, and lies down again near the fire. Sometimes one of the fires flares up, illuminating brightly the whole house, everything that is moving about, and everything that is making a sound. As far as noises are concerned, it must be said that the human beings do not show any constraint either, and this becomes more apparent as the talk dies down. As a rule, two or three hours after sundown, everyone has stopped talking. It is true that those who turn in later, around midnight perhaps, after dancing outside or becoming cold while sleeping in the takana, speak up freely so that some people awaken and the talk is resumed for a moment. I remain lying for a long time, unable to go to sleep. It is impossible to put up a mosquito net because of the smoke, which would come in [110:199] and accumulate, unable to escape. Then, too, there is not enough space in the house to stretch out this strange object. So I pull the woolen blanket over my head, and when I am on the point of suffocation and bathed in sweat, I surrender once more to the mosquitoes (Anopheles brand) and to the smoke. This is repeated I know not how many times. The cockroaches that visit me have already ceased to arouse any reaction on my part. Sometimes, however, the shirt I have folded up to serve as a pillow falls onto the grave where, separated vertically from me by a meter and a half of air and earth, lies the corpse of one of the occupants of the house. After I have picked it up, I shake it to remove the dust, trying not to think of the human spittle, the dog urine, and the chicken excrement, and set it again under my head. While I do this, I must be careful not to knock down the revolver and flashlight that I keep in my hammock to defend Tampiitaua against nocturnal Kayapó attacks. All of a sudden, a roar echoes very close to my ear. My hammock neighbors, the two [755] sorcerers--medicine men, Kamairahó and Urukumy, are commonly consulted during the night, and the fierce retching and other sounds associated with vomiting are part of their therapy. My hammock is

171 Yves d'Evreux (110) for the Tupinambá, and by Koch-Grünberg
276 (1, I, 128) for the Káua of the upper Aiari. They could not inhale the smoke as I did. Every time they tried, they began to cough violently. My smoke-swallowing demonstrations, when I released the smoke only after having talked and drunk some water, aroused respectful admiration, but no one dared to emulate me. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, two purposes for smoking tobacco can be clearly distinguished: one that is simply recreative and one
[755] that is medicinal. As a medicine, the smoke is blown over painful areas of the body or over the entire body of the patient. A Bakairi told Karl von den Steinen (II, 347) that on the upper Xingu there are two varieties of tobacco, the one smoked for pleasure being much milder than the medicinal one.

To summarize, we may say that the Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá in the term they use to designate tobacco, in their manner of swallowing smoke, and in the fact that among them only the men smoke. They differ from these Indians, from the Xingu Indians, and from other Tupi tribes in not smoking cigars. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua resemble the northern Karajá and Kayapó in their use of the jequitibá-fruit pipe; they differ from those tribes in their words for tobacco and pipe, and from the Karajá in the fact that only the men smoke in Tampiitaua. [Ed., end of Vol. 122.]

[123:53] Chapter 11

## The Life Cycle of the Individual

### Birth

192 In Tapirapé, aín means "I fall" and "I am born" [Ed., the remainder of the sentence and the remainder of the paragraph are omitted.]

[123] I did not have the opportunity to witness a birth among the
[115] Tapirapé, and I can only relay the information given to me by
844 Reverend Kegel and by the Indians. Childbirth takes place inside the house. While the future father remains in his hammock, the women assist the woman in labor, who is either lying in another hammock with her legs drawn up or supported by horizontal wooden

844 poles. A large pot full of water is placed nearby to wash the mother and child. If the confinement is difficult, a woman presses the mother's belly until the child comes out. The baby is received in the arms of another woman who waits beneath the mother. The umbilical cord is severed with a cane shiver, and the afterbirth is buried. Both father and mother abstain from any food for one day. Both stay in their nets "until the loss of blood 846 ceases, that is, often for several days." There are no food absten- [843] tions for the future parents prior to the birth. For about two years 262 after the birth of the child, the parents give up peanuts and 784 bananas. In addition, the father frequently abstains from those animal foods that are never eaten by the woman, especially tapir, marsh deer, rhea, and alligator, until the child is almost six years [756] old. Only if he is a shaman may he eat of everything. The wife of a shaman, however, does not share this privilege.

The Tapirapé believe that the child will die if these absten- [761] tions are not observed. They say that in this case death would not be caused by an evil sorcerer, as they usually believe, but by the food that should not be consumed and that turns evil when it is eaten. And they add that in such cases the Whites have many medicines that might save the child, while the Tapirapé do not have any, and so among them the child would be lost. [123:54] When I offered them deer meat, which is coveted by all Tampiitaua men (perhaps because it is a type of game that, although abundant, is seldom killed without firearms), it was not accepted by the fathers of one-year-old children. Even Urukumy who, as a shaman, could have eaten the meat, was careful to pass it on to someone else after courteously accepting it from me.

The abstention from bananas and peanuts is impressive when we consider the important role played by these foods in the Tapirapé [165] diet. It is possible that the high mortality among children during the first two years of life may have led to such onerous rules. [755] Actually, these Indians assert that their Karajá neighbors and the Whites eat of anything when their child is ill, while Tapirapé parents, in such cases, subsist exclusively on mahioc flour and maize and manioc cauí, even when the child is older than six.

The behavior of Indian parents toward the newborn recalls to 171 some extent a custom of the colonists of São Bonifácio, in the state 946 of Santa Catarina, who come for the most part from Westphalia.

171
173 Catarina, Xokleng [Shokleng] or Aveikoma [Aweikoma], studied
551 by Henry (50). [Ed., end of Vol. 124.]

[127:231] CHILDHOOD

171 Father Fernão Cardim (310) wrote of the Tupinambá: "There
855 is nothing parents love more than their own children, and he who does something for the children can obtain anything from the parents." Roughly, this sentence could be applied to nearly all Brazilian tribes and to the Tapirapé among them. This love is
855 manifested in the understanding with which the adults treat the children. An Indian father would never answer his child's question with: "This is grownup stuff you can't understand," thus destroying, in the fashion of certain White fathers, the trust with which the child seeks out his most learned friend. The Indian father does not speak to the child with an air of superiority, and consequently there is no chasm between them, such as frequently separates children from adults among us.

In fact, a Tapirapé will show patience toward a child even before he reaches the age of asking for explanations. I shall never forget the attitude of Vuanomanchí when a small child seated in his lap urinated on his bare legs. No fuss! This worthy family man did not even get up. He took a piece of straw from the ground and pushed down the liquid with it. He neither scrubbed nor washed himself. He uttered no word and made no motion that might disturb the child.

[127:232] Nor shall I forget the behavior of Maeyma during the illness of his little girl. Several women were weeping around the girl's hammock, and Maeyma was the only man who was crying. Seated in his hammock, he covered his face with his hands and sobbed. He seemed to have lost weight during the short period of his child's illness. As befits a mindful father, he ate nothing during
[262] this time except for a little maize cauí and manioc flour. On the
[755] following day, when the girl seemed to have improved, Maeyma, lying in the hammock held her like something breakable, and when he moved his hands he did so gingerly.

794 In the Tapirapé tribe, as in many others, the intimate and con-
855 tinuous connection between child and parents is acknowledged and

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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754 the head or to tie it up and carry it off. The one whose soul is thus
787 either incapacitated or imprisoned soon dies. A shaman may call upon
756 his familiar demonic spirits of the forest to deal with a chosen victim or may in his dreams shoot a victim's spirit with small arrows causing at times death and at times only boils. Still another method of attack is for the shaman to throw a fishbone (*ipirã kunya*) or gnawing worms (*uuáka or áwai*) into his victim's body causing illness and death.
[755] The treatment of illness consists of removing from the victim's body these malignant arrows, fishbones, and worms that are the cause of illness.

754 In illness and other misfortune, sorcery is always suspected by
756 the Tapirapé and some shaman is accordingly always believed responsible. Sorcery, however, is believed to be the action of shamans in dreams, and although such a negative statement can obviously not be substantiated, it seems never to be consciously practised. But there
[789] is, so far as the writer knows, no use of incantations or mechanical devices for the deliberate inducing of sympathetic magic.

683 All Tapirapé are thought, however, to die by sorcery and at each
761 death suspicion turns toward a shaman (12). At the death of a child
756 or woman of low status, suspicion may arise and then soon die down
[554] but when the deceased is a man of status, his brothers, sons, or sisters' sons become violent in their grief and may murder the shaman toward whom suspicion points. Sometimes, after a long series of deaths, suspicion is fixed upon one famous and strong shaman and the Tapirapé decide informally that he must be killed. In such cases the revenge-murder occurs within the first few days after a death when the relatives are "sad" (13). If the first depression of mourning wears off without violence to the shaman, the anger toward him passes and he is out of danger. Thus, after a man of rather high status had died both Urukumu and Wantanamu, *pancés* of sufficient power to be suspected of causing his death, both left the village, ostensibly on fishing trips, staying away until the brothers of the deceased had calmed down again.

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[753] (12) Informants readily admitted that people may be infected by others, as in the case of the common cold, which they recognize as a disease from whites but it is believed that a person who has a cold slowly gets well if no sorcery is working against him. Death is caused only by sorcery.

[192 152] (13) A Tapirapé uses the word "*iwutérahu*" to describe the condition of anger and sadness.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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when an
individual discovers a new patch of tobacco, he hastily builds a low 276
fence around it to inform others that it belongs to him. This native [423]
tabacco is smoked by laymen in short tubular pipes made of wood or clay and by shamans in long clay pipes, sometimes 30 centimeters long.

Tobacco is used for leisure-time smoking for pleasure: but its [517]
principal uses among the Tapirapé are as a stimulant and as a medicine. [278]
Each night after a long day's work or while traveling or hunting, Tapirapé men blow smoke over their tired legs, arms, and backs and sometimes men can be seen fumigating their tired wives or companions. They accompany the fumigation of their bodies with massage, rubbing their arms and legs toward the extremities. Tiredness and soreness are [753
considered extraneous substances acquired during the day through exer- 827]
cise and it is believed they may be massaged and fumigated from the body.

Treatment of the sick is the shaman's most common duty and the 755
use of tobacco is always a necessary prelude and accompaniment to [276]
this. Unless the illness is serious enough to warrant immediate treatment, shamans always cure in the late evening. A shaman comes to his patient, and squats near the patient's hammock, his first act is always to light his pipe. When the patient has a fever or has fallen unconscious from the sight of a ghost, the principal method of treatment is by massage. The shaman blows smoke over the entire body of the patient: then he blows smoke over his own hands, spits into them, and massages the patient slowly and firmly, always toward the extremities of the body. He shows that he is removing a foreign substance by a quick movement of his hands as he reaches the end of an arm or leg.

The more frequent method of curing, however, is by the extraction of a malignant object (18) by sucking. The shaman squats alongside the hammock of his patient and begins to "eat smoke" — swallow large gulps of tobacco smoke from his pipe. He forces the smoke with great intakes of breath deep down into his stomach: soon he becomes intoxicated and nauseated: he vomits violently and smoke spews from his stomach. He groans and clears his throat in the manner of a person gagging with nausea but unable to vomit. By sucking back what he vomits he accumulates saliva in his mouth (19).

(18) Fishbones, worms, arrows which are injected into body by sorcery. [754]

(19) It hardly need be said that *pancé* do not eat before curing in this manner, but prefer to cure with an empty stomach.

4: Wagley E-5, (1939-1940) 1943
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755 In the midst of this process he stops several times to suck on the body of his patient and finally, with one awful heave, he spews all the accumulated material on the ground. He then searches in this mess for the intrusive object that has been causing the illness. Never once did I see a shaman show the intrusive object to observers. As one treatment a Tapirapé *pančé* usually repeats this process of "eating smoke", sucking, and vomiting several times. Sometimes, when a man of prestige is ill, two or even three shamans will cure side by side in this manner and the noise of violent vomiting resounds throughout the village.

One other method of curing was observed. During an epidemic of fever Panteri made a collective cure to drive fever out of the village and disinfect the people of the village against it. Two men were dispatched to collect wild honey; this was then mixed with water, making a weak honey mixture. Panteri, after first smoking for a time, went from house to house taking the honey mixture in his mouth and spraying it over the house and its occupants. He carefully sprayed and massaged the patients who had fever and removed the foreign substance from their bodies. For several hours he worked, spraying both the inside and outside of the houses, including the central ceremonial house of the men. It was explained that the honey alone did not have a therapeutic effect against fever but sprayed from the mouth of a *pančé* it drove away fevers.

755 775 828 Shamans also protect the Tapirapé against ghosts. All people who see ghosts faint from fright or from the white substance with which the ghost covers their body. Shamans were called to blow smoke over them and to massage this substance from their bodies. During one funeral dance the shaman Panteri "saw many ghosts" in the environs of the village, recognizing some as long-dead relatives of the deceased. By blowing tobacco smoke about and by going among the ghosts with a large mirror he drove them away before they did any harm.

756 842 82 Shamans are necessary in several other life situations other than illness. For instance, shamans are thought among the Tapirapé to control the pregnancy of women. While pregnancy is known to be related to sexual intercourse, conception is thought to take place only when a shaman "brings a child to a woman". Several species of birds,

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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those for group singing during the harvest ceremonies and the ceremony 533
of kawi (p. 176); those for the masked dancers during the dry season;
and a very large number of songs specifically for the "Big Sing"
(monikahô) during the latter part of the rainy season. During this
period (approximately March through April), singing takes place
throughout each night from sundown to sunrise. On these occasions,
the singing leader and the men of one of the moieties introduce the verse [66]
of each song and the refrain is then taken up by the men of the other
moiety and the women of the tribe. Women sing in a higher key than the
men and, generally, a phrase behind the men. The songs of the masked
dancers, each representing a supernatural being, differ stylistically from
those used on other occasions in being sung in a falsetto tone, in a manner [171]
similar to that of the neighboring *Carajá*. Many such songs have been [177]
admittedly learned from the *Carajá*.

**Dancing.**—Both men and women dance as they sing. In general, the 535
*Tapirapé* dance bending slightly forward, stamping out the time of the
music with one foot. Dancing differs greatly, however, according to the
occasion. During the harvest ceremonies, men dance in a line, side by [241]
side, each man's wife dancing directly behind him. During the group
singing of the "Big Sing," the men dance in moiety groups facing each
other, and women dance behind the moiety group of their husbands. On
one occasion during this time, men dance with women, side by side, with
a curious skipping step.

**Games.**—Men's moieties run foot races against each other after the 526
communal work festival (p. 168); they race in a straight line across the
village plaza. Wrestling takes place at one wet-season ceremony, and,
now and again, throughout the year as sport. The *Tapirapé* explain,
however, that the *Carajá* are better wrestlers and that it is more properly [171]
a *Carajá* sport. In wrestling, opponents stand face to face, grasping each
other about the neck, and attempt to force or to trip the other to the
ground. During one festival, men, one from each moiety at a time,
compete by throwing blunt-headed spears at each other. Gambling games [525]
are unknown.

**Stimulants.**—Native tobacco, though used for leisure-time smoking, is 276
principally a stimulant and medicine. A *Tapirapé* will not travel without 755
a supply of tobacco to blow smoke over his tired body at the end of the
day, in order to take out soreness and tiredness. Tobacco is necessary
to shamans in all their activities. They blow tobacco smoke over the
patient in curing (p. 177), and, to induce dreams and a trance, they
swallow large gulps of smoke until they become intoxicated and nauseated.
When people have seen ghosts, shamans fumigate them with tobacco [751]
smoke, in order to drive away the ghost's influence. Shamans fumigate 276
new maize, the first honey of the season and, sometimes, fresh meat to 756
drive out possible supernatural danger. This native tobacco is smoked [789]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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are called upon to fight Thunder. This, the important *Tapirapé* ceremony, 241 756
lasts for 4 days, and is the high point of shamanistic activity.

Kanawana, the Thunder, lives on distant Maratawa surrounded by 776
the souls of dead shamans and by the topü (probably equivalent to the *Tupinamba* word, "tupan"), small anthropomorphic beings whose bodies are covered with white hair.

The topü travel through space in their canoes (half gourds), the sound [821]
of which produces the noise of the storm. The arrows which the topi shoot cause lightning. During the ceremony, the shamans, completely [781]
intoxicated by the tobacco and stimulated by the unceasing dancing and [276]
singing, fall into a trance (pl. 19, *top, right*) during which they travel [756]
to Thunder's house in order to fight him. Thunder sets the topü against the shamans, who, wounded by the arrows of "Thunder's creatures," fall into unconsciousness.

## SHAMANISM

The *Tapirapé* can visualize the supernatural world through the reports 756
of the dreams of their shamans, whose power grows in proportion to 787
their ability to dream. A dream is a voyage, during which the soul frees [774]
itself of the body and travels through space. In these dreams the shamans travel to regions which are entirely unknown to the living, and in general are inhabited by spirits. With their powers, the shamans succeed in taming some of the spirits, who then become their familiar spirits. The power and prestige of the shaman (pančé) depend on the number of his familiar spirits.

The *Tapirapé* speak of battles between shamans wherein each calls out 754
his familiar spirits against the other while dreaming. More often, a 756
shaman sets his familiar spirits upon laymen and kills them. A shaman may also kill his victim during a dream by throwing a malignant object, usually a piece of bone or a worm, into his body.

The victims of sorcery appeal to friendly shamans, who attempt to 754
cure them by extracting the malignant object by suction, massage, and [755]
blowing tobacco. When many deaths occur simultaneously and the 683
*Tapirapé* suspect a certain shaman of having caused them, they do not hesitate to kill him. One man recalled that during his lifetime 10 shamans suspected of sorcery had been killed. He himself had killed a shaman whom he suspected of having killed his brother. In spite of the constant 755
suspicion surrounding them, the shamans do not employ mechanical tech- 276
niques or sympathetic magic in sorcery.

The shamans make great use of tobacco, which is essential for healing and dreaming. They smoke it in large tubular clay pipes. Cures usually take place at dusk. The shaman squats by the patient's hammock and smokes for a long time, becoming intoxicated and blowing the smoke from the pipe over the patient's body. He then massages the patient,

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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rubbing toward the extremities of his body. If he fails to extract the malignant object in this fashion, he sucks it out, swallows it, then vomits it up.

At one time, during an epidemic of fever, a shaman used a different method. He prepared a mixture of honey and water, and, after much smoking, spewed it out over the patients and on the houses where there were sick people.

Besides healing, the shamans must protect the people against dangerous spirits (ančunga); they call forth "children's spirits" without which there can be no conception; they prevent wild animals from harming the *Tapirapé* during great hunting or fishing expeditions; and they increase the number of peccaries in the woods. It is also believed that they divine the future in their dreams.

The prestige of shamans is such among the *Tapirapé* that almost all leaders of communities as well as of ceremonial moiety groups and household heads are shamans. As shamans receive payment for successful cures, they accumulate many possessions which they redistribute at a yearly ceremonial. Liberality is essential to prestige in this society where avarice is particularly despised.

## MYTHOLOGY

*Tapirapé* myths fall into two categories: legends telling of the deeds of ancestral heroes, and tales of animals. In the latter, the tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) is noted for his shrewdness in his dealings with the other animals of the jungle. These stories follow the general *Tupi* pattern.

Among the various *Tapirapé* heroes are Apũwenonu and Petura. The former descended from heaven and lived with the *Tapirapé*. He taught them to plant and harvest cotton, manioc, and maize. When he was old, Apũwenonu returned to heaven and changed himself into a star.

Petura stole fire from the buzzards and brought light to the *Tapirapé*, who until then had not seen day. It is also told of Petura that he stole hatchets and knives from the emu and gave them to the *Tapirapé*.

Txawanamũ is famous for a series of songs which tell of his adventures among the mythical ampúawa, enemies of the *Tapirapé*, who made him die a lingering death. Wančina, a great shaman, had his whole house, including his family and belongings, transported to heaven by Kanawana, the Thunder. Waré was another shaman who killed many dangerous forest spirits.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baldus, 1935, 1937; Bigorre, 1916, 1917; Métraux, 1927; Wagley, 1940 a, 1940 b, 1943 b.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



requited by gifts of beads, hardware, and salt which I provided judiciously from time to time. After a few days, I began noting questions to be asked of Champukwi in the late afternoon when he now habitually visited our house. But this was the time that others also liked to visit. At this hour of the day our house was often crowded with men, women, children, and even pets—monkeys, parrots, and wild pigs—for which the Tapirapé along with other Brazilian tribes have an especial fondness. Such social gatherings were hardly conducive to the ethnological interview or even to the systematic recording of vocabulary. So I asked Champukwi if I might go with him to his garden. There, alternating between helping him cut brush from his garden site and sitting in the shade, I was able to conduct a kind of haphazard interview. Often, while he worked, I formulated questions in my halting Tapirapé and I was able by repetition to understand his answers. Although the Tapirapé villagers began to joke of Champukwi's new garden site as belonging to the two of us, these days were very valuable for my research.

Walking through the forest to and from Champukwi's garden, we often hunted for *jacu*, a large forest fowl rather like a chicken. I attempted to teach Champukwi how to use my .22 rifle, but he had difficulty understanding the gunsights and missed continually. He attempted to show me how to "see" the *jacu* hidden in the thick branches of the trees, but I seldom caught sight of the birds until they had flown. Thus, our complementary incapacities combined to make our hunting in the tropical forest quite unproductive, and in disgust Champukwi often resorted to his bow and arrow. Only later in the year, after he had practiced a great deal by shooting at tin cans did Champukwi master the use of the rifle, and this new-found skill greatly added to his prestige among the Tapirapé.

My abiding friendship with Champukwi perhaps really began when I came down with malaria about six weeks after our arrival. During the first few days of my illness, I was oblivious to my surroundings. I am told that while one *panché*, or medicine man, predicted my death, another tried to cure me by massage, by blowing tobacco smoke over my body, and by attempting to suck out the "object" that was causing the fever. Evidently his efforts—plus the atabrine tablets administered by Valentim Gomes—were successful, for my fever abated. I realized, however, that convalescence would be slow. Unable to leave the house for almost three weeks, I spent my days

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

**Champukwi of the Village of the Tapin.**

Champukwi sketched for me the stories of Petura, the Tapirapé ancestral hero who stole fire from the King Vulture, daylight from the night owl, *genipa* (used for dye) from the monkeys, and other items for the Tapirapé. However, he persuaded Maeumi, an elder famous for his knowledge of mythology, to relate the details although he himself helped considerably to clarify for me the meaning of native phrases and to make the stories told by Maeumi more fully understandable. Champukwi also forewarned me of events that I might want to witness, events that without his warning I might have missed. Such were the wrestling matches which took place upon the return of a hunting party between those men who went on the hunt and those who remained at home. He told me of a particularly handsome basket a man had made, which I might want to add to my collection for the Brazilian National Museum. He came to tell me that a young woman in a neighboring house was in labor, thus enabling me to get a photograph of the newborn infant being washed in the stream, and he urged the men to celebrate for my benefit a ceremony which might easily have been omitted. Champukwi was no longer merely an informant. He became a participant in ethnographic research although, of course, he never thought of it in these terms. He seemed somehow to understand the anthropologist's task in studying his culture, and in the process he gained considerable objectivity about his own way of life.

Yet it must be said that Champukwi did not seem to discredit the norms, institutions, and beliefs of his own people. Although he saw Valentim and me walk safely down the path through the forest late at night, he steadfastly refused to do the same; for the path was a favorite haunt of the lonely ghosts of deceased Tapirapé who might harm the living. He reasoned that the *tori* were probably immune to this danger. When he was ill, he took the pills we urged upon him but he also called in the shaman. His curiosity about airplanes, automobiles, and "gigantic canoes" (passenger boats) which he saw pictured in the magazines we had brought with us, was great; but he boasted that the Tapirapé could walk farther and faster than any *tori* or even the Caraja (who are a canoe people). In fact, his interest in, and enthusiasm for, certain Tapirapé activities seemed to be heightened by our presence. Almost all Tapirapé ceremonials involve choral singing and Champukwi was a singing leader of one of the sections of the men's societies. He was always pleased when

162 621 In the age group ranging from 15 to 30, there were 30 males and 20 females, that is, 50 individuals of both sexes.

In the age group ranging from 31 to 60, there were 13 males and 12 females, that is to say, 25 individuals of both sexes. Only two among them were older than 45, one woman who was 48 and one who was 60.

There was not a single individual older than 60.

The most striking fact is the small number of individuals over 30 years of age. On the other hand, the number of individuals younger than 15 is not, in proportion, as small as the corresponding group among certain "civilized" peoples. [Ed., the remainder of p. 187 is omitted.]

[103:188] The 35 Tampiitsúa couples included 20 where [582] the husband appeared to be older than the wife, 12 where the opposite seemed to be the case, and three where they seemed to be of the same age. I say "appeared to be older" to acknowledge minor inaccuracies in reckoning people's ages, even though I did not do this alone but in collaboration with Mr. Kegel, who had more points of reference than I because he had observed these Indians for several years.

582 162 The following table shows the number, sex, and age of the occupants of each house indicated on the ground plan of the village. [Table appears here.]

621 166 I heard in 1935, and published in 1937, that the Tapirapé formerly had five villages whose descendants make up the present population of Tampiitsúa (cf. Baldus 17, 86). Wagley (2, 408-409) confirmed this, adding (4, 5) that those five villages "probably existed as late as the turn of the century and are said to have had a population of about 200 people each." He also refers (ibid.) [731] to epidemics as the only cause for the abandonment of these villages. I have already mentioned that in the case of the village [648] abandoned in 1932 fear of the Kayapó must have been a contributing factor. It is worth noting the explanation given for the move of 758 the occupants of three other villages to Tampiitsúa: there were 166 no médicos-feiticeiros [Tr., sorcerers--medicine men] left 621 among them. This might, of course, have occurred as the result of an epidemic. The interesting fact, however, is that the Tapirapé did not mention disease but the lack of pagés [Tr., shamans] as the reason for abandoning the villages. Nothing could

[Text continues on p. 42]

166 [756] [621] underline more clearly the importance of these men.

The village abandoned in 1932 was called Moytáua, a word 103 made up of moyva, "cane," and táua, "village." The other three 166 extinct villages were called (1) Kuruantáua, from kuruá or koruá "squash" (Brazilian Cucurbitacea), which remained in the Brazilian vernacular as cruá [Tr., Sicana odorifera]; (2) Mankotáua, from Manko, the name of a Karajá who was the village chief; and (3) Chechotáua, chechó probably being jejú (Hoplerythrinus unitaeniatus), a fish akin to the traíra [Tr., Amazon lungfish], or else a contraction of chechoó, "big chechó," that is to say, the piracurú (Arapaima gigas). It may be that Chechotáua was the "Chichutáua" Wagley heard about, and that the Tampiitáua emigrants [103:189] moved to the site of the former village of this name on account of the food plants which undoubtedly still grew in the surrounding plots.

166 Tampiitáua, the "village of the tapir," no longer stands 361 where it was at the time of my visit. It was moved farther from the river. This represents a move away from the Whites and, to some extent, "toward the Kayapó." Such a move appears to me as 648 a "healthy policy." There were, and continue to be, attempts to relocate the Tapirapé at a "Protective Post" located near the Araguaia. The immediate and continuous contact of these Indians with the most varied representatives of our civilization, which would be inevitable if the above-mentioned project were to be carried out, would bring about the certain annihilation of this peaceful [K.1] Tupí tribe, whose numbers, as I write this (1944), probably do not reach 150. [Ed., end of Vol. 103; the section in Vol. 104, pp. 93-100, is omitted.]

[105:77] Chapter 6

## Physical Appearance and Ornamentation

142 Coming from the Karajá to the Tapirapé, one immediately notices that the latter, on the average, are much shorter and less sturdy, especially shorter than the Karajá I saw in Santa Isabel, and less sturdy than the inhabitants of Beroromandú and other villages located north of the mouth of the Tapirapé River. Fritz

The glue is a resin (ykyryva in
301 Tapirapé) used by both sexes to anoint the body and hair. Once
237 crushed, it is mixed with peanut oil (chany). [Ed., the last two
[314] paragraphs of p. 130 and all but the last paragraph of p. 131 are
[381] omitted.]

[108:131] Larger feather ornaments are used by the Tapirapé, as a rule, only on festive occasions. The Tapirapé Kanchovanî, however, when I invited him to come with me to the Araguaia, showed me the large red macaw feathers that he intended to wear on his head upon reaching the Karajá villages. These are the
[171] feathers prized most highly both in his own tribe and among the shore dwellers of the big river. I never saw any Tapirapé use them aside from such occasions. [Ed., the remainder of p. 131 and the first half of p. 132 are omitted.]

[108:132] The circular feather headdress is of the greatest
292 importance to the Tapirapé. Referring to its use in the Thunder
79% ceremony, Wagley writes (4, 33-34 [Tr., in English at 4, 89-90]): "... each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate
[79%] headdress--the ankungitána. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer. Without exception all who
292 wore the ankungitána, even Panterî and Urukumú, showed genuine
781 fear and fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder. Before a man could put the headdress on, a shaman waved it slowly before his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head,
●[756] blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific 'heat.' When Urukumú wore the ankungitána, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circuit of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid, and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panterî. Panterî likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the
787 headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song, and when
77% he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Panterî [108:133] related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: 'I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They

787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a topī). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus Panterí vanquished the topī), but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panterí had not defeated the topī, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow). I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the
[821] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topī and many souls of shamans near
[775] him. I did not talk but returned fast.' He added later that if he
[756] had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and
292 again a rare layman, wore the ankungitána, and people marveled
781 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panterí grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a panché-iúnwera. Urukumú picked up the ankungitána. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him."

825 I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized
[292] most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of
[237] the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (ibid., Note 30) says in this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red
[821] feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told
[753] me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not
292 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated
285 by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. ibid., Fig. 1).
114 The figures in Wagley's work (ibid., Figs. 1-9) do not provide any details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the feathers. The frame (Photo. 15) that I acquired in Tampiitáua

844 poles. A large pot full of water is placed nearby to wash the mother and child. If the confinement is difficult, a woman presses the mother's belly until the child comes out. The baby is received in the arms of another woman who waits beneath the mother. The umbilical cord is severed with a cane shiver, and the afterbirth is buried. Both father and mother abstain from any food for one day. Both stay in their nets "until the loss of blood 846 ceases, that is, often for several days." There are no food absten- [843] tions for the future parents prior to the birth. For about two years 262 after the birth of the child, the parents give up peanuts and 784 bananas. In addition, the father frequently abstains from those animal foods that are never eaten by the woman, especially tapir, marsh deer, rhea, and alligator, until the child is almost six years [756] old. Only if he is a shaman may he eat of everything. The wife of a shaman, however, does not share this privilege.

The Tapirapé believe that the child will die if these absten- [761] tions are not observed. They say that in this case death would not be caused by an evil sorcerer, as they usually believe, but by the food that should not be consumed and that turns evil when it is eaten. And they add that in such cases the Whites have many medicines that might save the child, while the Tapirapé do not have any, and so among them the child would be lost. [123:54] When I offered them deer meat, which is coveted by all Tampiitaua men (perhaps because it is a type of game that, although abundant, is seldom killed without firearms), it was not accepted by the fathers of one-year-old children. Even Urukumy who, as a shaman, could have eaten the meat, was careful to pass it on to someone else after courteously accepting it from me.

The abstention from bananas and peanuts is impressive when we consider the important role played by these foods in the Tapirapé [165] diet. It is possible that the high mortality among children during the first two years of life may have led to such onerous rules. [755] Actually, these Indians assert that their Karajá neighbors and the Whites eat of anything when their child is ill, while Tapirapé parents, in such cases, subsist exclusively on mahioc flour and maize and manioc cauí, even when the child is older than six.

171 The behavior of Indian parents toward the newborn recalls to 946 some extent a custom of the colonists of São Bonifácio, in the state of Santa Catarina, who come for the most part from Westphalia.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
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177 several had become excellent canoe-men. Small Tapirapé
[501] boys spent a large part of the day, as do Carajá boys, swimming in the nearby river. Thus, within about a decade, the Tapirapé had shifted from "foot Indians" (one of the criteria for Marginal Cultures, according to the *Handbook of South American Indians*[4]) to "canoe Indians" (a criterion for Tropical Forest Cultures according to the same source). Such criteria as the mode of transportation obviously have little historical depth and are thus of little value for classificatory purposes.

177 In 1940, the most important individuals in Tapirapé
756 society were the shamans or *pančes*; the tribe depended upon them for protection against dangerous supernaturals, cures for illness, and even bringing the spirits of children so that women would conceive. But in 1953 not one individual in the Tapirapé village would admit that he was a *pančе*. Opronunxui and Antonio Pereira, two Tapirapé men between 30 and 40 years of age, were said to be able to "cure" a little, but they had none of the formidable powers of the old *pančes*. "The *pančes* have ended," said the Tapirapé. As a result, they are today more vulnerable to the dangerous supernaturals, but they are also free from the deadly effects of sorcery which they believed the old shamans practiced and had caused their rapid population decline. In fact, the suspicion of shamans and the relatively frequent execution of those suspected of sorcery made shamanism such a dangerous occupation that no one wishes to take up that once honored profession.
[771] But without shamans Tapirapé religion has lost its central figures, and much of the old religious knowledge will be
[797] lost to Tapirapé culture. Without the full knowledge of their own religion, the Tapirapé are today more vulnerable to the teachings of missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, who are now active among them.

177 With so few members, Tapirapé culture is "passing through a narrow funnel" so to speak; in other words,

[4] Bulletin 143, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 1, 1946; also see Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 678, 1949.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 1

*Ankangíténe* — Ornamento de cabeça para a cerimônia do Trovão

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*Ankangíténe* — Headdress for the Thunder Ceremony

[p. 42 is blank]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 2

Um jovem paqué, em estado de transe, quando realizava o circuito da aldeia durante o período diurno da cerimônia do Trovão. Está acompanhado por dois jovens prontos a segurá-lo, se ele cair.

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A young shaman, in a trance state, as he makes the village circuit during the day session of the Thunder Ceremony. He is accompanied by two young men ready to catch him if he should fall.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 3

Jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Está doente por engolir fumaça de tabaco e próximo a um estado de transe. Caiu antes de alcançar a segunda casa do círculo.

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Young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. He fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Fig. 4

Outro jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Também está doente por engolir fumaça de tabaco, e próximo a um estado de transe. Como o da fig. 3, caiu antes de alcançar a segunda casa do círculo.

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Another young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill too from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. Like the other of fig. 3 he fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 5

Kamairai (Veja Apêndice), um jovem pagé, vacilando na metade do circuito da aldeia.

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Kamairai (see Appendix), a young shaman, staggering half way around the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Fig. 6

De repente, ficou rígido e caiu para a frente, sendo agarrado pelos dois rapazes que o guiavam.

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Suddenly he stiffened and fell forward caught by the young men who had been leading him.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 7

O poderoso pagé Urukumú era seguido por numerosos jovens quando fez o circuito pela aldeia, usando o ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Como decoração, usou um pedaço de fazenda vermelha, que lhe fôra presenteado pelo etnólogo.

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The powerful shaman, Urukumu, was followed by numerous young men when he made the village circuit wearing the ceremonial headdress. He wore a piece of red cotton cloth given him by the ethnologist as decoration.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 8

Êle era "forte", não necessitando de ajuda, porém, quando foi abatido pelos seres do Trovão, os jovens estavam próximos para ampará-lo na queda.

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He was "strong" and did not need aid but when he was strick by the beings of Thunder, the young men were nearby to catch him when he fell.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 9

Sempre que um pagé caia inconciente, os jovens que o acompanhavam lhe removiam ràpidamente o ornamento da cabeça e o levantavam nos ombros para carregá-lo através do circuito da aldeia. Nessa ocasião, a espôsa de Kamairaho estava preocupada com êle e veio apalpar-lhe a face.

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Whenever a shaman fell unconscious, the young men accompanying him quickly removed the headdress and raised him upon their shoulders to carry him through the village circle. On this occasion, Kamairaho's wife was worried about him and came to feel of his face.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 10

O corpo da maioria dos pagés ficava rígido, quando, em estado de inconciência, eram carregados pelo circuito da aldeia, de volta à casa em que se iniciara a cerimônia. Nesta fotografia, três rapazes carregam fàcilmente o corpo rígido de Panteri, um dos poderosos pagés, após, ter sido abatido pelos seres do Trovão.

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The bodies of most shamans were rigid in their unconscious state as they were being carried through the village circle back to the first house. In this picture, three young men easily carry the rigid body of Panteri, one of the powerful shamans, after he had been stricken by the beings of Thunder.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 11

Os mesmos rapazes, carregando Panteri.

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The same young men carrying Panteri.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Fig. 12

Os dois pajés engolem fumaça de tabaco, preparando-se para a fase final da cerimônia do Trovão, em que livram o povo do perigo. A população da aldeia ainda não se reúniu. Cada homem tem o cachimbo na mão, e o jovem, à direita, está engolindo fumaça do cachimbo.

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The two shamans swallowing tobacco smoke in preparation for the final phase of the Thunder ceremony when they rid the people of danger. The village populace has not yet gathered. Each man holds his pipe in his hand and the young man on the right is gulping smoke from his pipe.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Fig. 12

Os dois pagés engolem fumaça de tabaco, preparando-se para a fase final da cerimônia do Trovão, em que livram o povo do perigo. A população da aldeia ainda não se reuniu. Cada homem tem o cachimbo na mão, e o jovem, à direita, está engolindo fumaça do cachimbo.

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The two shamans swallowing tobacco smoke in preparation for the final phase of the Thunder ceremony when they rid the people of danger. The village populace has not yet gathered. Each man holds his pipe in his hand and the young man on the right is gulping smoke from his pipe.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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776 Some of these demons of the forest are now "pets" of the Tapirapé, and are no longer dangerous to them. The comparatively harmless *ancúnga*, in a sense domesticated by Tapirapé men, come at intervals throughout the year to live in the large central men's house. While an [535] *ancúnga* is inhabiting this ceremonial house, Tapirapé men sing and [530] dance with masks representing the visiting spirit (7).

756 Knowledge of the supernatural world is gained chiefly through the 787 dream experiences of shamans or *panié*, for among the Tapirapé shamanistic power derives from dreams and from powers revealed in them. [778] Dreams are believed to be journeys. The *iangá*, the soul, may free itself [529] from the *etí*, the body, in sleep, and move freely in time and space. Obviously anyone may dream but frequent dreaming is evidence of shamanistic power. Laymen who dream very much are afraid, for they do not belong in this supernatural world, or they believe that they should become shamans.

Campukwi, who was not a shaman, indicated this fear in telling me his dream experience. When he saw dangerous *ancúnga* in his dream, he had no recourse but to run: "I am not a shaman. I was afraid. I ran. They would have killed me". Only shamans have the supernatural power to move freely in this dream-world of ghosts and demons. A shaman is never afraid in his dream travels, for ghosts are his friends and the power of a shaman grows in proportion as he fraternizes with the demonic spirits of the forest. After a dream-visit from a shaman, breeds of demonic spirits may become his familiars, obedient to his calls for aid. Turning himself into a bird or launching himself through the air in his "canoe" a half gourd, he travels to the villages of ghosts, to the houses of demonic spirits, or to such temporal places as the Brazilian settlements or Carajá villages on the Araguaya River. Then, too, time is no obstacle: in a sleep of a few minutes he may experience three or four days of dream adventure.

756 The dream experience of Ikhanzcowi, a powerful shaman who died 776 a few years before my visit, will illustrate these points. In his dream he 787 walked far to the shores of a large lake deep in the jungle. There he heard dogs barking and ran in the direction from which the noise came until he met several forest spirits of the breed called *munpi anká*. They

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[777] (7) The men's masked dance cult, kept as a secret from the women, is not [763] generally found among Tupi tribes. In this case it has obviously been borrowed from [777] the Tapirapé's neighbors, the Carajá.

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were tearing a bat out of a tree for food. These talked with Ikanancowi and invited him to return to their village, which was situated upon the lake. In the village he saw *periquitos* (Psittacidae) and many *ocó* (*Butorides* sp.), birds which they keep as pets. The *anũnga* had several pots of *kasi* (8) and invited Ikanancowi to eat with them. He refused for he saw that their *kasi* was made from human blood. Ikanancowi watched one spirit drink of the *kasi* and saw him vomit blood immediately afterwards; the shaman saw a second spirit drink from another pot and immediately spurt blood from his anus. He saw the *munpi anká* vomit up their entrails and throw them upon the ground, but he soon saw that this was only a trick; they would not die, for they had more intestines. After this visit the *munpi anká* called Ikanancowi father and he called them his sons; he visited them in his dreams frequently and he had *munpi anká* near him always. When Ikanancowi danced and sang in the annual shamanistic ceremony against Thunder (see page 84), he painted his chest and chin red with *urucu*, representing the *kasi* of blood which drools from the mouths of the *munpi anká* after they vomit and he called these spirits to his aid in his songs. Other shamans have had familiar spirits but none have had such dangerous spirits as the *munpi anká*: "people were very much afraid of Ikanancowi, for these *anũnga* are very dangerous".

956 776 787 [302 796]

In another dream told to me a shaman met the forest spirits called *orêya*. These have long hair wound in a mass on top of their heads and they carry one arrow for the bows with which they kill men. The *orêya* were about to shoot the shaman, but when he shouted, "No, I am a shaman", they did not harm him. Instead they gave him food and helped him return through the deep forest to the village. Another shaman had *anũnga ané awa* as his familiars. These forest demons have protruding eyes and sharp pointed chins. They kill Tapirapé by grabbing them from behind as they walk unsuspectingly through the forest, clapping their hands over the victim's mouth and driving their pointed chins into the back of his neck. A man caught by one of these *anũnga* dies gurgling and staring, unable to speak; so, although found alive he may never explain what happened to him. A shaman with such dangerous familiars as these protects the laity by keeping his spirits under control.

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(8) *Kasi* is a thick soup-like drink prepared most usually from maize, sometimes from several kinds of manioc. It is never alcoholic among the Tapirapé. [272]

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756 One powerful shaman may have several demonic familiars and his
776 responsibility and prestige grow with their numbers and strength. Panteri,
787 perhaps the most powerful shaman living in 1940, had several breeds of familiars garnered from his dreams. He was, of course, accustomed to visiting the villages of ghosts and frequently saw and talked with ghosts in his nightly dreams. He had visited the *anapi ancinga*, beings with huge penises with which they kill people by sodomy and by copulation. Panteri travelled once in his dreams over a high mountain ridge to the north of the Tapirapé country where he visited with the ghosts of the hostile Gê-speaking Kayapo. These enemy ghosts too became his familiars and he says that they will warn him if and when the living Kayapo plan to attack the Tapiripé. Again, in one of his dreams, Panteri travelled two days through a thick forest through which no paths led. Suddenly he found himself at the mouth of the Tapirapé River where it runs into the Araguaya. Inside a near-by hill he visited *anacówa*, the large red parrot from which supernatural beings and the souls of dead shamans pluck their everlasting supply of red feathers for decoration (9).

[753] Panteri also visited the forest demons called *peropi awa*, who have the power to send fevers to the Tapirapé. About this visit to their "house" he related the following: "I saw many pets. They have periquitos, parrots, many pets... I had not seen them before. I saw there a paca. The paca was cold; it was shivering. The paca had fever [chills]. I knew that the Tapirapé would all have fever. I told many people that this would occur but there was nothing I could do about it". During his many dream travels Panteri has also visited Maratawa, the home of heroic ancestors and deceased shamans and he has looked down upon many Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya River.

756 There are certain of the shamans who are said to make frequent trips
787 to the sky in their "canoes" and to count powerful celestial phenomena
821 among their powers. The Milky Way was spoken of as the "Road of the *Panié*". Once when comparing his powers with those of another shaman, a shaman told me that he dreamed only on earth level and so was not so powerful as the other who frequenty travelled in the sky. The other, he said, "had visited *é éco*, the Pleiades, and *kopia xawana*,

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(9) Ancestor heroes, Thunder as a supernatural, and souls of dead shamans are always described as having a plentiful supply of red feathers — something that a living Tapirapé envies.

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the Jaguar of the Skies". When this shaman dies, it is thought that many terrestrial jaguars, sent by the Jaguar of the Skies, will haunt the confines of the village. I was told, too, that when the powerful shaman Wantanam died the "sun was large and red with the blood of the shaman"; it was "hot" and "angry" because a shaman had died. 821 756 787 [825]

## SORCERY

The Tapirapé tell of great battles between strong shamans, each supported by his own retinue of powers. During my stay with the Tapirapé there were rumors of a possible combat between Urukumu and Panteri, the two strongest shamans. Many people believed that it would be caused by the death of a warm personal friend of Panteri through the suspected sorcery by Urukumu. One man even described how the thought that the combat would take place. "Panteri will smoke much tobaco (10) and then he will go to his hammock to sleep. He will go [in his dream] in his "canoe" to the top of a high mountain. From there he will look about until he sees [the soul of] Urukumu. From there Panteri will throw his *ankungitána* (11); will wrap itself around [the soul of] Urukumu, carrying him off into the sky". Now the various familiar powers of both shamans hasten to their aid; it was at this point that the narrator, visualizing the possible battle of powers, listed the powers that would come to the aid of each shaman. A shaman whose soul has thus been captured by another falls prey to chills and fevers and soon dies, with his last breath whispering in song that he leaves the earth and possibly even telling gaspingly the name of the shaman who caused his death. Both shamans involved in the rumored combat denied knowledge or intention to wage it. 754 787 756 [276]

As might be expected, the same methods said to be used by shamans against one another may also be used against the layman. Shamans are believed to steal souls that are wandering in dream journeys. The shaman may send his *ankungitána* to strike the soul of his victim over

(10) See page 72 for the use of tobacco in cures, as stimulants, to induce dreams, and for shamanistic ceremonies.

(11) The *ankungitána* is a ceremonial headdress made of three or four long tail feathers of a parrot and worn by the Tapirapé down the back tied to the short "pig tail" hairdress (See Fig. 1 on page 41). [756 295]

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754 the head or to tie it up and carry it off. The one whose soul is thus
787 either incapacitated or imprisoned soon dies. A shaman may call upon
756 his familiar demonic spirits of the forest to deal with a chosen victim or may in his dreams shoot a victim's spirit with small arrows causing at times death and at times only boils. Still another method of attack is for the shaman to throw a fishbone (*ipirá kunpa*) or gnawing worms (*uuáka* or *ówai*) into his victim's body causing illness and death.
[755] The treatment of illness consists of removing from the victim's body these malignant arrows, fishbones, and worms that are the cause of illness.

754 In illness and other misfortune, sorcery is always suspected by
756 the Tapirapé and some shaman is accordingly always believed responsible. Sorcery, however, is believed to be the action of shamans in dreams, and although such a negative statement can obviously not be substantiated, it seems never to be consciously practised. But there
[784] is, so far as the writer knows, no use of incantations or mechanical devices for the deliberate inducing of sympathetic magic.

683 All Tapirapé are thought, however, to die by sorcery and at each
761 death suspicion turns toward a shaman (12). At the death of a child
756 or woman of low status, suspicion may arise and then soon die down
[554] but when the deceased is a man of status, his brothers, sons, or sisters' sons become violent in their grief and may murder the shaman toward whom suspicion points. Sometimes, after a long series of deaths, suspicion is fixed upon one famous and strong shaman and the Tapirapé decide informally that he must be killed. In such cases the revenge-murder occurs within the first few days after a death when the relatives are "sad" (13). If the first depression of mourning wears off without violence to the shaman, the anger toward him passes and he is out of danger. Thus, after a man of rather high status had died both Urukumu and Wantanamu, *pajés* of sufficient power to be suspected of causing his death, both left the village, ostensibly on fishing trips, staying away until the brothers of the deceased had calmed down again.

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[753] (12) Informants readily admitted that people may be infected by others, as in the case of the common cold, which they recognize as a disease from whites but it is believed that a person who has a cold slowly gets well if no sorcery is working against him. Death is caused only by sorcery.

[192 152] (13) A Tapirapé uses the word "*ówaiwaka*" to describe the condition of anger and sadness.

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The eight living men (*marãtzunkanera* or "killers") who had 683
killed *pančés* attest to the frequency of revenge killing of shamans because of suspected sorcery. Within the memory of one informant, Kamaiká, who was approximately forty years old, ten shamans had been killed (14). During his youth he had killed a shaman, *Pančewáni*, because he believed him responsible for his younger brother's death. Going to the shaman's house the second night after his brother's death, Kamaiká found the shaman asleep and killed him with several arrows through the abdomen. According to various informants, the epidemic of deaths that had been occuring then came to a halt, thus proving *Pančewáni*'s guilt. In another case the killer hid in the forest and shot the suspected shaman as he passed on his way to his garden: still another shaman was clubbed to-death as he sat with his family in the village plaza. Two living "killers" had murdered women shamans by [756
clubbing them to death. *Kučanančé* (*kučan*, woman; *pančé*, shaman) 562]
generally die by violence, according to informants; women shamans "are dangerous". They dream more than men [shamans] and they kill many Tapirapé [in dreams]", said one man. Ironically, all three of the more powerful shamans living today, at least two of whom are currently in danger because they are considered powerful enough to be suspected of "evil dreaming", murdered shamans during their youth (15).

Informants could not remember any one occasion when a shaman 543
thus murdered was avenged by his relatives; yet informants did say that 683
a shaman with several adult brothers — true siblings — strong enough 756

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(14) The span of this man's life has seen the tremendous depopulation of [161]
the Tapirapé from imported diseases; thus it represents an abnormal period with more than the usual number of deaths and perhaps, therefore, an unusual number of revenge murders of shamans.

(15) As I write this paper, a letter comes from Valentim Gomes, my guide, and companion during both trips to the Tapirapé. I quote in part this letter translated from Portuguese: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirape on the twenty-sixth of July [1941]. They were all in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, etc. — There were few humans".

"But I am sorry to say that after we left them [in May, 1940] twenty-nine [165]
adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Campakwi, the best informant in the village. Also Urukumu had been killed by the young Tapirapé I called Antonio". (During my stay the Tapirapé had several times spoken of the necessity of liquidating Urukumu and several had predicted that it would occur).

683 to avenge him, is generally not murdered (16). A strong shaman makes
[573] an effort to have a strong family group about him for protection. Intoxi-
[256] cants could not remember that murdered shamans had ever been reven-
ged by their familiar spirits, although one man made the point that
shamans were murdered only by persons under the influence of great
anger or grief, for people normally are afraid of the familiars of shamans.
683 Special rites are observed by anyone who has murdered a shaman, to
783 protect him and the rest of the tribe against possible danger. On the day
following the murder the *marántzunkanéra* must retire to his hammock
and here eat of a white clay, *iwi činga*, and drink until he vomits of a
[327] brew made of boiling a man's leg ornament in water. Vomiting cleanses
[30] his body "of the blood of the shaman". The killer must paint his entire
body black with *genipa* (*Genipa americana*) and put red urucu paint
in his hair; he should also scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back
[581] with teeth of the dog fish, just as he did in the ceremony he had per-
formed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult. Then, each year
at the annual ceremony during the harvests in May and June, all who
have killed shamans must drink of *kauió* (17) until they vomit, so cleans-
ing themselves of the shaman's blood for the period until the next
harvest.

## DUTIES OF THE SHAMAN

276 Among the Tapirapé tobacco is a sacred plant necessary for curing
and for all shamanistic activities; yet, while it is found widely near Tapi-
rapé village and near their gardens, it is not strictly a cultivated plant.
People know where a patch of tobacco grows and go there to pick it.
Occasionally they transplant tobacco nearer to their houses or to their
gardens but for the most part the patches seed themselves. When an

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[575 521] (16) When I left the Tapirapé in May, 1940, a grudge existed between two men of high status because of the murder of a shaman. Kamairabo disliked, avoided, and criticized Kamairé because he had killed Kaulwaní, Kamairabo's wife's father. The antagonism was never overt. When they met they treated each other formally and calmly. Other Tapirapé told me that Kamairabo's wife continually gossiped about the behavior of Kamairé's wife, "because her husband had killed Kamarowa's father".

[272 279] (17) A brew made of a few grains of maize and much water. It is believed to be poisonous.

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755 In the midst of this process he stops several times to suck on the body of his patient and finally, with one awful heave, he spews all the accumulated material on the ground. He then searches in this mess for the intrusive object that has been causing the illness. Never once did I see a shaman show the intrusive object to observers. As one treatment a Tapirapé *pančé* usually repeats this process of "eating smoke", sucking, and vomiting several times. Sometimes, when a man of prestige is ill, two or even three shamans will cure side by side in this manner and the noise of violent vomiting resounds throughout the village.

One other method of curing was observed. During an epidemic of fever Panteri made a collective cure to drive fever out of the village and disinfect the people of the village against it. Two men were dispatched to collect wild honey; this was then mixed with water, making a weak honey mixture. Panteri, after first smoking for a time, went from house to house taking the honey mixture in his mouth and spraying it over the house and its occupants. He carefully sprayed and massaged the patients who had fever and removed the foreign substance from their bodies. For several hours he worked, spraying both the inside and outside of the houses, including the central ceremonial house of the men. It was explained that the honey alone did not have a therapeutic effect against fever but sprayed from the mouth of a *pančé* it drove away fevers.

755 795 828 Shamans also protect the Tapirapé against ghosts. All people who see ghosts faint from fright or from the white substance with which the ghost covers their body. Shamans were called to blow smoke over them and to massage this substance from their bodies. During one funeral dance the shaman Panteri "saw many ghosts" in the environs of the village, recognizing some as long-dead relatives of the deceased. By blowing tobacco smoke about and by going among the ghosts with a large mirror he drove them away before they did any harm.

756 842 82 Shamans are necessary in several other life situations other than illness. For instance, shamans are thought among the Tapirapé to control the pregnancy of women. While pregnancy is known to be related to sexual intercourse, conception is thought to take place only when a shaman "brings a child to a woman". Several species of birds,

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of fish, of insects, and several natural phenomena, especially thunder. 756
have children: that is, they are thought to control "spirits of chil- 82
dren" (20). A shaman steals or more simply, takes spirits of children 842
from these sources and brings them to a woman while she sleeps. Parents who wish children can bring presents to a *pancé* to "make him dream and bring a child to them". Most Tapirapé parents can identify the source of their children and the shaman who brought them. One father explained that he had taken honey to the *pancé* Urukumu, making him dream, and that Urukumu had then traveled to the house of Thunder and brought back a child to his wife. Another gave a present of fish to a shaman who brought back a child from the small fish called piau (*Leporinus* sp.); and yet another gave honey to a *pancé* who brought back a child from the horsefly (Tabanidae).

To the Tapirapé all good and likewise all evil can be laid at the 756
door of the shaman. Consequently a phenomenon such as barrenness is 842
always the fault of the shaman. A barren woman or a man with no children by his wife must have "quarrelled much with the *pancé*". For example, it was clear to Kamairaho that his failure to have children by the three wives with whom he had lived during his lifetime was due to the shaman: "They do not want me to have a child", he said. He had no suspicion concerning his own sterility, even though his present and third wife had had a daughter by her first husband: for [837]
according to Tapirapé belief, all men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are biological fathers of child, and Kamairaho was in this manner the "father" of several children.

The safety of Tapirapé men depends upon the power of their shaman 225
during the period each October and November when they must swim 756
while they fish and shoot turtles: for in this region of Brazil rivers are 481
infested with alligators, sting rays (*Potamotrygon histrix*), and the 825
carnivorous fish called piranha (Serrasalminae). The Tapirapé also believe that large snakes lurk in deep pools of the rivers ready to wrap themselves around men and pull them beneath the water. During the year men will not swim in deep water unless it is absolutely necessary

(20) Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, *jacú* (*Penelope* sp.), *jaboti* (*Pseudemys* sp.), fish so called *tukunare* (*Cichla ocellaris*), *pacú* (*Mylossoma* sp.), and *piranha* (*Pygocentrus*), and *jaboti* (*Proschilodus* sp.), were listed as sources of "spirits of children".

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225 +61 756 825 and they will fish only in shallow clear rapids. When they must swim to catch turtles, a shaman guarantees their safety. A powerful shaman dreams. He travels to the river, ties he jaws of the alligators with wires, strikes the *piranha* across their teeth so they cannot bite, and ties up the large snakes into knots with their own tails.

756 825 The abundance of the food supply may also become the responsibility of the shaman. Some powerful shamans have the ability to control the movements and the increase of the bands of pigs. These [189] shamans visit in their dreams the "home of wild pigs" near the Tapi-[103] rapé River on a hill called by them *Tovaiyawá* — Ringed tail of the coati (*Nasua* sp.). There the shaman has sexual intercourse with female pigs, causing large increase in the bands. Those pigs that run fastest and are hardest to kill are these "children of the *pancé*". The [176] shaman's control over the movement of bands of pigs comes through his control over the *ancanga* called *ampukáya* — "crying spirits". Wild pigs are said to be "pets" of these spirits and follow them about. [224] Shamans who are powerful enough capture these spirits and take them, followed by their pets, to an appointed place where Tapirapé men wait to kill the pigs. None of the living shamans was believed to be capable of these controls over the wild pigs and several of the Indians blamed the recent lack of sucess of hunting expeditions and the apparent scarcity of pigs on the declining power of the shamans.

756 787 The dream journeys of the shamans also give them the power of prophecy, as was indicated by Panteri's vision of the fever in the village of the *peropi dwa*. Such dream experiences are not limited to the demonic world but sometimes occur in other earthly regions. The shaman may visit Carajá villages or Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya, where he sometimes learns facts of great interest or importance to his fellow-tribesmen. When Panteri visited the Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya River for the first time, he said that he recognized faces that he saw for he had been to these places many times in his dream. When I returned to the Tapirapé village after three months' absence, one shaman claimed to have prophecied my arrival to the day. He had traveled in his dream, he said, to the Araguaya River and had seen my canoe moving up the Tapirapé River. Another in the same way foresaw the arrival of a young Tapirapé who was returning from se-

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veral weeks on the Araguaya. Frequently shamans, through their dreams, learn and then tell the Tapirapé where large bands of wild pigs can be found and advise them how to approach the band (21). 756 787 [224]

The cleansing of food may be accomplished by the shaman by tasting it or by blowing smoke or his breath over it. Several times each year these rites are performed over the first fruits of harvests to insure their safety before the people taste the crop. In December the first ears of the new maize are picked and presented to a strong shaman who then gives them to his wife to cook. At sundown of the day on which this is done the shaman walks to the central plaza followed by his wife, who carries the cooked maize and places it in a pile before him, ready for the ceremonies that will follow. In 1939, Panteri was the shaman who initiated this ceremony and he was joined by five other proved shamans. The people of the village gathered about this group of shamans who sat in a circle facing the maize. One by one the shamans took deep draughts from their burning pipes and blew the smoke over the maize. Then, one by one again, each pinched off a few grains from an ear and ate them. When the last had tasted the new maize, the ceremony was ended. The youngsters of the village then fell upon the pile of maize; the crop had been tasted by the shamans and found free from danger for the people. The next day maize was eaten in all houses. 276 756 796 241

A similar ceremony is performed in August or September with the first wild honey of the season, and again about January or February when new corn is ground to make the thick beverage kaui. I did not hear of such "tasting of first fruits" by shamans for other garden crops and informants were unable to remember any one occasion when shamans had found new maize or honey too dangerous for consumption by the people. [222]

Again, each year in the first months of the rainy season when the new crop of maize is threatened by the first heavy rains and electrical storms, Tapirapé shamans must "fight" against Thunder and his mi- 756 789

(21) Many such prophecies are found wanting, and several times I heard people speak of a shaman's prophecy as a "lie". Often prophecies are only made known to people after events have proved them true.

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756 789 nions in order to protect the gardens and even the people themselves from his violence. This four-day ceremony is the culmination of shamanistic activity among the Tapirapé and its most exotic and violent manifestation (22).

## SOCIAL POSITION OF THE SHAMAN

554 622 The Tapirapé do not have chieftains with highly centralized authority. Instead one finds among them respected individuals who are described modernly by the Tapirapé with the Portuguese term "capitão". Such men of great prestige have in every instance gained the respect of their fellow tribesmen in one or more — usually at least two — of three ways.

622 554 858 First, an individual may be singled out by his parents, who must themselves be people of some prestige for especial treatment as a čirikakúntu, a favored child (23). Parents bestow upon such a child a series of important names which in themselves carry respect and he is taught with special care the myths, songs, dances, and manual techniques of the tribe. His parents may wait upon him, bringing him water to drink and to wash himself with and preparing special foods for him. Special care is taken in oiling and painting his body and elaborate decorations are made for him to wear during the annual harvest ceremonies, for the čirikakúntu are the central figures in part of this ceremony. Again, his body decorations are more elaborate than those of an ordinary youth when he dances during the ceremony of reaching maturity (24).

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(22) See page 84 for a detailed treatment of Thunder as a supernatural and of the Thunder Ceremony.

[616 562] (23) I use the masculine pronoun, for most čirikakúntu are boys, although girls have been selected for this special treatment within the memory of my informants. Usually there are two male "favored children" in the village, one from each moiety.

[314] (24) On this subject of chieftainship, I again disagree with Baldus. He reports a "chefe principal" and a "vice-chefe". He considers such offices hereditary, the oldest son of the chief becoming chief and the next oldest becoming vice-chief (op. cit. page 81). But I believe the impression of primogeniture was created only by the fact that important names and the position of čirikakúntu were generally passed on by parents to their oldest child and the parents of outstanding importance

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Secondly, an individual may gain respect through being chosen as a leader of the warrior-age group of his ceremonial moiety. His companions may select him as their "walking leader" — antá áwa — or as their "song leader" — amoniká áwa — because of his special abilities in hunting, gardening, manual technique, singing, or dancing. It frequently happens that these chosen leaders were ciríkakóntu when they were children, for the special treatment and educational advantages given such children develop qualities of leadership. 554 561 622 [858]

The third and most important road to prestige lies in shamanism. It has been shown that the Tapirapé depend upon their shamans to control the dangerous spirit world, to remove danger from first fruits, to predict the future, to bring spirits of children to their parents, and to cure the ill. In all life situations where chance or the unpredictable figure the Tapirapé depend markedly upon their shamans. Thus the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman (25). This prestige is reflected in the concepts of a separate afterlife for shamans and in the identification of ancestral culture heroes as shamans. Informants telling of Petura, the bringer of such phenomena as fire and daylight to the Tapirapé, and of Ware, who killed so many dangerous ancúnga, frequently referred to them as "great shamans". While a Tapirapé layman becomes a disembodied soul at death, the afterlife of a shaman is but a continuation of his present life under ideal circumstances. His soul goes to Maratawa (26), the home of the culture heroes. This home of the privileged dead lies far to the north- 555 622 756 775 [773]

were the ones who generally produced ciríkakóntu. The man whom Baldus reported as "chefe principal" carried an important name, had been a favored child, had been a "song-leader" of his wife, and was currently a shaman of some power, and I believe held his position because of these things and had not inherited it. Wantumuna, whom Baldus mentions as "vice-chefe", had also before his death in 1940, been a shaman and a "walking leader". [114]

(25) The unusual importance of the shaman to the Tapirapé was well put by one of my informants: "Without our *pawé*, all we Tapirapé die".

(26) If a shaman meets death by murder, his trip to Maratawa is delayed. He goes temporarily to another "home of shamans" in the west until his wounds are healed; only then does he go to Maratawa. If his skull has been crushed by a club, a new cranium of metal is made for him at this temporary residence. A "metal" cranium is obviously an introduced concept yet informants were not able to explain of what material the new cranium might have been made before metal was known to the Tapirapé.

555 622 756 775 [766] west "where the earth ends and the water begins" and where the sun returns to sleep after its travels across the sky. In Maratawa shamans have an inexhaustible supply of tobacco, many red parrot feathers, much manioc, kauí, bananas, meat, and all the other necessities and luxuries of life. Frequently a shaman is buried with a pipe filled with tobacco in his mouth, so that he may have smoke to drive out fatigue on the trip to Maratawa; and sometimes food is buried with the body so he may eat, for the journey to Maratawa is long.

556 756 Aside from these non-material considerations, there is one very real factor which insures social respect to the Tapirapé shaman. Shamans are in general the wealthiest men among the Tapirapé. Although they may at times receive meat or honey for their cures or as presents for bringing the spirits of children to parents, payments to them are usually in those luxury goods that are the marks of wealth. It was readily observed that the beads and hardware which I gave as presents to the Tapirapé soon passed into the hands of shamans as payments for cures.

756 Payments to the shamans for curing the ill depend upon the seriousness of the illness and upon what the patient or his family has to offer. Frequently a shaman names his fee when his cure has been successful, asking for specific objects, for he knows full well what each family owns. Unsuccessful cures are never paid. For example, for the treatment of his sister's son and of his daughter, who were both sick at once, Kamairaho, a shaman himself, called three shamans and paid each the price that he asked. He paid one, Pantori, a machete and two strings of beads; to another, Urukumu, he gave an axe, a pocket knife, a pair of scissors, and five tail feathers of a red parrot; he gave only four strings of beads to Kamairai, who was considered a shaman of less power than the other two. Another young man with few possessions gave five arrows to a shaman who successfully treated his wife; still another paid the breast feathers from his parrot and four string of [262] beads to a shaman. When Tazwaniuma killed a *paca*, the meat of [224] which is highly prized by the Tapirapé, he gave some to his companion of the hunt and divided the rest between two shamans who had treated his small daughter successfully. Neither shaman had to ask for any specific gift or payment. People often complain to others about the [571] high price they had to pay to a shaman, but generally they pay what is

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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asked. "Stinginess" is a severe accusation among these people and to complain mildly about a high price is one way of announcing one's liberality. 577 756

Liberality is a necessary quality for a man of prestige. At the time of the annual harvest ceremonies, shamans and all other men of prestige must give gifts to all those who drink of *kauió* (27). Gift giving at this time proves their liberality and validates their prestige. At this time then there is a siphoning off of wealth from the shamans, but throughout the rest of the year fees and gifts channel it back into their hands. 431 554 756 577

## ROAD TO SHAMANISM

Among the Tapirapé, *pancés* are essentially those people who dream much and who, in their dreams, travel widely in the supernatural world, achieving familiarity with the supernatural. At the time of my visit there were six men recognized as fullfledged shamans who were called upon to treat the sick and to perform various ceremonials. Panteri and Urukumu, were the two clearly outstanding; these assumed leadership in shamanistic ceremonies and were the ones most frequently called for cures. Besides these six recognized shamans, there were four young men working to develop shamanistic power to gain recognition as shamans. 756 [987]

Within the memory of persons living in the village there had been three women shamans, but there were none, either practicing as recognised shamans or working as novices, during my visit. The women shamans were remembered as having been especially malevolent. They are supposed to dream more than the men and work much harm to the people. People who recalled the women shamans explained that when they had sung in the annual ceremony of calling and fighting Thunder they had sung the part of the music usually sung by the shamans' wives and their husbands had sung the usual men shamans' parts. The women *pancés* had smoked and fallen in trances as the male shamans do. Nothing possible to men shamans appeared to be beyond the power of the women. None of them was described as masculine in behavior: [562]

(27) See footnote 17 on p. 73.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



756 on the contrary, they were described as "good wives", and one of them was remembered as small and particularly attractive.

756 828 [936] Certain people regardless of sex are early recognized as future shamans because of their natural inclination to dream. Several informants, for example, told me that a young boy, an orphan, and therefore badly cared for, would certainly be a powerful shaman. He turned and talked in his sleep and had been known to cry during a nightmare. He remembered few of his dreams but did tell of seeing the spirit of his mother, and described an evil spirit which he met during a dream. One of the present powerful shamans is said to have been such a youngster with a predilection for dreaming. Such youngsters are nervous and sensitive: yet no distinct personality traits were observed among adult 756 [928] shamans. Shamans are frequently emaciated and thin, attributable perhaps to their constant use of tobacco and the resulting nausea, and one shaman, now dead, was described by informants as a nervous ascetic interested only in the supernatural world.

276 756 787 Persons lacking this predilection for dreaming, but with aspirations to shamanism, may solicit dreams. Each year during the days of the dry season all young men who aspire to shamanism, even those who have shown potentialities during boyhood, gather each evening in the central plaza of the village to seek dreams. A novice sits upon the ground near a *pajé*, his mentor, and swallows smoke from his mentor's pipe until violent vomiting occurs. When the novices are too ill to hold the pipe, the shaman holds it for them, forcing them to continue "eating smoke". Generally the neophites fall backwards unconscious and ill from the smoke: during this state they may dream. In any case, when they regain their senses, the pipe is again placed in their mouth until they fall backwards ill and unconscious once more. The process may be repeated several times over a period of two or three hours. Later, when the novice retires to his hammock for the night, he may expect a dream.

756 Such sessions occur each night during the few weeks before the Thunder ceremony and a serious novice should attend all sessions. [934] During this period he refrains from sexual intercourse because it will hinder his dreaming: he also refrains from bathing and so becomes [935] grimey. He must not eat of those animals which "walk at night", such [962] as the jaboti tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) and the monkey, because he must be friendly with all creatures he may meet in his nocturnal dream travels. He should eat manioc flour, yams, pepper, and such bland

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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meats as jacu, coati (*Nasua* sp.), peccary, mutum (*Crax* sp.), and chicken: of other foods he must eat sparingly or not at all. The novices are "tired" and "thin"; many do not continue after the first few nights because they "are lazy" or because "they are afraid". Campukwi, my informant, did not continue because he did not like the dirt, the nausea from tobacco, the lack of food, and the sexual continence. 756 [262]

Other novices, more successful and more persistent, do dream. At first they see smoky forms of ghosts and sometimes forest demons: they as yet do not know how to talk with such spirits. Usually, the first season or two during which a young man seeks dreams, he may expect mild dreams. After several seasons the novice may see dangerous forest demons in his unconscious states and he may talk with ghosts. Traditionally, young Tapirapé shamans become wild and uncontrollable when they have their first dangerous dreams. They are reported sometimes to stand up suddenly from their induced unconscious state and run wildly through the village, sometimes killing chickens, dogs, and parrots, or breaking pottery. Although no novices "ran" in this way during the 1940 training period, an informant described the state of a young shaman who "ran" several years ago. "He jumped up. He shouted and ran through the village. He carried a club in his hand (usually weapons are placed well out of reach). He killed two chickens and broke through the side of a house. He killed his brother's dog. All the women and children ran from the village, afraid. Finally, Maeumi grabbed him but he was strong and he hit Maeumi with a club and blood ran down Maeumi's face. Many men came and held him and Urukumu (his mentor) blew smoke over him", thus bringing him back to his senses. He had seen dangerous spirits and "was afraid", informants told me. This reaction is common for those who show potentialities toward shamanism. 756 787

The mere fact that young shaman has several dangerous dreams does not make him a proved shaman. He must take part in the "fight" against the beings of Thunder, and by the side of his mentor he may attempt cures. If successful, he may be called now and again by people for cures. With a reputation for several cures and with continual dreaming, during which he has supernatural encounters, he builds up his reputation as a shaman over a period of many years. Panteri and Urukumu were about fifty years old when I visited them: informants gave no indication that their power was expected to decline with old age. 756 [886]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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## THE THUNDER CEREMONY

[171] In common with many Tupi peoples the Tapirapé consider thunder
776 as a powerful supernatural. He is called *Kanawana* by the Tapirapé.
[921] Kanawana lives in his house at Maratawa surrounded by his various
[775] supernumeraries. He has with him the souls of deceased Tapirapé shamans
[556] (*pancé-iánwere*), messengers called *awamprwa* that carry news to these *pancé iánwera*, and finally, *topi* (28).

*Topi* are described as small anthropomorphic beings about the size of a man's hand. Their bodies are covered with downy white hair, and they wear European beads, little headdresses of parrot feathers, and lip plugs. They travel with great swiftness through the air small "canoes", which are only halves of gourds, and they carry with them red feathers and beads to use as arrows to shoot at Tapirapé. Sometimes *topi* are referred to as "pets" of Thunder and sometimes as his children: but in any case, they are many and do his bidding.

796 Each year in approximately late December and January, when
921 there are heavy thunder showers, lightning, and strong winds, the Tapirapé believe that Thunder is angry. The noise of the storm is the rumbling of his *topi's* canoes and the lightning is their speeding arrows. Once, when a strong wind ripped off part of the roof of a house, Tapirapé men were frightened because they knew that *pancé-iánwera* sent by Thunder had caused the wind. At this time each year shamans "call Thunder" and match their powers against him. In frenzied intoxi-
[796] cation from gulping tobacco smoke, constant singing and dancing, they fall into trances during which they travel to the house of Thunder. Shamans and the courageous laymen who take part in this ceremony are struck down by *topi's* arrows and fall writhing upon the ground. Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies against Thunder and his beings.

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(28) *Topi* is obviously the Tapirapé equivalent of *Tupan*, the word recorded as used by the Tupinambá and other coastal Tupi. Among the coastal Tupi *Tupan* was the supernatural being who caused the thunder and lightning. Tupan was so important that the early Catholic missionaries used the word for God. See Alfred Métraux's, 1928, *La Religion des Tupinambá*, pages 53-56, Paris. Note, however, that among the Tapirapé *topi* are merely creatures of Thunder.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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that same evening the men danced single file over the circuit, starting from the large house where the principal ceremonies had been held. As they danced, they sang that Thunder had gone and all was safe again (31). 535 796

During the four-day period of the combat against Thunder and his creatures sexual intercourse had been taboo; but on the night after Thunder leaves "all Tapirapé will have intercourse with their wives and many women will become pregnant". Traditionally, women are freer with their favours for a few days after this ceremony. People, however, sometimes break the taboo against sexual intercourse during the period of Thunder's visit and so bring trouble on themselves and their tribe. Pasteri reported: "I was weak when I returned from Thunder's house. Many mosquitos drank my blood on the road. This was because Tapirapé men were with their wives. I dreamed that night and saw many Tapirapé having intercourse and knew that Tapirapé would be bitten by many mosquitos when they called Thunder". 833 834

## CONCLUSIONS

It is apparent that in studying Tapirapé shamanism we are concerned with patterns which are part of a deep-seated New World shamanistic complex found widespread in both North and South America — from the Eskimo to the Ona and Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego. Among the Tupi-guarani peoples, however, shamanism has been an unusual factor in their cultural history. Dr. Alfred Métraux has shown that the numerous and distant migrations of Tupi-Guarani tribes in post-Columbian times were frequently instigated my powerful shamans (32). 171 756

(31) During this serpent dance, one may steal of corn which are hanging from rafters in the houses through which they pass. Youngsters did steal some corn and women ran after them trying to get it back. There was now much gaiety and laughter. [781]

(32) "Sendo la vénération et l'autorité dont ces magiciens bénéficiaient, peuvent expliquer la facilité avec laquelle des tribus entières eut consenti à abandonner leurs villages et leur territoire à la recherche d'un pays paraissant fabuleux" (in Alfred Métraux, 1931, "Les hommes-dieux chez les Chiriguano et dans l'Amérique du Sud", *in Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán*. T. II, p. 66).

See also the same author's: 1927, "Les migrations historiques des Tupy-Guarany" *in Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*. Nouvelle Série. T. XIX.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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171 In another study, Dr. Métraux emphasizes the extraordinary powers of
756 the Tupinambá shamans and states that among the coastal Tupi of Brazil shamans at times held great secular powers (33). Senhor Curt Nimuendaju writes that the basic organization of the Apapocúva-Guarani, before European contact, was the voluntary subordination to their shaman-chiefs and points out that the failure to recognize their power was the cause of repeated failures to unite the Guarani in "aldeamentos" (34). My own recent work among the Tupi-speaking Guajajara of the Rio Pindaré of Northeastern Brazil leads me to the opinion that, especially before European administrators gave them secular chiefs, Guajajara shamans exercised such strong religious and social controls over their people. The emphasis upon the role of the shaman in Tapirapé culture shows, therefore, a marked affinity with other Tupi-Guarani peoples.

## APPENDIX

756 A few added examples of individual overt reactions of persons during the Thunder ceremony may clarify and illustrate several points of the ceremony I have summarized below several from my field notebooks.

*Case of Kamairaho*

Kamairaho is a man of great prestige and has been a *pawé* for many years, although never a strong one. He says, "I have never seen many dangerous anhanga: I dream and travel only on (the level of) the earth", explaining that he does not travel through the sky in this
756 dreams as do Pajaret and Urukumu. Kamairaho did not take part in
781 the Thunder ceremony for the first two days, explaining that he was
796 afraid; he said he was too old and too weak to meet the dangerous tupi. On the third day, however, he took part in the day phase, against the protestations of his wife who cried in fear for him. Each time he made the village circuit wearing the headdress of red parrot feathers, he fell hard and without completing his circuit. Once after a seizure and a hard

(33) Alfred Métraux, 1928, "La Religion des Tupinambás, et ses rapports avec celle des autres tribus Tupy-Guarany", p. 82, Paris.

(34) Curt Nimuendaju, 1914, "Die Sagen von der Entstehung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocúva-Guarany", *in* Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, T. 46, pp. 337-118, Berlin.

(35) Charles Wagley, 1943, "Notas sobre antropologia entre os Guajajara" (portuguese translation from the unpublished original Brief notes on acculturation among the Guajajara) *in* Boletim do Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), Nova Série, Antropologia N. 2.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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fall, he struggled to his feet and tried to run. The young men who followed him seized him. Informants explained that in such a state he might have run wildly through the village, breaking property and causing bodily harm to others, in the same way that young novice shamans "run". Afterwards Kamairaho told me that he would never again take part in this ceremony because Thunder might trap his soul during a visit to Thunder's house and cause his death. 756 781 796 [761]

*Case of Panĉri*

Panĉri is a young shaman who has been treating the sick for several years. He took part in all the ceremonies during the first two days. During the sundown phase of the third day, he touched the headdress, then being carried by Urukumu, screamed, fell backwards, and in falling, broke open his scalp against one of the house poles. Upon regaining consciousness an hour or so later, he said that he remembered nothing. All that he knew, he explained, was that he returned from a dreamtrip covered with blood.

*Case of Anawani*

Anawani is a layman, notably the laziest of the village and thus unmarried. He took part in only one sundown phase of the Thunder ceremony, openly admitting that he was afraid to continue. During that one session Anawani caught hold of Panĉri several times as he moved back and forth with the group. Each time that he did this he fell at once to the ground, screaming. It was explained that to touch a powerful *panĉi* during the process of the ceremony is dangerous: for the shaman attracts the arrows of *topi*. [561, 589]

*Case of Kanaciptá*

Kanaciptá is a novice and is considered a potentially powerful shaman. He vomited violently during each phase of the ceremony and during the sundown phases he staggered about bumping into house poles. When he was pressed by a group, he invariably fell to the ground. Several other men were seized thus when pressed by a group. During one of the sessions of the ceremony, it took about a half hour to bring Kanaciptá out of this seizure. His wife began the crying chant characteristic of funerals while Urukumu massaged and fumigated him. She cried out that he was dead several times before she saw him returning to consciousness. [764 583]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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### *Case of Ipawungi*

●756 981 796 Ipawungi, a young man of about twenty years of age, is a novice to shamanism. During one of his dreams, stimulated by "eating smoke" he saw anãnga but was unable to identify which ones they were. During the Thunder ceremony, however, he decorated his body as did the anãnga he had seen in his dream. He painted a cross with urucu [302] on his chest and wore feathers of the white vulture (urubú-rei — *Sarcoramphus papa*) down the sides of his arms. As a protective mea- [751] sure he carried a mirror with him during all ceremonies for, like ghosts of the dead, the beings of Thunder are frightened if they see their own image in a mirror. During one sundown session Ipawungi fell crying wildly, and scratching his body frantically from head to foot, as if the itching were unbearable, letting out blood-curdling screams. This behavior was seen several times during the ceremony in other persons. The [827] itching, informants told me, comes from many invisible fleas which jump from any dog on to the body of a person participating in the ceremony. [231] Dogs, therefore, are securely tied to house posts or to trees at the edge of the village during the four days of the Thunder ceremony but they, of course, escape now and again.

### *Case of Cãnpukwi*

Campukwi, a young man of about twenty-four years of age, says that he does not want to be a shaman because "Tapirapé have killed many shamans". He took part rather casually in several of the phases of the ceremony: he "ate smoke" and moved about with the group in the evening session when the creatures of Thunder were being called. At the end of the session, when the powerful shamans saw "many tupi", he fell, struck down with the rest of the group. Campukwi's wife was not present but his sister came to his side to help him. She looked at him carefully and laughingly said that he was faking. She kicked him and left him instead of helping him to the sidelines. Campukwi stood up, laughed, and left the group.

Now and again through the ceremonies spectators made such observations concerning participants whose reactions seemed doubtful. Some participants did now and again pretend and people laughed at them. It was all taken in a spirit of fun.

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8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirape SP22



Fear was present in the formalization of quarrels full of hatred, a formalization which obliged the opponents to avoid direct contact. They had to remain hidden from one another and not interrupt the speech of their antagonist, but only reply when he had finished. One such quarrel began in the afternoon of June 27, 1935. Kamairabó lay in his hammock with open eyes and didn't answer when several people called him. Maniorabó, the eldest man of the neighbouring house, begins to pronounce insults. He stays inside his house. The entrances of the houses are so arranged that it is impossible to look from the interior of one house into the interior of another.[4] Kamairabó's wife stays outside between the two houses without looking towards either of them. She faces the men's house in the centre of the village and replies to Maniorabó with extraordinary gravity, in a level voice and with calm gestures. They are discussing a question of shamanism. Maniorabó seems to be doing the provoking. The other persons present continue with their habitual activities, neither laughing nor speaking. After a while Maniorabó's aggressive speech seems to increase. Kamairabó's wife joins her husband and the eldest man of her house places himself close to the entrance but inside, holding a club and railing violently in a loud and monotonous voice. When he finishes, profound silence rules for some moments. Then the other replies in the same tone. Never does one interrupt the other. This rule is also observed when two Tapirapé women have a quarrel as well as among other South American tribes.[5] The quarrel between the two men, one always hidden from the other, lasted until sunset. Late that night the old man of Kamairabó's house, where I was also living, asked me for my electric torch and went with his wife for water by a very roundabout way in order to avoid the proximity of Maniorabó's house. These precautionary measures—the lamp, the company of his wife, and the detour—reveal clearly the fear he had of the adversary. Supposing then that fear has contributed to create the institution of formalized quarrels we may consider it a factor of socialization. But is it only a tribal behaviour pattern or also fear that causes the victim of theft to abstain from any exteriorized reaction? Frequently I observed that the theft of some thing obtained from the white men, for instance a necklace of glass beads, was known immediately in the whole village; the victim, however, suffers in silence without any demonstration and doesn't attempt any revenge.

152 576 578 [361] 152 578 [203] [674]

As an institution which is essentially a product of fear appears that of the shamans. Nonexistent in certain South American tribes and little developed in others, it is so important to the Tapirapé that they informed me of certain local groups having renounced their independence and joined the inhabitants of another village because there were no more shamans among them.[6] This becomes credible when one considers Charles Wagley's[7] quotation of one of his informants' words: "Without our pajé, all we Tapirapé die." According to the same author,[8] "the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman." This means that the first place in Tapirapé society belongs to the person who defends the community against the ever terrible dangers of the supernatural world. It is collective fear which gives him this status. But the easy and continuous contact with the forces of destruction makes the shaman for his part also a man to be feared, and consequently causes him to other dangers, to dangers which we would not call supernatural. When cases of death occur in the village, and especially several in a short time, it is usual to attribute the cause to a shaman and therefore many shamans are murdered. Then it is also collective fear which, in such cases, moves a Tapirapé to defend the community

152 756 192

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



152 against the supposed menace and to kill the shaman who is suspected of having
756 become an evil sorcerer.

152 Though, also as regards the institution of shamanism, fear works out as a
184 factor of socialization by exorcising the dangers to the tribal life, we cannot say
648 the same about the fear which produces in many Tapirapé a disposition to adapt themselves complacently to the white man. During my stay in 1935, in the village called Tampiitawa, I could distinguish clearly between the great group of timorous people led by Kamairahó who received with open arms all that came from our civilization, and a smaller group composed of decided and valorous people who didn't want anything to do with us. So there were two opposite trends in their "foreign policy" and consequently germs of tribal disintegration.

123 Of the direct causes of fear I want to mention the following: The Tapirapé
152 were alarmed by my fury when I saw a man whipping his wife. To relate this
553 case means to confess a most ethnocentric and therefore in no way ethnological behaviour. But I think that in order to be an ethnologist it is necessary to be able not to be an ethnologist in certain situations. At noon on July 15 I see that
[572] behind the house in which I was living with Kamairahó and thirty other
[562] Indians, the athletic Inamoréo, nearly twenty-two years old, is beating a woman. With a cane and the blade of his bush-knife he is whipping his wife. She is so small and tender that she seems to be a child in spite of being perhaps twenty years old. I run towards the couple to interfere. The little woman is weeping despairingly, but doesn't go away. The man tries to tug her towards the house which is their house and mine also. She struggles. There he enters the house. Finally she follows. I enter also. The man holds the knife. I have nothing in my hands, but I am bound by my upbringing; I am the weapon of my culture and my culture is my weapon. I say to Inamoréo that people do not beat a woman like a dog. (I refer to this animal because frequently, among the Tapirapé, it can only thus be prevented from eating the people's food.) Inamoréo pronounces insults and his wife sobs. Now I explain to all the people present that beating a woman is a bad thing. Later, when I am sitting together with Kamairahó and his wife, I tell them that if a white man should whip his wife, another white man would kill him with a revolver. Jokingly I add: "If you, Kamairahó, beat your wife, I have to kill you with my revolver." With these words I go away.

[576] After a while Kamairahó passed me with a depressed face. I ask him:
123 "Where are you going?" Without smiling he answers: "I am afraid of you."
152 I embrace him, I kiss him impetuously in the Tapirapé manner, that is, rubbing my nose against his nose; but all this is in vain. He waits patiently until I let him go, continues walking, and tells the men and women whom he is passing that he is afraid of me, the white man who kills those who beat women. May I observe here that I always went around without a weapon among the Tapirapé, keeping the revolver, as Kamairahó knew, in my hammock hanging close to his hammock, and even there the revolver was at hand only to be at the disposal of the same Kamairahó in order to protect him against the event of nocturnal attack by the Kayapó Indians, the most terrible neighbours. Kamairahó enters his house and immediately from there sounds an agitated and long talk. With the speed of lightning the news spreads through the village that Kamairahó is afraid of me and is lying in his hammock and that I would kill with a revolver the husbands who whip their wives. A middle-aged woman joins me, saying: "I am afraid of you." I assure her again that I am not bad, that, on the con-

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



them. "Is it true," they ask, pointing westward, "that there is another Ara- 823
guaya (large river) there?"

The Tapirapé know well their traditional country—that territory north of the Tapirapé River to the River Preto, and west to the Araguaya. They know the plains country which borders the Tapirapé River and the tropical forest to the north where formerly their five villages stretched in a line [361] some fifty to seventy-five miles apart. At least once during a man's life it was customary to visit all these villages, and before setting out he would [574] acquaint himself with the rivers, hills, and good hunting places along the trail. At the present time, since the Tapirapé are a sedentary agricultural [241] people, depending upon large gardens of manioc, corn, yams, and bananas, rather than upon hunting as the chief basis of their food supply, and since [994] they have no trade, they do little travelling. The spatial limit of their direct experience is small.

Knowledge of the horizons beyond their direct experience—of far off 773
places and people, of the supernatural and spirit worlds, of the heavens, of the origins of peoples and things, comes to them only through stories of their legendary heroes, or through experiences of their shamans. Myths relate the creation, adventures, and travels of a series of ancestor culture heroes who took the form of civilizing gods.[2] Tapirapé shamans travel [756] widely in their dreams; they whisk off to far places—to the Araguaya, to [787] the heavens, to the home of Thunder (see p. 257)—in their "canoes" [415] (opened gourds used as eating utensils by the Tapirapé), or they may take the form of a bird as they travel in dreams. Since a Tapirapé has this great wealth of vicarious experience to draw upon, he never answers for himself [823] when asked of those realms beyond his knowledge. Instead he tells of the exploits of a legendary culture hero, or of the travels of a shaman "who has been there."

The Tapirapé are thus equipped with a wide range of second-hand ex- 772
perience. They have no concept of a closed or limited universe. New 823
knowledge either adds to, or fits into, their second-hand knowledge of a broad universe. Thus a Tapirapé youth, seeing for the first time the large rock formation at the mouth of the Tapirapé River, identified it as the place in which Panchai, a contemporary shaman, had seen the tremendous red parrots from which the supernaturals pluck feathers. Similarly, one travelling on the Araguaya recognized the large rapids below Santa Maria do Araguaya as those created by Kaowahu, a culture hero, to com-

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[2] Métraux, Alfred, La Religion des Tupinambá (1928), p. 7: "Pour les Tupinambá, comme pour la plupart des tribus sulaméricaines, certains personnages doués d'une puissance supérieure à celle du commun des magiciens ont été les artisans du monde tel qu'il se présentait à leurs yeux, mais ils en ont été souvent moins les créateurs que les transformateurs. Je veux dire par là que, même s'ils ont créé le ciel, les astres, et la terre leur œuvre est toujours partielle et incomplète, ne s'achevant que postérieurement à la suite d'incidents divers."

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823 memorate the spot where he had eaten plentifully of fish. The Tapirape
772 view of the world is an expanding one; the people are eager to acquire more knowledge, as is attested by their numerous questions about one's home and one's people, about the sea, the mountains, and distant places.

773 In point of time, the Tapirape consider the present as the third world. Twice people were destroyed, once by flood and once by universal fire. Before these catastrophes, there were pre-Tapirape called Karanjuntuwera. These people lacked the many refinements which were later brought to the Tapirape by their culture heroes. They ate several varieties of wild seeds, they did not have maize, manioc or any modern garden plants, and they lacked the bow and arrow. The Tapirape are not certain whether the Karanjuntuwera lived before or after the flood, but when the great deluge came, one man and one woman climbed a small palm tree which grew as rapidly as the water rose, carrying them above the flood. After they had been there some time the man began to spear fish and snakes[3] which swarmed in the waters, using the long narrow palm leaves as spears. As he killed a fish or snake, the waters gradually diminished and finally ran back into the river beds.

Four ancestors escaped the second destruction[4] of people—the universal fire. These ancestors took the form of birds: there were two *jacu* which were men, and one periquito and one *mutum*, both women.[5] These escaped underground and from the union of the two couples came "men" or *ampa awa*, as modern Tapirape call themselves.[6]

[101] "Culture heroes" were primarily instrumental in making the Tapirape
773 world what it is. When and in what order these heroes came is not stated.
776 Among them was Petura, a supernatural ancestor and great trickster. He stole fire from the vultures, day or dawn from the night owls, and *genipa*[7] from monkeys. These he brought as gifts to the Tapirape. Finally Petura
776 went far to the northeast "where the earth ends and water begins" to live
[775] in Maratawa,[8] the home of all Tapirape culture heroes, of shamans after
[756] death, and of the sun and the moon. There he lives today. He never dies,

[3] From these primordial flood snakes, say the Tapirape, descended their neighbors and enemies, the Carajá. "They (the snakes) had circles under their eyes" (the tribal face tattooing of Carajá).

[4] The sequence of fire and flood does not seem to be clear in legends. Two informants placed the fire before the flood. People during both epochs are spoken of as Karanjuntuwera.

[136] [5] *Jacu*: edible forest fowl, about the size of a large chicken, genus *Penelope*, several species. Periquito: *Pyrrhura violata*. *Mutum*: *Crax lecto*r.

[6] See Baldus, Herbert, *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, pp. 207-219.

[7] *Genipa rubiacea* or *Genipa americana*: fruit from which black body dye is made.

[823] [8] Several informants described Maratawa as an island. To the Tapirape, the lighted sky is encircled by black sky and on all sides below the edges of the lighted sky "where the black sky begins", the earth ends and water begins. This earth is a large island surrounded by water on all sides. The Tapirape are quite willing to grant, however, that beyond this water may be another earth.

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but lives and re-lives his life cycle as the cycle of the seasons. In the early 776
rains of October to January, Petura is a small boy. During the heavy rains 132
of January to March, he is an adolescent youth. He is a young warrior as the rains diminish in April to June, and as the year draws to its close for the Tapirape during the remaining dry months, Petura becomes old. Then as the year begins again with the first refreshing rains of October, he begins a new life cycle. This is the agricultural year for the Tapirape. They [221]
plant when he is young (October) and harvest as he matures (in May and June).

Petura was not the only hero who benefited the Tapirape. To the "home 773
of the gods" travelled Tomatociri and Mukwura II, other ancestor heroes, in search of their father Mukwura. There Mukwura gave his son, Tomatociri, the bow and arrow which he brought back to the Tapirape. There, [176]
too—and this is typical of Tapirape readjustment to newly-learned knowledge—the younger brother Mukwura II was given fire arms which he transmitted to his descendants, the Europeans or Torí.[9]

Shamans are equated with these ancestor heroes. If shamans die a non- 756
violent death, they go immediately to Maratawa where they live plenti- 775
fully supplied with food, tobacco, and all aids to the good life. If they die 772
violently, however (i.e., are suspected of sorcery and killed by the Tapirape) they go to another home of shamans in the west. This is the "home [821]
of the winds" where the heavy winds blowing from the southwest come during the late dry season. They are given an artificial face, and they stay here until they heal before going east to join their companions in Maratawa. Only shamans and culture heroes continue after life in the form that [776]
they had on earth.

It is chiefly through shamans that the Tapirape know of the sun, moon 756
and other heavenly bodies. A shaman had seen the sun "close by." The 821
sun, he said, is an old man with no hair on his head. He travels through the heavens wearing a large head-dress of red parrot feathers, and since red parrot feathers are "hot," the head-dress gives off heat. Each night, after limping through his daily orbit (for the "sky is rough" and the sun continually has thorns in his feet) he returns underground to the east to his house at Maratawa.[10] There he eats very little and in a short time sets out again. The morning after Wamanamu, a shaman, had died, several Tapirape saw that the sun was red; it was very "hot" and angry because a shaman had died.

821
As the sun is male, so the moon is female. Both are thought of as people, 776

[9] I was unable to get the original of this story before the obvious change was made to make it fit with new conditions. It is similar, however, to a Tupinamba story recorded by Thevet and quoted by Métraux (*ibid.*, p. 12), which tells of Arasoia and Tamendonare, twin sons of Sumaay. [171]

[10] See Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 14, for Siguia version.

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the largest ceremonial of the year which marks the beginning of the dry season and the harvest. Similarly, the position of the Pleiades is noted to date the many ceremonies of the heavy rainy period (November to April). One shaman had visited the Pleiades, and they, too, can be counted upon as a familiar power. The Milky Way is often referred to as the "path of the shaman," it is a well-beaten road over which the shaman travels through the sky in his dreams.

In common with many Tupi peoples, nothing in the realm of natural phenomena is as important to the Tapirape as thunder. Among most Tupi, Tupan is a god or an ancestor identified with thunder. He causes the rumbling of thunder and flashes of lightning. Among the Tapirape, however, Thunder[16] is a separate entity, a supernatural who has many "creatures" or *topü*. *Topü* are described as small beings about a hand's length in size, with white hairy down over their bodies, and wearing a small head-dress of red parrot feathers, European beads, and a lip plug. Small wax dolls are made in imitation of them. They travel through the sky in small "canoes," especially when there are strong wind and electric storms, and they carry red wild flowers with which they shoot Tapirape in the stomach. These arrows are hot "like fire." Sometimes *topü* are called "pets" of Thunder, and again they are referred to as his "children." In addition to *topü*, Thunder has other supernumeraries, the souls of dead shamans, who live in the house of Thunder, commonly thought to be near Maratawa on the summit of a large mountain.

Each year when approaching rains bring heavy thunder storms, lightning and strong winds, Thunder sends forth his beings. The noise of the storm is caused by rumbling of *topü's* canoes, and flashes of lightning are their speeding arrows. To protect the Tapirape, and also their gardens, from the storm, shamans[17] "call Thunder," or "fight with *topü*." In a four-day ceremony characterized by genuine fear, shamans gulp tobacco smoke until they are ill and intoxicated, they sing "calling Thunder to come," and chant until they "see" one or more *topü*, or souls of dead shamans,[18] fight with them, and are struck down by their arrows. A shaman who fights a *topü* tries to grab its small feather head-dress, take away its bow, or yank out its lip plug, its most vulnerable feature.

Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies of fighting Thunder. When a shaman is shot by *topü*, he falls screaming upon the ground, writhing and shaking, and then becomes unconscious. If men are not near

[16] Thunder referred to as Kanawana (direct translation) is said to be called Pururuka, his personal name.

[17] Laymen and neophytes who have sufficient courage may also participate.

[18] In conversation and in song, there is confusion between these beings. Although the above distinctions are definitely made, they are often referred to interchangeably. For example, a Tapirape may say, "*topü* cause lightning," or "Thunder is angry and makes lightning."

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756 to hold him, he may run wild through the village destroying property and
796 endangering people. To bring him back, smoke must be blown over him
921 by a shaman. While he is unconscious, he dreams and travels, sometimes
776 [781] visiting the house of Thunder.

"I smoked much and then I smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun and it came
787 toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They came and they left. I saw
756 Thunder. It was small and came (to the house) in a small canoe. It was Thunder's
921 child (a *tapé*). It wore a small headdress of parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug.
772 I reached to pull out the lip plug but it left." [The shaman did not conquer the *tapé*
776 and he was shot down by an arrow while he was unconscious] . . . "all was dark.
I saw many suns. I travelled singing as I walked. I spent three days walking. I climbed
a large mountain on the other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes
up. I saw Kanawana. He was big and his body was covered with much hair. He had
many red parrot feathers. There were many *tapé* and many souls of shamans. I did
not talk but came back." [If he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have stayed
(died), but he was properly treated with tobacco smoke and returned to consciousness.]

775 Through shamans and legends of culture heroes, the Tapirape know,
too, of the multitude of "spirits" (*anchanga*) which populate the unseen
world. These are of two general types: true spirits, disembodied souls of
deceased Tapirape;[19] and demons or malevolent beings of many classes.
[787] Shamans are accustomed to seeing true spirits in their dreams. These gen-
[756] erally inhabit abandoned village sites, where they re-live their earthly lives.
When they die—the second death—they become frogs, deer, *pacu* and
doves. Thus the toad is the spirit of a chief; the dove and *pacu* are spirits
[825] of men.[20] These ghosts cannot harm shamans who are accustomed to see-
[756] ing them, but sometimes the spirits attack and strike down defenseless
laymen.[21] They also cluster around a man's bier to carry off the soul as
soon as the body is buried.

There are infinite numbers of "spirits" of the individualized demoniac
776 class. Of these, some are "pets" which are not very dangerous, and which
[794] are represented by men in the mask dance cult.[22] Other species are very
dangerous, but these are no longer seen by the layman. Formerly, these
773 were numerous, and killed many Tapirape, but Ware, a culture hero and
776 powerful shaman, fought them and killed many. A man now points to the

[19] Speaking of Tupinamba, Métraux makes these same two categories of "supernatural
[171] beings" (*eygnan*, *agaia*, *ingange* and *anhanga*), *ibid.*, p. 51.

[20] Animals which have, or are, spirits can be grouped together. These are taboo to some age
825 and sex groups, in a complicated dietary system.
[262]

[21] Dogs can see spirits. When a dog howls, Tapirape say, "He sees *anchanga* but we
can't."

[22] At one time women may have been frightened by these "dangerous" spirits, but cer-
tainly at present everything in the men's cults is known to women, and they do not even
pretend to be frightened.

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A man now points to the
southwestern horizon and says, "Ware killed all spirits there; they are only 773
spirit souls now." (To the north and east, however, many demon spirits 776
are still alive and active.) Ware engaged in a constant battle of wits with [823]
the spirit world. He killed many of the dangerous variety by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed behind them, and he also killed off another group of beings which clubbed men to death and drank their blood.

Sometimes shamans (*pawke*) see malevolent beings in their dream 756
travels, and may even become friendly with them or receive their aid. For 776
example, one shaman told of wandering far in an unknown forest as he 787
dreamed, and of coming upon the spirits called *ureya*, who have long hair wound in a mass, and who carry only one arrow with which they can kill a man. They were about to shoot him but he shouted "No, I am a shaman!" and they left him alone, gave him food and aided him to return. Only shamans can have such relations with these supernaturals. Tapirapé laymen are afraid to dream.

The shaman is indispensable to Tapirapé living, not only because he has 756
dealings with the spirit world, and through his wanderings enriches the 842
knowledge of men, but also because he is of value in many practical ways. Thus he controls the pregnancy of women. Pregnancy is known to relate to sexual intercourse, but conception comes only when a shaman brings a child to a woman. Thunder, and several types of birds, animals and fish, [825]
have "children," that is, spirits of children. The shaman brings one of these "spirits" to a woman, putting it inside her while she sleeps. A woman who wants a child can, for example, bring honey to a shaman. This will make [787]
him dream, and he will bring her a child. Similarly, a barren woman presumably "had quarrelled much with the shaman."

When Tapirapé swim, while fishing and shooting large turtles in the 756
Tapirapé River, their safety depends upon the shaman. In this section of 825
Brazil, rivers are full of alligators, *piranha* (carnivorous fish) and sting 751
rays, and according to Tapirapé belief, large snakes lurk in deep pools. [481]
Before men may swim safely the shaman must tie the jaws of the alligators, strike the *piranha* across their teeth so they will not bite, and tie up the tails of the large snakes. When Tapirapé go hunting, it is up to the [224]
shaman to tell them where packs of wild pigs will be found, or to lead them down to a good spot in the plains country.[28] Danger may lurk in all food; thus Tapirapé often take new corn, fresh meat, or any food, to have danger "blown" out of it by the shaman.

The universe for the Tapirapé is not finite or entirely known; it is 772
dangerous. Tales of culture heroes and experiences of shamans provide a 756
773

[28] When the Tapirapé have made kills of wild pigs, which are "pets" of Thunder he will [821]
be angry and send a sudden rainstorm clouding of the sky. If a Tapirapé sees an unexpected [776]
rainbow in the sky he will say, "The shaman has been successful against Thunder" (i.e., in finding game).

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large framework into which all new knowledge can be fitted. And this universe is dangerous. The shaman, by the use of his wisdom and insight, his familiarity with celestial powers, spirits and far off places, is the only intermediary between men and supernaturals. Through him, the Tapirapé attempt to control their hostile and unpredictable world. Without the shaman, as one informant said, "All Tapirapé would die."

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those for group singing during the harvest ceremonies and the ceremony 533
of kawi (p. 176); those for the masked dancers during the dry season;
and a very large number of songs specifically for the "Big Sing"
(monikahó) during the latter part of the rainy season. During this
period (approximately March through April), singing takes place
throughout each night from sundown to sunrise. On these occasions, [66]
the singing leader and the men of one of the moieties introduce the verse
of each song and the refrain is then taken up by the men of the other
moiety and the women of the tribe. Women sing in a higher key than the
men and, generally, a phrase behind the men. The songs of the masked
dancers, each representing a supernatural being, differ stylistically from
those used on other occasions in being sung in a falsetto tone, in a manner [171]
similar to that of the neighboring *Carajá*. Many such songs have been [177]
admittedly learned from the *Carajá*.

**Dancing.**—Both men and women dance as they sing. In general, the 535
*Tapirapé* dance bending slightly forward, stamping out the time of the
music with one foot. Dancing differs greatly, however, according to the
occasion. During the harvest ceremonies, men dance in a line, side by [241]
side, each man's wife dancing directly behind him. During the group
singing of the "Big Sing," the men dance in moiety groups facing each
other, and women dance behind the moiety group of their husbands. On
one occasion during this time, men dance with women, side by side, with
a curious skipping step.

**Games.**—Men's moieties run foot races against each other after the 526
communal work festival (p. 168); they race in a straight line across the
village plaza. Wrestling takes place at one wet-season ceremony, and,
now and again, throughout the year as sport. The *Tapirapé* explain,
however, that the *Carajá* are better wrestlers and that it is more properly [171]
a *Carajá* sport. In wrestling, opponents stand face to face, grasping each
other about the neck, and attempt to force or to trip the other to the
ground. During one festival, men, one from each moiety at a time,
compete by throwing blunt-headed spears at each other. Gambling games [525]
are unknown.

**Stimulants.**—Native tobacco, though used for leisure-time smoking, is 276
principally a stimulant and medicine. A *Tapirapé* will not travel without 755
a supply of tobacco to blow smoke over his tired body at the end of the
day, in order to take out soreness and tiredness. Tobacco is necessary
to shamans in all their activities. They blow tobacco smoke over the
patient in curing (p. 177), and, to induce dreams and a trance, they
swallow large gulps of smoke until they become intoxicated and nauseated.
When people have seen ghosts, shamans fumigate them with tobacco [751]
smoke, in order to drive away the ghost's influence. Shamans fumigate 276
new maize, the first honey of the season and, sometimes, fresh meat to 756
drive out possible supernatural danger. This native tobacco is smoked [789]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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276 756 by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

423 249 The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

272 [273] No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

## RELIGION

771 *Tapirapé* religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, ančunga (spirit or shadow).

775 The ančunga lānwera, human spirits or ghosts (aña or anhanga among the *Tupinambá*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

[825] Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls [752] of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

776 In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called ančunga, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Waré, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many ančunga, among whom were the awakú ankú, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mumplankú were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the [535] *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, [532] *bottom, right*).

796 **Rites.**—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (ančunga) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest [241] ceremonial (kaô) and the ceremony of kawi (a souplike beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

241 756 In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans

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are called upon to fight Thunder. This, the important *Tapirapé* ceremony, lasts for 4 days, and is the high point of shamanistic activity.

Karawana, the Thunder, lives on distant Maratawa surrounded by the souls of dead shamans and by the topü (probably equivalent to the *Tupinambá* word, "tupan"), small anthropomorphic beings whose bodies are covered with white hair.

The topü travel through space in their canoes (half gourds), the sound of which produces the noise of the storm. The arrows which the topü shoot cause lightning. During the ceremony, the shamans, completely intoxicated by the tobacco and stimulated by the unceasing dancing and singing, fall into a trance (pl. 19, *top, right*) during which they travel to Thunder's house in order to fight him. Thunder sets the topü against the shamans, who, wounded by the arrows of "Thunder's creatures," fall into unconsciousness.

## SHAMANISM

The *Tapirapé* can visualize the supernatural world through the reports of the dreams of their shamans, whose power grows in proportion to their ability to dream. A dream is a voyage, during which the soul frees itself of the body and travels through space. In these dreams the shamans travel to regions which are entirely unknown to the living, and in general are inhabited by spirits. With their powers, the shamans succeed in taming some of the spirits, who then become their familiar spirits. The power and prestige of the shaman (panté) depend on the number of his familiar spirits.

The *Tapirapé* speak of battles between shamans wherein each calls out his familiar spirits against the other while dreaming. More often, a shaman sets his familiar spirits upon laymen and kills them. A shaman may also kill his victim during a dream by throwing a malignant object, usually a piece of bone or a worm, into his body.

The victims of sorcery appeal to friendly shamans, who attempt to cure them by extracting the malignant object by suction, massage, and blowing tobacco. When many deaths occur simultaneously and the *Tapirapé* suspect a certain shaman of having caused them, they do not hesitate to kill him. One man recalled that during his lifetime 10 shamans suspected of sorcery had been killed. He himself had killed a shaman whom he suspected of having killed his brother. In spite of the constant suspicion surrounding them, the shamans do not employ mechanical techniques or sympathetic magic in sorcery.

The shamans make great use of tobacco, which is essential for healing and dreaming. They smoke it in large tubular clay pipes. Cures usually take place at dusk. The shaman squats by the patient's hammock and smokes for a long time, becoming intoxicated and blowing the smoke from the pipe over the patient's body. He then massages the patient,

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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755 rubbing toward the extremities of his body. If he fails to extract the
[276] malignant object in this fashion, he sucks it out, swallows it, then vomits it up.

At one time, during an epidemic of fever, a shaman used a different method. He prepared a mixture of honey and water, and, after much smoking, spewed it out over the patients and on the houses where there were sick people.

756 Besides healing, the shamans must protect the people against dangerous
[751] spirits (ančunga); they call forth "children's spirits" without which there
[789] can be no conception; they prevent wild animals from harming the *Tapirapé* during great hunting or fishing expeditions; and they increase the
[787] number of peccaries in the woods. It is also believed that they divine the future in their dreams.

The prestige of shamans is such among the *Tapirapé* that almost all leaders of communities as well as of ceremonial moiety groups and household heads are shamans. As shamans receive payment for successful cures, they accumulate many possessions which they redistribute at a yearly ceremonial. Liberality is essential to prestige in this society where avarice is particularly despised.

## MYTHOLOGY

773 *Tapirapé* myths fall into two categories: legends telling of the deeds of ancestral heroes, and tales of animals. In the latter, the tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) is noted for his shrewdness in his dealings with the
[171] other animals of the jungle. These stories follow the general *Tupí* pattern.

Among the various *Tapirapé* heroes are Apũwenonu and Petura. The former descended from heaven and lived with the *Tapirapé*. He taught them to plant and harvest cotton, manioc, and maize. When he was old, Apũwenonu returned to heaven and changed himself into a star.

Petura stole fire from the buzzards and brought light to the *Tapirapé*, who until then had not seen day. It is also told of Petura that he stole hatchets and knives from the emu and gave them to the *Tapirapé*.

Txawanamũ is famous for a series of songs which tell of his adventures among the mythical ampúawa, enemies of the *Tapirapé*, who made him die a lingering death. Wančina, a great shaman, had his whole house, including his family and belongings, transported to heaven by Kanawana, the Thunder. Waré was another shaman who killed many dangerous forest spirits.

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requited by gifts of beads, hardware, and salt which I provided judiciously from time to time. After a few days, I began noting questions to be asked of Champukwi in the late afternoon when he now habitually visited our house. But this was the time that others also liked to visit. At this hour of the day our house was often crowded with men, women, children, and even pets—monkeys, parrots, and wild pigs—for which the Tapirapé along with other Brazilian tribes have an especial fondness. Such social gatherings were hardly conducive to the ethnological interview or even to the systematic recording of vocabulary. So I asked Champukwi if I might go with him to his garden. There, alternating between helping him cut brush from his garden site and sitting in the shade, I was able to conduct a kind of haphazard interview. Often, while he worked, I formulated questions in my halting Tapirapé and I was able by repetition to understand his answers. Although the Tapirapé villagers began to joke of Champukwi's new garden site as belonging to the two of us, these days were very valuable for my research.

Walking through the forest to and from Champukwi's garden, we often hunted for *jacu*, a large forest fowl rather like a chicken. I attempted to teach Champukwi how to use my .22 rifle, but he had difficulty understanding the gunsights and missed continually. He attempted to show me how to "see" the *jacu* hidden in the thick branches of the trees, but I seldom caught sight of the birds until they had flown. Thus, our complementary incapacities combined to make our hunting in the tropical forest quite unproductive, and in disgust Champukwi often resorted to his bow and arrow. Only later in the year, after he had practiced a great deal by shooting at tin cans did Champukwi master the use of the rifle, and this new-found skill greatly added to his prestige among the Tapirapé.

My abiding friendship with Champukwi perhaps really began when I came down with malaria about six weeks after our arrival. During the first few days of my illness, I was oblivious to my surroundings. I am told that while one *pancké*, or medicine man, predicted my death, another tried to cure me by massage, by blowing tobacco smoke over my body, and by attempting to suck out the "object" that was causing the fever. Evidently his efforts—plus the atabrine tablets administered by Valentim Gomes—were successful, for my fever abated. I realized, however, that convalescence would be slow. Unable to leave the house for almost three weeks, I spent my days

115 124 Tapirapé village which he would have hesitated to relate on home
[531] grounds. He told me of adulterous affairs in process and of the
[578] growing determination among one group of kinsmen to assassinate
[582] Urukumu, the powerful medicine man, because they suspected him
[156] of performing death-dealing sorcery.
[154]

After two weeks in Furo de Pedra, I found that it would be
122 necessary for Valentim Gomes and me to go to Rio de Janeiro. It was not possible for Champukwi to accompany us and so I arranged for two Brazilian frontiersmen to return him to a point on the Tapirapé River from which he could easily hike to his village in a day. Valentim and I then began our slow trip up the Araguaia River to the motor road and thence to Rio de Janeiro. Two months
[132] later, rid of malaria and with a new stock of supplies, we returned to spend the long rainy months from November until the end of
[115] May in the Village of the Tapirs. Champukwi was there to wel-
[123] come us, and he came each day to help repair and enlarge our house.
[609] We easily fell into our former friendly relationship, now strengthened by the experience in common of the trip to Furo de Pedra and by the feeling which many anthropologists have shared with the people of their communities—that anyone who returns is an "old friend."

115 My return to the village that November marked, in a sense, the
123 end of what might be called the first phase of my relationship with Champukwi as friend and as anthropological informant. During the course of at least 200 hours of conversation (many of which may be methodologically dignified as interviews), I had learned much about Champukwi as a person as well as about Tapirapé culture. I knew that as a small boy he had come from Fish Village, where his parents had died, to live in the Village of the Tapirs. He had lived with his father's younger brother, Kamaira, who was the leader
[553] of a large household. He even confided to me his boyhood name;
[551] Tapirapé change their names several times during their lifetimes
[522] and mention of a person's first childhood name, generally that of a fish, an animal, or simply descriptive of some personal characteristic, causes laughter among the audience and considerable embar-
[165] rassment to the individual. I knew that Champukwi had been married before he took his current wife, and that his first wife had died
[813] in childbirth. He revealed that her kinsmen had gossiped that her death was caused by his lack of respect for the food taboos imposed

## 13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
## SP22 Tapirape SP22

**Charles Wagley**

115 When the heavy rains of late December and January set in, we
123 were all more or less confined to the village as the rivers and streams
124 rose to flood the savanna. What had been brooks in the tropical
[132] forest became wide streams, difficult, and sometimes dangerous, to
[133] ford. It rained many hours each day. The Tapirapé women and children spent most of the time in their dwellings, and the men and older boys lounged in the men's house. Our house again became a meeting place. And as this was of course an opportune time for interviewing, I joined the men in their club or entertained visitors at home. I began to see more of Champukwi—first, in the men's house and then as he again became a regular visitor at our house. Now, he brought his new (and younger) wife with him. He liked to sit up with us late at night after the other Tapirapé visitors had retired to their dwellings or to the men's house for the night-long sings that are customary during the season of heavy rains. Under the light of our gasoline lamp, we again took up our study of Tapirapé culture. Not once did he mention his period of antagonism except to complain that the Tapirapé gossip too much.

Sometime late in January there began what might be considered the second phase of my relationship with Champukwi. Our friendship was no less intimate than before, but our conversations and more formal interviews were not now as frequent. During the next months, Champukwi became almost my assistant, an entrepreneur of
115 Tapirapé culture. He continued to provide invaluable information,
123 but when I became interested in a subject of which he knew little,
124 he would recommend that I talk to someone else. Though he directed
● 756 me to Urukumu on the subject of medicine men or shamans, Cham-
[154] pukwi himself related dreams he had heard other shamans tell. He
[683] explained that he did not want to become a shaman himself, for he had seen grieved relatives beat out the brains of Tapirapé shamans whom they suspected of causing a death by sorcery. He was not cer-
[987] tain, he said, whether such shamans had actually performed sorcery;
[995] but he reasoned that any shaman might come to such an end.
[996] Champukwi did have the frequent dreams that are indicative of one's powers to become a shaman and, in some of his dreams, he saw *anchunga*, the ghosts and supernaturals who are the aids of shamans. He had told only one or two of his kinsmen about this, and he did not want it to be known throughout the village lest there be pressure on him to train for shamanism.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



morning we embarked downriver. My last memory of Champukwi was of him standing on the bank waving in *tori* style until our boat made the curve of the river.

I did not return to visit the Tapirapé until 1953, but news of them came to me at intervals. Valentim Gomes returned to the region in 1941 as an officer of the Brazilian Indian Service, and his post was charged with the protection of the Tapirapé Indians. In his first year in this capacity, he wrote me: "I report that I was in the village of the Tapirapé on the 26th of July [1941]. They were in good health and there were plenty of garden products such as manioc, yams, peanuts, and the like. There were plenty of bananas. But I am sorry to say that after we left them, twenty-nine adults and a few children have died. Fifteen women and fourteen men died. Among those who died was Champukwi, the best informant in the village, and our best friend." Several slow exchanges of letters brought further details from Valentim. In some manner, perhaps through a visit from a Brazilian frontiersman, several Tapirapé had contracted common colds. Its fatalness to them is indicated by the name they give it—*ó-ó* (*ó* is the augmentative which might be translated as "big, big"). Since they have no knowledge of the process of contagion and have not acquired immunity to the common cold, the disease spread rapidly throughout the village. The Tapirapé realized, I knew, that colds and other diseases such as measles which they had suffered before, were derived from visitors. Yet they also believed that death resulted from evil magic or sorcery. Why do some people who are very sick from colds get well, they asked, while others who are no more ill, soon die? It is only because those who die are the victims of sorcery, they had explained to me. So, following many deaths, including that of a young man like Champukwi, who enjoyed prestige and had many kinsmen, I was not surprised to learn from Valentim Gomes that the powerful shaman, Urukumu, had been assassinated. As Champukwi had told me, suspicion of Urukumu had already been growing even during my residence in the village. After the death of Champukwi, one of his many "brothers" (actually a cousin but called by the same term as brother in Tapirapé) had entered Urukumu's house late at night and clubbed him to death. To the Tapirapé, grief and anger are closely related

171 writes: "The natives eat these cotton seeds crushed and then
252 boiled into a mush which they call mingau."

At the time of my stays among the Tapirapé, the monovĩ-
272 kauĩ was the kind most frequently used and the one I myself took most often. I confess that I liked this drink so much and developed such nostalgia for it that in 1947, when I again met the people whose hammocks had hung beside mine 12 years earlier, the first wish I expressed was this, "Monovĩ-kauĩ." It is worth noting
114 that Gabriel Soares de Sousa (203), in describing the use of the
191 peanut among the Tupinambá, does not mention it in connection
272 with the preparation of a liquid. The same applies to squash, incidentally, of which, according to the sixteenth century Portuguese author (ibid., 201), "there are ten or 12 varieties" called gerumãs by the Tupinambá of Bahia. The Tapirapé drink made
272 with crumbled squash is called kuruã-kauĩ. Kuruã may not be
[137] one of the "varieties" of "gerumãs" known in Bahia, but like them, in any case, it belongs to the edible Cucurbitaceae.

The vegetable substances used in preparing the various kinds
[462] of Tapirapé kauĩ are crumbled or mashed by the women in three different ways, namely, between the hands, in the mortar, and between the teeth. Squash and bananas go between the hands; maize and manioc, the latter previously soaked in water and then sun-dried, go into the mortar; while maize, manioc, peanuts, and cotton seeds are chewed. In the Tapirapé language, amatykõ
[192] means "I chew," and andjahãk, "I pound." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 257, p. 258, and the first paragraph on p. 259 are omitted.]

[115:258] The custom of turning a food into mush by chewing
252 it is used by the Tapirapé not only to make cauĩ, but for the two
[757] following purposes: they chew peanuts to make a paste with which they anoint their bodies when they have been made ill by spoiled
[858] manioc, and they chew certain foods and give the mush to nursing children. These children are also given true cauĩ. It is to be supposed that observing the already considerable saccharification that takes place in chewing led the Indians to apply this procedure to the preparation of their favorite food. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 259 and p. 260, which concludes the section in Vol. 115, are omitted.]

272 [116:55] Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have three stages in the preparation of their masticated-fermented drink: (1) they

844/ poles. A large pot full of water is placed nearby to wash the mother and child. If the confinement is difficult, a woman presses the mother's belly until the child comes out. The baby is received in the arms of another woman who waits beneath the mother. The umbilical cord is severed with a cane shiver, and the afterbirth is buried. Both father and mother abstain from any food for one day. Both stay in their nets "until the loss of blood 846 ceases, that is, often for several days." There are no food absten- [843] tions for the future parents prior to the birth. For about two years 262 after the birth of the child, the parents give up peanuts and 784 bananas. In addition, the father frequently abstains from those animal foods that are never eaten by the woman, especially tapir, marsh deer, rhea, and alligator, until the child is almost six years [756] old. Only if he is a shaman may he eat of everything. The wife of a shaman, however, does not share this privilege.

The Tapirapé believe that the child will die if these absten- [761] tions are not observed. They say that in this case death would not be caused by an evil sorcerer, as they usually believe, but by the food that should not be consumed and that turns evil when it is eaten. And they add that in such cases the Whites have many medicines that might save the child, while the Tapirapé do not have any, and so among them the child would be lost. [123:54] When I offered them deer meat, which is coveted by all Tampiitaua men (perhaps because it is a type of game that, although abundant, is seldom killed without firearms), it was not accepted by the fathers of one-year-old children. Even Urukumy who, as a shaman, could have eaten the meat, was careful to pass it on to someone else after courteously accepting it from me.

The abstention from bananas and peanuts is impressive when we consider the important role played by these foods in the Tapirapé [165] diet. It is possible that the high mortality among children during the first two years of life may have led to such onerous rules. [755] Actually, these Indians assert that their Karajá neighbors and the Whites eat of anything when their child is ill, while Tapirapé parents, in such cases, subsist exclusively on mahioc flour and maize and manioc cauí, even when the child is older than six.

The behavior of Indian parents toward the newborn recalls to 771 some extent a custom of the colonists of São Bonifácio, in the state 946 of Santa Catarina, who come for the most part from Westphalia.

754 the head or to tie it up and carry it off. The one whose soul is thus
787 either incapacitated or imprisoned soon dies. A shaman may call upon
756 his familiar demonic spirits of the forest to deal with a chosen victim or may in his dreams shoot a victim's spirit with small arrows causing at times death and at times only boils. Still another method of attack is for the shaman to throw a fishbone (*ipirã kunya*) or gnawing worms (*uuáka or áwai*) into his victim's body causing illness and death.
[755] The treatment of illness consists of removing from the victim's body these malignant arrows, fishbones, and worms that are the cause of illness.

754 In illness and other misfortune, sorcery is always suspected by
756 the Tapirapé and some shaman is accordingly always believed responsible. Sorcery, however, is believed to be the action of shamans in dreams, and although such a negative statement can obviously not be substantiated, it seems never to be consciously practised. But there
[784] is, so far as the writer knows, no use of incantations or mechanical devices for the deliberate inducing of sympathetic magic.

683 All Tapirapé are thought, however, to die by sorcery and at each
761 death suspicion turns toward a shaman (12). At the death of a child
756 or woman of low status, suspicion may arise and then soon die down
[554] but when the deceased is a man of status, his brothers, sons, or sisters' sons become violent in their grief and may murder the shaman toward whom suspicion points. Sometimes, after a long series of deaths, suspicion is fixed upon one famous and strong shaman and the Tapirapé decide informally that he must be killed. In such cases the revenge-murder occurs within the first few days after a death when the relatives are "sad" (13). If the first depression of mourning wears off without violence to the shaman, the anger toward him passes and he is out of danger. Thus, after a man of rather high status had died both Urukumu and Wantanamu, *pancés* of sufficient power to be suspected of causing his death, both left the village, ostensibly on fishing trips, staying away until the brothers of the deceased had calmed down again.

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[753] (12) Informants readily admitted that people may be infected by others, as in the case of the common cold, which they recognize as a disease from whites but it is believed that a person who has a cold slowly gets well if no sorcery is working against him. Death is caused only by sorcery.

[192 152] (13) A Tapirapé uses the word "*iwatéralu*" to describe the condition of anger and sadness.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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787 796 other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topi and many souls of shamans near him. I did not talk but returned fast". He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other-world; he would have died.

796 A few novices, and now and again a rare layman, wore the headdress and people marveled at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it.

796 786 The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days of the ceremony. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panteri grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a *pančé-ïanwèra*. Urukumu picked up the headdress. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him. The two young boys, as before, ran through the circle of houses at the end of the day's ceremony, but this time they carried both the rattles and the headdress. The participants, on regaining consciousness, returned singing to their houses.

796 On the fourth and last day of the ceremony, an additional ceremony followed the usual evening performance. As the ceremony ended, the two strong shamans walked out of the house to the dance ground, taking the rattles and the headdress. There they and several others re-enacted, but with less violence, the ceremony just completed in the dwelling house. Following this perfomance, all the men of the village gathered, facing north "toward the house of Thunder", and Panteri walked across the plaza away from the group, toward the north, shaking the rattles over his head. [788] Returning to the group, he touched several men on the head with the rattles, much as a priest performs a blessing with a crucifix. He repeated this performance until finally all the men who had taken any part in the ceremony had received this "blessing". Women, then children, came forward to be touched with the rattles. Thus they were freed of danger from Thunder. After this, I was told, Thunder goes far away to his house until next year.

[533] 535 796 That evening men sang the songs of the *ančúnga aiwiró*, the spirits that come to live in the dance house after Thunder has gone. Late

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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fall, he struggled to his feet and tried to run. The young men who followed him seized him. Informants explained that in such a state he might have run wildly through the village, breaking property and causing bodily harm to others, in the same way that young novice shamans "run". Afterwards Kamairaho told me that he would never again take part in this ceremony because Thunder might trap his soul during a visit to Thunder's house and cause his death. 756 781 796 [761]

*Case of Pančei*

Pančei is a young shaman who has been treating the sick for several years. He took part in all the ceremonies during the first two days. During the sundown phase of the third day, he touched the headdress, then being carried by Urukumu, screamed, fell backwards, and in falling, broke open his scalp against one of the house poles. Upon regaining consciousness an hour or so later, he said that he remembered nothing. All that he knew, he explained, was that he returned from a dreamtrip covered with blood.

*Case of Anawani*

Anawani is a layman, notably the laziest of the village and thus unmarried. He took part in only one sundown phase of the Thunder ceremony, openly admitting that he was afraid to continue. During that one session Anawani caught hold of Panteri several times as he moved back and forth with the group. Each time that he did this he fell at once to the ground, screaming. It was explained that to touch a powerful *pančé* during the process of the ceremony is dangerous; for the shaman attracts the arrows of *topi*. [581. 589]

*Case of Kanacipã*

Kanacipã is a novice and is considered a potentially powerful shaman. He vomited violently during each phase of the ceremony and during the sundown phases he staggered about bumping into house poles. When he was pressed by a group, he invariably fell to the ground. Several other men were seized thus when pressed by a group. During one of the sessions of the ceremony, it took about a half hour to bring Kanacipã out of this seizure. His wife began the crying chant characteristic of funerals while Urukumu massaged and fumigated him. She cried out that he was dead several times before she saw him returning to consciousness. [764 533]

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



152 in the open against a rampart of fire or lances, recede terrified in view of the
775 suspicion of a tenuous and invisible enemy." In fact, the Tapirapé who opposes
[761] the jaguar with only bow and club as I had occasion to observe, and who is not
afraid of dying, as they frequently assured me, is terrified by the presence of the souls of the dead and of other bad beings. It is not only the soul of a dead shaman which causes fear. I knew a kind father who became afraid of the soul of his beloved little child when this was deceased. And whoever is not a shaman feels a dread of dreaming while asleep, because during the dream he has to travel through the dangerous supernatural world. And not infrequently boys who wanted to drink water at night in the nearby brook asked me to go with them, because a ghost had been seen taking a bath. Unfortunately, whenever I arrived, the well-scrubbed ghost had already gone away. Frequently the boys sang loudly when going to the brook at night in order to calm their fear as I have observed in Europe when children went for something in a dark cellar.

123 Although the Tapirapé didn't react in any way against the fear produced by
152 the eclipse, they were not always so passive as regards the fear caused by the
648 white men, the Kayapó, and the spirits. When my English companion fell ill, they didn't hesitate in demanding his departure, and when a little girl of the house where I was living fell sick, all the people around me wore a threatening air as if I had been the magic author of the disease. The fear inspired by the Kayapó was combated not only by the Tapirapé holding clubs during the nocturnal collective dances, but also by their parodying their neighbours by a pantomime which represented a supposed attack against peaceful tribesmen.
[514] The fear of the spirits gives not only great prestige to the shaman, official protector against them, but also puts in the hand of every Tapirapé a torch which he agitates without interruption if by night he has to go out of the house in order to relieve himself.

152 So for the frightened Tapirapé also, life is struggle, action and reaction, fear
157 and wrath. And this fearful people is the gayest I ever found in my life, and Kamairahó, the pessimist who more than anyone declared himself to be afraid, had a glad smile on his face everytime when I saw him awake in the morning.

*São Paulo, Brazil.*

## Notes

113 1. Cf. Herbert Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*. S. Paulo, 1937, pp. 156–158.
2. Ashley Montagu: *The Natural Superiority of Women*. London, 1954, p. 92.
3. Emilio Mira y López: *Quatro gigantes da alma*. 3a. edição, Rio de Janeiro, 1955, pp. 39–40.
4. Cf. Herbert Baldus: Os Tapirapé. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, 110: 192, 1946. S. Paulo.
5. Cf. Amilcar A. Botelho de Magalhães: *Pelos sertões do Brasil*, 2a. edição, S. Paulo, 1941, pp. 497–498; Martin Gusinde: *Die Feuerlandindianer, I: Die Selk'nam*, Mödling bei Wien, 1931, pp. 456–458.
6. Cf. Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, p. 86.
7. Xamanismo tapirapé (Tapirapé Shamanism), *Boletim do Museu Nacional*, n.s., Antropologia, 3: 79, 1943. Rio de Janeiro.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



586 Until the first child is born, marriage bonds are rather weak, but henceforth the marriage is comparatively stable. There are, however, frequent [837] cases of adultery, and a guilty woman who is found out is thrashed by her [684] husband. When a marriage is dissolved, the man leaves the house, which is considered the wife's property, although built by him.

768 Upon a man's death, his widow remains in the house. After about 2 [837] months of free sexual relations, she chooses a new husband.

761 **Death.**—The *Tapirapé* believe that death is brought about by sorcery and never by natural causes. Frequently, when the relatives of the [682] deceased enjoyed sufficient prestige, they kill the shaman whom they [754] suspect.

763 As soon as it is certain that the sick man will die, mourning begins in the form of a wailing dirge by both men and women. The men dance around the hammock of the dying or dead man, while the women remain seated on the ground. 764 Burial takes place on the day after death. The corpse is stretched out on the hammock. Its feet and head are decorated with urucú dye, and its face is painted black with genipa. The grave is dug in the dead man's house under the place where his hammock was usually hung. The body is buried in the hammock, which is set up in the grave between two poles. All contact with the earth is avoided. Personal possessions of the deceased are buried with him, except that all feather ornaments and bows and arrows are burned.

765 Five days after the funeral, the relatives walk in file to the ceremonial hut, where they leave the spirit of the dead man. The wailing goes on for many days, sometimes months, and always takes place at sunset. Close-cropped hair is a token of mourning for both sexes.

## ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 **Art.**—Obvious esthetic pleasure is derived from skillfully done basket-531 work; a good workman will destroy a basket which is not turning out well, even though it would serve as a receptacle. Great use is made of highly colored feathers; feathers are both tied and stuck with rosin and wax on to the object to be decorated. Elaborate geometric designs are painted on children's bodies with genipa. The incise work on gourds is also especially striking.

534 **Musical instruments.**—Gourd rattles are frequently used to keep time to singing. No sacred powers are attributed to rattles. During the shamanistic ceremony (p. 177), a bamboo trunk is pounded against the ground in time to the music.

533 **Music.**—By far the most important *Tapirapé* pastime is singing. A man with a good voice and a large repertoire of songs is much admired by the community. All ceremonies are, basically, singing festivals. Each ceremony during the year has a large set of specific songs: those to be sung by the shaman during the shamanistic "battle with Thunder" (p. 177);

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114 the Caraja -- from the 'irewẽhẽ,' who, I take it, are the
173 Javahe, 'ijewehe' in Caraja. Near the Javahe village of
174 Imõnci I was shown a Tapirape cemetery. The Javahe tradition there is that they lived in the same village with the Tapirape, and I was shown the site" [cited in English].

Considering that the inhabitants of Tampiitáua bury the
174 dead inside the house in which they lived before death, it is
● 764 proper to inquire whether the Tapirapé also used this burial method when they were living with the Javahé, in which case the "cemetery" seen by Lipkind must have been the remnants of a village, or whether these representatives of the Tupí tribe proceeded in completely different fashion, performing, like the Karajá, the so-called "secondary burial," that is to say, burying the corpse in a cemetery, then exhuming the bones after the flesh had putrefied and laying them in large urns which were again buried at a common place.

Lipkind adds in the same letter: "You may be interested
114 to know that in the innermost Javahe villages there are some
144 distinctly Tapirape types, short stature, lighter coloring, face-
174 cast. My camarada Antonio Pereira, who was not aware of my preoccupation with Tapirape relations, noticed it and pointed out the resemblance" [cited in English]. [Ed., the last half of p. 124 and most of p. 125 are omitted.]

[98:125] To conclude, it may be said with Cunha Mattos
174 that the Tapirapé were on Bananal Island "occasionally," that is to say, that certain groups of their tribe were there transitorily and probably over 100 years ago. The presence of "Tapirapé types" among the Javahé may also be explained by the numerous Tapirapé women "imported" by the Karajá.

In any case, the inhabitants of Tampiitáua knew nothing
173 of ancestral migrations toward the east, such as those, for
823 example, of the Guaraní who kept searching for the [98:126] "land without evil" (cf. Nimuendajú 1 and Métraux 1 and 3). As far as I was able to ascertain, the Tapirapé were ignorant of the existence of the sea. They did not even recall being told about it by the Whites or by the Karajá. Apparently, there was no reference to the ocean in the tribal traditions either.

The Tapirapé knew of a great river to the west, however, which they called pananá-chingehó or chinghó. It is possible

171 Another occasion to cut the hair short is the death of a close
302 relative, when not only the males (cf. Photos. 51 and 52) but the
765 opposite sex as well (Photo. 64) are compelled to undergo this procedure. This custom is quite widespread in South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

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302 wrote of the hair of the Tupinambá of Maranhão: "[Ed., two
171 sentences are omitted.] They [the women] are quite meticulous
515 about combing their hair and do not fail to wash it and rub it with oil and Roucou every morning" [translated from French]. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

Some Tapirapé comb their hair with great care, although they do not wash it as frequently as the Tupinambá women observed by Father Claude, or massage it as often with oil and urucú. They
[314] would no doubt anoint it more frequently if it were not for the scarcity of the raw material, a palm nut that grows only at certain times of year. This scarcity impelled an honest matron to steal from us our only bottle of oil, which we had brought to remedy the lack of fat in the diet. Instead of lining our stomachs, the entire liter of nutritious liquid ended up on the good woman's head. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 108 is omitted.]

302 [107:109] The Tapirapé also put urucú in their hair, but only on special occasions. They apply it to boys on the festive day of
[881] initiation, to girls on the day when their first menstruation ends,
[764] and to the dead. It may have religious significance, but I cannot tell.

515 Aside from hair combing, delousing is a gesture of love. The
593 bugs caught end their existence between the teeth of the catcher, who thus swallows the blood of his or her beloved. This tender duty is performed on a mutual basis by parents and children and by loving spouses. Girls show the greatest enthusiasm for this type of quest. It does happen, however, that an old man still delouses an already married son (cf. Photo. 55).

826 Not only do they avoid losing the blood stolen by lice and
261 mosquitoes by eating the culprits caught in the act, but they also

171 This scarcity may be one of the consequences of the great epi-
301 demics, since the dead are buried with all their feather ornaments.
[182] In addition, the Tapirapé, as cultivators and forest Indians, have
[764] fewer opportunities to obtain the raw materials for these ornaments than the more game-oriented tribes who live close to rivers and to other areas rich in bird life.

415 Like the ancient Tupinambá (Léry 159), the Tapirapé keep the large macaw feathers in internodes of thick cane (vuanantú). [Ed., the last sentence on p. 137, which concludes the section in Vol. 108, is omitted.]

237 [109:75] I found a single specimen of a crown of jaguar claws
292 in Tampiitáua (Photo. 16). It belonged to Maninohó, who used it only for certain daytime dances (Photo. 4). Its name was simply chauvuanohó pyampé, "jaguar claw." It consisted of a wooden ring that reached one centimeter in width and 20 centimeters in diameter, wrapped in cotton thread blackened with genipap and charcoal. Not only does this thread keep the ring closed, but it also holds 14 jaguar claws, all of which are set pointing in the same direction. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

301 The use of flowers as a head ornament is unusual among South American Indians. I observed it only once in Tampiitáua. Iravuy, a married man 26 years old, returned once from the forest with a bunch of flowers in his hand. On entering the village, he met Ampitánia on the path and gave her the flowers. This girl, who was four or five years old, immediately tied them to her hair. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

304 Male Tapirapé have pierced ears. I was told that among them it is the mother who [109:76] makes these perforations in the early hours of the day following the birth of her child. She does this with the bone needle used in the manufacture of the cotton ornaments called tamankurá. Small pieces of tucum wood [Tr.,
301 Bactris setosa) or thin cane are placed in the holes, and for initiates
881 these pieces may reach two centimeters in length. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

171 To summarize, it may be said that as far as ear ornaments and their attendant cultural traits are concerned, the Tapirapé differ
301 considerably not only from all their neighbors about whom anything is known in this connection, but from the ancient Tupinambá as well.

249 476 that the Indians suck. It was, incidentally, the only cultivated plot within the clearing where Tampiitaua stood.

361 342 345 The center of Tampiitaua was the takana, the large men's house. Eight communal huts were grouped around it, with their entrances set in such a way that it was impossible to look from the inside of one hut into that of another (cf. Fig. 8, in which the chief entrances are represented with black rectangles and the secondary ones with blank rectangles). The village plaza stretched between the front of the takana and the semicircle formed by the houses on the east side of the settlement, and it was the setting for dances, singing, games, races, speeches, and banquets.

361 166 The "village of the tapirs," however, had not always stood in the clearing where I found it, nor did it remain there after my departure (cf. Ch. 5). At certain times, the Tapirapé move far away. At regular intervals varying from two to five years, however, they move the village to a spot only one or a few leagues away. When they abandoned the village located on the banks of the lower Tapirapé, the distance they covered was considerable, that is to say, probably a few dozen kilometers. Long distances were also covered at various times when villages split up or joined together, as a result, in the former case, of internal dissensions, and in the latter case of dwindling population [Fig. 8 appears here] [110:193] or lack of shamans. The chief causes for the smaller, habitual moves are the plagues of cockroaches and the number of graves within the huts. The unchecked proliferation of Blattella germanica L. compels the Indians to abandon and burn down all their houses every few years. The recurrence of this event is ensured by the carelessness of the Indians, for after the village has been destroyed the household goods carried to the new site are never sufficiently free from cockroaches to prevent them from soon swarming all over the dwellings. When epidemics cause the floors of the huts to fill rapidly with graves, this manner of burial may entail the erection of a new village within an even shorter period of time.

[621] [578] 136 166 361 [764] [731]

361 Not only does the settlement change as to site, however, but it also changes in size. I have already mentioned in Chapter 5 the data furnished by Reverend Kegel, according to which Tampiitaua consisted of about 14 houses in August, 1932. The

[342]

[Text continues on p. 78]

352 bananas ripe for eating. The storeroom proper begins there and
415 extends to the upper crossbeams, from which hang large quanti-
[251] ties of bananas. Similar strips [of bark] tied to the roof just within the reach of a standing adult support small baskets, gourds, and small bags whose contents (usually manioc flour), like all foodstuffs, must be protected from the voracity of cockroaches and
[342] dogs. The floor of the house is of light grey, beaten earth. Low,
[764] oblong mounds mark the graves. The smoke that always fills the
354 house gives the inner side of the entire thatch cover a shiny black

[345]

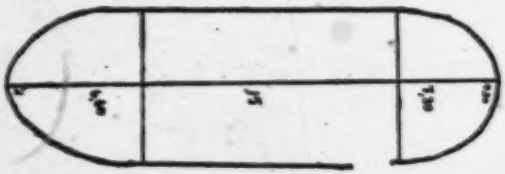

Fig. 11. Plan of the takana.

hue. The half-light maintained through the night by the fires burning beside the hammocks becomes a little brighter when daylight filters in through the slits in the lower part of the walls and through the doors.

Here is a nocturnal scene in house a.

512 The chickens roosting upon the roof keep moving unceasingly,
[231] and from all sides comes the rustling of myriads of scuttling roaches.
[136]

[345]

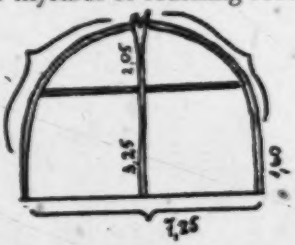


Fig. 12. Cross-section of the takana.

The swinging of hammocks makes the crossbeams creak. The
[516] smoke from the fires is not sufficient to protect the naked bodies from mosquitoes, and because of this, the Tapirapé swings his hammock, pushing his hand or foot against a rope stretched at his side or hanging one leg outside the hammock and pushing with it against the floor. He swings in this fashion until he goes to sleep.

231 interested would remain where it is. Also, I have already men-
364 tioned the enthusiastic battling of the chickens against roaches,
[136] which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé
[825] to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw
one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which
would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (159-160), in-
136 cidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá
192 and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on
European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Arauers by the
savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also
come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find
something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they
get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco
leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such
articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they
get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked
and poorly wrapped at night, these Arauers gnawed them to the
bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning." [trans-
lated from French].

The word written arauers in the French spelling of the sixteenth
century author tallies perfectly with the anavé, anaué, and araué
with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we
171 may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá
[361] in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the
[342] erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the
[476] elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and
[764] in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient
[712] coastal Tupi in not fortifying their village with fences and in
possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in
[345] the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most
typically Tupi are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial,
and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Karajá
[352] in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupi name they
give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses
within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings,
in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The
171 Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:119] of houses
361 around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

171 other Gê tribes and of the Bororo, but they differ from their north-
361 ern neighbors in the ground plan and framework of the houses, in
[342] the manner of burial, and in the use of the sleeping hammock.
[764] The Tapirapé resemble various tribes of the upper Xingu basin in the layout of the houses around a ceremonial house and in the use of the sleeping hammock, but differ from them in the shape of the houses and in the comparative size of the dwellings versus the ceremonial house, as well as in the custom of burying the dead inside the house. It is also worth noting the difference between the elongated-dome shape of the Tapirapé and northern Kayapó houses and the beehive shape of the Kayamo-Chavante dwellings on the Rio das Mortes. [Ed., end of Vol. 111.]

## Chapter 8

[112:51] **Subsistence**

222 The Tapirapé derive their subsistence largely from farming and fishing. This does not keep them from using any opportunity they may have to gather wild fruits and honey and to hunt. The fruits of certain trees are plucked as they chance to be found along the way, but those of the tucum-açú (Astrocharyum spec.), called chavana in Tapirapé, are sought out systematically during the month of October. In September or thereabouts, the men equip themselves with axes and gourds and go into the forest to look for honey. During the same month they catch turtles and turtle eggs. At different times of the year they gather the larvae of various kinds of wasps (kaua, "wasp" in Tapirapé) and kill animals both small and large. Although some of them hunt at all times of the year,
224 February and March are the special hunting months, for this is the time when game, especially wild pigs, armadilloes, and pacas, is crowded in by the rising waters.

During my stay in Tampiitaua, there was only one man who preferred hunting to any other occupation. He was Kanchovani, a Tapirapé about 32 years of age who was more slender in body than many other members of his tribe. While the others worked in their

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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went to the small brook to drink water after dark. She said that the ghost approached and struck her. A man walking in his garden after dark saw the ghost of a known person, some years dead. "It was white and his eyes had fallen out. He still had some flesh and he had urucú in his hair" (6). Yet another man also met a ghost which was "white with big holes instead of eyes". Ghosts of individuals who have been dead many years "have no flesh; they have only bones". The ghosts that appear to the living follow the pattern of the gradual disintegration of the body. 775

Ghosts gather around a new grave to carry away the soul at time of burial; so they are especially dangerous to people at the time of funerals. When a Tapirapé dies, men carry machetes and mirrors to the wake for protection against the ghosts. If ghosts see their reflections in mirrors, they are frightened away. 775 764

The principal encounters of the Tapirapé with ghosts are in dreams. Dreamers sometimes visit them in their villages and at times learn from them new ceremonial songs which they hear in the traditional Tapirapé ceremonials that the ghosts continue to carry on after they have left the village of the living. 775 787

After an indeterminate period the ghosts themselves die and their spirits then become changed into animals. The spirit of the dead ghost of a man of prestige may become a toad (*Pipa pipa*); that of a common man a dove. Among the other animals into which spirits of dead ghosts become changed are frogs, deer, paca (*Cuniculus paca*). 775 825 [554]

Besides the ghosts there are an infinite number and many different species of *ancúnga* of the demonic class, all generally living at a great distance deep in the forest. It is fortunate that their dwellings are so distant, for these creatures are very dangerous, killing Tapirapé whenever possible. In legendary times these demonic beings were more numerous than at present and killed many Tapirapé, but Waré, a powerful shaman and legendary hero, engaged in a constant warfare of wits with them and succeeded in killing many of them. He destroyed the dangerous *awakú anká* by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed far behind them as they walked through the forest. He also killed the *munpi anká*, the beings that clubbed men to death and drank their blood. 776 [973]

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(6) The Tapirapé paint the hair of a corpse with a thick coat of urucú in preparation for burial. [302 764]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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fall, he struggled to his feet and tried to run. The young men who followed him seized him. Informants explained that in such a state he might have run wildly through the village, breaking property and causing bodily harm to others, in the same way that young novice shamans "run". Afterwards Kamairaho told me that he would never again take part in this ceremony because Thunder might trap his soul during a visit to Thunder's house and cause his death. 756 781 796 [761]

*Case of Panĉei*

Panĉei is a young shaman who has been treating the sick for several years. He took part in all the ceremonies during the first two days. During the sundown phase of the third day, he touched the headdress, then being carried by Urukumu, screamed, fell backwards, and in falling, broke open his scalp against one of the house poles. Upon regaining consciousness an hour or so later, he said that he remembered nothing. All that he knew, he explained, was that he returned from a dreamtrip covered with blood.

*Case of Anawani*

Anawani is a layman, notably the laziest of the village and thus unmarried. He took part in only one sundown phase of the Thunder ceremony, openly admitting that he was afraid to continue. During that one session Anawani caught hold of Panteri several times as he moved back and forth with the group. Each time that he did this he fell at once to the ground, screaming. It was explained that to touch a powerful *panĉé* during the process of the ceremony is dangerous: for the shaman attracts the arrows of *topi*. [581. 589]

*Case of Kanacipã*

Kanacipã is a novice and is considered a potentially powerful shaman. He vomited violently during each phase of the ceremony and during the sundown phases he staggered about bumping into house poles. When he was pressed by a group, he invariably fell to the ground. Several other men were seized thus when pressed by a group. During one of the sessions of the ceremony, it took about a half hour to bring Kanacipã out of this seizure. His wife began the crying chant characteristic of funerals while Urukumu massaged and fumigated him. She cried out that he was dead several times before she saw him returning to consciousness. [764 533]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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768 Upon a man's death, his widow remains in the house. After about 2 [837] months of free sexual relations, she chooses a new husband.

**Death.**—The *Tapirapé* believe that death is brought about by sorcery 761 and never by natural causes. Frequently, when the relatives of the [682] deceased enjoyed sufficient prestige, they kill the shaman whom they [754] suspect.

As soon as it is certain that the sick man will die, mourning begins in 763 the form of a wailing dirge by both men and women. The men dance around the hammock of the dying or dead man, while the women remain seated on the ground. Burial takes place on the day after death. The 764 corpse is stretched out on the hammock. Its feet and head are decorated with urucú dye, and its face is painted black with genipa. The grave is dug in the dead man's house under the place where his hammock was usually hung. The body is buried in the hammock, which is set up in the grave between two poles. All contact with the earth is avoided. Personal possessions of the deceased are buried with him, except that all feather ornaments and bows and arrows are burned.

765 Five days after the funeral, the relatives walk in file to the ceremonial hut, where they leave the spirit of the dead man. The wailing goes on for many days, sometimes months, and always takes place at sunset. Close-cropped hair is a token of mourning for both sexes.

### ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 **Art.**—Obvious esthetic pleasure is derived from skillfully done basket-531 work; a good workman will destroy a basket which is not turning out well, even though it would serve as a receptacle. Great use is made of highly colored feathers; feathers are both tied and stuck with rosin and wax on to the object to be decorated. Elaborate geometric designs are painted on children's bodies with genipa. The incise work on gourds is also especially striking.

534 **Musical instruments.**—Gourd rattles are frequently used to keep time to singing. No sacred powers are attributed to rattles. During the shamanistic ceremony (p. 177), a bamboo trunk is pounded against the ground in time to the music.

533 **Music.**—By far the most important *Tapirapé* pastime is singing. A man with a good voice and a large repertoire of songs is much admired by the community. All ceremonies are, basically, singing festivals. Each ceremony during the year has a large set of specific songs: those to be sung by the shaman during the shamanistic "battle with Thunder" (p. 177);

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555 west "where the earth ends and the water begins" and where the sun
622 returns to sleep after its travels across the sky. In Maratawa shamans
756 have an inexhaustible supply of tobacco, many red parrot feathers,
775 much manioc, kaui, bananas, meat, and all the other necessities and
[766] luxuries of life. Frequently a shaman is buried with a pipe filled with tobacco in his mouth, so that he may have smoke to drive out fatigue on the trip to Maratawa; and sometimes food is buried with the body so he may eat, for the journey to Maratawa is long.

556 Aside from these non-material considerations, there is one very
756 real factor which insures social respect to the Tapirapé shaman. Shamans are in general the wealthiest men among the Tapirapé. Although they may at times receive meat or honey for their cures or as presents for bringing the spirits of children to parents, payments to them are usually in those luxury goods that are the marks of wealth. It was readily observed that the beads and hardware which I gave as presents to the Tapirapé soon passed into the hands of shamans as payments for cures.

756 Payments to the shamans for curing the ill depend upon the seriousness of the illness and upon what the patient or his family has to offer. Frequently a shaman names his fee when his cure has been successful, asking for specific objects, for he knows full well what each family owns. Unsuccessful cures are never paid. For example, for the treatment of his sister's son and of his daughter, who were both sick at once, Kamairaho, a shaman himself, called three shamans and paid each the price that he asked. He paid one, Panteri, a machete and two strings of beads; to another, Urukumu, he gave an axe, a pocket knife, a pair of scissors, and five tail feathers of a red parrot; he gave only four strings of beads to Kamairai, who was considered a shaman of less power than the other two. Another young man with few possessions gave five arrows to a shaman who successfully treated his wife; still another paid the breast feathers from his parrot and four string of
[262] beads to a shaman. When Txawaniuma killed a *paca*, the meat of
[224] which is highly prized by the Tapirapé, he gave some to his companion of the hunt and divided the rest between two shamans who had treated his small daughter successfully. Neither shaman had to ask for any specific gift or payment. People often complain to others about the
[577] high price they had to pay to a shaman, but generally they pay what is

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768 Upon a man's death, his widow remains in the house. After about 2 [837] months of free sexual relations, she chooses a new husband.

**Death.**—The *Tapirapé* believe that death is brought about by sorcery 761 and never by natural causes. Frequently, when the relatives of the [682] deceased enjoyed sufficient prestige, they kill the shaman whom they [754] suspect.

As soon as it is certain that the sick man will die, mourning begins in 763 the form of a wailing dirge by both men and women. The men dance around the hammock of the dying or dead man, while the women remain 764 seated on the ground. Burial takes place on the day after death. The corpse is stretched out on the hammock. Its feet and head are decorated with urucú dye, and its face is painted black with genipa. The grave is dug in the dead man's house under the place where his hammock was usually hung. The body is buried in the hammock, which is set up in the grave between two poles. All contact with the earth is avoided. Personal possessions of the deceased are buried with him, except that all feather ornaments and bows and arrows are burned.

Five days after the funeral, the relatives walk in file to the ceremonial 765 hut, where they leave the spirit of the dead man. The wailing goes on for many days, sometimes months, and always takes place at sunset. Close-cropped hair is a token of mourning for both sexes.

## ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 **Art.**—Obvious esthetic pleasure is derived from skillfully done basket-531 work; a good workman will destroy a basket which is not turning out well, even though it would serve as a receptacle. Great use is made of highly colored feathers; feathers are both tied and stuck with rosin and wax on to the object to be decorated. Elaborate geometric designs are painted on children's bodies with genipa. The incise work on gourds is also especially striking.

534 **Musical instruments.**—Gourd rattles are frequently used to keep time to singing. No sacred powers are attributed to rattles. During the shamanistic ceremony (p. 177), a bamboo trunk is pounded against the ground in time to the music.

533 **Music.**—By far the most important *Tapirapé* pastime is singing. A man with a good voice and a large repertoire of songs is much admired by the community. All ceremonies are, basically, singing festivals. Each ceremony during the year has a large set of specific songs: those to be sung by the shaman during the shamanistic "battle with Thunder" (p. 177);

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
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177 several had become excellent canoe-men. Small Tapirapé
[501] boys spent a large part of the day, as do Carajá boys, swimming in the nearby river. Thus, within about a decade, the Tapirapé had shifted from "foot Indians" (one of the criteria for Marginal Cultures, according to the *Handbook of South American Indians*[4]) to "canoe Indians" (a criterion for Tropical Forest Cultures according to the same source). Such criteria as the mode of transportation obviously have little historical depth and are thus of little value for classificatory purposes.

177 In 1940, the most important individuals in Tapirapé
756 society were the shamans or *pančes*; the tribe depended upon them for protection against dangerous supernaturals, cures for illness, and even bringing the spirits of children so that women would conceive. But in 1953 not one individual in the Tapirapé village would admit that he was a *pančr*. Opronunxui and Antonio Pereira, two Tapirapé men between 30 and 40 years of age, were said to be able to "cure" a little, but they had none of the formidable powers of the old *pančes*. "The *pančes* have ended," said the Tapirapé. As a result, they are today more vulnerable to the dangerous supernaturals, but they are also free from the deadly effects of sorcery which they believed the old shamans practiced and had caused their rapid population decline. In fact, the suspicion of shamans and the relatively frequent execution of those suspected of sorcery made shamanism such a dangerous occupation that no one wishes to take up that once honored profession.
[771] But without shamans Tapirapé religion has lost its central figures, and much of the old religious knowledge will be
[797] lost to Tapirapé culture. Without the full knowledge of their own religion, the Tapirapé are today more vulnerable to the teachings of missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, who are now active among them.

177 With so few members, Tapirapé culture is "passing through a narrow funnel" so to speak; in other words,

[4] Bulletin 143, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 1, 1946; also see Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 678, 1949.

128 [Ed., p. 86 and all but the last two lines of p. 87 are not translated.]

[87] In the pages that follow I wish to discuss a social institution
121 of the Tapirapé, the like of which I have not yet found [88] either among the other tribes I have visited or in the literature. I call it "eating groups." [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

The social significance of this organization into "eating groups"
264 derives from their purpose, which is as follows. Sometimes it happens
224 that the produce of the hunt or of the harvest, which among these Indians may be eaten by either sex and also by the children (for exam-
[262] ple, wild pig, curassow, guan, turtle, honey, etc.), is too sizable for the hunter's family and not sizable enough to be shared justly and advantageously with the entire population of the village. In such a case, to avoid a less equitable act, the distribution is made among the mem-
574 bers of the eating group to which the hunter belongs.
476
264 At the time of my stay among the Tapirapé, they were divided
551 into seven eating groups [89]. They say that in the old days the groups were more numerous. The names of the existing groups are Txankanépéra [Tr., the Portuguese x equals English sh], Pananivũána, Maniitivuéra, Kãũũãnõĩ, Tãũãũpéra, Ãmpirampé, Avãinki'. Whenever I asked for an explanation of their meaning, I was merely given the word tãtáupáũã. Undoubtedly, however, some of the group names are related to the names of animals and plants, Txankanépéra with txankané (alligator), Maniitivuéra with mandiivũnã (a variety of manioc), Ãvãinki' with vũãiki'tã (a variety of manioc). This may be
[771] a vestige of totemic ideas, although they are not manifested in the behavior of the group members. For example, the attitude of the Txankanépéra group members toward the alligator is no different from that of the members of other groups. It is true that at the common
551 feasts each person is called by the name of the group and also is what
476 the name represents. Thus, for example, a member of the
264 Txankanépéra group will say, "Txe Txankanépéra," which means both "I am called Txankanépéra" and "I am Txankanépéra," and says to his group-fellow, male or female, "Ané Txankanépéra ('You are called Txankanépéra,' or 'You are Txankanépéra')."

192 Tãtáupáũã designates both the common feast of a group and the
574 institution of eating groups in general. When I asked the Tapirapé what
476 they called themselves as a community, I got the answer "Ampiãũã"
264 (a word that means "man" in the Tupí of the Amazon) and the statement
[101]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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276 756 by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

423 The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occa-
249 sionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

272 No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made
[273] from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

## RELIGION

771 *Tapirapé* religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, ančunga (spirit or shadow).

775 The ančunga iünwera, human spirits or ghosts (aña or anhanga among the *Tupinamba*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

[825] Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls
[756] of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malig-
776 nant beings, also called ančunga, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Waré, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many ančunga, among whom were the awakú anká, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mumplanká were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the
[535] *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19,
[532] *bottom, right*).

**Rites.**—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people
796 are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (ančunga) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest
[241] ceremonial (kaô) and the ceremony of kawi (a souplike beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

241 In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is
756 threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans

123 437 [chief's] arrow." This "mercantilism" even operated in the area of "spiritual" (or "non-material") culture, for just as they had bartered dances and songs with the Karajá, they also demanded songs from me in exchange for theirs, and I had to teach them a song from my childhood, in which the fox is accused of having [533] stolen the goose ("Fuchs, du hast die Gans gestohlen") to learn from them a children's ballad dealing with a mouse.

When the Tapirapé bartered among themselves, I observed considerable haggling. [Ed., end of Vol. 113.]

## Chapter 9

### [114:185] The Diet

262 824 The last chapter referred to the importance of plants in the Tapirapé diet. First and foremost, there is manioc. Aside from fish, it is the only food mentioned in these Indians' description of ●[772] the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven lying above our visible one. The inhabitants of Tampiitáua call the roots of that Euphorbiacea by the generic name mandiaga. Ayrosa (4, 112) questions the Tupi origin of the word mandioca [manioc],

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have both "wild manioc" [171] (Manihot utilissima Pohl) and "sweet manioc" (Manihot dulcis Pax.). They distinguish five varieties of the Manihot genus, while the number of varieties known to the ancient Tupi was even greater (cf. Soares de Sousa 187; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXVIII; Métraux 2, 65).

171 252 Like those Indians, the Tapirapé have two basic ways of preparing the manioc roots for consumption: (1) by placing them for a few days in water until they become soft, turning them into what they call mandiyvungna and what is called puba [manioc mash] by the neo-Brazilians; (2) by grating them without putting them through the water treatment [114:186] (cf. Staden q 2; Soares de Sousa 189 and 191; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXIX; Claude d'Abbeville 304-305). Some of the varieties are prepared in either way, and others are prepared only in one way. The roots softened [251] in water are dried in the sun and pounded in the mortar, and the mashed substance is used in the manufacture of beiju [flat cakes] and cauí [a soup].

since the information provided by such dreams is readily accepted, they organize collective fishing trips. Fish constitutes their main source of animal fat and calcium. The calcium comes from the bones, [120:55] crumbled into a strongly spiced sauce, their favorite breakfast food. This is a cold dish, but the flesh of the fish is eaten on the previous day, good and hot, and invariably accompanied by manioc flour. I caused general amazement when I ate small roasted fish for the first time in Tampiitaua, and did so without manioc flour. My friend Vuanomanchi said that fish without flour is bad, gesticulated and spat as though he were smelling bad odor, and wanted to get up and fetch some of his own flour. A woman who was eating seated by my side immediately offered me hers. Of all the pictures in the zoological book that I showed them, it was always those of fish that aroused the greatest interest. The majority of the masked dances I witnessed dealt with fish, and there is an unmasked dance in which most of the text of the song consists of the word ypirá. It was this generic term for fish that I also heard almost invariably when I asked for the cause of a disease. This did not mean, however, that eating fish had been harmful to the sick person, but that a fish bone had been shot into his body as a magic projectile by an evil sorcerer. They also say that all the spirits of the hills and of the waters eat fish, and do not mention any other food for these spirits. Furthermore, as already stated at the beginning of this chapter, fish, along with manioc, is the only food included in the Tapirapé description of the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven that lies above our visible one. They do not fail to add that in this case "very fat fish" are involved. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Concerning head lice, I wish to mention in passing the fact that I never found any on my own body during my stays among various tribes, in spite of the fact that much lousy hair came in contact with mine and that I did not take any special preventive measures. The same proved to be the case among other Whites who stayed with South American Indians. I also know of a blond young man on whose head lice of the Krabo [Craho] Indians settled without biting.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

# WORLD VIEW OF THE TAPIRAPE INDIANS

By Charles Wagley

The Tapirape live in Central Brazil north of the Tapirape River, a western affluent of the Araguaya River. They are a Tupi-speaking people isolated from other peoples speaking the same language. Culturally they are related more closely to the Tupi-speaking people of the coast than to those of the head waters of the Xingu River. The only peoples with whom they have had contacts within historic times are their northern neighbors, the Gês-speaking Northern Kayapo and the Carajá (including the Javahe branch) of the Araguaya. Because of hostility with both these neighboring peoples, the Tapirape have withdrawn farther from the Araguaya and have contacts at present with the Carajá only through occasional European visitors. Introduced disease, acquired from these visitors and earlier from the Carajá, have reduced the Tapirape from five large villages (originally more than two hundred per village) to one with less than 150 people. Contacts with Europeans, however, have been short and few, leaving the Tapirape aboriginal culture little changed.

According to Tapirape tradition, they came to their present home from the north and east.[1] One group of them lived on the Araguaya and for a time shared a common village with the Javahe branch of the Carajá. The Tapirape are traditionally interested in country to the east, not to the west. It is to the east that Maratawa, the "home of the gods," lies, and in this direction, too, is the home of two legendary peoples: the Wanchira, a cannibalistic tribe which ate a famous mythical ancestor of the Tapirape, and the "other Tapirape," speaking the same language and sharing the same culture. East of the Araguaya River there is said to be another large river and great mountains where various supernaturals live.

Formerly, Tapirape who were captives of the Carajá returned to tell of that country and people, and in modern times Tapirape have visited both Carajá and Kayapo, as well as various Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya. No foreign or hostile tribes prevent them from wandering westward into the open country toward the Xingu River, but it is a region of little interest to them, and they never travel far in this direction. Of the Xingu River and people, they know only what Brazilian visitors have told

[1] According to Métraux, the Tapirape were known to have been on the Araguaya as early as the 18th century. He believes the Tapirape to be fugitives from the coast of Brazil, probably from the vicinity of Rio, possibly from the Tamoyo. Certainly they came from the east, but my material points to a migration from the northeast rather than from the southeast, as would be the case if migration had been from the forests of Rio. Métraux, Alfred, Migrations Historiques des Tupi-Guarani, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N.S.* 19, 24 (1927).

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



them. "Is it true," they ask, pointing westward, "that there is another Ara- 823
guaya (large river) there?"

The Tapirape know well their traditional country—that territory north of the Tapirape River to the River Preto, and west to the Araguaya. They know the plains country which borders the Tapirape River and the tropical forest to the north where formerly their five villages stretched in a line [361] some fifty to seventy-five miles apart. At least once during a man's life it was customary to visit all these villages, and before setting out he would [574] acquaint himself with the rivers, hills, and good hunting places along the trail. At the present time, since the Tapirape are a sedentary agricultural [241] people, depending upon large gardens of manioc, corn, yams, and bananas, rather than upon hunting as the chief basis of their food supply, and since [494] they have no trade, they do little travelling. The spatial limit of their direct experience is small.

Knowledge of the horizons beyond their direct experience—of far off 773
places and people, of the supernatural and spirit worlds, of the heavens, of the origins of peoples and things, comes to them only through stories of their legendary heroes, or through experiences of their shamans. Myths relate the creation, adventures, and travels of a series of ancestor culture heroes who took the form of civilizing gods.[2] Tapirape shamans travel [756] widely in their dreams; they whisk off to far places—to the Araguaya, to [787] the heavens, to the home of Thunder (see p. 257)—in their "canoes" (opened gourds used as eating utensils by the Tapirape), or they may take [415] the form of a bird as they travel in dreams. Since a Tapirape has this great wealth of vicarious experience to draw upon, he never answers for himself [823] when asked of those realms beyond his knowledge. Instead he tells of the exploits of a legendary culture hero, or of the travels of a shaman "who has been there."

The Tapirape are thus equipped with a wide range of second-hand ex- 772
perience. They have no concept of a closed or limited universe. New 823
knowledge either adds to, or fits into, their second-hand knowledge of a broad universe. Thus a Tapirape youth, seeing for the first time the large rock formation at the mouth of the Tapirape River, identified it as the place in which Panchai, a contemporary shaman, had seen the tremendous red parrots from which the supernaturals pluck feathers. Similarly, one travelling on the Araguaya recognized the large rapids below Santa Maria do Araguaya as those created by Kaowalu, a culture hero, to com-

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[2] Métraux, Alfred, La Réligion des Tupinamba (1928), p. 7: "Pour les Tupinamba, comme pour la plupart des tribus sudaméricaines, certains personnages doués d'une puissance supérieure à celle du commun des magiciens ont été les artisans du monde tel qu'il se présentait à leurs yeux, mais ils en ont été souvent moins les créateurs que les transformateurs. Je veux dire par là que, même s'ils ont créé le ciel, les astres, et la terre leur œuvre est toujours partielle et incomplète, ne s'achevant que postérieurement à la suite d'incidents divers."

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



823 memorate the spot where he had eaten plentifully of fish. The Tapirape
●772 view of the world is an expanding one; the people are eager to acquire more knowledge, as is attested by their numerous questions about one's home and one's people, about the sea, the mountains, and distant places.

773 In point of time, the Tapirape consider the present as the third world. Twice people were destroyed, once by flood and once by universal fire. Before these catastrophes, there were pre-Tapirape called Karanjuntuwera. These people lacked the many refinements which were later brought to the Tapirape by their culture heroes. They ate several varieties of wild seeds, they did not have maize, manioc or any modern garden plants, and they lacked the bow and arrow. The Tapirape are not certain whether the Karanjuntuwera lived before or after the flood, but when the great deluge came, one man and one woman climbed a small palm tree which grew as rapidly as the water rose, carrying them above the flood. After they had been there some time the man began to spear fish and snakes[3] which swarmed in the waters, using the long narrow palm leaves as spears. As he killed a fish or snake, the waters gradually diminished and finally ran back into the river beds.

Four ancestors escaped the second destruction[4] of people—the universal fire. These ancestors took the form of birds: there were two *jacu* which were men, and one periquito and one *mutum*, both women.[5] These escaped underground and from the union of the two couples came "men" or *ampa*
[101] *awa*, as modern Tapirape call themselves.[6]

"Culture heroes" were primarily instrumental in making the Tapirape
773 world what it is. When and in what order these heroes came is not stated.
776 Among them was Petura, a supernatural ancestor and great trickster. He stole fire from the vultures, day or dawn from the night owls, and *genipa*[7] from monkeys. These he brought as gifts to the Tapirape. Finally Petura
776 went far to the northeast "where the earth ends and water begins" to live
[775] in Maratawa,[8] the home of all Tapirape culture heroes, of shamans after
[756] death, and of the sun and the moon. There he lives today. He never dies,

[3] From these primordial flood snakes, say the Tapirape, descended their neighbors and enemies, the Carajá. "They (the snakes) had circles under their eyes" (the tribal face tattooing of Carajá).

[4] The sequence of fire and flood does not seem to be clear in legends. Two informants placed the fire before the flood. People during both epochs are spoken of as Karanjuntuwera.

[136] [5] *Jacu:* edible forest fowl, about the size of a large chicken, genus *Penelope*, several species. Periquito: *Pyrrhura vielata*. *Mutum: Crax lectur*.

[6] See Baldus, Herbert, Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira, pp. 207-219.

[7] *Genipa rubiacea* or *Genipa americana:* fruit from which black body dye is made.

[823] [8] Several informants described Maratawa as an island. To the Tapirape, the lighted sky is encircled by black sky and on all sides below the edges of the lighted sky "where the black sky begins", the earth ends and water begins. Thus earth is a large island surrounded by water on all sides. The Tapirape are quite willing to grant, however, that beyond this water may be another earth.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



but lives and re-lives his life cycle as the cycle of the seasons. In the early 776
rains of October to January, Petura is a small boy. During the heavy rains 132
of January to March, he is an adolescent youth. He is a young warrior as the rains diminish in April to June, and as the year draws to its close for the Tapirape during the remaining dry months, Petura becomes old. Then as the year begins again with the first refreshing rains of October, he begins a new life cycle. This is the agricultural year for the Tapirape. They [221]
plant when he is young (October) and harvest as he matures (in May and June).

Petura was not the only hero who benefited the Tapirape. To the "home 773
of the gods" travelled Tomatociri and Mukwura II, other ancestor heroes, in search of their father Mukwura. There Mukwura gave his son, Tomatociri, the bow and arrow which he brought back to the Tapirape. There, [176]
too—and this is typical of Tapirape readjustment to newly-learned knowledge—the younger brother Mukwura II was given fire arms which he transmitted to his descendants, the Europeans or Tori.[9]

Shamans are equated with these ancestor heroes. If shamans die a non- 756
violent death, they go immediately to Maratawa where they live plenti- 775
fully supplied with food, tobacco, and all aids to the good life. If they die 772
violently, however (i.e., are suspected of sorcery and killed by the Tapirape) they go to another home of shamans in the west. This is the "house [821]
of the winds" where the heavy winds blowing from the southwest come during the late dry season. They are given an artificial face, and they stay here until they heal before going east to join their companions in Maratawa. Only shamans and culture heroes continue after life in the form that [776]
they had on earth.

It is chiefly through shamans that the Tapirape know of the sun, moon 756
and other heavenly bodies. A shaman had seen the sun "close by." The 821
sun, he said, is an old man with no hair on his head. He travels through the heavens wearing a large head-dress of red parrot feathers, and since red parrot feathers are "hot," the head-dress gives off heat. Each night, after limping through his daily orbit (for the "sky is rough" and the sun continually has thorns in his feet) he returns underground to the east to his house at Maratawa.[10] There he eats very little and in a short time sets out again. The morning after Wantanamu, a shaman, had died, several Tapirape saw that the sun was red; it was very "hot" and angry because a shaman had died.

821
As the sun is male, so the moon is female. Both are thought of as people, 776

[9] I was unable to get the original of this story before the obvious change was made to make it fit with new conditions. It is similar, however, to a Tupinamba story recorded by [171]
Thevet and quoted by Métraux (*ibid.*, p. 12), which tells of Ariowte and Tamendonare, twin sons of Sommay.

[10] See Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 14, for Siuia version.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



756 796 821 776 [781] to hold him, he may run wild through the village destroying property and endangering people. To bring him back, smoke must be blown over him by a shaman. While he is unconscious, he dreams and travels, sometimes visiting the house of Thunder.

787 756 821 772 776 "I smoked much and then I smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun and it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They came and they left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came (to the house) in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a *topü*). It wore a small headdress of parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug but it left." [The shaman did not conquer the *topü* and he was shot down by an arrow while he was unconscious] . . . "all was dark. I saw many suns. I travelled singing as I walked. I spent three days walking. I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Kanawana. He was big and his body was covered with much hair. He had many red parrot feathers. There were many *topü* and many souls of shamans. I did not talk but came back." [If he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have stayed (died), but he was properly treated with tobacco smoke and returned to consciousness.]

795 Through shamans and legends of culture heroes, the Tapirape know, too, of the multitude of "spirits" (*anchunga*) which populate the unseen world. These are of two general types: true spirits, disembodied souls of deceased Tapirape;[19] and demons or malevolent beings of many classes. [787] Shamans are accustomed to seeing true spirits in their dreams. These gen- [756] erally inhabit abandoned village sites, where they re-live their earthly lives. When they die—the second death—they become frogs, deer, *paca* and doves. Thus the toad is the spirit of a chief; the dove and *jacu* are spirits [825] of men.[20] These ghosts cannot harm shamans who are accustomed to see- [756] ing them, but sometimes the spirits attack and strike down defenseless laymen.[21] They also cluster around a man's bier to carry off the soul as soon as the body is buried.

776 There are infinite numbers of "spirits" of the individualized demoniac [794] class. Of these, some are "pets" which are not very dangerous, and which are represented by men in the mask dance cult.[22] Other species are very dangerous, but these are no longer seen by the layman. Formerly, these 773 were numerous, and killed many Tapirape, but Ware, a culture hero and 776 powerful shaman, fought them and killed many. A man now points to the

[19] Speaking of Tupinamba, Métraux makes these same two categories of "supernatural [171] beings" (*aygnan, agnin, ingange* and *anhanga*), *ibid.*, p. 51.

[20] Animals which have, or are, spirits can be grouped together. These are tabu to some age 825 and sex groups, in a complicated dietary system. [262]

[21] Dogs can see spirits. When a dog howls, Tapirape say, "He sees *anchunga* but we can't."

[22] At one time women may have been frightened by these "dangerous" spirits, but certainly at present everything in the men's cults is known to women, and they do not even pretend to be frightened.

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A man now points to the
southwestern horizon and says, "Ware killed all spirits there; they are only 773
spirit souls now." (To the north and east, however, many demon spirits 776
are still alive and active.) Ware engaged in a constant battle of wits with [823]
the spirit world. He killed many of the dangerous variety by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed behind them, and he also killed off another group of beings which clubbed men to death and drank their blood.

Sometimes shamans (*panche*) see malevolent beings in their dream 756
travels, and may even become friendly with them or receive their aid. For 776
example, one shaman told of wandering far in an unknown forest as he 787
dreamed, and of coming upon the spirits called *oreya*, who have long hair wound in a mass, and who carry only one arrow with which they can kill a man. They were about to shoot him but he shouted "No, I am a shaman!" and they left him alone, gave him food and aided him to return. Only shamans can have such relations with these supernaturals. Tapirape laymen are afraid to dream.

The shaman is indispensable to Tapirape living, not only because he has 756
dealings with the spirit world, and through his wanderings enriches the 842
knowledge of men, but also because he is of value in many practical ways. Thus he controls the pregnancy of women. Pregnancy is known to relate to sexual intercourse, but conception comes only when a shaman brings a child to a woman. Thunder, and several types of birds, animals and fish, [825]
have "children," that is, spirits of children. The shaman brings one of these "spirits" to a woman, putting it inside her while she sleeps. A woman who wants a child can, for example, bring honey to a shaman. This will make [787]
him dream, and he will bring her a child. Similarly, a barren woman presumably "had quarrelled much with the shaman."

When Tapirape swim, while fishing and shooting large turtles in the 756
Tapirape River, their safety depends upon the shaman. In this section of 825
Brazil, rivers are full of alligators, *piranha* (carnivorous fish) and sting 751
rays, and according to Tapirape belief, large snakes lurk in deep pools. [481]
Before men may swim safely the shaman must tie the jaws of the alligators, strike the *piranha* across their teeth so they will not bite, and tie up the tails of the large snakes. When Tapirape go hunting, it is up to the [224]
shaman to tell them where packs of wild pigs will be found, or to lead them down to a good spot in the plains country.[23] Danger may lurk in all food; thus Tapirape often take new corn, fresh meat, or any food, to have danger "blown" out of it by the shaman.

The universe for the Tapirape is not finite or entirely known; it is 772
dangerous. Tales of culture heroes and experiences of shamans provide a 756
773

[23] When the Tapirape have made kills of wild pigs, which are "pets" of Thunder he will [821]
be angry and send a sudden rain or clouding of the sky. If a Tapirape sees an unexpected [776]
rainbow in the sky he will say, "The shaman has been successful against Thunder" (i.e., in finding game).

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



772
773 large framework into which all new knowledge can be fitted. And this
756 universe is dangerous. The shaman, by the use of his wisdom and insight, his familiarity with celestial powers, spirits and far off places, is the only
756 intermediary between men and supernaturals. Through him, the Tapirapé
789 attempt to control their hostile and unpredictable world. Without the shaman, as one informant said, "All Tapirapé would die."

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536 with the pairs one behind the other, walked peacefully from house
726 to house. They hummed a song. The first two pairs carried a blanket on their back, and the last pair carried a straw mat. A masked man followed, bent forward, dancing and shooting arrows at the mat. After a while the pairs lined up one beside the other and stayed put, humming their song, while the masked figure emitted the Kayapó tribal cry and danced in menacing fashion, stepping always on the same spot. A little later, the walk was resumed. This scene was repeated several times. Suddenly, however, when the pairs were standing still once more in front of a hut, two masked "Kayapó" rushed headlong from behind it, and four others emerged from behind the neighboring house. All
[177] these "Kayapó" had bows or clubs in their hands and were completely disguised with hammocks, blankets, and other belongings of the White guests. Their faces were covered with sifters, and my straw hat had also found a use. While the three Tapirapé pairs kept walking as peacefully as before, the masked figures alternately ran furiously hither and yon, giving their typical cry, and performed a circular dance. In this dance, some of them faced the back of the man in front while others were turned
[535] toward the man behind. They all jumped on one leg and then the other, tossing their arms and legs about and gesticulating with their weapons (Photo. 73). After repeating all this several times for half an hour, the "Kayapó" attacked one another and quarreled among themselves. Then the Tapirapé pairs quietly broke up and vanished.

This performance, therefore, contrasts the mildness which
191 is indeed the tribal behavior pattern of the Tapirapé with the nervous aggressiveness of the Kayapó. This seems to be a symbol of universal significance, when we look at the pacifists and militarists in other parts of the world.

The opinion of the Tupí tribe about the nature of these
609 neighbors[1] seems to be expressed even in their mythology. While
773 the Karajá are regarded as descendants of a water serpent, the ancestor of the Kayapó is tantevoga, the tick. One of the proofs of kinship with those bugs, my informants say, is the falsetto tribal cry that they attribute to their northern foe. This proof, although it might not satisfy a biologist, is sufficient for the ethnologist. Actually, everyone knows that the tick is a pesky nuisance.

[1] [i.e., the Kayapó.—Analyst]

272 Cold cauí, however, is also enjoyed by these Indians. I often saw one of them wake up in the middle of the night and, while everyone slept, take a gourdful of cauí that still stood in a pot removed from the fire several hours earlier. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

To the Tapirapé, the chewed and fermented drink represents not only the high point of festive banquets, but also the pièce de résistance of everyday meals, and its importance is well illustrated
•773] by the fact that the flood myth ends with the following words: "When the flood ended, (the survivors) came out from under the earth, and there was cauí and many Tapirapé." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 59, p. 60, and the first two paragraphs on p. 61 are omitted.]

[116:61] To summarize, we may say that the elements of the
171 cauí complex we have studied reveal a close cultural relationship
272 between the Tapirapé and the Tupinambá (1) in the name of the drink, (2) in the important role played by manioc and maize in its preparation, (3) in the above-mentioned three stages in the preparation of the drink, which is fermented by the saliva produced in chewing, (4) in the important role played in the diet by the various kinds of cauí prepared in this fashion. When set off against these similarities, the fact mentioned by certain sixteenth century authors that the Tupinambá, in contrast to the Tapirapé, got drunk on certain occasions is of little importance.

Unquestionably less close than this cultural relationship is that relating the Tapirapé, as far as the cauí complex is concerned, to the Tupi of the upper Xingu basin. The inhabitants of Tampiitáua hold in common with the Kamayurá the name of a non-intoxicating drink, but the manufacture and function of these drinks are entirely different.

Although it would be sufficient to eliminate two consonants
[192] from the Karajá word kaluxí to transform it into the word kauí, I dare not build any hypotheses around possible connections between these two words. In any case, kaluxí is to the Karajá not only what cafèzinho [Tr., the frequent demitasse] is to the people of São Paulo, but also what kauí is to the Tapirapé, that is to say, an important aliment. There is also a similarity in the preparation of these drinks among the Karajá and the Tapirapé. It is true, however, that the former often omit the mastication. The fact that the various kaluxí I tasted were less thick than the maize, manioc, peanut, and cottonseed kauí I tried, and different in their composition, does not

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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a male leader, a man of prestige, who is usually the husband of one the 591
older women of the female kinship group. Apart from these residential 592
groupings, the Tapirapé are divided in two other ways.

First, all Tapirapé men belong to one of the two patrilineal non-exo- 561
gamic ceremonial moieties (2) and each moiety is further divided into 616
three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths, two groups of adult men of warrior age, and two groups of older men. Each of these groups bears the name of a mythical bird, the word *wirã* — bird — itself being used as the generic name for the groups. These [476]
*wirã* function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites: parallel [535]
groups also dance against one another in the ceremonials and offer [574]
reciprocal feasts to each other. The warrior-age group of each of these moieties has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and other communal work and a "singing leader" for ceremonials.

Both men and women of the Tapirapé are also divided into eight 574
"feasting" groups called *tãtãupawã* — literally "fire all to eat" (3). Men 571
belong to their father's feasting group and women to their mother's. 582
Feasting groups are not only non-exogamic but people prefer to marry with their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry names of the mythological heads of the legend- [773]
ary original eight households of the first Tapirapé village. On occasion during the dry season the feast groups meet at sunset on the dance plaza for a ceremonial feast, each member bringing his or her contribution to the common meal (4).

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(2) Baldus (op. cit. pp. 95-98) did not recognize these *wirã* groups as [114]
age groups of men's ceremonial moieties. He calls them *grupos de trabalho* (work groups). He reports three *wirã* groups among the adult men and writes that formerly there had been three corresponding groups among the boys of the tribe. Nowadays the Tapirapé are so few that lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's *wirã* group in order to give the necessary balance for ceremonials. This presents the picture of several groups of equal ages; thus accounting, perhaps, for the divergence of opinion on this subject. Careful checking with informants, and observation of dances, hunts, races and wrestling matches when Tapirapé men were grouped according to moiety divisions led me to the definite conviction that these are age grouping of men's ceremonial moieties as described above.

(3) Baldus (op. cit., p. 90).

(4) Baldus calls the *tãtãupawã* "grupos de comer" (eating groups). He reports seven feast groups functioning in 1937. He vividly describes a ceremonial meal on pages 91 to 95 of his work already cited.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



went to the small brook to drink water after dark. She said that the ghost approached and struck her. A man walking in his garden after dark saw the ghost of a known person, some years dead. "It was white and his eyes had fallen out. He still had some flesh and he had *urucú* in his hair" (6). Yet another man also met a ghost which was "white with big holes instead of eyes". Ghosts of individuals who have been dead many years "have no flesh; they have only bones". The ghosts that appear to the living follow the pattern of the gradual disintegration of the body. 775

Ghosts gather around a new grave to carry away the soul at time of burial; so they are especially dangerous to people at the time of funerals. When a Tapirapé dies, men carry machetes and mirrors to the wake for protection against the ghosts. If ghosts see their reflections in mirrors, they are frightened away. 775 764

The principal encounters of the Tapirapé with ghosts are in dreams. Dreamers sometimes visit them in their villages and at times learn from them new ceremonial songs which they hear in the traditional Tapirapé ceremonials that the ghosts continue to carry on after they have left the village of the living. 775 787

After an indeterminate period the ghosts themselves die and their spirits then become changed into animals. The spirit of the dead ghost of a man of prestige may become a toad (*Pipa pipa*); that of a common man a dove. Among the other animals into which spirits of dead ghosts become changed are frogs, deer, paca (*Cuniculus paca*). 775 825 [554]

Besides the ghosts there are an infinite number and many different species of *ancúnga* of the demonic class, all generally living at a great distance deep in the forest. It is fortunate that their dwellings are so distant, for these creatures are very dangerous, killing Tapirapé whenever possible. In legendary times these demonic beings were more numerous than at present and killed many Tapirapé, but Waré, a powerful shaman and legendary hero, engaged in a constant warfare of wits with them and succeeded in killing many of them. He destroyed the dangerous *awakú anká* by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed far behind them as they walked through the forest. He also killed the *munpi anká*, the beings that clubbed men to death and drank their blood. 776 [973]

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(6) The Tapirapé paint the hair of a corpse with a thick coat of urucú in preparation for burial. [302 764]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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Secondly, an individual may gain respect through being chosen as a leader of the warrior-age group of his ceremonial moiety. His companions may select him as their "walking leader" — *antá úwa* — or as their "song leader" — *amoniká úwa* — because of his special abilities in hunting, gardening, manual technique, singing, or dancing. It frequently happens that these chosen leaders were *čirikakántu* when they were children, for the special treatment and educational advantages given such children develop qualities of leadership. 554 561 622 [858]

The third and most important road to prestige lies in shamanism. It has been shown that the Tapirapé depend upon their shamans to control the dangerous spirit world, to remove danger from first fruits, to predict the future, to bring spirits of children to their parents, and to cure the ill. In all life situations where chance or the unpredictable figure the Tapirapé depend markedly upon their shamans. Thus the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman (25). This prestige is reflected in the concepts of a separate afterlife for shamans and in the identification of ancestral culture heroes as shamans. Informants telling of Petura, the bringer of such phenomena as fire and daylight to the Tapirapé, and of Ware, who killed so many dangerous *ančúnga*, frequently referred to them as "great shamans". While a Tapirapé layman becomes a disembodied soul at death, the afterlife of a shaman is but a continuation of his present life under ideal circumstances. His soul goes to Maratawa (26), the home of the culture heroes. This home of the privileged dead lies far to the north- 555 622 756 775 [773]

were the ones who generally produced *čirikakántu*. The man whom Baldus reported as "chefe principal" carried an important name, had been a favored child, had been a "song-leader" of his wirá, and was currently a shaman of some power, and I believe held his position because of these things and had not inherited it. Wantamanu, whom Baldus mentions as "vice-chefe", had also before his death in 1940, been a shaman and a "walking leader". [114]

(25) The unusual importance of the shaman to the Tapirapé was well put by one of my informants: "Without our *pancé*, all we Tapirapé die".

(26) If a shaman meets death by murder, his trip to Maratawa is delayed. He goes temporarily to another "home of shamans" in the west until his wounds are healed; only then does he go to Maratawa. If his skull has been crushed by a club, a new cranium of metal is made for him at this temporary residence. A "metal" cranium is obviously an introduced concept yet informants were not able to explain of what material the new cranium might have been made before metal was known to the Tapirapé.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



them. "Is it true," they ask, pointing westward, "that there is another Ara- 823
guaya (large river) there?"

The Tapirape know well their traditional country—that territory north of the Tapirape River to the River Preto, and west to the Araguaya. They know the plains country which borders the Tapirape River and the tropical forest to the north where formerly their five villages stretched in a line [361] some fifty to seventy-five miles apart. At least once during a man's life it was customary to visit all these villages, and before setting out he would [574] acquaint himself with the rivers, hills, and good hunting places along the trail. At the present time, since the Tapirape are a sedentary agricultural [241] people, depending upon large gardens of manioc, corn, yams, and bananas, rather than upon hunting as the chief basis of their food supply, and since [484] they have no trade, they do little travelling. The spatial limit of their direct experience is small.

Knowledge of the horizons beyond their direct experience—of far off 773
places and people, of the supernatural and spirit worlds, of the heavens, of the origins of peoples and things, comes to them only through stories of their legendary heroes, or through experiences of their shamans. Myths relate the creation, adventures, and travels of a series of ancestor culture heroes who took the form of civilizing gods.[2] Tapirape shamans travel [756] widely in their dreams; they whisk off to far places—to the Araguaya, to [787] the heavens, to the home of Thunder (see p. 257)—in their "canoes" (opened gourds used as eating utensils by the Tapirape), or they may take [415] the form of a bird as they travel in dreams. Since a Tapirape has this great wealth of vicarious experience to draw upon, he never answers for himself [823] when asked of those realms beyond his knowledge. Instead he tells of the exploits of a legendary culture hero, or of the travels of a shaman "who has been there."

The Tapirape are thus equipped with a wide range of second-hand ex- 772
perience. They have no concept of a closed or limited universe. New 823
knowledge either adds to, or fits into, their second-hand knowledge of a broad universe. Thus a Tapirape youth, seeing for the first time the large rock formation at the mouth of the Tapirape River, identified it as the place in which Panchai, a contemporary shaman, had seen the tremendous red parrots from which the supernaturals pluck feathers. Similarly, one travelling on the Araguaya recognized the large rapids below Santa Maria do Araguaya as those created by Kaowahu, a culture hero, to com-

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[2] Métraux, Alfred, La Religion des Tupinamba (1928), p. 7: "Pour les Tupinamba, comme pour la plupart des tribus indaméricaines, certains personnages dotés d'une puissance supérieure à celle du commun des magiciens ont été les artisans du monde tel qu'il se présentait à leurs yeux, mais ils en ont été souvent moins les créateurs que les transformateurs. Je veux dire par là que, même s'ils ont créé le ciel, les astres, et la terre leur œuvre est toujours partielle et incomplète, ne s'achevant que postérieurement à la suite d'incidents divers."

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



823 memorate the spot where he had eaten plentifully of fish. The Tapirape
772 view of the world is an expanding one; the people are eager to acquire more knowledge, as is attested by their numerous questions about one's home and one's people, about the sea, the mountains, and distant places.

In point of time, the Tapirape consider the present as the third world.
773 Twice people were destroyed, once by flood and once by universal fire. Before these catastrophes, there were pre-Tapirape called Karanjuntuwera. These people lacked the many refinements which were later brought to the Tapirape by their culture heroes. They ate several varieties of wild seeds, they did not have maize, manioc or any modern garden plants, and they lacked the bow and arrow. The Tapirape are not certain whether the Karanjuntuwera lived before or after the flood, but when the great deluge came, one man and one woman climbed a small palm tree which grew as rapidly as the water rose, carrying them above the flood. After they had been there some time the man began to spear fish and snakes[3] which swarmed in the waters, using the long narrow palm leaves as spears. As he killed a fish or snake, the waters gradually diminished and finally ran back into the river-beds.

Four ancestors escaped the second destruction[4] of people—the universal fire. These ancestors took the form of birds: there were two *jacu* which were men, and one periquito and one *mutum*, both women.[5] These escaped underground and from the union of the two couples came "men" or *ampa*
[101] *awa*, as modern Tapirape call themselves.[6]

"Culture heroes" were primarily instrumental in making the Tapirape
773 world what it is. When and in what order these heroes came is not stated.
776 Among them was Petura, a supernatural ancestor and great trickster. He stole fire from the vultures, day or dawn from the night owls, and *genipu*[7] from monkeys. These he brought as gifts to the Tapirape. Finally Petura
776 went far to the northeast "where the earth ends and water begins" to live
[775] in Maratawa,[8] the home of all Tapirape culture heroes, of shamans after
[756] death, and of the sun and the moon. There he lives today. He never dies,

[3] From these primordial flood snakes, say the Tapirape, descended their neighbors and enemies, the Carajá. "They (the snakes) had circles under their eyes" (the tribal face tattooing of Carajá).

[4] The sequence of fire and flood does not seem to be clear in legends. Two informants placed the fire before the flood. People during both epochs are spoken of as Karanjuntuwera.

[136] [5] *Jacu:* edible forest fowl, about the size of a large chicken, genus *Penelope*, several species. Periquito: *Pyrrhura vittata. Mutum: Crax lector.*

[6] See Baldus, Herbert, Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira, pp. 207-219.

[7] *Genipa rubiacea* or *Genipa americana:* fruit from which black body dye is made.

[8] Several informants described Maratawa as an island. To the Tapirape, the lighted sky is
[823] encircled by black sky and on all sides below the edges of the lighted sky "where the black sky begins", the earth ends and water begins. Thus earth is a large island surrounded by water on all sides. The Tapirape are quite willing to grant, however, that beyond this water may be another earth.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



but lives and re-lives his life cycle as the cycle of the seasons. In the early 776
rains of October to January, Petura is a small boy. During the heavy rains 132
of January to March, he is an adolescent youth. He is a young warrior as the rains diminish in April to June, and as the year draws to its close for the Tapirape during the remaining dry months, Petura becomes old. Then as the year begins again with the first refreshing rains of October, he begins a new life cycle. This is the agricultural year for the Tapirape. They [221]
plant when he is young (October) and harvest as he matures (in May and June).

Petura was not the only hero who benefited the Tapirape. To the "home 773
of the gods" travelled Tomatociri and Mukwura II, other ancestor heroes, in search of their father Mukwura. There Mukwura gave his son, Tomatociri, the bow and arrow which he brought back to the Tapirape. There, [176]
too—and this is typical of Tapirape readjustment to newly-learned knowledge—the younger brother Mukwura II was given fire arms which he transmitted to his descendants, the Europeans or Torí.[9]

Shamans are equated with these ancestor heroes. If shamans die a non- 756
violent death, they go immediately to Maratawa where they live plenti- 775
fully supplied with food, tobacco, and all aids to the good life. If they die 772
violently, however (i.e., are suspected of sorcery and killed by the Tapirape) they go to another home of shamans in the west. This is the "house [821]
of the winds" where the heavy winds blowing from the southwest come during the late dry season. They are given an artificial face, and they stay here until they heal before going east to join their companions in Maratawa. Only shamans and culture heroes continue after life in the form that [776]
they had on earth.

It is chiefly through shamans that the Tapirape know of the sun, moon 756
and other heavenly bodies. A shaman had seen the sun "close by." The 821
sun, he said, is an old man with no hair on his head. He travels through the heavens wearing a large head-dress of red parrot feathers, and since red parrot feathers are "hot," the head-dress gives off heat. Each night, after limping through his daily orbit (for the "sky is rough" and the sun continually has thorns in his feet) he returns underground to the east to his house at Maratawa.[10] There he eats very little and in a short time sets out again. The morning after Wantanamu, a shaman, had died, several Tapirape saw that the sun was red; it was very "hot" and angry because a shaman had died. 821

As the sun is male, so the moon is female. Both are thought of as people, 776

[9] I was unable to get the original of this story before the obvious change was made to make it fit with new conditions. It is similar, however, to a Tupinamba story recorded by [171]
Thevet and quoted by Métraux (*ibid.*, p. 12), which tells of Arcoverde and Tamendonare, twin sons of Sommay.

[10] See Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 14, for Siqueira version.

776 and in myth the sun is called Ancerika and the moon Tamparawa, both
821 names of people. According to the Tapirape, the moon is sister to the sun
773 and is married to Anchopeteri, a culture hero who was instrumental in
776 dividing all birds into two groups,[11] and who taught Tapirape how to
821 wrestle and sing many songs. Because of sexual misbehavior, Sun is said to have slapped Moon full in the face with his hand which was wet with black *genipa* dye, thus the marks on the face of the moon are explained.

Two large planets were formerly Tapirape culture bearers. Apuwenonu[12] (Venus) came down from the sky one night after having watched Anuntero, a Tapirape woman, for a long time, and lived with the Tapirape. At night he was a young man, husband of Anuntero, but by day he appeared to people as a decrepit old man. He taught Anuntero how to plant cotton and how to spin. He taught the Tapirape[13] how to plant their modern garden products, maize, manioc, *cara*, yams. Finally Apuwenonu returned to the sky, taking with him his earthly son by Anuntero who is called Imauawango (Jupiter). Today, the Tapirape point to these two planets, recounting their story and saying, "Apuwenonu is young at night when he is in the sky, but by day he is old again as he was when he left us."

Many other constellations are known, but of importance in story are
821 possibly only that called by the Tapirape "the jaguar,"[14] and the Pleiades.[15]
787 One shaman told me that he had travelled (in dreams) to visit this jaguar. He was "friendly" with it, he said, and if he should be killed, the jaguar of the sky would send many real jaguars to prey upon the Tapirape. "Men would be afraid to step into the forest at night." The jaguar had become one of his retinue of familiar powers which would aid him in struggles with other shamans.

821 The Pleiades are important calendrically. They are watched anxiously
805 and impatiently as the rains diminish, and their disappearance over the
796 western horizon in May signals the end of the rains. This is the time for

[616] [861] [825] [11] At the present time men's moieties are divided into three age grades. Each age grade of each moiety carries the name of a bird: one being species of small *papuguio*, and the other species of white water birds. According to myth, these groups derived from similar divisions of the bird world in which Anchopeteri lived.

[171] [12] This is probably identical with Monan (or Maire-monan, according to Métraux), civilizing god of Tupinamba, who created earth, people, birds and animals, and finally taught the Tupinamba to distinguish useful plants. He was put to death by men, at which time he was transformed into a star "with two of his companions." Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 11.

[13] One text calls them Karajuntuwera (pre-Tapirape) at this time (see p. 254).

[171] [14] Ancient Guarani said that there was a very large tiger or dog which on certain occasions ate the sun and moon, causing an eclipse. Apapocuva-Guarani speak of a celestial jaguar; and the Chane from Chiriguano explain the eclipse in this same manner. Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 50.

[171] [15] "Les Pleiades paraissaient avoir été chez les Tupinama l'objet de croyances particulières. Ils avaient notamment la conviction qu'elles favorisaient la croissance du manioc." Métraux, Réligion des Tupinamba, p. 51.

9: Wagley C-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



756 to hold him, he may run wild through the village destroying property and
796 endangering people. To bring him back, smoke must be blown over him
821 by a shaman. While he is unconscious, he dreams and travels, sometimes
776 [781] visiting the house of Thunder.

"I smoked much and then I smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun and it came
787 toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They came and they left. I saw
756 Thunder. It was small and came (to the house) in a small canoe. It was Thunder's
821 child (a *topii*). It wore a small headdress of parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug.
772 I reached to pull out the lip plug but it left." [The shaman did not conquer the *topii*
776 and he was shot down by an arrow while he was unconscious] . . . "all was dark.
I saw many suns. I travelled singing as I walked. I spent three days walking. I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Kanawana. He was big and his body was covered with much hair. He had many red parrot feathers. There were many *topii* and many souls of shamans. I did not talk but came back." [If he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have stayed (died), but he was properly treated with tobacco smoke and returned to consciousness.]

Through shamans and legends of culture heroes, the Tapirape know,
775 too, of the multitude of "spirits" (*anchunga*) which populate the unseen world. These are of two general types: true spirits, disembodied souls of deceased Tapirape;[19] and demons or malevolent beings of many classes.
[787] Shamans are accustomed to seeing true spirits in their dreams. These gen-
[756] erally inhabit abandoned village sites, where they re-live their earthly lives. When they die—the second death—they become frogs, deer, *paca* and doves. Thus the toad is the spirit of a chief; the dove and *jacu* are spirits
[825] of men.[20] These ghosts cannot harm shamans who are accustomed to see-
[756] ing them, but sometimes the spirits attack and strike down defenseless laymen.[21] They also cluster around a man's bier to carry off the soul as soon as the body is buried.

There are infinite numbers of "spirits" of the individualized demoniac
776 class. Of these, some are "pets" which are not very dangerous, and which
[794] are represented by men in the mask dance cult.[22] Other species are very dangerous, but these are no longer seen by the layman. Formerly, these
773 were numerous, and killed many Tapirape, but Ware, a culture hero and
776 powerful shaman, fought them and killed many. A man now points to the

[19] Speaking of Tupinamba, Métraux makes these same two categories of "supernatural
[171] beings" (*aygnan, agnin, ingange* and *anhanga*), *ibid.*, p. 51.

[20] Animals which have, or are, spirits can be grouped together. These are tabu to some age
82 and sex groups, in a complicated dietary system.
[262]

[21] Dogs can see spirits. When a dog howls, Tapirape say, "He sees *anchunga* but we can't."

[22] At one time women may have been frightened by these "dangerous" spirits, but certainly at present everything in the men's cults is known to women, and they do not even pretend to be frightened.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



A man now points to the
southwestern horizon and says, "Ware killed all spirits there; they are only 773
spirit souls now." (To the north and east, however, many demon spirits 776
are still alive and active.) Ware engaged in a constant battle of wits with [823]
the spirit world. He killed many of the dangerous variety by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed behind them, and he also killed off another group of beings which clubbed men to death and drank their blood.

Sometimes shamans (*panche*) see malevolent beings in their dream 756
travels, and may even become friendly with them or receive their aid. For 776
example, one shaman told of wandering far in an unknown forest as he 787
dreamed, and of coming upon the spirits called *oreya*, who have long hair wound in a mass, and who carry only one arrow with which they can kill a man. They were about to shoot him but he shouted "No, I am a shaman!" and they left him alone, gave him food and aided him to return. Only shamans can have such relations with these supernaturals. Tapirape laymen are afraid to dream.

The shaman is indispensable to Tapirape living, not only because he has 756
dealings with the spirit world, and through his wanderings enriches the 842
knowledge of men, but also because he is of value in many practical ways. Thus he controls the pregnancy of women. Pregnancy is known to relate to sexual intercourse, but conception comes only when a shaman brings a child to a woman. Thunder, and several types of birds, animals and fish, [825]
have "children," that is, spirits of children. The shaman brings one of these "spirits" to a woman, putting it inside her while she sleeps. A woman who wants a child can, for example, bring honey to a shaman. This will make [787]
him dream, and he will bring her a child. Similarly, a barren woman presumably "had quarrelled much with the shaman."

When Tapirape swim, while fishing and shooting large turtles in the 756
Tapirape River, their safety depends upon the shaman. In this section of 825
Brazil, rivers are full of alligators, *piranha* (carnivorous fish) and sting 751
rays, and according to Tapirape belief, large snakes lurk in deep pools. [481]
Before men may swim safely the shaman must tie the jaws of the alligators, strike the *piranha* across their teeth so they will not bite, and tie up the tails of the large snakes. When Tapirape go hunting, it is up to the [224]
shaman to tell them where packs of wild pigs will be found, or to lead them down to a good spot in the plains country.[23] Danger may lurk in all food; thus Tapirape often take new corn, fresh meat, or any food, to have danger "blown" out of it by the shaman.

The universe for the Tapirape is not finite or entirely known; it is 772
dangerous. Tales of culture heroes and experiences of shamans provide a 756
773

[23] When the Tapirape have made kills of wild pigs, which are "pets" of Thunder he will [821]
be angry and send a sudden rain or clouding of the sky. If a Tapirape sees an unexpected [776]
rainbow in the sky he will say, "The shaman has been successful against Thunder" (i.e., in finding game).

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



772
773 large framework into which all new knowledge can be fitted. And this
756 universe is dangerous. The shaman, by the use of his wisdom and insight, his familiarity with celestial powers, spirits and far off places, is the only
756 intermediary between men and supernaturals. Through him, the Tapirapé
789 attempt to control their hostile and unpredictable world. Without the shaman, as one informant said, "All Tapirapé would die."

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881 On the eve of the ritual, the preparations begin. The youth's
[302] body is painted black with genipap. On his face, a black line is drawn under the mouth and a circle under the eyes, which are elongated with a line at the corners. The father or uncles put the last
[346] touches on a large diadem. At dawn on the day of the ceremony, the youth is led to the large ceremonial house built in the center of the Tapirapé village, and his hair is set to support the large
[292] ankungitana (diadem) made of numerous macaw, parrot, and duck
[237] feathers fastened to a base of muriti palm and hard wood and weighing about five kilograms. The hair is trimmed and tied into a roll
[302] on the nape of the neck with a cord at least five meters long, to provide a base for the fastening of the large diadem. The lower lip
[301] is adorned with a ceremonial quartz tembetá [Tr., cylindrical plug].

The ceremony itself begins late in the morning. For 24 hours
[535] the youth dances continually, surrounded by his fellow tribesmen and accompanied by the songs and dances of men and women. He dances ill at ease, for he is soon tired by the weight and discomfort of the ornaments. Tapirapé tradition explains this ritual as a test of en-
773 881 durance for the young men. According to one legend, a Tapirapé ancestor called Xavanamu and his son Makanci were captured by an enemy tribe. Xavanamu was eaten, and his son was forced to dance under the weight of a large diadem and the numerous ornaments that covered his body. At the end of a long day of dancing, Makanci, who had retained his strength, managed to flee and disappeared into the woods followed closely by his foes. He vanished on reaching a large hollow trunk. Nowadays, Tapirapé youths wear ornaments similar to those left behind by their ancestor.

In 1941, when we witnessed the "hair-tying" of the youth
881 Kancinampiô, several Tapirapé predicted that he would cry "for he would become very tired during the night," but the boy stood up valiantly to the test. It is in another way, however, that men recall their initiation. One of them said, "When I danced, I was more beautiful than at any other time." It is true that at no other time of life does the individual get so much attention and make such a show with such rich ornaments. And this during adolescence!

Thus, the Tapirapé turn this ceremony into an opportunity for fun, which their men recall more or less in the same manner as our youths recall their first ball.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



755 rubbing toward the extremities of his body. If he fails to extract the [276] malignant object in this fashion, he sucks it out, swallows it, then vomits it up.

At one time, during an epidemic of fever, a shaman used a different method. He prepared a mixture of honey and water, and, after much smoking, spewed it out over the patients and on the houses where there were sick people.

756 Besides healing, the shamans must protect the people against dangerous [751] spirits (ančunga); they call forth "children's spirits" without which there [789] can be no conception; they prevent wild animals from harming the *Tapirapé* during great hunting or fishing expeditions; and they increase the [787] number of peccaries in the woods. It is also believed that they divine the future in their dreams.

The prestige of shamans is such among the *Tapirapé* that almost all leaders of communities as well as of ceremonial moiety groups and household heads are shamans. As shamans receive payment for successful cures, they accumulate many possessions which they redistribute at a yearly ceremonial. Liberality is essential to prestige in this society where avarice is particularly despised.

## MYTHOLOGY

773 *Tapirapé* myths fall into two categories: legends telling of the deeds of ancestral heroes, and tales of animals. In the latter, the tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) is noted for his shrewdness in his dealings with the [171] other animals of the jungle. These stories follow the general *Tupi* pattern.

Among the various *Tapirapé* heroes are Apüwenonu and Petura. The former descended from heaven and lived with the *Tapirapé*. He taught them to plant and harvest cotton, manioc, and maize. When he was old, Apüwenonu returned to heaven and changed himself into a star.

Petura stole fire from the buzzards and brought light to the *Tapirapé*, who until then had not seen day. It is also told of Petura that he stole hatchets and knives from the emu and gave them to the *Tapirapé*.

Txawanamü is famous for a series of songs which tell of his adventures among the mythical ampúawa, enemies of the *Tapirapé*, who made him die a lingering death. Wančina, a great shaman, had his whole house, including his family and belongings, transported to heaven by Kanawana, the Thunder. Waré was another shaman who killed many dangerous forest spirits.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 Baldus, 1935, 1937; Bigorre, 1916, 1917; Métraux, 1927; Wagley, 1940 a, 1940 b, 1943 b.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



114 and evenings suspended in a large Brazilian hammock. In this state of enervation, I must have been the very picture of the languid white [123] man in the tropics. Each late afternoon our house became a gather- [574] ing place for the Tapirapé villagers, who came not only to visit with me (communication was still difficult) but also with each other, and 123 to gaze upon the belongings of the *tori* (non-Indian). My illness 538 proved to be a boon for ethnographic research. People were more patient with the sick anthropologist than with the well one. They told stories, not only for my benefit, but also to entertain each other. [703] In attempting to explain to me about a mythological culture hero, a man would find himself telling a myth to the attending audience. Thus, I heard (and saw) Tapirapé stories told as they should be—as dramatic forms spoken with vivacity and replete with mimicry of the animals that are so often characters in these folktales. With my still imperfect knowledge of Tapirapé I inevitably lost the thread of the story and it had to be retold to me more slowly.

115 Champukwi was a frequent visitor during these days of my con- 123 valescence. He came each morning on the way to his garden and 124 he became accustomed to drinking morning coffee with us. And, [512] each late afternoon after he had returned from his garden, he came "to talk"—often slowly retelling the stories and incidents that I had difficulty understanding the evening before. Several days during this period he did not work in his garden but sat for two or three hours talking. He learned when he should pause or repeat a phrase or [212] sentence in order that I might take notes. He came to understand what writing meant, discovering that what I wrote in my notebook I could repeat to him later. In time he appreciated the fact that I was not so much interested in learning the Tapirapé language as I was in comprehending the Tapirapé way of life. As so often is the case when a person understands and speaks a foreign language poorly, one communicates best with but a single person who is accustomed to one's mistakes and one's meager vocabulary. Thus, I could understand and make myself understood to Champukwi better than any [192] other Tapirapé. Moreover, because he spent long hours in our house, [126] he was learning Portuguese from Valentim Gomes, and this was an aid in helping me translate newly learned words and phrases in Tapirapé and even helped me understand his explanations of Tapirapé culture patterns. Champukwi thus consciously became my teacher, and others came to realize that he was teaching me. During

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

**Champukwi of the Village of the Tapirapé**

Champukwi sketched for me the stories of Petura, the Tapirapé ancestral hero who stole fire from the King Vulture, daylight from the night owl, *genipa* (used for dye) from the monkeys, and other items for the Tapirapé. However, he persuaded Maeumi, an elder famous for his knowledge of mythology, to relate the details although he himself helped considerably to clarify for me the meaning of native phrases and to make the stories told by Maeumi more fully understandable. Champukwi also forewarned me of events that I might want to witness, events that without his warning I might have missed. Such were the wrestling matches which took place upon the return of a hunting party between those men who went on the hunt and those who remained at home. He told me of a particularly handsome basket a man had made, which I might want to add to my collection for the Brazilian National Museum. He came to tell me that a young woman in a neighboring house was in labor, thus enabling me to get a photograph of the newborn infant being washed in the stream, and he urged the men to celebrate for my benefit a ceremony which might easily have been omitted. Champukwi was no longer merely an informant. He became a participant in ethnographic research although, of course, he never thought of it in these terms. He seemed somehow to understand the anthropologist's task in studying his culture, and in the process he gained considerable objectivity about his own way of life.

Yet it must be said that Champukwi did not seem to discredit the norms, institutions, and beliefs of his own people. Although he saw Valentim and me walk safely down the path through the forest late at night, he steadfastly refused to do the same; for the path was a favorite haunt of the lonely ghosts of deceased Tapirapé who might harm the living. He reasoned that the *tori* were probably immune to this danger. When he was ill, he took the pills we urged upon him but he also called in the shaman. His curiosity about airplanes, automobiles, and "gigantic canoes" (passenger boats) which he saw pictured in the magazines we had brought with us, was great; but he boasted that the Tapirapé could walk farther and faster than any *tori* or even the Caraja (who are a canoe people). In fact, his interest in, and enthusiasm for, certain Tapirapé activities seemed to be heightened by our presence. Almost all Tapirapé ceremonials involve choral singing and Champukwi was a singing leader of one of the sections of the men's societies. He was always pleased when

285 belonged to the headdress called angkynghetanohó, [108:134]
292 that is to say, the same term written ankungitána by Wagley with
[114] the addition of the augmentative suffix ho. Strips one to one and a half centimeters wide, taken from a leaf stem of the muriti palm, are folded across in such a way that one tip projects three or four centimeters beyond the other (cf. Fig. 19). The jutting ends
[283] of all the strips lie on the same side when the folded ends are strung on a cord that is twisted clockwise and made up of four threads of vegetable fiber twisted counter-clockwise. The semicircular position of this cord forces the strips into a radiating pattern. In the particular specimen being discussed (Photo. 15), the folded ends are so tightly packed side by side and even on top of each other that the periphery of the semicircle they form measures 27 centimeters. To keep them in this position, the cord is tied with knots at the tips of the semicircle to prevent it from slipping. At a distance of 13 or 15 centimeters from the folded ends, the
[283] strips are entwined with string twisted counter-clockwise and made up of two threads of cotton spun clockwise. These strings lie parallel to each other, close together, and they are dyed a dark brown color. The entwined band takes up from seven and a half to nine centimeters of the longer strip sections, which vary in length from 28 to 30 centimeters. On the side of the shorter section, the entwined band is coated with light-grey clay. The strips are held by this band in such a way that their tips lie a few millimeters apart. This, along with the already-mentioned crowding of the folded ends, produces the semicircular shape reminiscent of the
[774] form that the Tapirapé attribute to certain anchinga, that is to say, "shadows" or spirits, and by which they represent them. The periphery of the frame measures 135 centimeters, and its total width is 70 centimeters. The entwined band consists of 112 strings divided into units of four. These units are due to the fact that two pairs of strings are twined alternately around the strips, and that these pairs twine alternately around each other after their common entwining of each strip. This mutual and alternate penetration of both pairs of strings, with each pair always consisting of the same two strings, is due to the fact that the strings of one pair cross each other when they are entwined by the strings of the other pair. An irregularity arises when the strings of one pair cross twice between two regular crossing points of the strings of the other pair. Both

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



776 Some of these demons of the forest are now "pets" of the Tapirapé, and are no longer dangerous to them. The comparatively harmless *ančúnga*, in a sense domesticated by Tapirapé men, come at intervals throughout the year to live in the large central men's house. While an [535] *ančúnga* is inhabiting this ceremonial house, Tapirapé men sing and [530] dance with masks representing the visiting spirit (7).

756 Knowledge of the supernatural world is gained chiefly through the 787 dream experiences of shamans or *pančé*, for among the Tapirapé shamanistic power derives from dreams and from powers revealed in them. 778 Dreams are believed to be journeys. The *iungá*, the soul, may free itself [529] from the *eté*, the body, in sleep, and move freely in time and space. Obviously anyone may dream but frequent dreaming is evidence of shamanistic power. Laymen who dream very much are afraid, for they do not belong in this supernatural world, or they believe that they should become shamans.

Campukwi, who was not a shaman, indicated this fear in telling me his dream experience. When he saw dangerous *ančúnga* in his dream, he had no recourse but to run : "I am not a shaman. I was afraid. I ran. They would have killed me". Only shamans have the supernatural power to move freely in this dream-world of ghosts and demons. A shaman is never afraid in his dream travels, for ghosts are his friends and the power of a shaman grows in proportion as he fraternizes with the demonic spirits of the forest. After a dream-visit from a shaman, heards of demonic spirits may become his familiars, obedient to his calls for aid. Turning himself into a bird or launching himself through the air in his "canoe" a half gourd, he travels to the villages of ghosts, to the houses of demonic spirits, or to such temporal places as the Brazilian settlements or Carajá villages on the Araguaya River. Then, too, time is no obstacle; in a sleep of a few minutes he may experience three or four days of dream adventure.

756 The dream experience of Ikanancowi, a powerful shaman who died 776 a few years before my visit, will illustrate these points. In his dream he 787 walked far to the shores of a large lake deep in the jungle. There he heard dogs barking and ran in the direction from which the noise came until he met several forest spirits of the breed called *manpi anká*. They

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[777] (7) The men's masked dance cult, kept as a secret from the women, is not [532] universally found among Tupi tribes. In this case it has obviously been borrowed from [777] the Tapirapé's neighbors, the Carajá.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



are called upon to fight Thunder. This, the important *Tapirapé* ceremony, lasts for 4 days, and is the high point of shamanistic activity. 241 756

Kanawana, the Thunder, lives on distant Maratawa surrounded by the souls of dead shamans and by the topõ (probably equivalent to the *Tupinamba* word, "tupan"), small anthropomorphic beings whose bodies are covered with white hair. 776

The topõ travel through space in their canoes (half gourds), the sound of which produces the noise of the storm. The arrows which the topõ shoot cause lightning. During the ceremony, the shamans, completely intoxicated by the tobacco and stimulated by the unceasing dancing and singing, fall into a trance (pl. 19, *top, right*) during which they travel to Thunder's house in order to fight him. Thunder sets the topõ against the shamans, who, wounded by the arrows of "Thunder's creatures," fall into unconsciousness. [821] [781] [276] [756]

### SHAMANISM

The *Tapirapé* can visualize the supernatural world through the reports of the dreams of their shamans, whose power grows in proportion to their ability to dream. A dream is a voyage, during which the soul frees itself of the body and travels through space. In these dreams the shamans travel to regions which are entirely unknown to the living, and in general are inhabited by spirits. With their powers, the shamans succeed in taming some of the spirits, who then become their familiar spirits. The power and prestige of the shaman (panõé) depend on the number of his familiar spirits. 756 787 [774]

The *Tapirapé* speak of battles between shamans wherein each calls out his familiar spirits against the other while dreaming. More often, a shaman sets his familiar spirits upon laymen and kills them. A shaman may also kill his victim during a dream by throwing a malignant object, usually a piece of bone or a worm, into his body. 754 756

The victims of sorcery appeal to friendly shamans, who attempt to cure them by extracting the malignant object by suction, massage, and blowing tobacco. When many deaths occur simultaneously and the *Tapirapé* suspect a certain shaman of having caused them, they do not hesitate to kill him. One man recalled that during his lifetime 10 shamans suspected of sorcery had been killed. He himself had killed a shaman whom he suspected of having killed his brother. In spite of the constant suspicion surrounding them, the shamans do not employ mechanical techniques or sympathetic magic in sorcery. 754 [755] 683 755 276

The shamans make great use of tobacco, which is essential for healing and dreaming. They smoke it in large tubular clay pipes. Cures usually take place at dusk. The shaman squats by the patient's hammock and smokes for a long time, becoming intoxicated and blowing the smoke from the pipe over the patient's body. He then massages the patient,

787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a topī). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus Pānterī vanquished the topī), but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panterí had not defeated the topī, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow). I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the
[821] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topī and many souls of shamans near
[775] [756] him. I did not talk but returned fast.' He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and
292 again a rare layman, wore the ankungitána, and people marveled
781 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panterí grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a panché-iúnwera. Urukumú picked up the ankungitána. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him."

825 I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of
[292] the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (ibid., Note 30) says in
[237] this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red
[821] feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told
[753] me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not
292 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated
285 by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. ibid., Fig. 1).
114 The figures in Wagley's work (ibid., Figs. 1-9) do not provide any details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the feathers. The frame (Photo. 15) that I acquired in Tampiitáua

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



601 The kinship system is perhaps a more important factor in assuring
602 solidarity to the Tapirapé than either the moieties or the household groups. Tapirapé kinship is bilateral: the chief principle of the system being that all persons of one generation who are related through either mother or father, no matter how distantly, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of persons calling each other siblings are also siblings. The mother's "sisters" are called mother and the father's "brothers", father. The mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, the children of a man's brothers are considered sons and daughters of the man himself, and the children of a woman's sisters are considered her children. Children of a man's sister or a woman's brother are given special terms.

The wide inclusiveness of these kinship affiliation makes it possible for an individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers — and in former days those of other villages — by terms of close relationship. Siblings are under obligation to lend aid to one another when it is needed and, in the case of sorcery, to avenge wrong done to any of them. The
[182] kinship system accordingly provides an important bond of solidarity within this society which lacks strong centralized control to hold it together.

## SOURCE OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

775 A multitude of spirits populate the unseen world of the Tapirapé.
776 These spirits, known by the generic term of *ancúnga* (5), are of two general types: ghosts, *ancúnga iúnurera*, the disembodied souls of the dead; and second, malevolent beings of many classes and descriptions. Ghosts inhabit abandoned village sites where they relive their earthly lives, yet frequently they travel about at night and, especially during the rainy season, they come near the village of the living, for "they are cold" and come near human habitations to get warm. People are accordingly afraid to venture beyond the village plaza at night. Now and again, ghosts appear to living people, frightening them, sometimes throwing a dust-like substance over them and causing them to fall insensible.

775 Several people fell from fright upon seeing a ghost during my
[181] visit. One woman saw a ghost "bathing in the stream" when she

(5) This is the *anhanga* or *agyrnan* of the Portuguese and French chroniclers who wrote about the Tupi.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



went to the small brook to drink water after dark. She said that the ghost approached and struck her. A man walking in his garden after dark saw the ghost of a known person, some years dead. "It was white and his eyes had fallen out. He still had some flesh and he had urucú in his hair" (6). Yet another man also met a ghost which was "white with big holes instead of eyes". Ghosts of individuals who have been dead many years "have no flesh; they have only bones". The ghosts that appear to the living follow the pattern of the gradual disintegration of the body. 775

Ghosts gather around a new grave to carry away the soul at time of burial; so they are especially dangerous to people at the time of funerals. When a Tapirapé dies, men carry machetes and mirrors to the wake for protection against the ghosts. If ghosts see their reflections in mirrors, they are frightened away. 775 764

The principal encounters of the Tapirapé with ghosts are in dreams. Dreamers sometimes visit them in their villages and at times learn from them new ceremonial songs which they hear in the traditional Tapirapé ceremonials that the ghosts continue to carry on after they have left the village of the living. 775 787

After an indeterminate period the ghosts themselves die and their spirits then become changed into animals. The spirit of the dead ghost of a man of prestige may become a toad (*Pipa pipa*); that of a common man a dove. Among the other animals into which spirits of dead ghosts become changed are frogs, deer, paca (*Cuniculus paca*). 775 825 [554]

Besides the ghosts there are an infinite number and many different species of *ancúnga* of the demonic class, all generally living at a great distance deep in the forest. It is fortunate that their dwellings are so distant, for these creatures are very dangerous, killing Tapirapé whenever possible. In legendary times these demonic beings were more numerous than at present and killed many Tapirapé, but Waré, a powerful shaman and legendary hero, engaged in a constant warfare of wits with them and succeeded in killing many of them. He destroyed the dangerous *awakú anká* by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed far behind them as they walked through the forest. He also killed the *munpi anká*, the beings that clubbed men to death and drank their blood. 776 [973]

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(6) The Tapirapé paint the hair of a corpse with a thick coat of urucú in preparation for burial. [302 764]

4: Wagley E-5, (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



755 In the midst of this process he stops several times to suck on the body of his patient and finally, with one awful heave, he spews all the accumulated material on the ground. He then searches in this mess for the intrusive object that has been causing the illness. Never once did I see a shaman show the intrusive object to observers. As one treatment a Tapirapé *pančé* usually repeats this process of "eating smoke", sucking, and vomiting several times. Sometimes, when a man of prestige is ill, two or even three shamans will cure side by side in this manner and the noise of violent vomiting resounds throughout the village.

[554]

One other method of curing was observed. During an epidemic of fever Panteri made a collective cure to drive fever out of the village and disinfect the people of the village against it. Two men were dispatched to collect wild honey; this was then mixed with water, making a weak honey mixture. Panteri, after first smoking for a time, went from house to house taking the honey mixture in his mouth and spraying it over the house and its occupants. He carefully sprayed and massaged the patients who had fever and removed the foreign substance from their bodies. For several hours he worked, spraying both the inside and outside of the houses, including the central ceremonial house of the men. It was explained that the honey alone did not have a therapeutic effect against fever but sprayed from the mouth of a *pančé* it drove away fevers.

[824]

755 775 828 Shamans also protect the Tapirapé against ghosts. All people who see ghosts faint from fright or from the white substance with which the ghost covers their body. Shamans were called to blow smoke over them and to massage this substance from their bodies. During one funeral dance the shaman Panteri "saw many ghosts" in the environs of the village, recognizing some as long-dead relatives of the deceased. By blowing tobacco smoke about and by going among the ghosts with a large mirror he drove them away before they did any harm.

756 842 82 Shamans are necessary in several other life situations other than illness. For instance, shamans are thought among the Tapirapé to control the pregnancy of women. While pregnancy is known to be related to sexual intercourse, conception is thought to take place only when a shaman "brings a child to a woman". Several species of birds,

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



Secondly, an individual may gain respect through being chosen as a leader of the warrior-age group of his ceremonial moiety. His companions may select him as their "walking leader" — *antá úwa* — or as their "song leader" — *amoníká úwa* — because of his special abilities in hunting, gardening, manual technique, singing, or dancing. It frequently happens that these chosen leaders were *čirikakántu* when they were children, for the special treatment and educational advantages given such children develop qualities of leadership. 554 561 622 [858]

The third and most important road to prestige lies in shamanism. It has been shown that the Tapirapé depend upon their shamans to control the dangerous spirit world, to remove danger from first fruits, to predict the future, to bring spirits of children to their parents, and to cure the ill. In all life situations where chance or the unpredictable figure the Tapirapé depend markedly upon their shamans. Thus the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman (25). This prestige is reflected in the concepts of a separate afterlife for shamans and in the identification of ancestral culture heroes as shamans. Informants telling of Petura, the bringer of such phenomena as fire and daylight to the Tapirapé, and of Ware, who killed so many dangerous *ančúnga*, frequently referred to them as "great shamans". While a Tapirapé layman becomes a disembodied soul at death, the afterlife of a shaman is but a continuation of his present life under ideal circumstances. His soul goes to Maratawa (26), the home of the culture heroes. This home of the privileged dead lies far to the north- 555 622 756 775 [773]

were the ones who generally produced *čirikakántu*. The man whom Baldus reported as "chefe principal" carried an important name, had been a favored child, had been a "song-leader" of his wirá, and was currently a shaman of some power, and I believe held his position because of these things and had not inherited it. Wantamanu, whom Baldus mentions as "vice-chefe", had also before his death in 1940, been a shaman and a "walking leader". [114]

(25) The unusual importance of the shaman to the Tapirapé was well put by one of my informants: "Without our *pancé*, all we Tapirapé die".

(26) If a shaman meets death by murder, his trip to Maratawa is delayed. He goes temporarily to another "home of shamans" in the west until his wounds are healed; only then does he go to Maratawa. If his skull has been crushed by a club, a new cranium of metal is made for him at this temporary residence. A "metal" cranium is obviously an introduced concept yet informants were not able to explain of what material the new cranium might have been made before metal was known to the Tapirapé.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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555 622 756 775 [766] west "where the earth ends and the water begins" and where the sun returns to sleep after its travels across the sky. In Maratawa shamans have an inexhaustible supply of tobacco, many red parrot feathers, much manioc, kaui, bananas, meat, and all the other necessities and luxuries of life. Frequently a shaman is buried with a pipe filled with tobacco in his mouth, so that he may have smoke to drive out fatigue on the trip to Maratawa; and sometimes food is buried with the body so he may eat, for the journey to Maratawa is long.

556 756 Aside from these non-material considerations, there is one very real factor which insures social respect to the Tapirapé shaman. Shamans are in general the wealthiest men among the Tapirapé. Although they may at times receive meat or honey for their cures or as presents for bringing the spirits of children to parents, payments to them are usually in those luxury goods that are the marks of wealth. It was readily observed that the beads and hardware which I gave as presents to the Tapirapé soon passed into the hands of shamans as payments for cures.

756 Payments to the shamans for curing the ill depend upon the seriousness of the illness and upon what the patient or his family has to offer. Frequently a shaman names his fee when his cure has been successful, asking for specific objects, for he knows full well what each family owns. Unsuccessful cures are never paid. For example, for the treatment of his sister's son and of his daughter, who were both sick at once, Kamairaho, a shaman himself, called three shamans and paid each the price that he asked. He paid one, Panteri, a machete and two strings of beads; to another, Urukumu, he gave an axe, a pocket knife, a pair of scissors, and five tail feathers of a red parrot; he gave only four strings of beads to Kamairai, who was considered a shaman of less power than the other two. Another young man with few possessions gave five arrows to a shaman who successfully treated his wife; still another paid the breast feathers from his parrot and four string of beads to a shaman. When Txawaniuma killed a *paca*, the meat of which is highly prized by the Tapirapé, he gave some to his companion of the hunt and divided the rest between two shamans who had treated his small daughter successfully. Neither shaman had to ask for any specific gift or payment. People often complain to others about the high price they had to pay to a shaman, but generally they pay what is

[262] [224] [577]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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## THE THUNDER CEREMONY

[171] In common with many Tupi peoples the Tapirapé consider thunder
776 as a powerful supernatural. He is called *Kanawana* by the Tapirapé.
[821] Kanawana lives in his house at Maratawa surrounded by his various
[775] supernumeraries. He has with him the souls of deceased Tapirapé shamans
[356] (*pančé-iúnwera*), messengers called *awampewa* that carry news to these *pančé iúnwera*, and finally, *topi* (28).

*Topi* are described as small anthropomorphic beings about the size of a man's hand. Their bodies are covered with downy white hair, and they wear European beads, little headdresses of parrot feathers, and lip plugs. They travel with great swiftness through the air small "canoes", which are only halves of gourds, and they carry with them red feathers and beads to use as arrows to shoot at Tapirapé. Sometimes *topi* are referred to as "pets" of Thunder and sometimes as his children: but in any case, they are many and do his bidding.

1796 Each year in approximately late December and January, when
821 there are heavy thunder showers, lightning, and strong winds, the Tapirapé believe that Thunder is angry. The noise of the storm is the rumbling of his *topi's* canoes and the lightning is their speeding arrows. Once, when a strong wind ripped off part of the roof of a house, Tapirapé men were frightened because they knew that *pančé-iúnwera* sent by Thunder had caused the wind. At this time each year shamans "call Thunder" and match their powers against him. In frenzied intoxi-
[786] cation from gulping tobacco smoke, constant singing and dancing, they fall into trances during which they travel to the house of Thunder. Shamans and the courageous laymen who take part in this ceremony are struck down by *topi's* arrows and fall writhing upon the ground. Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies against Thunder and his beings.

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(28) *Topi* is obviously the Tapirapé equivalent of *Tupan*, the word recorded as used by the Tupinambá and other coastal Tupi. Among the coastal Tupi *Tupian* was the supernatural being who caused the thunder and lightning. Tupan was so important that the early Catholic missionaries used the word for God. See Alfred Métraux's, 1928, *La Religion des Tupinambá*, pages 52-56. Paris. Note, however: that among the Tapirapé *topi* are merely creatures of Thunder.

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



trary, I am good, and in order to demonstrate it, I embrace cordially a man on her side so that I don't need to embrace her. And I say to my English companion who at this moment joins me: "Certain research-workers who were killed by the Indians with whom they lived, as, for instance, Boggiani among the Chamakoko, were murdered only through fear." At that instant, as if he had understood my words, the man I have just embraced asks me if the Shavante really have killed the white man by the name of Father John and if they have murdered him with a club. I don't know from where the Tapirapé had received this information and if his question represented a reaction or only conversation. What I know is that the man couldn't have understood my comment about the murders through fear. 123 152

An hour later I see Kamairahó going to the brook carrying two calabash rattles which he had obtained from the Karajá neighbours, but never used. I follow him and ask him what he intends to do with the rattles. He explains that they are dirty and that he wants to clean them with water, and adds: "When you go away and I remain here, the rattles will go with you." He continues with a mournful face. Besides, everyone looks sad, and when I enter our hut, I am not received as usual with the friendly exclamation: "You arrive!" But, looking to this or that person, I immediately receive a polite smile. Even at night Kamairahó says to the Englishman that he is still afraid of me, and when my companion reassures him, confirming the jocose character of my threat, he is invited immediately by Kamairahó to eat bananas and by other inhabitants of the house to have kauí, a fermented drink, in payment for this consolation. Meanwhile Inamoréo, who had beaten his wife, has already gone peacefully to sleep with her in the hammock and explains later that he whipped her only with the arrow—which is not true. I invite Kamairahó for a dinner of deer. He eats well, but with a sad face complaining of a headache. He receives aspirin. [431] [570] [574] [543]

It is necessary to consider that the fear described above may have been caused less by the threat with the revolver than by the agitated manner with which I expressed my indignation and which contrasts with Tapirapé behaviour. Even Kamairahó's wife, who used to quarrel much, always pronounced insults in a monotonous voice and with apparent calm, quite different, for instance, from the Karajá women who shout without reserve. But it may be mentioned that the Tapirapé were also afraid of the Englishman when a woman had stolen a great quantity of kitchen oil from him, putting it in her hair, and when dogs of the village tore his towel to pieces. And my companion was less explosive than I!

Graver causes of fear are the Kayapó attacks. I have already mentioned that, on account of these, I was asked to sleep armed. When a rumour maker is talking about the approach of these Indians, all the village is immediately alarmed. And there are reasons for this, because in 1947, soon after my second visit to the Tapirapé, these warlike neighbours assaulted the village, plundered it, and burned it, killing and kidnapping women. 152 648

Fear was produced also by the eclipse of the moon on 15th of June, 1935. When at night I was awakened with the words "chahy vuy" "moon blood," all the people were dejected and the men were talking only in low tones. Really, the moon appears dark red like coagulated blood. Next day everybody was still preoccupied with the phenomenon, considering it a bad omen of carnage. 152 821

But while the eclipse was an uncommon cause of fear, there were other causes in every moment and in any place, for the Tapirapé lives surrounded by malevolent spirits. Here is the so-called "imaginary fear" regarding which Mira y López[9] observes that "even the bravest warriors, able to throw themselves 152 775

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



152 in the open against a rampart of fire or lances, recede terrified in view of the
775 suspicion of a tenuous and invisible enemy." In fact, the Tapirapé who opposes
[761] the jaguar with only bow and club as I had occasion to observe, and who is not afraid of dying, as they frequently assured me, is terrified by the presence of the souls of the dead and of other bad beings. It is not only the soul of a dead shaman which causes fear. I knew a kind father who became afraid of the soul of his beloved little child when this was deceased. And whoever is not a shaman feels a dread of dreaming while asleep, because during the dream he has to travel through the dangerous supernatural world. And not infrequently boys who wanted to drink water at night in the nearby brook asked me to go with them, because a ghost had been seen taking a bath. Unfortunately, whenever I arrived, the well-scrubbed ghost had already gone away. Frequently the boys sang loudly when going to the brook at night in order to calm their fear as I have observed in Europe when children went for something in a dark cellar.

123 Although the Tapirapé didn't react in any way against the fear produced by
152 the eclipse, they were not always so passive as regards the fear caused by the
648 white men, the Kayapó, and the spirits. When my English companion fell ill, they didn't hesitate in demanding his departure, and when a little girl of the house where I was living fell sick, all the people around me wore a threatening air as if I had been the magic author of the disease. The fear inspired by the Kayapó was combated not only by the Tapirapé holding clubs during the nocturnal collective dances, but also by their parodying their neighbours by a pantomime which represented a supposed attack against peaceful tribesmen.
[514] The fear of the spirits gives not only great prestige to the shaman, official protector against them, but also puts in the hand of every Tapirapé a torch which he agitates without interruption if by night he has to go out of the house in order to relieve himself.

152 So for the frightened Tapirapé also, life is struggle, action and reaction, fear
157 and wrath. And this fearful people is the gayest I ever found in my life, and Kamairahió, the pessimist who more than anyone declared himself to be afraid, had a glad smile on his face everytime when I saw him awake in the morning.

*São Paulo, Brazil.*

## Notes

113 1. Cf. Herbert Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*. S. Paulo, 1937, pp. 156–158.
2. Ashley Montagu: *The Natural Superiority of Women*. London, 1954, p. 92.
3. Emilio Mira y López: *Quatro gigantes da alma*. 3a. edição, Rio de Janeiro, 1955, pp. 39–40.
4. Cf. Herbert Baldus: Os Tapirapé. *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, 110: 192, 1946. S. Paulo.
5. Cf. Amilcar A. Botelho de Magalhães: *Pelos sertões do Brasil*, 2a. edição, S. Paulo, 1941, pp. 497–498; Martin Gusinde: *Die Feuerlandindianer, I: Die Selk'nam*, Mödling bei Wien, 1931, pp. 456–458.
6. Cf. Baldus: *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, p. 86.
7. Xamanismo tapirapé (Tapirapé Shamanism), *Boletim do Museu Nacional*, n.s., Antropologia, 3: 79, 1943. Rio de Janeiro.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



823 memorate the spot where he had eaten plentifully of fish. The Tapirape
772 view of the world is an expanding one; the people are eager to acquire more knowledge, as is attested by their numerous questions about one's home and one's people, about the sea, the mountains, and distant places.

773 In point of time, the Tapirape consider the present as the third world. Twice people were destroyed, once by flood and once by universal fire. Before these catastrophes, there were pre-Tapirape called Karanjuntuwera. These people lacked the many refinements which were later brought to the Tapirape by their culture heroes. They ate several varieties of wild seeds, they did not have maize, manioc or any modern garden plants, and they lacked the bow and arrow. The Tapirape are not certain whether the Karanjuntuwera lived before or after the flood, but when the great deluge came, one man and one woman climbed a small palm tree which grew as rapidly as the water rose, carrying them above the flood. After they had been there some time the man began to spear fish and snakes[3] which swarmed in the waters, using the long narrow palm leaves as spears. As he killed a fish or snake, the waters gradually diminished and finally ran back into the river beds.

Four ancestors escaped the second destruction[4] of people—the universal fire. These ancestors took the form of birds: there were two *jacu* which were men, and one periquito and one *mutum*, both women.[5] These escaped underground and from the union of the two couples came "men" or *ampa awa*, as modern Tapirape call themselves.[6]
[101]

"Culture heroes" were primarily instrumental in making the Tapirape
773 world what it is. When and in what order these heroes came is not stated.
776 Among them was Petura, a supernatural ancestor and great trickster. He stole fire from the vultures, day or dawn from the night owls, and *genipu*[7] from monkeys. These he brought as gifts to the Tapirape. Finally Petura
776 went far to the northeast "where the earth ends and water begins" to live
[775] in Maratawa,[8] the home of all Tapirape culture heroes, of shamans after
[756] death, and of the sun and the moon. There he lives today. He never dies,

[3] From these primordial flood snakes, say the Tapirape, descended their neighbors and enemies, the Carajá. "They (the snakes) had circles under their eyes" (the tribal face tattooing of Carajá).

[4] The sequence of fire and flood does not seem to be clear in legends. Two informants placed the fire before the flood. People during both epochs are spoken of as Karanjuntuwera.

[136] [5] *Jacu:* edible forest fowl, about the size of a large chicken, genus *Penelope*, several species. Periquito: *Pyrrhura vittata*. *Mutum: Crax lecto*r.

[6] See Baldus, Herbert, Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira, pp. 207-210.

[7] *Genipa rubicea* or *Genipa americana:* fruit from which black body dye is made.

[823] [8] Several informants described Maratawa as an island. To the Tapirape, the lighted sky is encircled by black sky and on all sides below the edges of the lighted sky "where the black sky begins", the earth ends and water begins. Thus earth is a large island surrounded by water on all sides. The Tapirape are quite willing to grant, however, that beyond this water may be another earth.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) i940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



but lives and re-lives his life cycle as the cycle of the seasons. In the early 776
rains of October to January, Petura is a small boy. During the heavy rains 132
of January to March, he is an adolescent youth. He is a young warrior as the rains diminish in April to June, and as the year draws to its close for the Tapirape during the remaining dry months, Petura becomes old. Then as the year begins again with the first refreshing rains of October, he begins a new life cycle. This is the agricultural year for the Tapirape. They [221]
plant when he is young (October) and harvest as he matures (in May and June).

Petura was not the only hero who benefited the Tapirape. To the "home 773
of the gods" travelled Tomatociri and Mukwura II, other ancestor heroes, in search of their father Mukwura. There Mukwura gave his son, Tomatociri, the bow and arrow which he brought back to the Tapirape. There, [176]
too—and this is typical of Tapirape readjustment to newly-learned knowledge—the younger brother Mukwura II was given fire arms which he transmitted to his descendants, the Europeans or Torí.[9]

Shamans are equated with these ancestor heroes. If shamans die a non- 756
violent death, they go immediately to Maratawa where they live plenti- 775
fully supplied with food, tobacco, and all aids to the good life. If they die 772
violently, however (i.e., are suspected of sorcery and killed by the Tapirape) they go to another home of shamans in the west. This is the "house [821]
of the winds" where the heavy winds blowing from the southwest come during the late dry season. They are given an artificial face, and they stay here until they heal before going east to join their companions in Maratawa. Only shamans and culture heroes continue after life in the form that [776]
they had on earth.

It is chiefly through shamans that the Tapirape know of the sun, moon 756
and other heavenly bodies. A shaman had seen the sun "close by." The 821
sun, he said, is an old man with no hair on his head. He travels through the heavens wearing a large head-dress of red parrot feathers, and since red parrot feathers are "hot," the head-dress gives off heat. Each night, after limping through his daily orbit (for the "sky is rough" and the sun continually has thorns in his feet) he returns underground to the east to his house at Maratawa.[10] There he eats very little and in a short time sets out again. The morning after Wamanamu, a shaman, had died, several Tapirape saw that the sun was red; it was very "hot" and angry because a shaman had died.

821
As the sun is male, so the moon is female. Both are thought of as people, 776

[9] I was unable to get the original of this story before the division change was made to make it fit with new conditions. It is similar, however, to a Tupinamba story recorded by Thevet and quoted by Métraux (*ibid.*, p. 13), which tells of Ariconte and Tamendonare, twin sons of Sumaay. [171]

[10] See Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 14, for Sipaia version.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



the largest ceremonial of the year which marks the beginning of the dry 805
season and the harvest. Similarly, the position of the Pleiades is noted to 821
date the many ceremonies of the heavy rainy period (November to April). [796]
One shaman had visited the Pleiades, and they, too, can be counted upon
as a familiar power. The Milky Way is often referred to as the "path of the [787]
shaman," it is a well-beaten road over which the shaman travels through
the sky in his dreams.

In common with many Tupi peoples, nothing in the realm of natural [171]
phenomena is as important to the Tapirape as thunder. Among most Tupi, 821
Tupan is a god or an ancestor identified with thunder. He causes the 776
rumbling of thunder and flashes of lightning. Among the Tapirape, how-
ever, Thunder[16] is a separate entity, a supernatural who has many "creat-
ures" or *topü*. *Topü* are described as small beings about a hand's length in [177]
size, with white hairy down over their bodies, and wearing a small head-
dress of red parrot feathers, European beads, and a lip plug. Small wax [532]
dolls are made in imitation of them. They travel through the sky in small
"canoes," especially when there are strong wind and electric storms, and
they carry red wild flowers with which they shoot Tapirape in the stomach.
These arrows are hot "like fire." Sometimes *topü* are called "pets" of
Thunder, and again they are referred to as his "children." In addition to [775]
*topü*, Thunder has other supernumeraries, the souls of dead shamans, who [756]
live in the house of Thunder, commonly thought to be near Maratawa on
the summit of a large mountain.

Each year when approaching rains bring heavy thunder storms, light-
ning and strong winds, Thunder sends forth his beings. The noise of the
storm is caused by rumbling of *topü's* canoes, and flashes of lightning are
their speeding arrows. To protect the Tapirape, and also their gardens, 756
from the storm, shamans[17] "call Thunder," or "fight with *topü*." In a four- 796
day ceremony characterized by genuine fear, shamans gulp tobacco smoke
until they are ill and intoxicated, they sing "calling Thunder to come," and 821
chant until they "see" one or more *topü*, or souls of dead shamans,[18] fight 776
with them, and are struck down by their arrows. A shaman who fights a
*topü* tries to grab its small feather head-dress, take away its bow, or yank
out its lip plug, its most vulnerable feature.

Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies of fighting Thunder.
When a shaman is shot by *topü*, he falls screaming upon the ground, [781]
writhing and shaking, and then becomes unconscious. If men are not near

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[16] Thunder referred to as Kanawana (direct translation) is said to be called Pururuka, his personal name.

[17] Laymen and neophytes who have sufficient courage may also participate.

[18] In conversation and in song, there is confusion between these beings. Although the above distinctions are definitely made, they are often referred to interchangeably. For example, a Tapirape may say, "*topü* cause lightning," or "Thunder is angry and makes lightning."

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



756 to hold him, he may run wild through the village destroying property and
796 endangering people. To bring him back, smoke must be blown over him
821 by a shaman. While he is unconscious, he dreams and travels, sometimes
776 [781] visiting the house of Thunder.

"I smoked much and then I smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun and it came
787 toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They came and they left. I saw
756 Thunder. It was small and came (to the house) in a small canoe. It was Thunder's
821 child (a *topii*). It wore a small headdress of parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug.
772 I reached to pull out the lip plug but it left." [The shaman did not conquer the *topii*
776 and he was shot down by an arrow while he was unconscious] . . . "all was dark.
I saw many suns. I travelled singing as I walked. I spent three days walking. I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Kanawana. He was big and his body was covered with much hair. He had many red parrot feathers. There were many *topii* and many souls of shamans. I did not talk but came back." [If he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have stayed (died), but he was properly treated with tobacco smoke and returned to consciousness.]

775 Through shamans and legends of culture heroes, the Tapirape know, too, of the multitude of "spirits" (*anchunga*) which populate the unseen world. These are of two general types: true spirits, disembodied souls of deceased Tapirape;[19] and demons or malevolent beings of many classes. [787] Shamans are accustomed to seeing true spirits in their dreams. These gen- [756] erally inhabit abandoned village sites, where they re-live their earthly lives. When they die—the second death—they become frogs, deer, *paca* and doves. Thus the toad is the spirit of a chief; the dove and *jacu* are spirits [825] of men.[20] These ghosts cannot harm shamans who are accustomed to see- [756] ing them, but sometimes the spirits attack and strike down defenseless laymen.[21] They also cluster around a man's bier to carry off the soul as soon as the body is buried.

There are infinite numbers of "spirits" of the individualized demoniac
776 class. Of these, some are "pets" which are not very dangerous, and which
[794] are represented by men in the mask dance cult.[22] Other species are very dangerous, but these are no longer seen by the layman. Formerly, these
773 were numerous, and killed many Tapirape, but Ware, a culture hero and
776 powerful shaman, fought them and killed many. A man now points to the

[19] Speaking of Tupinambe, Métraux makes these same two categories of "supernatural
[171] beings" (*aygnan, agnin, ingange* and *anhanga*), *ibid.*, p. 51.

[20] Animals which have, or are, spirits can be grouped together. These are tabu to some age
82 and sex groups, in a complicated dietary system.
[262]

[21] Dogs can see spirits. When a dog howls, Tapirape say, "He sees *anchunga* but we can't."

[22] At one time women may have been frightened by these "dangerous" spirits, but certainly at present everything in the men's cults is known to women, and they do not even pretend to be frightened.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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276 756 by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

423 249 The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

272 [273] No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

## RELIGION

771 *Tapirapé* religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, ančunga (spirit or shadow).

775 The ančunga iünwera, human spirits or ghosts (aña or anhanga among the *Tupinamba*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

[825] Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls [756] of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

776 In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called ančunga, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Waré, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many ančunga, among whom were the awakú anká, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mumpiankâ were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the [535] *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, [532] *bottom, right*).

**Rites.**—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people 796 are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (ančunga) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest [241] ceremonial (kaô) and the ceremony of kawi (a souplike beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

241 756 In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

**Charles Wagley**

115 When the heavy rains of late December and January set in, we
123 were all more or less confined to the village as the rivers and streams
124 rose to flood the savanna. What had been brooks in the tropical
[132] forest became wide streams, difficult, and sometimes dangerous, to
[133] ford. It rained many hours each day. The Tapirapé women and children spent most of the time in their dwellings, and the men and older boys lounged in the men's house. Our house again became a meeting place. And as this was of course an opportune time for interviewing, I joined the men in their club or entertained visitors at home. I began to see more of Champukwi—first, in the men's house and then as he again became a regular visitor at our house. Now, he brought his new (and younger) wife with him. He liked to sit up with us late at night after the other Tapirapé visitors had retired to their dwellings or to the men's house for the night-long sings that are customary during the season of heavy rains. Under the light of our gasoline lamp, we again took up our study of Tapirapé culture. Not once did he mention his period of antagonism except to complain that the Tapirapé gossip too much.

Sometime late in January there began what might be considered the second phase of my relationship with Champukwi. Our friendship was no less intimate than before, but our conversations and more formal interviews were not now as frequent. During the next months, Champukwi became almost my assistant, an entrepreneur of
115 Tapirapé culture. He continued to provide invaluable information,
123 but when I became interested in a subject of which he knew little,
124 he would recommend that I talk to someone else. Though he directed
756 me to Urukumu on the subject of medicine men or shamans, Cham-
[754] pukwi himself related dreams he had heard other shamans tell. He
[683] explained that he did not want to become a shaman himself, for he had seen grieved relatives beat out the brains of Tapirapé shamans whom they suspected of causing a death by sorcery. He was not cer-
[782] tain, he said, whether such shamans had actually performed sorcery;
[775] but he reasoned that any shaman might come to such an end.
[776] Champukwi did have the frequent dreams that are indicative of one's powers to become a shaman and, in some of his dreams, he saw *anchunga*, the ghosts and supernaturals who are the aids of shamans. He had told only one or two of his kinsmen about this, and he did not want it to be known throughout the village lest there be pressure on him to train for shamanism.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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**Champukwi of the Village of the Tapir.**

Champukwi sketched for me the stories of Petura, the Tapirapé ancestral hero who stole fire from the King Vulture, daylight from the night owl, *genipa* (used for dye) from the monkeys, and other items for the Tapirapé. However, he persuaded Maeumi, an elder famous for his knowledge of mythology, to relate the details although he himself helped considerably to clarify for me the meaning of native phrases and to make the stories told by Maeumi more fully understandable. Champukwi also forewarned me of events that I might want to witness, events that without his warning I might have missed. Such were the wrestling matches which took place upon the return of a hunting party between those men who went on the hunt and those who remained at home. He told me of a particularly handsome basket a man had made, which I might want to add to my collection for the Brazilian National Museum. He came to tell me that a young woman in a neighboring house was in labor, thus enabling me to get a photograph of the newborn infant being washed in the stream, and he urged the men to celebrate for my benefit a ceremony which might easily have been omitted. Champukwi was no longer merely an informant. He became a participant in ethnographic research although, of course, he never thought of it in these terms. He seemed somehow to understand the anthropologist's task in studying his culture, and in the process he gained considerable objectivity about his own way of life.

Yet it must be said that Champukwi did not seem to discredit the norms, institutions, and beliefs of his own people. Although he saw Valentim and me walk safely down the path through the forest late at night, he steadfastly refused to do the same; for the path was a favorite haunt of the lonely ghosts of deceased Tapirapé who might harm the living. He reasoned that the *tori* were probably immune to this danger. When he was ill, he took the pills we urged upon him but he also called in the shaman. His curiosity about airplanes, automobiles, and "gigantic canoes" (passenger boats) which he saw pictured in the magazines we had brought with us, was great; but he boasted that the Tapirapé could walk farther and faster than any *tori* or even the Caraja (who are a canoe people). In fact, his interest in, and enthusiasm for, certain Tapirapé activities seemed to be heightened by our presence. Almost all Tapirapé ceremonials involve choral singing and Champukwi was a singing leader of one of the sections of the men's societies. He was always pleased when

The glue is a resin (ykyryva in
301 Tapirapé) used by both sexes to anoint the body and hair. Once
237 crushed, it is mixed with peanut oil (chany). [Ed., the last two
[314] paragraphs of p. 130 and all but the last paragraph of p. 131 are
[381] omitted.]

[108:131] Larger feather ornaments are used by the Tapirapé, as a rule, only on festive occasions. The Tapirapé Kanchovanî, however, when I invited him to come with me to the Araguaia, showed me the large red macaw feathers that he intended to wear on his head upon reaching the Karajá villages. These are the
[171] feathers prized most highly both in his own tribe and among the shore dwellers of the big river. I never saw any Tapirapé use them aside from such occasions. [Ed., the remainder of p. 131 and the first half of p. 132 are omitted.]

[108:132] The circular feather headdress is of the greatest
292 importance to the Tapirapé. Referring to its use in the Thunder
796 ceremony, Wagley writes (4, 33-34 [Tr., in English at 4, 89-90]): "... each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate
[776] headdress--the ankungitána. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer. Without exception all who
292 wore the ankungitána, even Panterî and Urukumú, showed genuine
781 fear and fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder. Before a man could put the headdress on, a shaman waved it slowly before his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head,
[756] blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific 'heat.' When Urukumú wore the ankungitána, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circuit of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid, and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panterî. Panterî likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song, and when
787 he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of
776 Thunder. Later, Panterî [108:133] related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: 'I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They

787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
• 776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a topí). It wore a small
headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I
reached to pull out the lip plug (thus Panterí vanquished the topí),
but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panterí had not de-
feated the topí, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow).
I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three
days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the
[821] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is
big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers
of the red parrot. I saw many topí and many souls of shamans near
[775] [756] him. I did not talk but returned fast." He added later that if he
had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the
other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and
292 again a rare layman, wore the ankungitána, and people marveled
781 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the
courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also
to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days.
At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the
powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panterí grabbed
the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the
air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immedi-
ately, stricken by a panché-iúnwera. Urukumú picked up the
ankungitána. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants
with him."

825 I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized
most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of
[292] the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (ibid., Note 30) says in
[233] this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the
Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red
[821] feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told
[753] me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a
headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not
292 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated
285 by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. ibid., Fig. 1).
114 The figures in Wagley's work (ibid., Figs. 1-9) do not provide any
details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the
feathers. The frame (Photo. 15) that I acquired in Tampiitáua

372 Juruna [Yuruna] territory, called this habit of waving a burning
171 piece of wood to one side and another "the Indian way" in his diary. Among the Tapirapé, the burning sticks shaken in this
372 fashion serve as nocturnal protection against certain anchinga,
●776 that is to say, evil spirits. Hans Staden (p 4) also wrote of the
171 Tupinambá: "At night, when they must attend to their needs, they do not like to leave their houses without taking a light, for such is their fear of the devil called Ingange and frequently seen by them." According to Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 168), the fear of evil spirits (mauarí) impels the Tauliípáng to carry a burning stick when they leave the house at night.

In spite of the constant danger presented by the anchinga and
514 naturally also by the fearsome Kayapó neighbors, the Tapirapé never defecate near the house even at night, but go into the labyrinth of felled trunks lying between the village and the forest, far enough so the clean open spaces near the dwelling will not be soiled and the odor of the feces will not reach the house. The
[195] custom of retiring to a good distance for this purpose is embodied in the expression kaa-pe-pyá ("belly-to-the-woods"), or to translate it more freely, "I shall now take my belly toward the woods," a phrase with which every well-bred lady in Tampiitaua must announce to her housemates her intention to go and defecate.

When it comes to urinating, however, these women are not quite as formal. When we rose from a night session carried out in front of the house and presided over by Kamairahó, the moon was out and I could see dark spots on the ground where members of the female sex had been sitting. Without moving or showing the slightest sign of unrest, the ladies, young and old, who had been sitting around us, had urinated copiously while the great man and I aired the most profound mythological questions. Apparently, the wet spots on which they sat had not been overly unpleasant to them.

Naturally, a woman who is standing does not sit directly upon the ground, but squats, when she wishes to urinate. The men also adopt this position. There were some interesting endeavors at
177 cultural change in this respect, however. Once, some time after
514 my arrival in the village, while I urinated in the neighboring woods, I was surprised to see several young men imitate me by standing also. No sooner had they started out in this way, however,

its opening facing downward. As a result, it served us nicely to wash our clothes on. It had apparently been made just to pass the time and did not seem to have any further purpose. The Tapirapé do not usually travel in boats, differing in this respect from the Tupinambá and from most of the present-day Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 207-211), from the Xingu Indians (Von den Steinen 2, 234), and from the Karajá (Krause 2, 276), but not from the Kayapó (ibid., 393). The Chavante, who do not have canoes either, cross the Rio das Mortes on the crude rafts described by Szaffka. It is worth noting, however, that the Tapirapé retain the old Tupi word for "canoe," that is, yana, written yara by Stradelli and considered by him (715) "a contraction of y, 'water,' and iara, 'mistress,' 'mistress of the water.'" In any case, it is not impossible that the Tapirapé formerly possessed canoes for navigation.

As far as fishing is concerned, let us also mention Manggambí's "dream." The people of Tampiitaua often say that they dreamed of something which they actually suspect or know about. Manggambí was the fattest Tapirapé at the time of my visit. He dreamed of an abundance of fish at a specific spot in a certain stream, [112:62] which held so many fish that the anchinga would be able to eat them in large quantities. The name anchinga is applied not only to certain spirits, but also to the masked dancers who represent them. All the anchinga who inhabit the hills and waters feed on fish. This Tapirapé belief, incidentally, is a token of the importance of fishing. Manggambí said that "all" the men should go and fetch the fish he had dreamed of. What Tampiitaua regards as "all" the men did go. They were Manggambí himself and eight companions. When they returned, Manggambí held a large basket full of tiny fish, which were cooked and eaten shortly before dawn in the ceremonial house by the men and adolescents who had impersonated [in the dance] anchinga, chankuí [a bird], and irangchá [a fish]. [Ed., end of Vol. 112.]

[113:191] Although fishing is one of their chief means of subsistence, the Tapirapé cannot be regarded essentially as a fishing tribe, as their neighbors the Karajá might fittingly be described. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua do not lead the amphibian life of those big-river navigators. They are forest Indians and cultivators par excellence. In this respect, they remain typical Tupi Indians.

since the information provided by such dreams is readily accepted, they organize collective fishing trips. Fish constitutes their main source of animal fat and calcium. The calcium comes from the bones, [120:55] crumbled into a strongly spiced sauce, their favorite breakfast food. This is a cold dish, but the flesh of the fish is eaten on the previous day, good and hot, and invariably accompanied by manioc flour. I caused general amazement when I ate small roasted fish for the first time in Tampiitaua, and did so without manioc flour. My friend Vuanomanchi said that fish without flour is bad, gesticulated and spat as though he were smelling bad odor, and wanted to get up and fetch some of his own flour. A woman who was eating seated by my side immediately offered me hers. Of all the pictures in the zoological book that I showed them, it was always those of fish that aroused the greatest interest. The majority of the masked dances I witnessed dealt with fish, and there is an unmasked dance in which most of the text of the song consists of the word ypirá. It was this generic term for fish that I also heard almost invariably when I asked for the cause of a disease. This did not mean, however, that eating fish had been harmful to the sick person, but that a fish bone had been shot into his body as a magic projectile by an evil sorcerer. They also say that all the spirits of the hills and of the waters eat fish, and do not mention any other food for these spirits. Furthermore, as already stated at the beginning of this chapter, fish, along with manioc, is the only food included in the Tapirapé description of the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven that lies above our visible one. They do not fail to add that in this case "very fat fish" are involved. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Concerning head lice, I wish to mention in passing the fact that I never found any on my own body during my stays among various tribes, in spite of the fact that much lousy hair came in contact with mine and that I did not take any special preventive measures. The same proved to be the case among other Whites who stayed with South American Indians. I also know of a blond young man on whose head lice of the Krabo [Craho] Indians settled without biting.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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601 The kinship system is perhaps a more important factor in assuring
602 solidarity to the Tapirapé than either the societies or the household groups. Tapirapé kinship is bilateral: the chief principle of the system being that all persons of one generation who are related through either mother or father, no matter how distantly, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of persons calling each other siblings are also siblings. The mother's "sisters" are called mother and the father's "brothers", father. The mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, the children of a man's brothers are considered sons and daughters of the man himself, and the children of a woman's sisters are considered her children. Children of a man's sister or a woman's brother are given special terms.

The wide inclusiveness of these kinship affiliation makes it possible for an individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers — and in former days those of other villages — by terms of close relationship. Siblings are under obligation to lend aid to one another when it is needed and, in the case of sorcery, to avenge wrong done to any of them. The
[182] kinship system accordingly provides an important bond of solidarity within this society which lacks strong centralized control to hold it together.

## SOURCE OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

775 A multitude of spirits populate the unseen world of the Tapirapé.
776 These spirits, known by the generic term of ancinga (5), are of two general types: ghosts, *ancinga ãnuera*, the disembodied souls of the dead; and second, malevolent beings of many classes and descriptions. Ghosts inhabit abandoned village sites where they relive their earthly lives, yet frequently they travel about at night and, especially during the rainy season, they come near the village of the living, for "they are cold" and come near human habitations to get warm. People are accordingly afraid to venture beyond the village plaza at night. Now and again, ghosts appear to living people, frightening them, sometimes throwing a dust-like substance over them and causing them to fall insensible.

775 Several people fell from fright upon seeing a ghost during my
[181] visit. One woman saw a ghost "bathing in the stream" when she

(5) This is the *anhangá* or *aipiaba* of the Portuguese and French chroniclers who wrote about the Tupi.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



went to the small brook to drink water after dark. She said that the ghost approached and struck her. A man walking in his garden after dark saw the ghost of a known person, some years dead. "It was white and his eyes had fallen out. He still had some flesh and he had *urucú* in his hair" (6). Yet another man also met a ghost which was "white with big holes instead of eyes". Ghosts of individuals who have been dead many years "have no flesh; they have only bones". The ghosts that appear to the living follow the pattern of the gradual disintegration of the body. 775

Ghosts gather around a new grave to carry away the soul at time of burial; so they are especially dangerous to people at the time of funerals. When a Tapirapé dies, men carry machetes and mirrors to the wake for protection against the ghosts. If ghosts see their reflections in mirrors, they are frightened away. 775 764

The principal encounters of the Tapirapé with ghosts are in dreams. Dreamers sometimes visit them in their villages and at times learn from them new ceremonial songs which they hear in the traditional Tapirapé ceremonials that the ghosts continue to carry on after they have left the village of the living. 775 767

After an indeterminate period the ghosts themselves die and their spirits then become changed into animals. The spirit of the dead ghost of a man of prestige may become a toad (*Pipa pipa*); that of a common man a dove. Among the other animals into which spirits of dead ghosts become changed are frogs, deer, paca (*Cuniculus paca*). 775 825 [554]

Besides the ghosts there are an infinite number and many different species of *anãnga* of the demonic class, all generally living at a great distance deep in the forest. It is fortunate that their dwellings are so distant, for these creatures are very dangerous, killing Tapirapé whenever possible. In legendary times these demonic beings were more numerous than at present and killed many Tapirapé, but Waré, a powerful shaman and legendary hero, engaged in a constant warfare of wits with them and succeeded in killing many of them. He destroyed the dangerous *awakú anká* by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed far behind them as they walked through the forest. He also killed the *munpi anká*, the beings that clubbed men to death and drank their blood. 776 [773]

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(6) The Tapirapé paint the hair of a corpse with a thick coat of urucú in preparation for burial. [302 764]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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776 Some of these demons of the forest are now "pets" of the Tapirapé, and are no longer dangerous to them. The comparatively harmless *ancúnga*, in a sense domesticated by Tapirapé men, come at intervals throughout the year to live in the large central men's house. While an [535] *ancúnga* is inhabiting this ceremonial house, Tapirapé men sing and [530] dance with masks representing the visiting spirit (7).

756 Knowledge of the supernatural world is gained chiefly through the 787 dream experiences of shamans or *pancé*, for among the Tapirapé shamanistic power derives from dreams and from powers revealed in them. [078] Dreams are believed to be journeys. The *iungá*, the soul, may free itself [529] from the *eté*, the body, in sleep, and move freely in time and space. Obviously anyone may dream but frequent dreaming is evidence of shamanistic power. Laymen who dream very much are afraid, for they do not belong in this supernatural world, or they believe that they should become shamans.

Campukwi, who was not a shaman, indicated this fear in telling me his dream experience. When he saw dangerous *ancúnga* in his dream, he had no recourse but to run : "I am not a shaman. I was afraid. I ran. They would have killed me". Only shamans have the supernatural power to move freely in this dream-world of ghosts and demons. A shaman is never afraid in his dream travels, for ghosts are his friends and the power of a shaman grows in proportion as he fraternizes with the demonic spirits of the forest. After a dream-visit from a shaman, breeds of demonic spirits may become his familiars, obedient to his calls for aid. Turning himself into a bird or launching himself through the air in his "canoe" a half gourd, he travels to the villages of ghosts, to the houses of demonic spirits, or to such temporal places as the Brazilian settlements or Carajá villages on the Araguaya River. Then, too, time is no obstacle; in a sleep of a few minutes he may experience three or four days of dream adventure.

756 The dream experience of Ikanancowi, a powerful shaman who died 776 a few years before my visit, will illustrate these points. In his dream he 787 walked far to the shores of a large lake deep in the jungle. There he heard dogs barking and ran in the direction from which the noise came until he met several forest spirits of the breed called *manpi anká*. They

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[077] (7) The men's masked dance cult, kept as a secret from the women, is not [563] universally found among Tupi tribes. In this case it has obviously been borrowed from [777] the Tapirapé's neighbors, the Carajá.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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were tearing a bat out of a tree for food. These talked with Ikanancowi 756
and invited him to return to their village, which was situated upon the 776
lake. In the village he saw periquitos (Psittacidae) and many socó 787
(*Butorides* sp.), birds which they keep as pets. The *ancúnga* had several pots of *kaui* (8) and invited Ikanancowi to eat with them. He refused for he saw that their *kaui* was made from human blood. Ikanancowi watched one spirit drink of the *kaui* and saw him vomit blood immediately afterwards; the shaman saw a second spirit drink from another pot and immediately spurt blood from his anus. He saw the *munpi anká* vomit up their entrails and throw them upon the ground, but he soon saw that this was only a trick; they would not die, for they had more intestines. After this visit the *munpi anká* called Ikanancowi father and he called them his sons; he visited them in his dreams frequently and he had *munpi anká* near him always. When Ikanancowi danced and sang in [302
the annual shamanistic ceremony against Thunder (see page 84), he 796]
painted his chest and chin red with *urucu*, representing the *kaui* of blood which drools from the mouths of the *munpi anká* after they vomit and he called these spirits to his aid in his songs. Other shamans have had familiar spirits but none have had such dangerous spirits as the *munpi anká*: "people were very much afraid of Ikanancowi, for these *ancúnga* are very dangerous".

In another dream told to me a shaman met the forest spirits called *ovéya*. These have long hair wound in a mass on top of their heads and they carry one arrow for the bows with which they kill men. The *ovéya* were about to shoot the shaman, but when he shouted, "No, I am a shaman", they did not harm him. Instead they gave him food and helped him return through the deep forest to the village. Another shaman had *ancúnga aná awa* as his familiars. These forest demons have protruding eyes and sharp pointed chins. They kill Tapirapé by grabbing them from behind as they walk unsuspectingly through the forest, clapping their hands over the victim's mouth and driving their pointed chins into the back of his neck. A man caught by one of these *ancúnga* dies gurgling and staring, unable to speak; so, although found alive he may never explain what happened to him. A shaman with such dangerous familiars as these protects the laity by keeping his spirits under control.

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(8) *Kaui* is a thick soup-like drink prepared most usually from maize, sometimes from several kinds of manioc. It is never alcoholic among the Tapirapé. [272]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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756 One powerful shaman may have several demonic familiars and his
776 responsibility and prestige grow with their numbers and strength. Panteri,
787 perhaps the most powerful shaman living in 1940, had several beeds of familiars garnered from his dreams. He was, of course, accustomed to visiting the villages of ghosts and frequently saw and talked with ghosts in his nightly dreams. He had visited the *anapi ancúnga*, beings with huge penises with which they kill people by sodomy and by copulation. Panteri travelled once in his dreams over a high mountain ridge to the north of the Tapirapé country where he visited with the ghosts of the hostile Gê-speaking Kayapo. These enemy ghosts too became his familiars and he says that they will warn him if and when the living Kayapo plan to attack the Taparipé. Again, in one of his dreams, Panteri travelled two days through a thick forest through which no paths led. Suddenly he found himself at the mouth of the Tapirapé River where it runs into the Araguaya. Inside a near-by hill he visited *anacówa*, the large red parrot from which supernatural beings and the souls of dead shamans pluck their everlasting supply of red feathers for decoration (9).

[753] Panteri also visited the forest demons called *peropi awa*, who have the power to send fevers to the Tapirapé. About this visit to their "house" he related the following: "I saw many pets. They have periquitos, parrots, many pets... I had not seen them before. I saw there a paca. The paca was cold: it was shivering. The paca had fever [chills]. I knew that the Tapirapé would all have fever. I told many people that this would occur but there was nothing I could do about it". During his many dream travels Panteri has also visited Maratawa, the home of heroic ancestors and deceased shamans and he has looked down upon many Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya River.

756 There are certain of the shamans who are said to make frequent trips
787 to the sky in their "canoes" and to count powerful celestial phenomena
821 among their powers. The Milky Way was spoken of as the "Road of the *Pancé*". Once when comparing his powers with those of another shaman, a shaman told me that he dreamed only on earth level and so was not so powerful as the other who frequently travelled in the sky. The other, he said, "had visited *é éco*, the Pleiades, and *kopia xawana*,

(9) Ancestor heroes. Thunder as a supernatural, and souls of dead shamans are always described as having a plentiful supply of red feathers — something that a living Tapirapé envies.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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225 and they will fish only in shallow clear rapids. When they must swim
481 to catch turtles, a shaman guarantees their safety. A powerful shaman
756 dreams. He travels to the river, ties he jaws of the alligators with wires,
825 strikes the *piranha* across their teeth so they cannot bite, and ties up the large snakes into knots with their own tails.

756 The abundance of the food supply may also become the respon-
825 sibility of the shaman. Some powerful shamans have the ability to control the movements and the increase of the bands of pigs. These
[789] shamans visit in their dreams the "home of wild pigs" near the Tapi-
[103] rapé River on a hill called by them *Towaiyawá* — Ringed tail of the coati (*Nasua* sp.). There the shaman has sexual intercourse with female pigs, causing large increase in the bands. Those pigs that run fastest and are hardest to kill are these "children of the *pance*". The
[176] shaman's control over the movement of bands of pigs comes through his control over the *anciinga* called *ampukága* — "crying spirits". Wild pigs are said to be "pets" of these spirits and follow them about.
[324] Shamans who are powerful enough capture these spirits and take them, followed by their pets, to an appointed place where Tapirapé men wait to kill the pigs. None of the living shamans was believed to be capable of these controls over the wild pigs and several of the Indians blamed the recent lack of success of hunting expeditions and the apparent scarcity of pigs on the declining power of the shamans.

756 The dream journeys of the shamans also give them the power of
787 prophecy, as was indicated by Panteri's vision of the fever in the village of the *peropi ówa*. Such dream experiences are not limited to the demonic world but sometimes occur in other earthly regions. The shaman may visit Carajá villages or Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya, where he sometimes learns facts of great interest or importance to his fellow-tribesmen. When Panteri visited the Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya River for the first time, he said that he recognized faces that he saw for he had been to these places many times in his dream. When I returned to the Tapirapé village after three months' absence, one shaman claimed to have prophecied my arrival to the day. He had traveled in his dream, he said, to the Araguaya River and had seen my canoe moving up the Tapirapé River. Another in the same way foresaw the arrival of a young Tapirapé who was returning from se-

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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## THE THUNDER CEREMONY

[171] In common with many Tupi peoples the Tapirapé consider thunder as a powerful supernatural. He is called *Kanawana* by the Tapirapé. Kanawana lives in his house at Maratawa surrounded by his various supernumeraries. He has with him the souls of deceased Tapirapé shamans (*pancé-iánwera*), messengers called *awampewa* that carry news to these *pancé iánwera*, and finally, *topí* (28).

*Topí* are described as small anthropomorphic beings about the size of a man's hand. Their bodies are covered with downy white hair, and they wear European beads, little headdresses of parrot feathers, and lip plugs. They travel with great swiftness through the air small "canoes", which are only halves of gourds, and they carry with them red feathers and beads to use as arrows to shoot at Tapirapé. Sometimes *topí* are referred to as "pets" of Thunder and sometimes as his children: but in any case, they are many and do his bidding.

Each year in approximately late December and January, when there are heavy thunder showers, lightning, and strong winds, the Tapirapé believe that Thunder is angry. The noise of the storm is the rumbling of his *topí's* canoes and the lightning is their speeding arrows. Once, when a strong wind ripped off part of the roof of a house, Tapirapé men were frightened because they knew that *pancé-iánwera* sent by Thunder had caused the wind. At this time each year shamans "call Thunder" and match their powers against him. In frenzied intoxication from gulping tobacco smoke, constant singing and dancing, they fall into trances during which they travel to the house of Thunder. Shamans and the courageous laymen who take part in this ceremony are struck down by *topí's* arrows and fall writhing upon the ground. Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies against Thunder and his beings.

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(28) *Topí* is obviously the Tapirapé equivalent of *Tupan*, the word recorded as used by the Tupinambá and other coastal Tupí. Among the coastal Tupí *Tupan* was the supernatural being who caused the thunder and lightning. Tupan was so important that the early Catholic missionaries used the word for God. See Alfred Métraux's, 1928, *La Religion des Tupinambá*, pages 52-56. Paris. Note, however, that among the Tapirapé *topí* are merely creatures of Thunder.

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787 other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw
796 Thunder; he is big and his body is covered with white hair. He had
[796] many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topi and many souls of
[796] shamans near him. I did not talk but returned fast". He added later
that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other-world; he would have died.

796 A few novices, and now and again a rare layman, wore the headdress and people marveled at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it.

796 The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown
786 phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days of the ceremony. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panteri grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a *pancé-ãnwera*. Urukumu picked up the headdress. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him. The two young boys, as before, ran through the circle of houses at the end of the day's ceremony, but this time they carried both the rattles and the headdress. The participants, on regaining consciousness, returned singing to their houses.

796 On the fourth and last day of the ceremony, an additional ceremony followed the usual evening performance. As the ceremony ended, the two strong shamans walked out of the house to the dance ground, taking the rattles and the headdress. There they and several others re-enacted, but with less violence, the ceremony just completed in the dwelling house. Following this perfomance, all the men of the village gathered, facing north "toward the house of Thunder", and Panteri walked across the plaza away from the group, toward the north, shak-
[788] ing the rattles over his head. Returning to the group, he touched several men on the head with the rattles, much as a priest performs a blessing with a crucifix. He repeated this performance until finally all the men who had taken any part in the ceremony had received this "blessing". Women, then children, came forward to be touched with the rattles. Thus they were freed of danger from Thunder. After this, I was told, Thunder goes far away to his house until next year.

[533] That evening men sang the songs of the *ancãnga aiwiró*, the spirits
533 that come to live in the dance house after Thunder has gone. Late
796

264 [92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of
574 various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets.
476 These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kãũãnõĩ, owing to
their small numbers, had joined the Ãvãinkĩ' to form a single group.
All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group.
[262] There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce
and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of kará [Tr.,
a kind of yam], peanut kãũĩ, etc. Before that, there was a great
431 distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom
574 he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such
[622] as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of
this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better
[177] use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay
264 the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted to-
476 gether, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they
574 pleased. Kamairahó, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk
[554] of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother.
123 We called each other "Txankanépéra," and Ampitánya, his little
adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Ané Txankané-
[597] péra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other
groups also called me "Txankanépéra," and I called them by the name
of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

264 [93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that
574 there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots
535 and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The
plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the
● [776] good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kãũihó and
vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness,
132 the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season
with its "good shadows," summer.

574 They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they
796 also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tãtãupãũã of an
224 eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Ãvãinkĩ' had killed
264 with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting
476 the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group.
574 In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts
[462]

264 476 however, is totally different from that of the tãtáupáũã. It is not a group organization for consumption, but for production. For this reason, also, the feasts in specific groups associated with this institution are merely accessory.

The social significance of apatxirũ resides in the possibility of sharing a collective task in such a way that no member of the tribe will [461] feel discredited by an unfair assignment. This is done by turning work into a festive occasion and a sports competition.

"When there is a lot of water everywhere in the rainy season, the [776] [291] ãũvanaí 'shadows' live in the takána. Their headdress and breechcloth are of muriti leaves, but their headdress does not have any macaw [535] feathers. [96] They dance through the entire rainy season. At that time, there are no other 'shadows' (antxíná) but them. Unlike other 'shadows,' these do not live in the hills or in the waters, but only in the takána. They do not sing, but only grunt in a low voice. During [261] the moons of the great rains, the belly does not get as full as during the dry season. But the ãũvanaí have to eat. Then they go to the gardens and 'steal.' They take what they stole to the takána, where they eat it. In the apatxirũ, we prepare the gardens where they seek their food. They 'steal' only from those gardens that are prepared for them alone. The ãũvanaí are not evil. All Tapirapé men are ãũvanaí.

Such is, in summary, the information I received when I asked the purpose of the common gardens prepared in the apatxirũ.

For the apatxirũ, all Tapirapé men are divided into three work-groups called vuĩra. The word vuĩra means "bird," and the name of [551] each group designates a mythical bird which is represented not only by the group as a whole but by each of its individual members. They are called Tãnãvé, Anantxã, and Vuirantxinió.

The Tãnãvé group was the smallest one at the time of my visit, [624] but it included the individuals of highest social status: the principal chief, Kamairahó; the second chief, Vũãtanamĩ´; the chief and most [123] eminent sorcerer--medicine man, Urukumĩ´; and myself. (Naturally, Kamairahó stated immediately that I would be a Tãnãvé like himself.)

[97] Each of the three work groups has two leaders called ãntaĩva. 264 The ãntaĩva of the Tãnãvé were Vũãtanamĩ´ and Urukumĩ´. (Although 622 Kamairahó was also a Tãnãvé, he seemed to be the head of all three 476 groups in his capacity as principal chief. He is also the only one whose 651 private plot is prepared by the village inhabitants as a collective endeavor, while the private plots of other tribal members are prepared

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823 memorate the spot where he had eaten plentifully of fish. The Tapirape
772 view of the world is an expanding one; the people are eager to acquire more knowledge, as is attested by their numerous questions about one's home and one's people, about the sea, the mountains, and distant places.

773 In point of time, the Tapirape consider the present as the third world. Twice people were destroyed, once by flood and once by universal fire. Before these catastrophes, there were pre-Tapirape called Karanjuntuwera. These people lacked the many refinements which were later brought to the Tapirape by their culture heroes. They ate several varieties of wild seeds, they did not have maize, manioc or any modern garden plants, and they lacked the bow and arrow. The Tapirape are not certain whether the Karanjuntuwera lived before or after the flood, but when the great deluge came, one man and one woman climbed a small palm tree which grew as rapidly as the water rose, carrying them above the flood. After they had been there some time the man began to spear fish and snakes[3] which swarmed in the waters, using the long narrow palm leaves as spears. As he killed a fish or snake, the waters gradually diminished and finally ran back into the river-beds.

Four ancestors escaped the second destruction[4] of people—the universal fire. These ancestors took the form of birds: there were two *jacu* which were men, and one periquito and one *mutum*, both women.[5] These escaped underground and from the union of the two couples came "men" or *ampa*
[101] *aura*, as modern Tapirape call themselves.[6]

"Culture heroes" were primarily instrumental in making the Tapirape
773 world what it is. When and in what order these heroes came is not stated.
●776 Among them was Petura, a supernatural ancestor and great trickster. He stole fire from the vultures, day or dawn from the night owls, and *genipa*[7] from monkeys. These he brought as gifts to the Tapirape. Finally Petura
776 went far to the northeast "where the earth ends and water begins" to live
[775] in Maratawa,[8] the home of all Tapirape culture heroes, of shamans after
[756] death, and of the sun and the moon. There he lives today. He never dies,

[3] From these primordial flood snakes, say the Tapirape, descended their neighbors and enemies, the Carajá. "They (the snakes) had circles under their eyes" (the tribal face tattooing of Carajá).

[4] The sequence of fire and flood does not seem to be clear in legends. Two informants placed the fire before the flood. People during both epochs are spoken of as Karanjuntuwera.

[136] [5] *Jacu*: edible forest fowl, about the size of a large chicken, genus *Penelope*, several species. Periquito: *Pyrrhura vittata*. *Mutum*: *Crax lecto*r.

[6] See Baldus, Herbert, Ensaio de Etnologia Brasileira, pp. 207-219.

[7] *Genipa rubiacea* or *Genipa americana*: fruit from which black body dye is made.

[823] [8] Several informants described Maratawa as an island. To the Tapirape, the lighted sky is encircled by black sky and on all sides below the edges of the lighted sky "where the black sky begins", the earth ends and water begins. Thus earth is a large island surrounded by water on all sides. The Tapirape are quite willing to grant, however, that beyond this water may be another earth.

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but lives and re-lives his life cycle as the cycle of the seasons. In the early 776
rains of October to January, Petura is a small boy. During the heavy rains 132
of January to March, he is an adolescent youth. He is a young warrior as the rains diminish in April to June, and as the year draws to its close for the Tapirape during the remaining dry months, Petura becomes old. Then as the year begins again with the first refreshing rains of October, he begins a new life cycle. This is the agricultural year for the Tapirape. They plant when he is young (October) and harvest as he matures (in May and [221]
June).

Petura was not the only hero who benefited the Tapirape. To the "home 773
of the gods" travelled Tomatociri and Mukwura II, other ancestor heroes, in search of their father Mukwura. There Mukwura gave his son, Tomatociri, the bow and arrow which he brought back to the Tapirape. There, [176]
too—and this is typical of Tapirape readjustment to newly-learned knowledge—the younger brother Mukwura II was given fire arms which he transmitted to his descendants, the Europeans or Tori.[9]

Shamans are equated with these ancestor heroes. If shamans die a non- 756
violent death, they go immediately to Maratawa where they live plenti- 775
fully supplied with food, tobacco, and all aids to the good life. If they die 772
violently, however (i.e., are suspected of sorcery and killed by the Tapirape) they go to another home of shamans in the west. This is the "house [821]
of the winds" where the heavy winds blowing from the southwest come during the late dry season. They are given an artificial face, and they stay here until they heal before going east to join their companions in Maratawa. Only shamans and culture heroes continue after life in the form that [776]
they had on earth.

It is chiefly through shamans that the Tapirape know of the sun, moon 756
and other heavenly bodies. A shaman had seen the sun "close by." The 821
sun, he said, is an old man with no hair on his head. He travels through the heavens wearing a large head-dress of red parrot feathers, and since red parrot feathers are "hot," the head-dress gives off heat. Each night, after limping through his daily orbit (for the "sky is rough" and the sun continually has thorns in his feet) he returns underground to the east to his house at Maratawa.[10] There he eats very little and in a short time sets out again. The morning after Wantanamu, a shaman, had died, several Tapirape saw that the sun was red; it was very "hot" and angry because a shaman had died.

821

As the sun is male, so the moon is female. Both are thought of as people, 776

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[9] I was unable to get the original of this story before the obvious change was made to make it fit with new conditions. It is similar, however, to a Tupinambá story recorded by Thevet and quoted by Métraux (*ibid.*, p. 12), which tells of Arawete and Tamendonare, twin sons of Sumaé. [171]

[10] See Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 14, for Sipaia version.

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776 and in myth the sun is called Ancerika and the moon Tamparawa, both
821 names of people. According to the Tapirape, the moon is sister to the sun
773 and is married to Anchopeteri, a culture hero who was instrumental in
776 dividing all birds into two groups,[11] and who taught Tapirape how to
821 wrestle and sing many songs. Because of sexual misbehavior, Sun is said to have slapped Moon full in the face with his hand which was wet with black *genipa* dye, thus the marks on the face of the moon are explained.

Two large planets were formerly Tapirape culture bearers. Apuwenonu[12] (Venus) came down from the sky one night after having watched Anuntero, a Tapirape woman, for a long time, and lived with the Tapirape. At night he was a young man, husband of Anuntero, but by day he appeared to people as a decrepit old man. He taught Anuntero how to plant cotton and how to spin. He taught the Tapirape[13] how to plant their modern garden products, maize, manioc, *cara*, yams. Finally Apuwenonu returned to the sky, taking with him his earthly son by Anuntero who is called Imauawango (Jupiter). Today, the Tapirape point to these two planets, recounting their story and saying, "Apuwenonu is young at night when he is in the sky, but by day he is old again as he was when he left us."

Many other constellations are known, but of importance in story are
821 possibly only that called by the Tapirape "the jaguar,"[14] and the Pleiades.[15]
787 One shaman told me that he had travelled (in dreams) to visit this jaguar. He was "friendly" with it, he said, and if he should be killed, the jaguar of the sky would send many real jaguars to prey upon the Tapirape. "Men would be afraid to step into the forest at night." The jaguar had become one of his retinue of familiar powers which would aid him in struggles with other shamans.

821 The Pleiades are important calendrically. They are watched anxiously
805 and impatiently as the rains diminish, and their disappearance over the
796 western horizon in May signals the end of the rains. This is the time for

[616] [581] [825] [11] At the present time men's moieties are divided into three age grades. Each age grade of each moiety carries the name of a bird: one being species of small *papagaio*, and the other species of white water birds. According to myth, these groups derived from similar divisions of the bird world in which Anchopeteri lived.

[171] [12] This is probably identical with Monan (or Maire-monan, according to Métraux), civilizing god of Tupinamba, who created earth, people, birds and animals, and finally taught the Tupinamba to distinguish useful plants. He was put to death by men, at which time he was transformed into a star "with two of his companions." Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 11.

[13] One text calls them Karajuntawera (pre-Tapirape) at this time (see p. 254).

[171] [14] Ancient Guarani said that there was a very large tiger or dog which on certain occasions ate the sun and moon, causing an eclipse. Apapocuva-Guarani speak of a celestial jaguar; and the Chaco from Chiriguano explain the eclipse in this same manner. Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 9n.

[171] [15] "Les Pleiades paraissaient avoir fait chez les Tupinamba l'objet de croyances particulières. Ils avaient notamment la conviction qu'elles favorisaient la croissance du manioc." Métraux, *Religion des Tupinamba*, p. 51.

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the largest ceremonial of the year which marks the beginning of the dry 805
season and the harvest. Similarly, the position of the Pleiades is noted to 821
date the many ceremonies of the heavy rainy period (November to April). [796]
One shaman had visited the Pleiades, and they, too, can be counted upon
as a familiar power. The Milky Way is often referred to as the "path of the [787]
shaman," it is a well-beaten road over which the shaman travels through
the sky in his dreams.

In common with many Tupi peoples, nothing in the realm of natural [171]
phenomena is as important to the Tapirape as thunder. Among most Tupi, 821
Tupan is a god or an ancestor identified with thunder. He causes the 776
rumbling of thunder and flashes of lightning. Among the Tapirape, how-
ever, Thunder[16] is a separate entity, a supernatural who has many "crea-
tures" or *topii*. *Topii* are described as small beings about a hand's length in
size, with white hairy down over their bodies, and wearing a small head- [177]
dress of red parrot feathers, European beads, and a lip plug. Small wax
dolls are made in imitation of them. They travel through the sky in small [532]
"canoes," especially when there are strong wind and electric storms, and
they carry red wild flowers with which they shoot Tapirape in the stomach.
These arrows are hot "like fire." Sometimes *topii* are called "pets" of
Thunder, and again they are referred to as his "children." In addition to [775]
*topii*, Thunder has other supernumeraries, the souls of dead shamans, who [756]
live in the house of Thunder, commonly thought to be near Maratawa on
the summit of a large mountain.

Each year when approaching rains bring heavy thunder storms, light-
ning and strong winds, Thunder sends forth his beings. The noise of the
storm is caused by rumbling of *topii's* canoes, and flashes of lightning are
their speeding arrows. To protect the Tapirape, and also their gardens, 756
from the storm, shamans[17] "call Thunder," or "fight with *topii*." In a four- 796
day ceremony characterized by genuine fear, shamans gulp tobacco smoke 821
until they are ill and intoxicated, they sing "calling Thunder to come," and 776
chant until they "see" one or more *topii*, or souls of dead shamans,[18] fight
with them, and are struck down by their arrows. A shaman who fights a
*topii* tries to grab its small feather head-dress, take away its bow, or yank
out its lip plug, its most vulnerable feature.

Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies of fighting Thunder.
When a shaman is shot by *topii*, he falls screaming upon the ground, [781]
writhing and shaking, and then becomes unconscious. If men are not near

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[16] Thunder referred to as Kanawana (direct translation) is said to be called Pururuka, his personal name.

[17] Laymen and neophytes who have sufficient courage may also participate.

[18] In conversation and in song, there is confusion between these beings. Although the above distinctions are definitely made, they are often referred to interchangeably. For example, a Tapirape may say, "*topii* cause lightning," or "Thunder is angry and makes lightning."

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756 to hold him, he may run wild through the village destroying property and
796 endangering people. To bring him back, smoke must be blown over him
821 by a shaman. While he is unconscious, he dreams and travels, sometimes
776 visiting the house of Thunder.
[781]

"I smoked much and then I smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun and it came
787 toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They came and they left. I saw
756 Thunder. It was small and came (to the house) in a small canoe. It was Thunder's
child (a *topii*). It wore a small headdress of parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug.
821 I reached to pull out the lip plug but it left." [The shaman did not conquer the *topii*
772 and he was shot down by an arrow while he was unconscious] . . . "all was dark.
776 I saw many suns. I travelled singing as I walked. I spent three days walking. I climbed
a large mountain on the other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes
up. I saw Kanawana. He was big and his body was covered with much hair. He had
many red parrot feathers. There were many *topii* and many souls of shamans. I did
not talk but came back." [If he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have stayed
(died), but he was properly treated with tobacco smoke and returned to consciousness.]

775 Through shamans and legends of culture heroes, the Tapirape know,
too, of the multitude of "spirits" (*anchunga*) which populate the unseen
world. These are of two general types: true spirits, disembodied souls of
deceased Tapirape;[19] and demons or malevolent beings of many classes.
[787] Shamans are accustomed to seeing true spirits in their dreams. These gen-
[756] erally inhabit abandoned village sites, where they re-live their earthly lives.
When they die—the second death—they become frogs, deer, *pucu* and
doves. Thus the toad is the spirit of a chief; the dove and *jacu* are spirits
[825] of men.[20] These ghosts cannot harm shamans who are accustomed to see-
[756] ing them, but sometimes the spirits attack and strike down defenseless
laymen.[21] They also cluster around a man's bier to carry off the soul as
soon as the body is buried.

There are infinite numbers of "spirits" of the individualized demoniac
776 class. Of these, some are "pets" which are not very dangerous, and which
[794] are represented by men in the mask dance cult.[22] Other species are very
dangerous, but these are no longer seen by the layman. Formerly, these
773 were numerous, and killed many Tapirape, but Ware, a culture hero and
776 powerful shaman, fought them and killed many. A man now points to the

[19] Speaking of Tupinamba, Métraux makes these same two categories of "supernatural beings" (*ayguan*, *aguin*, *ingange* and *anhanga*), *ibid.*, p. 51.
[171]

[20] Animals which have, or are, spirits can be grouped together. These are tabu to some age
825 and sex groups, in a complicated dietary system.
[263]

[21] Dogs can see spirits. When a dog howls, Tapirape say, "He sees *anchunga* but we can't."

[22] At one time women may have been frightened by these "dangerous" spirits, but certainly at present everything in the men's cults is known to women, and they do not even pretend to be frightened.

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A man now points to the
southwestern horizon and says, "Ware killed all spirits there; they are only 773
spirit souls now." (To the north and east, however, many demon spirits 776
are still alive and active.) Ware engaged in a constant battle of wits with [823]
the spirit world. He killed many of the dangerous variety by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed behind them, and he also killed off another group of beings which clubbed men to death and drank their blood.

Sometimes shamans (*panche*) see malevolent beings in their dream 756
travels, and may even become friendly with them or receive their aid. For 776
example, one shaman told of wandering far in an unknown forest as he 787
dreamed, and of coming upon the spirits called *oreya*, who have long hair wound in a mass, and who carry only one arrow with which they can kill a man. They were about to shoot him but he shouted "No, I am a shaman!" and they left him alone, gave him food and aided him to return. Only shamans can have such relations with these supernaturals. Tapirape laymen are afraid to dream.

The shaman is indispensable to Tapirape living, not only because he has 756
dealings with the spirit world, and through his wanderings enriches the 842
knowledge of men, but also because he is of value in many practical ways. Thus he controls the pregnancy of women. Pregnancy is known to relate to sexual intercourse, but conception comes only when a shaman brings a child to a woman. Thunder, and several types of birds, animals and fish, [825]
have "children," that is, spirits of children. The shaman brings one of these "spirits" to a woman, putting it inside her while she sleeps. A woman who wants a child can, for example, bring honey to a shaman. This will make [787]
him dream, and he will bring her a child. Similarly, a barren woman presumably "had quarrelled much with the shaman."

When Tapirape swim, while fishing and shooting large turtles in the 756
Tapirape River, their safety depends upon the shaman. In this section of 825
Brazil, rivers are full of alligators, *piranha* (carnivorous fish) and sting 751
rays, and according to Tapirape belief, large snakes lurk in deep pools. [481]
Before men may swim safely the shaman must tie the jaws of the alligators, strike the *piranha* across their teeth so they will not bite, and tie up the tails of the large snakes. When Tapirape go hunting, it is up to the [224]
shaman to tell them where packs of wild pigs will be found, or to lead them down to a good spot in the plains country.[23] Danger may lurk in all food; thus Tapirape often take new corn, fresh meat, or any food, to have danger "blown" out of it by the shaman.

The universe for the Tapirape is not finite or entirely known; it is 772
dangerous. Tales of culture heroes and experiences of shamans provide a 756
773

[23] When the Tapirape have made kills of wild pigs, which are "pets" of Thunder he will [821]
be angry and send a sudden rain or clouding of the sky. If a Tapirape sees an unexpected [776]
rainbow in the sky he will say, "The shaman has been successful against Thunder" (i.e., in finding game).

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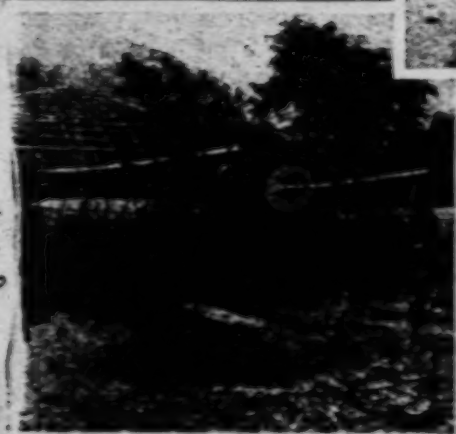

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PLATE 19.—Tapirapé ceremonies and house construction. *Top, left:* Youth in preparation for puberty ceremony. The large, heavy headdress of macaw feathers will be supported by the lock of hair wrapped in cotton cord. *Top, right:* Shaman wearing dangerous ceremonial headdress during Thunder ceremony. He is intoxicated by tobacco and is a trance state. *Below, left:* Construction of man's house. *Below, right:* Dance masks representing the "Crying Spirit," one of many forest spirits who are said to come to stay for a time in the man's ceremonial house. (Courtesy Charles Wagley.)

[p. 170 A]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



276 756 by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

423 249 The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

272 [273] No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

## RELIGION

771 *Tapirapé* religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, anĉunga (spirit or shadow).

775 The anĉunga iĩnwera, human spirits or ghosts (aña or anhanga among the *Tupinambá*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

[825] Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls [756] of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

776 In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called anĉunga, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Waré, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many anĉunga, among whom were the awakú anká, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mumplanká were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the [535] *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, [532] *bottom, right*).

**Rites.**—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people 796 are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (anĉunga) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest [241] ceremonial (kaô) and the ceremony of kawi (a soupilke beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

241 756 In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



are called upon to fight Thunder. This, the important *Tapirapé* ceremony, lasts for 4 days, and is the high point of shamanistic activity. 241 756

Kanawana, the Thunder, lives on distant Maratawa surrounded by the souls of dead shamans and by the topü (probably equivalent to the *Tupinamba* word, "tupan"), small anthropomorphic beings whose bodies are covered with white hair. 776

The topü travel through space in their canoes (half gourds), the sound of which produces the noise of the storm. The arrows which the topü shoot cause lightning. During the ceremony, the shamans, completely intoxicated by the tobacco and stimulated by the unceasing dancing and singing, fall into a trance (pl. 19, *top, right*) during which they travel to Thunder's house in order to fight him. Thunder sets the topü against the shamans, who, wounded by the arrows of "Thunder's creatures," fall into unconsciousness. [821] [781] [276] [756]

## SHAMANISM

The *Tapirapé* can visualize the supernatural world through the reports of the dreams of their shamans, whose power grows in proportion to their ability to dream. A dream is a voyage, during which the soul frees itself of the body and travels through space. In these dreams the shamans travel to regions which are entirely unknown to the living, and in general are inhabited by spirits. With their powers, the shamans succeed in taming some of the spirits, who then become their familiar spirits. The power and prestige of the shaman (pané) depend on the number of his familiar spirits. 756 787 [774]

The *Tapirapé* speak of battles between shamans wherein each calls out his familiar spirits against the other while dreaming. More often, a shaman sets his familiar spirits upon laymen and kills them. A shaman may also kill his victim during a dream by throwing a malignant object, usually a piece of bone or a worm, into his body. 754 756

The victims of sorcery appeal to friendly shamans, who attempt to cure them by extracting the malignant object by suction, massage, and blowing tobacco. When many deaths occur simultaneously and the *Tapirapé* suspect a certain shaman of having caused them, they do not hesitate to kill him. One man recalled that during his lifetime 10 shamans suspected of sorcery had been killed. He himself had killed a shaman whom he suspected of having killed his brother. In spite of the constant suspicion surrounding them, the shamans do not employ mechanical techniques or sympathetic magic in sorcery. 754 [755] 683 755 276

The shamans make great use of tobacco, which is essential for healing and dreaming. They smoke it in large tubular clay pipes. Cures usually take place at dusk. The shaman squats by the patient's hammock and smokes for a long time, becoming intoxicated and blowing the smoke from the pipe over the patient's body. He then massages the patient,

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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Charles Wagley

115 When the heavy rains of late December and January set in, we
123 were all more or less confined to the village as the rivers and streams
124 rose to flood the savanna. What had been brooks in the tropical
[132] forest became wide streams, difficult, and sometimes dangerous, to
[133] ford. It rained many hours each day. The Tapirapé women and children spent most of the time in their dwellings, and the men and older boys lounged in the men's house. Our house again became a meeting place. And as this was of course an opportune time for interviewing, I joined the men in their club or entertained visitors at home. I began to see more of Champukwi—first, in the men's house and then as he again became a regular visitor at our house. Now, he brought his new (and younger) wife with him. He liked to sit up with us late at night after the other Tapirapé visitors had retired to their dwellings or to the men's house for the night-long sings that are customary during the season of heavy rains. Under the light of our gasoline lamp, we again took up our study of Tapirapé culture. Not once did he mention his period of antagonism except to complain that the Tapirapé gossip too much.

Sometime late in January there began what might be considered the second phase of my relationship with Champukwi. Our friendship was no less intimate than before, but our conversations and more formal interviews were not now as frequent. During the next months, Champukwi became almost my assistant, an entrepreneur of
115 Tapirapé culture. He continued to provide invaluable information,
123 but when I became interested in a subject of which he knew little,
124 he would recommend that I talk to someone else. Though he directed
756 me to Urukumu on the subject of medicine men or shamans, Cham-
[754] pukwi himself related dreams he had heard other shamans tell. He
[683] explained that he did not want to become a shaman himself, for he had seen grieved relatives beat out the brains of Tapirapé shamans whom they suspected of causing a death by sorcery. He was not cer-
[782] tain, he said, whether such shamans had actually performed sorcery;
[795] but he reasoned that any shaman might come to such an end.
[796] Champukwi did have the frequent dreams that are indicative of one's powers to become a shaman and, in some of his dreams, he saw *anchuwepa*, the ghosts and supernaturals who are the aids of shamans. He had told only one or two of his kinsmen about this, and he did not want it to be known throughout the village lest there be pressure on him to train for shamanism.

The glue is a resin (ykyryva in
301 Tapirapé) used by both sexes to anoint the body and hair. Once
237 crushed, it is mixed with peanut oil (chany). [Ed., the last two
[314] paragraphs of p. 130 and all but the last paragraph of p. 131 are
[381] omitted.]

[108:131] Larger feather ornaments are used by the Tapirapé, as a rule, only on festive occasions. The Tapirapé Kanchovanî, however, when I invited him to come with me to the Araguaia, showed me the large red macaw feathers that he intended to wear on his head upon reaching the Karajá villages. These are the
[171] feathers prized most highly both in his own tribe and among the shore dwellers of the big river. I never saw any Tapirapé use them aside from such occasions. [Ed., the remainder of p. 131 and the first half of p. 132 are omitted.]

[108:132] The circular feather headdress is of the greatest
292 importance to the Tapirapé. Referring to its use in the Thunder
796 ceremony, Wagley writes (4, 33-34 [Tr., in English at 4, 89-90]): "...: each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate
[796] headdress--the ankungitána. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer. Without exception all who
292 wore the ankungitána, even Panterî and Urukumú, showed genuine
●781 fear and fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder. Before a man could put the headdress on, a shaman waved it slowly before
[756] his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific 'heat.' When Urukumú wore the ankungitána, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circuit of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid, and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panterî. Panterî likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the
787 headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song, and when he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of
786 Thunder. Later, Panterî [108:133] related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: 'I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They

787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a topī). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus Panterí vanquished the topī), but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panterí had not defeated the topī, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow). I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the
[821] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topī and many souls of shamans near
[775] [756] him. I did not talk but returned fast.' He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and
292 again a rare layman, wore the ankungitána, and people marveled
●781 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also *to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days.* At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panterí grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a panché-iũnwera. Urukumũ picked up the ankungitána. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him."

825 I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of
[292] the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (ibid., Note 30) says in
[237] this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red
[821] feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told
[753] me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not
292 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated
285 by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. ibid., Fig. 1).
114 The figures in Wagley's work (ibid., Figs. 1-9) do not provide any details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the feathers. The frame (Photo. 15) that I acquired in Tampiitáua

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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601 The kinship system is perhaps a more important factor in assuring
602 solidarity to the Tapirapé than either the moieties or the household groups. Tapirapé kinship is bilateral: the chief principle of the system being that all persons of one generation who are related through either mother or father, no matter how distantly, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of persons calling each other siblings are also siblings. The mother's "sisters" are called mother and the father's "brothers", father. The mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, the children of a man's brothers are considered sons and daughters of the man himself, and the children of a woman's sisters are considered her children. Children of a man's sister or a woman's brother are given special terms.

The wide inclusiveness of these kinship affiliation makes it possible for an individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers — and in former days those of other villages — by terms of close relationship. Siblings are under obligation to lend aid to one another when it is needed and, in the case of sorcery, to avenge wrong done to any of them. The
[182] kinship system accordingly provides an important bond of solidarity within this society which lacks strong centralized control to hold it together.

## SOURCE OF SHAMANISTIC POWER

775 A multitude of spirits populate the unseen world of the Tapirapé.
776 These spirits, known by the generic term of *ancũnga* (5), are of two general types: ghosts, *ancũnga iãnuera*, the disembodied souls of the dead; and second, malevolent beings of many classes and descriptions. Ghosts inhabit abandoned village sites where they relive their earthly lives, yet frequently they travel about at night and, especially during the rainy season, they come near the village of the living, for "they are cold" and come near human habitations to get warm. People are accordingly afraid to venture beyond the village plaza at night. Now and again, ghosts appear to living people, frightening them, sometimes throwing a dust-like substance over them and causing them to fall insensible.

775 Several people fell from fright upon seeing a ghost during my
[181] visit. One woman saw a ghost "bathing in the stream" when she

(5) This is the *ankangá* or *agnan* of the Portuguese and French chroniclers who wrote about the Tupi.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



that same evening the men danced single file over the circuit, starting from the large house where the principal ceremonies had been held. As they danced, they sang that Thunder had gone and all was safe again (31).

During the four-day period of the combat against Thunder and his creatures sexual intercourse had been taboo; but on the night after Thunder leaves "all Tapirapé will have intercourse with their wives and many women will become pregnant". Traditionally, women are freer with their favours for a few days after this ceremony. People, however, sometimes break the taboo against sexual intercourse during the period of Thunder's visit and so bring trouble on themselves and their tribe. Pasteri reported: "I was weak when I returned from Thunder's house. Many mosquitos drank my blood on the road. This was because Tapirapé men were with their wives. I dreamed that night and saw many Tapirapé having intercourse and knew that Tapirapé would be bitten by many mosquitos when they called Thunder".

## CONCLUSIONS

It is apparent that in studying Tapirapé shamanism we are concerned with patterns which are part of a deep-seated New World shamanistic complex found widespread in both North and South America — from the Eskimo to the Ona and Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego. Among the Tupi-guarani peoples, however, shamanism has been an unusual factor in their cultural history. Dr. Alfred Métraux has shown that the numerous and distant migrations of Tupi-Guarani tribes in post-Columbian times were frequently instigated my powerful shamans (32).

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(31) During this serpent dance, one may steal of corn which are hanging from rafters in the houses through which they pass. Youngsters did steal some corn and women ran after them trying to get it back. There was now much gaiety and laughter.

(32) "Seules la vénération et l'autorité dont ces magiciens bénéficiaient, peuvent expliquer la facilité avec laquelle des tribus entières ont consenti à abandonner leurs villages et leur territoire à la recherche d'un pays paradis fabuleux" (in Alfred Métraux. 1931. "Les hommes-dieux chez les Chiriguano et dans l'Amérique du Sud", in *Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán*. T. II. p. 66).

See also the same author's: 1927. "Les migrations historiques des Tupy-Guarany" in *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*. Nouvelle Série. T. XIX.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



171 In another study, Dr. Métraux emphasizes the extraordinary powers of
756 the Tupinambá shamans and states that among the coastal Tupi of Brazil shamans at times held great secular powers (33). Senhor Curt Nimuendaju writes that the basic organization of the Apapocúva-Guarani, before European contact, was the voluntary subordination to their shaman-chiefs and points out that the failure to recognize their power was the cause of repeated failures to unite the Guarani in "aldeamentos" (34). My own recent work among the Tupi-speaking Guajajara of the Rio Pindaré of Northeastern Brazil leads me to the opinion that, especially before European administrators gave them secular chiefs, Guajajara shamans excercized such strong religious and social controls over their people. The emphasis upon the role of the shaman in Tapirapé culture shows, therefore, a marked affinity with other Tupi-Guarani peoples.

## APPENDIX

756 A few added examples of individual *overt reactions of persons* during the Thunder ceremony may clarify and illustrate several points of the ceremony I have summarized below several from my field notebooks.

### *Case of Kamairaho*

Kamairaho is a man of great prestige and has been a *pancé* for many years, although never a strong one. He says, "I have never seen many dangerous *ancúnga*: I dream and travel only on (the level of) the earth", explaining that he does not travel through the sky in this
756 dreams as do Pauteri and Urukumu. Kamairaho did not take part in
781 the Thunder ceremony for the first two days, explaining that he was
796 afraid; he said he was too old and too weak to meet the dangerous *topi*. On the third day, however, he took part in the day phase, against the protestations of his wife who cried in fear for him. Each time he made the village circuit wearing the headdress of red parrot feathers, he fell hard and without completing his circuit. Once after a seizure and a hard

(33) Alfred Métraux. 1928. "La Religion des Tupinambá, et ses rapports avec celle des autres tribus Tupy-Guarany", p. 82. Paris.

(34) Curt Nimuendajú. 1914. "Die Sagen von der Erschaffung und Vernichtung der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocúva-Guarany", *in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, T. 46, pp. 337-338. Berlin.

(35) Charles Wagley. 1943. "Notas sôbre aculturação entre os Guajajara" (portuguese translation from the unpublished original Brief notes on acculturation among the Guajajara) *in Boletim do Museu Nacional* (Rio de Janeiro), Nova Série, Antropologia N. 2.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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fall, he struggled to his feet and tried to run. The young men who followed him seized him. Informants explained that in such a state he might have run wildly through the village, breaking property and causing bodily harm to others, in the same way that young novice shamans "run". Afterwards Kamairabo told me that he would never again take part in this ceremony because Thunder might trap his soul during a visit to Thunder's house and cause his death. 756 781 796 [761]

*Case of Panéri*

Panéri is a young shaman who has been treating the sick for several years. He took part in all the ceremonies during the first two days. During the sundown phase of the third day, he touched the headdress, then being carried by Urukumu, screamed, fell backwards, and in falling, broke open his scalp against one of the house poles. Upon regaining consciousness an hour or so later, he said that he remembered nothing. All that he knew, he explained, was that he returned from a dreamtrip covered with blood.

*Case of Anawani*

Anawani is a layman, notably the laziest of the village and thus unmarried. He took part in only one sundown phase of the Thunder ceremony, openly admitting that he was afraid to continue. During that one session Anawani caught hold of Panteri several times as he moved back and forth with the group. Each time that he did this he fell at once to the ground, screaming. It was explained that to touch a powerful *panié* during the process of the ceremony is dangerous: for the shaman attracts the arrows of *topi*. [581. 589]

*Case of Kanacipá*

Kanacipá is a novice and is considered a potentially powerful shaman. He vomited violently during each phase of the ceremony and during the sundown phases he staggered about bumping into house poles. When he was pressed by a group, he invariably fell to the ground. Several other men were seized thus when pressed by a group. During one of the sessions of the ceremony, it took about a half hour to bring Kanacipá out of this seizure. His wife began the crying chant characteristic of funerals while Urukumu massaged and fumigated him. She cried out that he was dead several times before she saw him returning to consciousness. [764 533]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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*Case of Ipawungi*

756 Ipawungi, a young man of about twenty years of age, is a novice in
●761 shamanism. During one of his dreams, stimulated by "eating smoke"
796 he saw anhãngs but was unable to identify which ones they were.
During the Thunder ceremony, however, he decorated his body as did
the anhãngs he had seen in his dream. He painted a cross with urucu
[302] on his chest and wore feathers of the white vulture (urubú-rei — *Sarcoramphus papa*) down the sides of his arms. As a protective mea-
[751] sure he carried a mirror with him during all ceremonies for, like ghosts
of the dead, the beings of Thunder are frightened if they see their own
image in a mirror. During one sundown session Ipawungi fell crying
wildly, and scratching his body frantically from head to foot, as if the
itching were unbearable, letting out blood-curdling screams. This be-
havior was seen several times during the ceremony in other persons. The
[827] itching, informants told me, comes from many invisible fleas which jump
from any dog on to the body of a person participating in the ceremony.
[231] Dogs, therefore, are securely tied to house posts or to trees at the edge
of the village during the four days of the Thunder ceremony but they,
of course, escape now and again.

*Case of Campukwi*

Campukwi, a young man of about twenty-four years of age, says that he does not want to be a shaman because "Tapirapé have killed many shamans". He took part rather casually in several of the phases of the ceremony: he "ate smoke" and moved about with the group in the evening session when the creatures of Thunder were being called. At the end of the session, when the powerful shamans saw "many tapi", he fell, struck down with the rest of the group. Campukwi's wife was not present but his sister came to his side to help him. She looked at him carefully and laughingly said that he was faking. She kicked him and left him instead of helping him to the sidelines. Campukwi stood up, laughed, and left the group.

Now and again through the ceremonies spectators made such observations concerning participants whose reactions seemed doubtful. Some participants did now and again pretend and people laughed at them. It was all taken in a spirit of fun.

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9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



the largest ceremonial of the year which marks the beginning of the dry 805
season and the harvest. Similarly, the position of the Pleiades is used to 821
date the many ceremonies of the heavy rainy period (November to April). [796]
One shaman had visited the Pleiades, and they, too, can be counted upon
as a familiar power. The Milky Way is often referred to as the "path of the [787]
shaman," it is a well-beaten road over which the shaman travels through
the sky in his dreams.

In common with many Tupi peoples, nothing in the realm of natural [171]
phenomena is as important to the Tapirapé as thunder. Among most Tupi, 821
Tupan is a god or an ancestor identified with thunder. He causes the 776
rumbling of thunder and flashes of lightning. Among the Tapirapé, however, Thunder[16] is a separate entity, a supernatural who has many "creatures" or *topü*. *Topü* are described as small beings about a hand's length in
size, with white hairy down over their bodies, and wearing a small head- [177]
dress of red parrot feathers, European beads, and a lip plug. Small wax [532]
dolls are made in imitation of them. They travel through the sky in small
"canoes," especially when there are strong wind and electric storms, and
they carry red wild flowers with which they shoot Tapirapé in the stomach.
These arrows are hot "like fire." Sometimes *topü* are called "pets" of
Thunder, and again they are referred to as his "children." In addition to [775]
*topü*, Thunder has other supernumeraries, the souls of dead shamans, who [756]
live in the house of Thunder, commonly thought to be near Maratawa on
the summit of a large mountain.

Each year when approaching rains bring heavy thunder storms, lightning and strong winds, Thunder sends forth his beings. The noise of the storm is caused by rumbling of *topü's* canoes, and flashes of lightning are their speeding arrows. To protect the Tapirapé, and also their gardens, 756
from the storm, shamans[17] "call Thunder," or "fight with *topü*." In a four- 796
day ceremony characterized by genuine fear, shamans gulp tobacco smoke 821
until they are ill and intoxicated, they sing "calling Thunder to come," and 776
chant until they "see" one or more *topü*, or souls of dead shamans,[18] fight
with them, and are struck down by their arrows. A shaman who fights a *topü* tries to grab its small feather head-dress, take away its bow, or yank out its lip plug, its most vulnerable feature.

Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies of fighting Thunder. When a shaman is shot by *topü*, he falls screaming upon the ground, [781]
writhing and shaking, and then becomes unconscious. If men are not near

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[16] Thunder referred to as Kanawana (direct translation) is said to be called Pururuka, his personal name.

[17] Laymen and neophytes who have sufficient courage may also participate.

[18] In conversation and in song, there is confusion between these beings. Although the above distinctions are definitely made, they are often referred to interchangeably. For example, a Tapirapé may say, "*topü* cause lightning," or "Thunder is angry and makes lightning."

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



756 to hold him, he may run wild through the village destroying property and
796 endangering people. To bring him back, smoke must be blown over him
821 776 by a shaman. While he is unconscious, he dreams and travels, sometimes
[781] visiting the house of Thunder.

"I smoked much and then I smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun and it came
787 toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They came and they left. I saw
756 Thunder. It was small and came (to the house) in a small canoe. It was Thunder's
821 child (a *topé*). It wore a small headdress of parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug.
772 I reached to pull out the lip plug but it left." [The shaman did not conquer the *topé*
776 and he was shot down by an arrow while he was unconscious] . . . "all was dark.
I saw many suns. I travelled singing as I walked. I spent three days walking. I climbed
a large mountain on the other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes
up. I saw Kanawana. He was big and his body was covered with much hair. He had
many red parrot feathers. There were many *topé* and many souls of shamans. I did
not talk but came back." [If he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have stayed
(died), but he was properly treated with tobacco smoke and returned to consciousness.]

775 Through shamans and legends of culture heroes, the Tapirapé know,
too, of the multitude of "spirits" (*aechunga*) which populate the unseen
world. These are of two general types: true spirits, disembodied souls of
deceased Tapirapé;[19] and demons or malevolent beings of many classes.
[787] Shamans are accustomed to seeing true spirits in their dreams. These gen-
[756] erally inhabit abandoned village sites, where they re-live their earthly lives.
When they die—the second death—they become frogs, deer, *pacu* and
doves. Thus the toad is the spirit of a chief; the dove and *jacu* are spirits
[825] of men.[20] These ghosts cannot harm shamans who are accustomed to see-
[756] ing them, but sometimes the spirits attack and strike down defenseless
laymen.[21] They also cluster around a man's bier to carry off the soul as
soon as the body is buried.

There are infinite numbers of "spirits" of the individualized demoniac
776 class. Of these, some are "pets" which are not very dangerous, and which
[794] are represented by men in the mask dance cult.[22] Other species are very
dangerous, but these are no longer seen by the layman. Formerly, these
773 were numerous, and killed many Tapirapé, but Ware, a culture hero and
776 powerful shaman, fought them and killed many. A man now points to the

[19] Speaking of Tupinamba, Métraux makes these same two categories of "supernatural
[171] beings" (*oyguan*, *aguin*, *ingange* and *ombanga*), *ibid.*, p. 51.

[20] Animals which have, or are, spirits can be grouped together. These are taboo to some age
821 and sex groups, in a complicated dietary system.
[262]

[21] Dogs can see spirits. When a dog howls, Tapirapé say, "He sees *aechunga* but we
can't."

[22] At one time women may have been frightened by these "dangerous" spirits, but cer-
tainly at present everything in the men's cults is known to women, and they do not even
pretend to be frightened.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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PLATE 19.—Tapirapé ceremonies and house construction. *Top, left:* Youth in preparation for puberty ceremony. The large, heavy diadem of macaw feathers will be supported by the lock of hair wrapped in cotton cord. *Top, right:* Shaman wearing dangerous ceremonial headdress during Thunder ceremony. He is intoxicated by tobacco and in a trance state. *Bottom, left:* Construction of men's house. *Bottom, right:* Dance masks representing the "Crying Spirit," one of many forest spirits who are said to come to stay for a time in the men's ceremonial house. (Courtesy Charles Wagley.)

[p. 170 A]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



are called upon to fight Thunder. This, the important *Tapirapé* ceremony, 241 756
lasts for 4 days, and is the high point of shamanistic activity.

Kanawana, the Thunder, lives on distant Maratawa surrounded by 776
the souls of dead shamans and by the topü (probably equivalent to the *Tupinamba* word, "tupan"), small anthropomorphic beings whose bodies are covered with white hair.

The topü travel through space in their canoes (half gourds), the sound [821]
of which produces the noise of the storm. The arrows which the topü shoot cause lightning. During the ceremony, the shamans, completely [781]
intoxicated by the tobacco and stimulated by the unceasing dancing and [276]
singing, fall into a trance (pl. 19, *top, right*) during which they travel [756]
to Thunder's house in order to fight him. Thunder sets the topü against the shamans, who, wounded by the arrows of "Thunder's creatures," fall into unconsciousness.

## SHAMANISM

The *Tapirapé* can visualize the supernatural world through the reports 756
of the dreams of their shamans, whose power grows in proportion to 787
their ability to dream. A dream is a voyage, during which the soul frees [774]
itself of the body and travels through space. In these dreams the shamans travel to regions which are entirely unknown to the living, and in general are inhabited by spirits. With their powers, the shamans succeed in taming some of the spirits, who then become their familiar spirits. The power and prestige of the shaman (*pankó*) depend on the number of his familiar spirits.

The *Tapirapé* speak of battles between shamans wherein each calls out 754
his familiar spirits against the other while dreaming. More often, a 756
shaman sets his familiar spirits upon laymen and kills them. A shaman may also kill his victim during a dream by throwing a malignant object, usually a piece of bone or a worm, into his body.

The victims of sorcery appeal to friendly shamans, who attempt to 754
cure them by extracting the malignant object by suction, massage, and [755]
blowing tobacco. When many deaths occur simultaneously and the 683
*Tapirapé* suspect a certain shaman of having caused them, they do not hesitate to kill him. One man recalled that during his lifetime 10 shamans suspected of sorcery had been killed. He himself had killed a shaman whom he suspected of having killed his brother. In spite of the constant 755
suspicion surrounding them, the shamans do not employ mechanical tech- 276
niques or sympathetic magic in sorcery.

The shamans make great use of tobacco, which is essential for healing and dreaming. They smoke it in large tubular clay pipes. Cures usually take place at dusk. The shaman squats by the patient's hammock and smokes for a long time, becoming intoxicated and blowing the smoke from the pipe over the patient's body. He then massages the patient,

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



683 to avenge him, is generally not murdered (16). A strong shaman makes
[573] an effort to have a strong family group about him for protection. Inter-
[256] mants could not remember that murdered shamans had ever been revenged by their familiar spirits, although one man made the point that shamans were murdered only by persons under the influence of great anger or grief, for people normally are afraid of the familiars of shamans.
683 Special rites are observed by anyone who has murdered a shaman, to
783 protect him and the rest of the tribe against possible danger. On the day following the murder the *maréntzunkanéra* must retire to his hammock and here eat of a white clay, *iwi činga*, and drink until he vomits of a
[327] brew made of boiling a man's leg ornament in water. Vomiting cleanses
[360] his body "of the blood of the shaman". The killer must paint his entire body black with *genipa* (*Genipa americana*) and put red urucu paint in his hair; he should also scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back
[591] with teeth of the dog fish, just as he did in the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult. Then, each year at the annual ceremony during the harvests in May and June, all who have killed shamans must drink of *kauiú* (17) until they vomit, so cleansing themselves of the shaman's blood for the period until the next harvest.

## DUTIES OF THE SHAMAN

276 Among the Tapirapé tobacco is a sacred plant necessary for curing and for all shamanistic activities; yet, while it is found widely near Tapirapé village and near their gardens, it is not strictly a cultivated plant. People know where a patch of tobacco grows and go there to pick it. Occasionally they transplant tobacco nearer to their houses or to their gardens but for the most part the patches seed themselves. When an

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[578 (16) When I left the Tapirapé in May, 1940, a grudge existed between two
621] men of high status because of the murder of a shaman. Kamairaho disliked, avoided, and criticized Kamairá because he had killed Kanhwaní. Kamairaho's wife's father. The antagonism was never overt. When they met they treated each other formally and calmly. Other Tapirapé told me that Kamairaho's wife continually gossiped about the behavior of Kamairá's wife, "because her husband had killed Kanhowa's father".

[272 (17) A brew made of a few grains of maize and much water. It is believed
279] to be poisonous.

171 262 784 10. [Ed., the first two sentences are omitted.] Whenever I told the Tapirapé that among other tribes the woman would become ill or even die if she were to eat of the animals whose flesh is forbidden to her, I was told that it would not harm a Tapirapé woman to eat the animals whose flesh, as a rule, is eaten only by men. According to Kamairabó, a woman will not eat of such flesh of her own accord. This means that in this case the abstentions are not connected with the supernatural. Actually, the mammals, birds, reptiles, and fish regarded as most delicious, not only by the Tapirapé but by most other Indians and also by the Whites, are all eaten by the women of this Tupi tribe, while as a rule the animals they do not eat are those that are not prized by us either. Although it may be hazardous to look for a relationship [562] between the concept of the edible and the social status of the sexes, it is appropriate to mention: (a) among the Chamakoko the woman plays a predominant role (Baldus 1, 64); (b) Tapirapé culture, in its essential traits, reveals a male preponderance; (c) important aspects of Kaingang culture disclose an equality between the sexes.

171 262 11. As far as the concept of the edible is concerned, age has less importance than sex among the Tapirapé and Cherente, while it has very little importance among the Kaingang and none among the Karajá. When listing the animals eaten exclusively by males, the Tapirapé mentioned for the most part that only "men" eat them, specifying in two cases (the common ani, No. 74, and the guira cuckoo, No. 75) that "men and boys" eat them, and stating about the rest that "men do, boys don't." According to this, the animals eaten only by "grown men" are: the small anteater (No. 4), the tapiti (No. 6), the serelepe (No. 11), the capybara (No. 16), the jabiru (No. 47), the owl (No. 60), the woodpecker (No. 62), the kingfisher (No. 64), the swallow (No. 66), the potoo (No. 67), the macaws and parrots (Nos. 69-71), the oriole (No. 78), the jay (No. 79), the japu (No. 80), the iguana (No. 90), the frog (No. 100), and the horned frog (No. 102). Concerning the hoatzin (No. 61), the Tapirapé stated that only the old people eat it, and concerning the motmot (No. 63), they said that this bird is eaten exclusively by adults. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

12. The animals not eaten by any Tapirapé are: the bat (No. 1), the white porpoise (No. 17), the wild dog (No. 18), the river

844 poles. A large pot full of water is placed nearby to wash the mother and child. If the confinement is difficult, a woman presses the mother's belly until the child comes out. The baby is received in the arms of another woman who waits beneath the mother. The umbilical cord is severed with a cane shiver, and the afterbirth is buried. Both father and mother abstain from any food for one day. Both stay in their nets "until the loss of blood 846 ceases, that is, often for several days." There are no food absten- [843] tions for the future parents prior to the birth. For about two years 262 after the birth of the child, the parents give up peanuts and 784 bananas. In addition, the father frequently abstains from those animal foods that are never eaten by the woman, especially tapir, marsh deer, rhea, and alligator, until the child is almost six years [752] old. Only if he is a shaman may he eat of everything. The wife of a shaman, however, does not share this privilege.

The Tapirapé believe that the child will die if these absten- [761] tions are not observed. They say that in this case death would not be caused by an evil sorcerer, as they usually believe, but by the food that should not be consumed and that turns evil when it is eaten. And they add that in such cases the Whites have many medicines that might save the child, while the Tapirapé do not have any, and so among them the child would be lost. [123:54] When I offered them deer meat, which is coveted by all Tampiitawa men (perhaps because it is a type of game that, although abundant, is seldom killed without firearms), it was not accepted by the fathers of one-year-old children. Even Urukumy who, as a shaman, could have eaten the meat, was careful to pass it on to someone else after courteously accepting it from me.

The abstention from bananas and peanuts is impressive when we consider the important role played by these foods in the Tapirapé [165] diet. It is possible that the high mortality among children during the first two years of life may have led to such onerous rules. [755] Actually, these Indians assert that their Karajá neighbors and the Whites eat of anything when their child is ill, while Tapirapé parents, in such cases, subsist exclusively on mahioc flour and maize and manioc cauí, even when the child is older than six.

The behavior of Indian parents toward the newborn recalls to 171 some extent a custom of the colonists of São Bonifácio, in the state 946 of Santa Catarina, who come for the most part from Westphalia.

171
173 Catarina, Xokleng [Shokleng] or Aveikoma [Aweikoma], studied
551 by Henry (50). [Ed., end of Vol. 124.]

[127:231] CHILDHOOD

171 Father Fernão Cardim (310) wrote of the Tupinambá: "There
855 is nothing parents love more than their own children, and he who does something for the children can obtain anything from the parents." Roughly, this sentence could be applied to nearly all Brazilian tribes and to the Tapirapé among them. This love is
855 manifested in the understanding with which the adults treat the children. An Indian father would never answer his child's question with: "This is grownup stuff you can't understand," thus destroying, in the fashion of certain White fathers, the trust with which the child seeks out his most learned friend. The Indian father does not speak to the child with an air of superiority, and consequently there is no chasm between them, such as frequently separates children from adults among us.

In fact, a Tapirapé will show patience toward a child even before he reaches the age of asking for explanations. I shall never forget the attitude of Vuanomanchí when a small child seated in his lap urinated on his bare legs. No fuss! This worthy family man did not even get up. He took a piece of straw from the ground and pushed down the liquid with it. He neither scrubbed nor washed himself. He uttered no word and made no motion that might disturb the child.

[127:232] Nor shall I forget the behavior of Maeyma during the illness of his little girl. Several women were weeping around the girl's hammock, and Maeyma was the only man who was crying. Seated in his hammock, he covered his face with his hands and sobbed. He seemed to have lost weight during the short period of his child's illness. As befits a mindful father, he ate nothing during
[262] this time except for a little maize cauí and manioc flour. On the
[755] following day, when the girl seemed to have improved, Maeyma, lying in the hammock held her like something breakable, and when he moved his hands he did so gingerly.

•794 In the Tapirapé tribe, as in many others, the intimate and con-
855 tinuous connection between child and parents is acknowledged and

855 respected by the latter through abstentions to which they submit
[784] for the child's sake over a long period of time, and not only when the child is sick. The period of physical contact also lasts longer
853 than among us. Although the statement of Father Vicente de
[114] Salvador (37), according to which certain Tupinambá mothers
[171] nursed their children "seven or eight years" is exaggerated, we may assume that the same thing occurred among those Tupi as we observed among the Tapirapé and numerous other Brazilian tribes, that is to say, a child who already plays and runs about with other children without adult supervision and who still nurses at his mother's
[171] breast. According to Lipkind (2, 187), Karajá children sleep with
513 their mother until they stop nursing. In Tampiitaua, I found one boy and one girl, each a year old, two girls of three years, and one girl of four years who slept with both parents in the same net in 1935, and two girls of one year who did so in 1947. In 1935, I found one girl of a few months, one girl of less than a year, one girl a little over a year, and one boy of three who slept with their mother, and in 1947 I found one boy of one year, one boy of two, and one boy of four who did the same. I found one girl and one boy of four and one girl of six who slept with their father in 1935 (the mother slept in an adjoining hammock with a smaller child) and one boy of two who did so in 1947. In that same year, a girl of about 10 slept with her father, a man of 35, while his wife, about seven months pregnant, who was not the girl's mother, slept in the next hammock. And in 1935, a boy of six slept with his mother's older sister while the mother slept in another house with her husband, who was not the boy's father.

The Tapirapé adorn the children with special care. I showed
301 in Chapter 6 (Photo. 13) how even before the birth they make
854 tamankurá for a child's ankles. When he is born, they proceed to adorn him with the traditional ornaments of the tribe, [127:233] and in addition they hang beads obtained from the Whites around his
[422] neck. Like everything else they may give him, these beads are acknowledged henceforth as the child's property. A museum collector may sometimes have difficulty obtaining an object owned exclusively by a child not yet old enough to understand his wish.

I was moved when I saw a Tapirapé mother attempt to protect
854 her weeks-old baby against the strong noon sun while crossing the village plaza. She held it close against her abdomen and ran bent

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



with so few people holding the status positions of aboriginal Tapirapé society much specialized knowledge will be lost. This is true of shamanism, as explained above, and it is true of the weaving of baskets for which Tapirapé men were justly famous before 1940. In 1953, only two men of the tribe knew the art of basket making. In aboriginal times, it was a technique which men learned after adolescence (Tapirapé boys were not expected to learn the manly arts), and with the death of so many older men and the disintegration of Tapirapé society, few young men were able to study. Both of the young men who did learn produced baskets which in 1940 would have been considered distinctly inferior and few of the young men in 1953 showed an inclination to learn the art. Like many other aspects of the culture, Tapirapé basketry will probably be a "lost art" within a generation.

Before 1940, one of the striking aspects of Tapirapé culture recorded by both Baldus and myself was the complex set of rules governing food taboos. According to aboriginal Tapirapé culture, women and children are forbidden to eat venison as well as many other specific meats. Nowadays the Tapirapé frequently have beef, which they receive by trade from the Brazilian around the Indian post. As might be suspected, beef is equated with venison and it is taboo to Tapirapé women. Likewise, Tapirapé men who are the fathers of small children may eat neither venison nor beef. One Tapirapé male explained that "Even when we were hungry our women would not eat beef." But in view of their experience with other cultures (i. e., Carajá and Brazilian), such taboos are growing weaker. Hidden from their husbands, several Tapirapé women tested beef for the first time when offered it by the wife of the Indian officer, and several females have taken to eating it (and even venison) at the Indian Post pleading that their secret be kept from their husbands. And one Tapirapé male, the father of an infant, argued while eating venison that the taboo was not a logical one. Food taboos are still kept but

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



could come quietly to us at night to drink water, to ask for something to eat, and even to sleep in an extra hammock we had for visitors. His affairs were evidently extensive, for he once divided all of the adult women of the village into two categories—those "I know how to talk with" (i.e., to seduce) and those "I do not know how to talk with." There were many with whom he "could talk."

Unfortunately, by late November of 1939, I knew too much about Champukwi's affairs either for his comfort or for mine. His wife sometimes came to my house to ask if I knew where he had gone (I could generally guess), and once an irate husband even came to inquire of his whereabouts. His Don Juan activities had evidently increased. His friendship with me caused him trouble with other Tapirapé who were envious of the presents he received. The story was circulated that he had stolen a pair of scissors which, in fact, I had given to him. Moreover, several people caught colds, and he was accused of bringing the infection from Furo de Pedra (actually it was probably transmitted by the frontiersman who had helped transport us to the village in November). Champukwi sought revenge by cutting down one of the main supports of the men's house, which promptly caved in. No one died or was seriously injured and the destruction of the men's house was soon forgotten since it is normally rebuilt each year. However, people continued to criticize Champukwi, much of their criticism revolving around his relationship with me. There are no realms of esoteric secrets in Tapirapé culture (as there are in many cultures) that must not be revealed to an outsider; there is only the "secret" of the men from the women that the masked dancers are not supernatural beings but merely masquerading men, but I had been fully and openly brought into this "secret." I was, moreover, exceedingly careful in conversation never to refer to any bit of personal information that some informant, Champukwi or another, had told me. But rumors were rife in the small village—that I was angry and would soon leave (I was by then a valuable asset), that Champukwi told me lies about others, that I refused to give a bushknife to a household leader because Champukwi had urged me not to do so (I refused because I had already given him one bushknife), and the like.

Champukwi reacted moodily, often violently, to this situation. I could no longer count on his visits nor on our research interviews. He now visited us with a glum look on his face, and when he was

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 2

Um jovem pagé, em estado de transe, quando realizava o circuito da aldeia durante a sexta dança da cerimônia do Trovão. Está acompanhado por dois jovens prontos a ampará-lo, se ele cair.

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A young shaman, in a trance state, as he makes the village circuit during the day session of the Thunder Ceremony. He is accompanied by two young men ready to catch him if he should fall.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 3

Jovem novico no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Está doente por engolir fumaça de tabaco e próximo a um estado de transe. Cairá antes de alcançar a segunda casa do círculo.

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Young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. He fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Fig. 4

Outro jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Também está doente por engolir fumaça de tabaco, e próximo a um estado de transe. Como o da fig. 3, caiu antes de alcançar a segunda casa do círculo.

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Another young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill too from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. Like the other of fig. 3 he fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 5

Kamaiurá (Veja Apêndice), um jovem pajé, vacilando ao redor do círculo da aldeia.

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Kamaiurá (see Appendix), a young shaman, staggering half way around the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 6

De repente, fazes rígido e cais para a frente, sendo apanhado pelos dois rapazes que o guiavam.

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Suddenly he stiffened and fell forward caught by the young men who had been leading him.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 7

O poderoso pajé Urukumã era seguido por numerosos jovens quando fez o circuito pela aldeia, usando o ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Como decoração, usou um pedaço de fazenda vermelha, que lhe fora presenteado pelo etnólogo.

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The powerful shaman, Urukumã, was followed by numerous young men when he made the village circuit wearing the ceremonial headdress. He wore a piece of red cotton cloth given him by the ethnologist as decoration.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 8

Ele era "forte", não necessitando de ajuda, porém, quando foi atingido pelas armas do Trovão, os jovens estavam próximos para ampará-lo no queda.

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He was "strong" and did not need aid but when he was struck by the beings of Thunder, the young men were nearby to catch him when he fell.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 9

Sempre que um pajé caía inconsciente, os jovens que o acompanhavam lhe removiam rápidamente o ornamento da cabeça e o levantavam nos ombros para carregá-lo através do círculo da aldeia. Nessa ocasião, a esposa de Kamaiurá estava preocupada com êle e veio apalpar-lhe o face.

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Whenever a shaman fell unconscious, the young men accompanying him quickly removed the headdress and raised him upon their shoulders to carry him through the village circle. On this occasion, Kamaiurá's wife was worried about him and came to feel of his face.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 10

O corpo do morto dos pagés ficava rígido, quando, em estado de inconsciência, eram carregados pelo círculo da aldeia, de volta à casa em que se iniciara a cerimônia. Nesta fotografia, três rapazes carregam lìdimente o corpo rígido de Pastori, um dos poderosos pagés, após, ter sido abatido pelos seres do Trovão.

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The bodies of most shamans were rigid in their unconscious state as they were being carried through the village circle back to the first house. In this picture, three young men easily carry the rigid body of Pastori, one of the powerful shamans, after he had been stricken by the beings of Thunder.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 11

On mission reports, campaigns Pasavé.

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The same young man carrying Pasavé.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



## THE THUNDER CEREMONY

[171] In common with many Tupi peoples the Tapirapé consider thunder
776 as a powerful supernatural. He is called *Kanawana* by the Tapirapé.
[821] Kanawana lives in his house at Maratawa surrounded by his various
[178] supernaturaries. He has with him the souls of deceased Tapirapé shamans
[176] (*pancé-ãnawera*), messengers called *awamprewa* that carry news to these *pancé ãnawera*, and finally, *topí* (28).

*Topí* are described as small anthropomorphic beings about the size of a man's hand. Their bodies are covered with downy white hair, and they wear European beads, little headdresses of parrot feathers, and lip plugs. They travel with great swiftness through the air small "canoes", which are only halves of gourds, and they carry with them red feathers and beads to use as arrows to shoot at Tapirapé. Sometimes *topí* are referred to as "pets" of Thunder and sometimes as his children: but in any case, they are many and do his bidding.

776 Each year in approximately late December and January, when
821 there are heavy thunder showers, lightning, and strong winds, the Tapirapé believe that Thunder is angry. The noise of the storm is the rumbling of his *topí's* canoes and the lightning is their speeding arrows. Once, when a strong wind ripped off part of the roof of a house, Tapirapé men were frightened because they knew that *pancé-ãnawera* sent by Thunder had caused the wind. At this time each year shamans "call Thunder" and match their powers against him. In frenzied intoxi-
[176] cation from gulping tobacco smoke, constant singing and dancing, they fall into trances during which they travel to the house of Thunder. Shamans and the courageous laymen who take part in this ceremony are struck down by *topí's* arrows and fall writhing upon the ground. Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies against Thunder and his beings.

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(28) *Topí* is obviously the Tapirapé equivalent of *Tupan*, the word extended as used by the Tupinambá and other coastal Tupi. Among the coastal Tupi *Tupan* was the supernatural being who caused the thunder and lightning. *Tupan* was so important that the early Catholic missionaries used the word for God. See Alfred Métraux's, 1928, *La Religion des Tupinambá*, pages 52-56. Parts. Note, however, that among the Tapirapé *topí* are merely creatures of Thunder.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



796 companying map of the village. (Fig. 13), which was to the southwest, moved their belongings back against the wall, clearing the house floor of their cooking hearths and taking down their hammocks. This house was to be the central point of the ceremonies to come.

276 796 About midday Panteri, in his house, began again to sing and gulp smoke from his pipe. After he had become ill and intoxicated, he came with his wife out of one of the new side doors of his house, "eating smoke" as he came. From this door the couple moved in a clockwise direction along the circular path until they came to the center of the next house. There they stopped, faced each other, and sang, Panteri punctuating his song with deep draughts from his pipe and vomiting. At each house they repeated this performance. When they reached their [534] own house again, Panteri took up two ceremonial rattles decorated with parrot feathers and the couple continued on a second round of the village houses. After making this circuit four times they stopped in their own house, where Panteri relaxed into his hammock. The rattles were left in the southwest house on the last circuit.

276 786 796 Urukumu and his wife then made four similar trips about the new circular path. After he had finished, a young shaman took up the ceremony, but he was not able to complete even one round without help. After singing in several houses he began to stagger as he walked and stumbled blindly into house posts; he was noticeably in a state of trance. Young men led him from house to house. Suddenly he [547] shrieked, his body stiffened, and he fell to the ground. His muscles quivered for a few moments and then his body became rigid. He had lost his battle. He had seen *topi* and been shot by their arrows, for he did not have the strength of Panteri or Urukumu. Several young men immediately raised him up on their shoulders and carried him through the remaining houses of the circuit, depositing him finally in the southwestern house. One of the powerful shamans was then called, and he massaged and blew smoke over the prostrate young shaman's body until life again appeared in it.

Throughout the remainder of the afternoon aspirants to shamanism and several other laymen took up the ceremony of calling Thunder by traveling the ceremonial circuit of the village. At one time there were three men moving with their wives over this circular route. Some never reached a trance state because "they did not know how to eat smoke" or because "*topi* did not hear their songs". Several novices

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"new *topi*" and were struck down as the young shaman had been 147
earlier that day. One shaman novice, staggering blindly and vomiting 276
violently, tried to break away from the young men who were partially 786
supporting him. When they caught him, he fell immediately to the 796
ground. Finally, toward sundown, Panteri took up his song again. He still was "stronger than *topi*" and was able to perform his song without falling into a trance.

At sundown men began to gather in the house which had been 276
cleared. Some twenty men came to take part in this phase of the 533
ceremonies. The bulk of the village population was gathered inside the 796
house, crouched close against the walls, or outside looking through the doors.

The two powerful shamans, Urukuma and Panteri, stood in the middle of the floor facing each other. They lighted their long pipes and began to swallow smoke. At the back of the room were two young men with the ceremonial rattles that the shamans had used earlier. These young men were in positions of particular danger, for their rattles attracted the special attention of Thunder's creatures. In front of them Ihortwantori, a young man noted for his singing, stood on a bench and began to sing the songs of Thunder; they played accompaniment for his songs on the rattles. A young boy sat behind them and [534]
beat time to the song with a hollow trunk of bamboo. Now and again young men standing against the walls took up a chorus with the solo singer. The shamans kept going to the young men with the rattles, offering them smoke to swallow from their pipes until they were unsteady on their feet. At times they were able to stay on their feet only when they were held up. They then began walking back and forth in the front of the house, shaking the rattles towards the roof threateningly, challenging *topi* and *pančé-ãnawra* to come.

Shamans now offered their pipes to their novices and to laymen. 276
The two shamans also soon began walking back and forth the length 796
of the house, first alone and then each taking a novice with him. One by one men joined the shamans as they moved up and down the house. By now all were thoroughly intoxicated and the atmosphere grew tense. All spewed out smoke until it fairly engulfed them as they moved vomiting and reeling about. Everyone took up a grunting [533]
chant of "Hew, hew!" Some carried mirrors and red parrot feathers [293]
as weapons against the *topi*. The two chief shamans carried machetes

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276 and at each end of the house they would stop, the group behind them,
796 and motion threateningly toward the roof, defying *topi* and *panté-*
*tánwere* to come. During all this time the singing continued with its
[533] accompaniment of rattles and the hollow bamboo tube, except for
intervals when some performer collapsed.

276 Suddenly Pantori stopped his marching back and forth, retired a
786 few steps, and pointed to the corner of the house. It was explained to
796 me that he had seen *panté-tánwere* sent by Thunder. He rushed to
the far end of the house and pointed again: he saw a *topi*. He moved
backwards in fright: then appeared to threaten, point, run in fright,
and finally retreat, completely confused by numerous enemies.

Suddenly one young shaman broke away from the group and ran through the circle of the houses like a hunted animal, dodging about and staring with glazed eyes. He fell to the ground, rolling on his side and groaning. His body twitched and then became rigid. His wife, who had been standing among the spectators, rushed to his aid and dragged him out of the path of the group. She propped him up in a sitting position against her legs. Several others fell in this manner, struck down by the beings of Thunder and were dragged to the sidelines where someone blew smoke over them and massaged them. With this treatment he soon regained consciousness, yet they remained reclining upon the ground because they were "weak from the fight".

276 Finally, as it grew dark outside, Pantori, still leading those men
796 who had not been struck down, pointed directly over his head. Urukumu looked where Pantori had pointed, put his hands over the back of his neck, and ran quickly from side to side, dodging. "There are many *panté-tánwere* and many *topi* in the house", each of the Indians told me. At this point all the men who were participating in the ceremony fell suddenly to the ground; only Pantori and Urukumu were strong enough to stand before the forces of Thunder. The wives of the fallen men came to their aid and other men fumigated and massaged them.

One by one they came "to life". It was explained that "we die and tobacco brings back life. Without tobacco Thunder would kill us".

796 All men who had participated in the ceremony now returned to
[533] their own houses by way of the circuit path, stopping for a moment in each house to perform again the ceremonial singing. Two young boys brought this phase of the ceremony to an end by picking up the

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ceremonial rattles which had fallen to the ground and running with them around the whole circuit of the village. 796

The third and fourth days of the ceremony followed closely the pattern of this day, but there were some important variations. On the last two days a new danger was added, accounting for more violent seizures that occurred then. During these days each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate headdress — the *ankungitana*. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer (30). Without exception all who wore the headdress, even Panteri and Urukumu, fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder and genuine fear was shown by all those who wore it. 293 796 786

Before a man could put the headdress on his head, a pharman waved it slowly before his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific "heat." When Urukumu wore the *ankungitana*, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circle of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panteri. Panteri likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song and when he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Panteri related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: "I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun: it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (*a tapi*). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus he would have vanquished the *tapi*) but it left the house. Then all was dark. (He had not defeated the *tapi* and it had consequently shot him with his arrow) I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days and I climbed a large mountain on the 787 796

(30) Red parrot feathers are "hot like fire", say the Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house. [821] [825] [753]

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other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Thunder: he is big and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many tupi and many souls of shamans near him. I did not talk but returned fast". He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other-world: he would have died.

A few novices, and now and again a rare layman, wore the headdress and people marveled at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it.

The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days of the ceremony. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Pantori grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a *pané-ãnawra*. Urukuma picked up the headdress. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him. The two young boys, as before, ran through the circle of houses at the end of the day's ceremony, but this time they carried both the rattles and the headdress. The participants, on regaining consciousness, returned singing to their houses.

On the fourth and last day of the ceremony, an additional ceremony followed the usual evening performance. As the ceremony ended, the two strong shamans walked out of the house to the dance ground, taking the rattles and the headdress. There they and several others re-enacted, but with less violence, the ceremony just completed in the dwelling house. Following this performance, all the men of the village gathered, facing north "toward the house of Thunder", and Pantori walked across the plaza away from the group, toward the north, shaking the rattles over his head. Returning to the group, he touched several men on the head with the rattles, much as a priest performs a blessing with a crucifix. He repeated this performance until finally all the men who had taken any part in the ceremony had received this "blessing". Women, then children, came forward to be touched with the rattles. Thus they were freed of danger from Thunder. After this, I was told, Thunder goes far away to his house until next year.

That evening men sang the songs of the *anãnaga nawid*, the spirits that come to live in the dance house after Thunder has gone. Late

The glue is a resin (ykyryva in
301 Tapirapé) used by both sexes to anoint the body and hair. Once
237 crushed, it is mixed with peanut oil (chany). [Ed., the last two
[384] paragraphs of p. 130 and all but the last paragraph of p. 131 are
[381] omitted.]

[108:131] Larger feather ornaments are used by the Tapirapé, as a rule, only on festive occasions. The Tapirapé Kanchovanf, however, when I invited him to come with me to the Araguaia, showed me the large red macaw feathers that he intended to wear on his head upon reaching the Karajá villages. These are the
[171] feathers prized most highly both in his own tribe and among the shore dwellers of the big river. I never saw any Tapirapé use them aside from such occasions. [Ed., the remainder of p. 131 and the first half of p. 132 are omitted.]

[108:132] The circular feather headdress is of the greatest
292 importance to the Tapirapé. Referring to its use in the Thunder
79% ceremony, Wagley writes (4, 33-34 [Tr., in English at 4, 89-90]): "... each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate
[79%] headdress--the ankungitána. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer. Without exception all who
292 wore the ankungitána, even Panterí and Urukumã, showed genuine
781 fear and fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder. Before a man could put the headdress on, a shaman waved it slowly before
[756] his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific 'heat.' When Urukumã wore the ankungitána, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circuit of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid, and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panterí. Panterí likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the
• 787 headdress. During his trance he sang matches of a song, and when he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of
78% Thunder. Later, Panterí [108:133] related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: 'I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They,

787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a topī). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus Panterí vanquished the topī), but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panterí had not defeated the topī, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow). I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the
[821] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topī and many souls of shamans near
[775] [756] him. I did not talk but returned fast.' He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and
292 again a rare layman, wore the ankungitána, and people marveled
781 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panterí grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a panché-iónwera. Urukumé picked up the ankungitána. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him."

825 I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of
[292] the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (ibid., Note 30) says in
[237] this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red
[821] feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told
[753] me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not
292 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated
285 by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. ibid., Fig. 1).
114 The figures in Wagley's work (ibid., Figs. 1-9) do not provide any details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the feathers. The frame (Photo. 15) that I acquired in Tampiitáua

114 its opening facing downward. As a result, it served us nicely to
501 wash our clothes on. It had apparently been made just to pass the time and did not seem to have any further purpose. The
171 Tapirapé do not usually travel in boats, differing in this respect
501 from the Tupinambá and from most of the present-day Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 207-211), from the Xingu Indians (Von den Steinen 2, 234), and from the Karajá (Krause 2, 276), but not from the Kayapó (ibid., 393). The Chavante, who do not have canoes either, cross the Rio das Mortes on the crude rafts described by Snaffka. It is worth noting, however, that the Tapirapé retain
[192] the old Tupi word for "canoe," that is, yana, written yara by Stradelli and considered by him (715) "a contraction of y, 'water,' and iara, 'mistress,' 'mistress of the water.'" In any case, it is not impossible that the Tapirapé formerly possessed canoes for navigation.

● 787 As far as fishing is concerned, let us also mention Manggambí's
776 "dream." The people of Tampiitaua often say that they dreamed
226 of something which they actually suspect or know about. Manggambí was the fattest Tapirapé at the time of my visit. He dreamed of an abundance of fish at a specific spot in a certain stream, [112:62] which held so many fish that the anchinga would be able to eat them
[535] in large quantities. The name anchinga is applied not only to certain spirits, but also to the masked dancers who represent them. All the anchinga who inhabit the hills and waters feed on fish. This
[182] Tapirapé belief, incidentally, is a token of the importance of fishing. Manggambí said that "all" the men should go and fetch the fish he had dreamed of. What Tampiitaua regards as "all" the men did go. They were Manggambí himself and eight companions. When they returned, Manggambí held a large basket full of tiny fish, which were cooked and eaten shortly before dawn in the ceremonial house by the men and adolescents who had impersonated [in the dance] anchinga, chankuí [a bird], and irangchá [a fish]. [Ed., end of Vol. 112.]

105 [113:191] Although fishing is one of their chief means of subsistence, the Tapirapé cannot be regarded essentially as a fishing tribe, as their neighbors the Karajá might fittingly be described. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua do not lead the amphibian life of those big-river navigators. They are forest Indians and cultivators par excellence. In this respect, they remain typical Tupi Indians.

171/ 262 otter (No. 22), the [120:54] spider monkey (No. 38), the vultures (Nos. 54-56), the hawk (No. 58), the small lizard (No. 87), Mabuia agilis (No. 88), the teju (No. 89), the papavento (No. 91), the truira-peva (No. 92), the snakes (Nos. 93-98), the toad (No. 101), the mollusks (Nos. 140-142), the arachnoids (Nos. 146-148) (except for the ticks removed from the human body), the myriapods (Nos. 149-151), and the insects (Nos. 152-186) (except for those caught in flagrante sucking human blood and for certain larvae and honey). Most of the animals that are not eaten by the Tapirapé are known to the Karajá, Cherente, and Kaingang and are not eaten by these three tribes either, except for the bat which is eaten by "some men" among the Cherente, the spider monkey which is eaten by Karajá men, and the teju which is eaten by "some men" among the Cherente and by a few present-day Kaingang.

13. Just as I was told that it would not harm a Tapirapé woman to eat of the animals whose flesh is usually eaten only by the men (cf. item 10 above), I also heard that those animals not eaten by any Tapirapé would not harm anyone who should happen to eat them. There are, however, certain animals eaten exclusively by [753] the men, namely, the tapir (No. 27), the marsh deer (No. 30), the rhea (No. 41), and the alligator (No. 81), which, if eaten by the father of a small child, would cause the latter to fall ill and die. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the subsequent paragraph, No. 14, are omitted.]

262 Concerning animal foods, the following observations are also in order.

The Tapirapé do not consume the raw blood of animals, for they regard it as bad.

In spite of the distance between Tampiitaua and the river, and 226 in spite of the fact that the life of the Tapirapé as forest dwellers 262 and farmers does not allow fish to play as important a role in their [171] diet as in that of the Karajá water-dwellers, this animal is of greater importance to the Tapirapé than any other. From early childhood, they are constantly looking for small fish in the stream near the vil- [787] lage. They dream that there is abundant fish at certain spots, and

since the information provided by such dreams is readily accepted, they organize collective fishing trips. Fish constitutes their main source of animal fat and calcium. The calcium comes from the bones, [120:55] crumbled into a strongly spiced sauce, their favorite breakfast food. This is a cold dish, but the flesh of the fish is eaten on the previous day, good and hot, and invariably accompanied by manioc flour. I caused general amazement when I ate small roasted fish for the first time in Tampiitaua, and did so without manioc flour. My friend Vuanomanchi said that fish without flour is bad, gesticulated and spat as though he were smelling bad odor, and wanted to get up and fetch some of his own flour. A woman who was eating seated by my side immediately offered me hers. Of all the pictures in the zoological book that I showed them, it was always those of fish that aroused the greatest interest. The majority of the masked dances I witnessed dealt with fish, and there is an unmasked dance in which most of the text of the song consists of the word ypirá. It was this generic term for fish that I also heard almost invariably when I asked for the cause of a disease. This did not mean, however, that eating fish had been harmful to the sick person, but that a fish bone had been shot into his body as a magic projectile by an evil sorcerer. They also say that all the spirits of the hills and of the waters eat fish, and do not mention any other food for these spirits. Furthermore, as already stated at the beginning of this chapter, fish, along with manioc, is the only food included in the Tapirapé description of the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven that lies above our visible one. They do not fail to add that in this case "very fat fish" are involved. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Concerning head lice, I wish to mention in passing the fact that I never found any on my own body during my stays among various tribes, in spite of the fact that much lousy hair came in contact with mine and that I did not take any special preventive measures. The same proved to be the case among other Whites who stayed with South American Indians. I also know of a blond young man on whose head lice of the Krabo [Craho] Indians settled without biting.

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went to the small brook to drink water after dark. She said that the ghost approached and struck her. A man walking in his garden after dark saw the ghost of a known person, some years dead. "It was white and his eyes had fallen out. He still had some flesh and he had urucú in his hair" (6). Yet another man also met a ghost which was "white with big holes instead of eyes". Ghosts of individuals who have been dead many years "have no flesh; they have only bones". The ghosts that appear to the living follow the pattern of the gradual disintegration of the body. 775

Ghosts gather around a new grave to carry away the soul at time of burial; so they are especially dangerous to people at the time of funerals. When a Tapirapé dies, men carry machetes and mirrors to the wake for protection against the ghosts. If ghosts see their reflections in mirrors, they are frightened away. 775 764

The principal encounters of the Tapirapé with ghosts are in dreams. Dreamers sometimes visit them in their villages and at times learn from them new ceremonial songs which they hear in the traditional Tapirapé ceremonials that the ghosts continue to carry on after they have left the village of the living. 775 767

After an indeterminate period the ghosts themselves die and their spirits then become changed into animals. The spirit of the dead ghost of a man of prestige may become a toad (*Pipa pipa*); that of a common man a dove. Among the other animals into which spirits of dead ghosts become changed are frogs, deer, paca (*Cuniculus paca*). 775 825 [554]

Besides the ghosts there are an infinite number and many different species of *ancúnga* of the demonic class, all generally living at a great distance deep in the forest. It is fortunate that their dwellings are so distant, for these creatures are very dangerous, killing Tapirapé whenever possible. In legendary times these demonic beings were more numerous than at present and killed many Tapirapé, but Waré, a powerful shaman and legendary hero, engaged in a constant warfare of wits with them and succeeded in killing many of them. He destroyed the dangerous *awaká anká* by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed far behind them as they walked through the forest. He also killed the *munpi anká*, the beings that clubbed men to death and drank their blood. 776 [773]

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(6) The Tapirapé paint the hair of a corpse with a thick coat of urucú in preparation for burial. [302 764]

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776 Some of these demons of the forest are now "pets" of the Tapirapé, and are no longer dangerous to them. The comparatively harmless *ancúnga*, in a sense domesticated by Tapirapé men, come at intervals throughout the year to live in the large central men's house. While an [535] *ancúnga* is inhabiting this ceremonial house, Tapirapé men sing and [530] dance with masks representing the visiting spirit (7).

756 Knowledge of the supernatural world is gained chiefly through the 787 dream experiences of shamans or *pané*, for among the Tapirapé shamanistic power derives from dreams and from powers revealed in them. [775] Dreams are believed to be journeys. The *iangá*, the soul, may free itself [529] from the *etí*, the body, in sleep, and move freely in time and space. Obviously anyone may dream but frequent dreaming is evidence of shamanistic power. Laymen who dream very much are afraid, for they do not belong in this supernatural world, or they believe that they should become shamans.

Campukwi, who was not a shaman, indicated this fear in telling me his dream experience. When he saw dangerous *ancúnga* in his dream, he had no recourse but to run : "I am not a shaman. I was afraid. I ran. They would have killed me". Only shamans have the supernatural power to move freely in this dream-world of ghosts and demons. A shaman is never afraid in his dream travels, for ghosts are his friends and the power of a shaman grows in proportion as he fraternizes with the demonic spirits of the forest. After a dream-visit from a shaman, breeds of demonic spirits may become his familiars, obedient to his calls for aid. Turning himself into a bird or launching himself through the air in his "canoe" a half gourd, he travels to the villages of ghosts, to the houses of demonic spirits, or to such temporal places as the Brazilian settlements or Carajá villages on the Araguaya River. Then, too, time is no obstacle; in a sleep of a few minutes he may experience three or four days of dream adventure.

756 The dream experience of Ikanancowi, a powerful shaman who died 776 a few years before my visit, will illustrate these points. In his dream he 787 walked far to the shores of a large lake deep in the jungle. There he heard dogs barking and ran in the direction from which the noise came until he met several forest spirits of the breed called *munpi ankú*. They

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[077] (7) The men's masked dance cult, kept as a secret from the women, is not [562] generally found among Tupi tribes. In this case it has obviously been borrowed from [794] the Tapirapé's neighbors, the Carajá.

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were tearing a bat out of a tree for food. These talked with Ikanancowi and invited him to return to their village, which was situated upon the lake. In the village he saw *periquitos* (Psittacidae) and many *socó* (*Butorides* sp.), birds which they keep as pets. The *ancúnga* had several pots of *kasi* (5) and invited Ikanancowi to eat with them. He refused for he saw that their *kasi* was made from human blood. Ikanancowi watched one spirit drink of the *kasi* and saw him vomit blood immediately afterwards; the shaman saw a second spirit drink from another pot and immediately spurt blood from his anus. He saw the *munpi anká* vomit up their entrails and throw them upon the ground, but he soon saw that this was only a trick; they would not die, for they had more intestines. After this visit the *munpi anká* called Ikanancowi father and he called them his sons; he visited them in his dreams frequently and he had *munpi anká* near him always. When Ikanancowi danced and sang in the annual shamanistic ceremony against Thunder (see page 84), he painted his chest and chin red with *urucu*, representing the *kasi* of blood which drools from the mouths of the *munpi anká* after they vomit and he called these spirits to his aid in his songs. Other shamans have had familiar spirits but none have had such dangerous spirits as the *munpi anká*: "people were very much afraid of Ikanancowi, for these *ancúnga* are very dangerous".

956 776 787 [302 796]

In another dream told to me a shaman met the forest spirits called *oréya*. These have long hair wound in a mass on top of their heads and they carry one arrow for the bows with which they kill men. The *oréya* were about to shoot the shaman, but when he shouted, "No, I am a shaman", they did not harm him. Instead they gave him food and helped him return through the deep forest to the village. Another shaman had *ancúnga aná awa* as his familiars. These forest demons have protruding eyes and sharp pointed chins. They kill Tapirapé by grabbing them from behind as they walk unsuspectingly through the forest, clapping their hands over the victim's mouth and driving their pointed chins into the back of his neck. A man caught by one of these *ancúnga* dies gurgling and staring, unable to speak; so, although found alive he may never explain what happened to him. A shaman with such dangerous familiars as these protects the laity by keeping his spirits under control.

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(5) *Kasi* is a thick soup-like drink prepared most usually from maize, sometimes from several kinds of manioc. It is never alcoholic among the Tapirapé. [272]

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756 One powerful shaman may have several demonic familiars and his
776 responsibility and prestige grow with their numbers and strength. Panteri,
787 perhaps the most powerful shaman living in 1940, had several hordes of familiars garnered from his dreams. He was, of course, accustomed to visiting the villages of ghosts and frequently saw and talked with ghosts in his nightly dreams. He had visited the *anapi anicánga*, beings with huge penises with which they kill people by sodomy and by copulation. Panteri travelled once in his dreams over a high mountain ridge to the north of the Tapirapé country where he visited with the ghosts of the hostile Gê-speaking Kayapo. These enemy ghosts too became his familiars and he says that they will warn him if and when the living Kayapo plan to attack the Tapariapé. Again, in one of his dreams, Panteri travelled two days through a thick forest through which no paths led. Suddenly he found himself at the mouth of the Tapirapé River where it runs into the Araguaya. Inside a near-by hill he visited *anacówa*, the large red parrot from which supernatural beings and the souls of dead shamans pluck their everlasting supply of red feathers for decoration (9).

[753] Panteri also visited the forest demons called *peropi awa*, who have the power to send fevers to the Tapirapé. About this visit to their "house" he related the following: "I saw many pets. They have periquitos, parrots, many pets... I had not seen them before. I saw there a paca. The paca was cold; it was shivering. The paca had fever [chills]. I knew that the Tapirapé would all have fever. I told many people that this would occur but there was nothing I could do about it". During his many dream travels Panteri has also visited Maratawa, the home of heroic ancestors and deceased shamans and he has looked down upon many Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya River.

756 There are certain of the shamans who are said to make frequent trips
787 to the sky in their "canoes" and to count powerful celestial phenomena
821 among their powers. The Milky Way was spoken of as the "Road of the *Pancé*". Once when comparing his powers with those of another shaman, a shaman told me that he dreamed only on earth level and so was not so powerful as the other who frequently travelled in the sky. The other, he said, "had visited *é éco*, the Pleiades, and *kopia xawana*,

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(9) Ancestor heroes. Thunder as a supernatural, and souls of dead shamans are always described as having a plentiful supply of red feathers — something that a living Tapirapé envies.

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the Jaguar of the Skies". When this shaman dies, it is thought that many terrestrial jaguars, sent by the Jaguar of the Skies, will haunt the confines of the village. I was told, too, that when the powerful shaman Wantanam died the "sun was large and red with the blood of the shaman"; it was "hot" and "angry" because a shaman had died. 821 756 787 [825]

## SORCERY

The Tapirapé tell of great battles between strong shamans, each supported by his own retinue of powers. During my stay with the Tapirapé there were rumors of a possible combat between Urukumu and Pantori, the two strongest shamans. Many people believed that it would be caused by the death of a warm personal friend of Pantori through the suspected sorcery by Urukumu. One man even described how the thought that the combat would take place. "Pantori will smoke much tobacco (10) and then he will go to his hammock to sleep. He will go [in his dream] in his "canoe" to the top of a high mountain. From there he will look about until he sees [the soul of] Urukumu. From there Pantori will throw his *ankungitána* (11); will wrap itself around [the soul of] Urukumu, carrying him off into the sky". Now the various familiar powers of both shamans hasten to their aid; it was at this point that the narrator, visualizing the possible battle of powers, listed the powers that would come to the aid of each shaman. A shaman whose soul has thus been captured by another falls prey to chills and fevers and soon dies, with his last breath whispering in song that he leaves the earth and possibly even telling gaspingly the name of the shaman who caused his death. Both shamans involved in the rumored combat denied knowledge or intention to wage it. 754 787 756 [276]

As might be expected, the same methods said to be used by shamans against one another may also be used against the layman. Shamans are believed to steal souls that are wandering in dream journeys. The shaman may send his *ankungitána* to strike the soul of his victim over

(10) See page 72 for the use of tobacco in cures, as stimulants, to induce dreams, and for shamanistic ceremonies.

(11) The *ankungitána* is a ceremonial headdress made of three or four long tail feathers of a parrot and worn by the Tapirapé down the back tied to the short "pig tail" hairdress (See Fig. 1 on page 41). [256 295]

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757 the head or to tie it up and carry it off. The one whose soul is thus
787 either incapacitated or imprisoned soon dies. A shaman may call upon
756 his familiar demonic spirits of the forest to deal with a chosen victim or may in his dreams shoot a victim's spirit with small arrows causing at times death and at times only boils. Still another method of attack is for the shaman to throw a fishbone (*ipirá kunga*) or gnawing worms (*wuéke* or *ówai*) into his victim's body causing illness and death.
[755] The treatment of illness consists of removing from the victim's body these malignant arrows, fishbones, and worms that are the cause of illness.

754 In illness and other misfortune, sorcery is always suspected by
756 the Tapirapé and some shaman is accordingly always believed responsible. Sorcery, however, is believed to be the action of shamans in dreams, and although such a negative statement can obviously not be substantiated, it seems never to be consciously practised. But there
[788] is, so far as the writer knows, no use of incantations or mechanical devices for the deliberate inducing of sympathetic magic.

683 All Tapirapé are thought, however, to die by sorcery and at each
741 death suspicion turns toward a shaman (12). At the death of a child
756 or woman of low status, suspicion may arise and then soon die down
[559] but when the deceased is a man of status, his brothers, sons, or sisters' sons become violent in their grief and may murder the shaman toward whom suspicion points. Sometimes, after a long series of deaths, suspicion is fixed upon one famous and strong shaman and the Tapirapé decide informally that he must be killed. In such cases the revenge-murder occurs within the first few days after a death when the relatives are "sad" (13). If the first depression of mourning wears off without violence to the shaman, the anger toward him passes and he is out of danger. Thus, after a man of rather high status had died both Urukumu and Wantanamu, *pancés* of sufficient power to be suspected of causing his death, both left the village, ostensibly on fishing trips, staying away until the brothers of the deceased had calmed down again.

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[753] (12) Informants readily admitted that people may be infected by others, as in the case of the common cold, which they recognize as a disease from whites but it is believed that a person who has a cold slowly gets well if no sorcery is working against him. Death is caused only by sorcery.

[192 152] (13) A Tapirapé uses the word "*iwutérahu*" to describe the condition of anger and sadness.

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225 +91 756 825 and they will fish only in shallow clear rapids. When they must swim to catch turtles, a shaman guarantees their safety. A powerful shaman dreams. He travels to the river, ties he jaws of the alligators with wires, strikes the *piranha* across their teeth so they cannot bite, and ties up the large snakes into knots with their own tails.

756 825 [789] [103] [176] [324] The abundance of the food supply may also become the responsibility of the shaman. Some powerful shamans have the ability to control the movements and the increase of the bands of pigs. These shamans visit in their dreams the "home of wild pigs" near the Tapirapé River on a hill called by them *Towaiyawá* — Ringed tail of the coati (*Nasua* sp.). There the shaman has sexual intercourse with female pigs, causing large increase in the bands. Those pigs that run fastest and are hardest to kill are these "children of the *pancé*". The shaman's control over the movement of bands of pigs comes through his control over the *ancánga* called *ampukáya* — "crying spirits". Wild pigs are said to be "pets" of these spirits and follow them about. Shamans who are powerful enough capture these spirits and take them, followed by their pets, to an appointed place where Tapirapé men wait to kill the pigs. None of the living shamans was believed to be capable of these controls over the wild pigs and several of the Indians blamed the recent lack of sucess of hunting expeditions and the apparent scarcity of pigs on the declining power of the shamans.

756 787 The dream journeys of the shamans also give them the power of prophecy, as was indicated by Panteri's vision of the fever in the village of the *peropi áwa*. Such dream experiences are not limited to the demonic world but sometimes occur in other earthly regions. The shaman may visit Carajá villages or Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya, where he sometimes learns facts of great interest or importance to his fellow-tribesmen. When Panteri visited the Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya River for the first time, he said that he recognized faces that he saw for he had been to these places many times in his dream. When I returned to the Tapirapé village after three months' absence, one shaman claimed to have prophecied my arrival to the day. He had traveled in his dream, he said, to the Araguaya River and had seen my canoe moving up the Tapirapé River. Another in the same way foresaw the arrival of a young Tapirapé who was returning from se-

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veral weeks on the Araguaya. Frequently shamans, through their dreams, learn and then tell the Tapirapé where large bands of wild pigs can be found and advise them how to approach the band (21). 756 787 [224]

The cleansing of food may be accomplished by the shaman by tasting it or by blowing smoke or his breath over it. Several times each year these rites are performed over the first fruits of harvests to insure their safety before the people taste the crop. In December the first ears of the new maize are picked and presented to a strong shaman who then gives them to his wife to cook. At sundown of the day on which this is done the shaman walks to the central plaza followed by his wife, who carries the cooked maize and places it in a pile before him, ready for the ceremonies that will follow. In 1939, Panteri was the shaman who initiated this ceremony and he was joined by five other proved shamans. The people of the village gathered about this group of shamans who sat in a circle facing the maize. One by one the shamans took deep draughts from their burning pipes and blew the smoke over the maize. Then, one by one again, each pinched off a few grains from an ear and ate them. When the last had tasted the new maize, the ceremony was ended. The youngsters of the village then fell upon the pile of maize; the crop had been tasted by the shamans and found free from danger for the people. The next day maize was eaten in all houses. 276 756 796 271

A similar ceremony is performed in August or September with the first wild honey of the season, and again about January or February when new corn is ground to make the thick beverage kaui. I did not hear of such "tasting of first fruits" by shamans for other garden crops and informants were unable to remember any one occasion when shamans had found new maize or honey too dangerous for consumption by the people. [222]

Again, each year in the first months of the rainy season when the new crop of maize is threatened by the first heavy rains and electrical storms, Tapirapé shamans must "fight" against Thunder and his mi- 756 789

(21) Many such prophecies are found wanting, and several times I heard people speak of a shaman's prophecy as a "lie". Often prophecies are only made known to people after events have proved them true.

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asked. "Stinginess" is a severe accusation among these people and so complain mildly about a high price is one way of announcing one's liberality. 577 956

Liberality is a necessary quality for a man of prestige. At the time of the annual harvest ceremonies, shamans and all other men of prestige must give gifts to all those who drink of *kauió* (27). Gift giving at this time proves their liberality and validates their prestige. At this time then there is a siphoning off of wealth from the shamans, but throughout the rest of the year fees and gifts channel it back into their hands. 431 554 956 577

## ROAD TO SHAMANISM

Among the Tapirapé, *pancés* are essentially those people who dream much and who, in their dreams, travel widely in the supernatural world, achieving familiarity with the supernatural. At the time of my visit there were six men recognized as fullfledged shamans who were called upon to treat the sick and to perform various ceremonials. Pantori and Urukumu, were the two clearly outstanding; these assumed leadership in shamanistic ceremonies and were the ones most frequently called for cures. Besides these six recognized shamans, there were four young men working to develop shamanistic power to gain recognition as shamans. 956 [987]

Within the memory of persons living in the village there had been three women shamans, but there were none, either practicing as recognized shamans or working as novices, during my visit. The women shamans were remembered as having been especially malevolent. They are supposed to dream more than the man and work much harm to the people. People who recalled the women shamans explained that when they had sung in the annual ceremony of calling and fighting Thunder they had sung the part of the music usually sung by the shamans' wives and their husbands had sung the usual men shamans' parts. The women *pancés* had smoked and fallen in trances as the male shamans do. Nothing possible to men shamans appeared to be beyond the power of the women. None of them was described as masculine in behavior; [562]

(27) See footnote 17 on p. 72.

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756 on the contrary, they were described as "good wives", and one of them was remembered as small and particularly attractive.

756 828 [936] Certain people regardless of sex are early recognized as future shamans because of their natural inclination to dream. Several informants, for example, told me that a young boy, an orphan, and therefore badly cared for, would certainly be a powerful shaman. He turned and talked in his sleep and had been known to cry during a nightmare. He remembered few of his dreams but did tell of seeing the spirit of his mother, and described an evil spirit which he met during a dream. One of the present powerful shamans is said to have been such a youngster with a predilection for dreaming. Such youngsters are nervous and sensitive: yet no distinct personality traits were observed among adult 756 shamans. Shamans are frequently emaciated and thin, attributable [232] perhaps to their constant use of tobacco and the resulting nausea, and one shaman, now dead, was described by informants as a nervous ascetic interested only in the supernatural world.

276 756 787 Persons lacking this predilection for dreaming, but with aspirations to shamanism, may solicit dreams. Each year during the days of the dry season all young men who aspire to shamanism, even those who have shown potentialities during boyhood, gather each evening in the central plaza of the village to seek dreams. A novice sits upon the ground near a *paié*, his mentor, and swallows smoke from his mentor's pipe until violent vomiting occurs. When the novices are too ill to hold the pipe, the shaman holds it for them, forcing them to continue "eating smoke". Generally the neophytes fall backwards unconscious and ill from the smoke: during this state they may dream. In any case, when they regain their senses, the pipe is again placed in their mouth until they fall backwards ill and unconscious once more. The process may be repeated several times over a period of two or three hours. Later, when the novice retires to his hammock for the night, he may expect a dream.

756 Such sessions occur each night during the few weeks before the Thunder ceremony and a serious novice should attend all sessions. [834] During this period he refrains from sexual intercourse because it will hinder his dreaming: he also refrains from bathing and so becomes [515] grimey. He must not eat of those animals which "walk at night", such [262] as the jaboti tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) and the monkey, because he must be friendly with all creatures he may meet in his nocturnal dream travels. He should eat manioc flour, yams, pepper, and such bland

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meats as jacu, cuati (*Nasua* sp.), peccary, mutum (Crax sp.), and chicken; of other foods he must eat sparingly or not at all. The novices are "tired" and "thin"; many do not continue after the first few nights because they "are lazy" or because "they are afraid". Campukwi, my informant, did not continue because he did not like the dirt, the nausea from tobacco, the lack of food, and the sexual continence. 756 [262]

Other novices, more successful and more persistent, do dream. At first they see smoky forms of ghosts and sometimes forest demons; they as yet do not know how to talk with such spirits. Usually, the first season or two during which a young man seeks dreams, he may expect mild dreams. After several seasons the novice may see dangerous forest demons in his unconscious states and he may talk with ghosts. Traditionally, young Tapirapé shamans become wild and uncontrollable when they have their first dangerous dreams. They are reported sometimes to stand up suddenly from their induced unconscious state and run wildly through the village, sometimes killing chickens, dogs, and parrots, or breaking pottery. Although no novices "ran" in this way during the 1940 training period, an informant described the state of a young shaman who "ran" several years ago. "He jumped up." He shouted and ran through the village. He carried a club in his hand (usually weapons are placed well out of reach). He killed two chickens and broke through the side of a house. He killed his brother's dog. All the women and children ran from the village, afraid. Finally, Maeumi grabbed him but he was strong and he hit Maeumi with a club and blood ran down Maeumi's face. Many men came and held him and Urukumu (his mentor) blew smoke over him", thus bringing him back to his senses. He had seen dangerous spirits and "was afraid", informants told me. This reaction is common for those who show potentialities toward shamanism. 756 787

The mere fact that young shaman has several dangerous dreams does not make him a proved shaman. He must take part in the "fight" against the beings of Thunder, and by the side of his mentor he may attempt cures. If successful, he may be called now and again by people for cures. With a reputation for several cures and with continual dreaming, during which he has supernatural encounters, he builds up his reputation as a shaman over a period of many years. Panteri and Urukumu were about fifty years old when I visited them; informants gave no indication that their power was expected to decline with old age. 756 [886]

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ceremonial rattles which had fallen to the ground and running with them around the whole circuit of the village. 796

The third and fourth days of the ceremony followed closely the pattern of this day, but there were some important variations. On the last two days a new danger was added, accounting for more violent seizures that occurred then. During these days each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate headdress — the *ankungitana*. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer (30). Without exception all who wore the headdress, even Panteri and Urukumu, fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder and genuine fear was shown by all those who wore it. 293 776 786

Before a man could put the headdress on his head, a pharman waved it slowly before his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific "heat." When Urukumu wore the *ankungitana*, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circle of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panteri. Panteri likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song and when he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Panteri related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: "I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun: it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a *topi*). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus he would have vanquished the *topi*) but it left the house. Then all was dark. (He had not defeated the *topi* and it had consequently shot him with his arrow) I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days and I climbed a large mountain on the 787 796

(30) Red parrot feathers are "hot like fire", say the Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house. [821] [825] [753]

787 other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw
796 Thunder; he is big and his body is covered with white hair. He had
many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many tupi and many souls of
[796] shamans near him. I did not talk but returned fast". He added later
[796] that if he had touched Thunder's cattle he would have had to stay in
the other-world; he would have died.

796 A few novices, and now and again a rare layman, wore the
headdress and people marveled at their courage. Most Tapirapé men,
however, did not have the courage to wear it.

796 The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown
786 phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days of the ceremony.
At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the
powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panteri grabbed
the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the
air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately,
stricken by a *pancé-tiawéra*. Urukumu picked up the headdress. He
too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him. The two
young boys, as before, ran through the circle of houses at the end of
the day's ceremony, but this time they carried both the rattles and the
headdress. The participants, on regaining consciousness, returned sing-
ing to their houses.

796 On the fourth and last day of the ceremony, an additional ceremony
followed the usual evening performance. As the ceremony ended, the
two strong shamans walked out of the house to the dance ground,
taking the rattles and the headdress. There they and several others re-
enacted, but with less violence, the ceremony just completed in the
dwelling house. Following this perfomance, all the men of the village
gathered, facing north "toward the house of Thunder", and Panteri
walked across the plaza away from the group, toward the north, shak-
[788] ing the rattles over his head. Returning to the group, he touched several
men on the head with the rattles, much as a priest performs a blessing
with a crucifix. He repeated this performance until finally all the men
who had taken any part in the ceremony had received this "blessing".
Women, then children, came forward to be touched with the rattles.
Thus they were freed of danger from Thunder. After this, I was told,
Thunder goes far away to his house until next year.

[533] That evening men sang the songs of the *ancúnga aiwiró*, the spirits
535 that come to live in the dance house after Thunder has gone. Late
796

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them. "Is it true," they ask, pointing westward, "that there is another Aragua-
guaya (large river) there?"

The Tapirapé know well their traditional country—that territory north of the Tapirapé River to the River Preto, and west to the Araguaya. They know the plains country which borders the Tapirapé River and the tropical forest to the north where formerly their five villages stretched in a line some fifty to seventy-five miles apart. At least once during a man's life it was customary to visit all these villages, and before setting out he would acquaint himself with the rivers, hills, and good hunting places along the trail. At the present time, since the Tapirapé are a sedentary agricultural people, depending upon large gardens of manioc, corn, yams, and bananas, rather than upon hunting as the chief basis of their food supply, and since they have no trade, they do little travelling. The spatial limit of their direct experience is small.

Knowledge of the horizons beyond their direct experience—of far off places and people, of the supernatural and spirit worlds, of the heavens, of the origins of peoples and things, comes to them only through stories of their legendary heroes, or through experiences of their shamans. Myths relate the creation, adventures, and travels of a series of ancestor culture heroes who took the form of civilizing gods.[2] Tapirapé shamans travel widely in their dreams; they whisk off to far places—to the Araguaya, to the heavens, to the home of Thunder (see p. 257)—in their "canoes" (opened gourds used as eating utensils by the Tapirapé), or they may take the form of a bird as they travel in dreams. Since a Tapirapé has this great wealth of vicarious experience to draw upon, he never answers for himself when asked of those realms beyond his knowledge. Instead he tells of the exploits of a legendary culture hero, or of the travels of a shaman "who has been there."

The Tapirapé are thus equipped with a wide range of second-hand experience. They have no concept of a closed or limited universe. New knowledge either adds to, or fits into, their second-hand knowledge of a broad universe. Thus a Tapirapé youth, seeing for the first time the large rock formation at the mouth of the Tapirapé River, identified it as the place in which Panchai, a contemporary shaman, had seen the tremendous red parrots from which the supernaturals pluck feathers. Similarly, one travelling on the Araguaya recognized the large rapids below Santa Maria do Araguaya as those created by Kauwahu, a culture hero, to com-

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[2] Métraux, Alfred, La Religion des Tupinambá (1928), p. 7: "Pour les Tupinambá, comme pour la plupart des tribus sud-américaines, certains personnages dotés d'une puissance supérieure à celle du commun des magiciens ont été les artisans du monde tel qu'il se présentait à leurs yeux, mais ils en sont été souvent moins les créateurs que les transformateurs. Je veux dire par là que, même s'ils ont créé le ciel, les astres, et la terre leur œuvre est toujours partielle et incomplète, ne s'achevant que postérieurement à la suite d'incidents divers."

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716 and in myth the sun is called Anoriks and the moon Tampurawa, both
821 names of people. According to the Tapirape, the moon is sister to the sun
773 and is married to Anchepeteri, a culture hero who was instrumental in
796 dividing all birds into two groups,[11] and who taught Tapirape how to
821 wrestle and sing many songs. Because of sexual misbehavior, Sun is said to have slapped Moon full in the face with his hand which was wet with black *genipe* dye, thus the marks on the face of the moon are explained.

Two large planets were formerly Tapirape culture bearers. Apawenoni[12] (Venus) came down from the sky one night after having watched Anuntero, a Tapirape woman, for a long time, and lived with the Tapirape. At night he was a young man, husband of Anuntero, but by day he appeared to people as a decrepit old man. He taught Anuntero how to plant cotton and how to spin. He taught the Tapirape[13] how to plant their modern garden products, maize, manioc, *cara*, yams. Finally Apawenoni returned to the sky, taking with him his earthly son by Anuntero who is called Imuruwango (Jupiter). Today, the Tapirape point to these two planets, recounting their story and saying, "Apawenoni is young at night when he is in the sky, but by day he is old again as he was when he left us."

Many other constellations are known, but of importance in story are
821 possibly only that called by the Tapirape "the jaguar,"[14] and the Pleiades.[15]
787 One shaman told me that he had travelled (in dreams) to visit this jaguar. He was "friendly" with it, he said, and if he should be killed, the jaguar of the sky would send many real jaguars to prey upon the Tapirape. "Men would be afraid to step into the forest at night." The jaguar had become one of his retinue of familiar powers which would aid him in struggles with other shamans.

821 The Pleiades are important calendrically. They are watched anxiously
805 and impatiently as the rains diminish, and their disappearance over the
796 western horizon in May signals the end of the rains. This is the time for

[616] [11] At the present time men's societies are divided into three age grades. Each age grade of
[821] each society carries the name of a bird: one being species of small *papagaio*, and the other
[825] species of white water birds. According to myth, these groups derived from similar divisions of the bird world in which Anchepeteri lived.

[171] [12] This is probably identical with Monan (or Maire-monan, according to Métraux), civilizing god of Tupinambá, who created earth, people, birds and animals, and finally taught the Tupinambá to distinguish useful plants. He was put to death by men, at which time he was transformed into a star "with two of his companions." Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 11.

[13] One text calls them Korijumawera (pre-Tapirape) at this time (see p. 294).

[171] [14] Ancient Guarani said that there was a very large tiger or dog which on certain occasions ate the sun and moon, causing an eclipse. Apapocuva-Guarani speak of a celestial jaguar; and the Chaco from Chiriguano explain the eclipse in this same manner. Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 90.

[171] [15] "Les Pléiades paraissaient avoir été chez les Tupinamba l'objet de croyances particulières. Ils avaient notamment la conviction qu'elles favorisaient la croissance du manioc." Métraux, Mythes des Tupinambá, p. 51.

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the largest ceremonial of the year which marks the beginning of the dry 805
season and the harvest. Similarly, the position of the Pleiades is used to 821
date the many ceremonies of the heavy rainy period (November to April). [796]
One shaman had visited the Pleiades, and they, too, can be counted upon
as a familiar power. The Milky Way is often referred to as the "path of the [787]
shamans," it is a well-beaten road over which the shaman travels through
the sky in his dreams.

In common with many Tupi peoples, nothing in the realm of natural [171]
phenomena is as important to the Tapirapé as thunder. Among most Tupi, 821
Tupan is a god or an ancestor identified with thunder. He causes the 776
rumbling of thunder and flashes of lightning. Among the Tapirapé, how-
ever, Thunder[16] is a separate entity, a supernatural who has many "crea-
tures" or *tapii*. *Tapii* are described as small beings about a hand's length in
size, with white hairy down over their bodies, and wearing a small head- [177]
dress of red parrot feathers, European beads, and a lip plug. Small wax
dolls are made in imitation of them. They travel through the sky in small [532]
"canoes," especially when there are strong wind and electric storms, and
they carry red wild flowers with which they shoot Tapirapé in the stomach.
These arrows are hot "like fire." Sometimes *tapii* are called "pets" of
Thunder, and again they are referred to as his "children." In addition to [775]
*tapii*, Thunder has other supernumeraries, the souls of dead shamans, who [756]
live in the house of Thunder, commonly thought to be near Maratawa on
the summit of a large mountain.

Each year when approaching rains bring heavy thunder storms, light-
ning and strong winds, Thunder sends forth his beings. The noise of the
storm is caused by rumbling of *tapii's* canoes, and flashes of lightning are
their speeding arrows. To protect the Tapirapé, and also their gardens, 756
from the storm, shamans[17] "call Thunder," or "fight with *tapii*." In a four- 796
day ceremony characterized by genuine fear, shamans gulp tobacco smoke
until they are ill and intoxicated, they sing "calling Thunder to come," and 821
chant until they "see" one or more *tapii*, or souls of dead shamans,[18] fight 776
with them, and are struck down by their arrows. A shaman who fights a
*tapii* tries to grab its small feather head-dress, take away its bow, or yank
out its lip plug, its most vulnerable feature.

Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies of fighting Thunder.
When a shaman is shot by *tapii*, he falls screaming upon the ground, [781]
writhing and shaking, and then becomes unconscious. If men are not near

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[16] Thunder referred to as Kanawana (direct translation) is said to be called Pururuka, his personal name.

[17] Laymen and neophytes who have sufficient courage may also participate.

[18] In conversation and in song, there is confusion between these beings. Although the above distinctions are definitely made, they are often referred to interchangeably. For example, a Tapirapé may say, "*tapii* cause lightning," or "Thunder is angry and makes lightning."

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



756 to hold him, he may run wild through the village destroying property and
796 endangering people. To bring him back, smoke must be blown over him
821 by a shaman. While he is unconscious, he dreams and travels, sometimes
776 [781] visiting the house of Thunder.

"I smoked much and then I smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun and it came
787 toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They came and they left. I saw
756 Thunder. It was small and came (to the house) in a small canoe. It was Thunder's
821 child (a *topé*). It wore a small headdress of parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug.
772 I reached to pull out the lip plug but it left." [The shaman did not conquer the *topé*
776 and he was shot down by an arrow while he was unconscious] . . . "all was dark.
I saw many suns. I travelled singing as I walked. I spent three days walking. I climbed
a large mountain on the other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes
up. I saw Kanawana. He was big and his body was covered with much hair. He had
many red parrot feathers. There were many *topé* and many souls of shamans. I did
not talk but came back." [If he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have stayed
(died), but he was properly treated with tobacco smoke and returned to consciousness.]

775 Through shamans and legends of culture heroes, the Tapirapé know, too, of the multitude of "spirits" (*anchunga*) which populate the unseen world. These are of two general types: true spirits, disembodied souls of deceased Tapirapé;[19] and demons or malevolent beings of many classes. [787] Shamans are accustomed to seeing true spirits in their dreams. These gen- [756] erally inhabit abandoned village sites, where they re-live their earthly lives. When they die—the second death—they become frogs, deer, *paca* and doves. Thus the toad is the spirit of a chief; the dove and *jacu* are spirits [825] of men.[20] These ghosts cannot harm shamans who are accustomed to see- [756] ing them, but sometimes the spirits attack and strike down defenseless laymen.[21] They also cluster around a man's bier to carry off the soul as soon as the body is buried.

776 There are infinite numbers of "spirits" of the individualized demoniac class. Of these, some are "pets" which are not very dangerous, and which [794] are represented by men in the mask dance cult.[22] Other species are very dangerous, but these are no longer seen by the layman. Formerly, these 773 were numerous, and killed many Tapirapé, but Ware, a culture hero and 776 powerful shaman, fought them and killed many. A man now points to the

[19] Speaking of Tupinamba, Métraux makes these same two categories of "supernatural beings" (*eyguaa, agaia, ingaaga* and *anhanga*), *ibid.*, p. 51.

[171] [20] Animals which have, or are, spirits can be grouped together. These are tabu to some age 825 and sex groups, in a complicated dietary system. [262]

[21] Dogs can see spirits. When a dog howls, Tapirapé say, "He sees *anchunga* but we can't."

[22] At one time women may have been frightened by these "dangerous" spirits, but certainly at present everything in the men's cults is known to women, and they do not even pretend to be frightened.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



A man now points to the
southwestern horizon and says, "Ware killed all spirits there; they are only 773
spirit souls now." (To the north and east, however, many demon spirits 776
are still alive and active.) Ware engaged in a constant battle of wits with [823]
the spirit world. He killed many of the dangerous variety by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed behind them, and he also killed off another group of beings which clubbed men to death and drank their blood.

Sometimes shamans (*pancke*) see malevolent beings in their dream 756
travels, and may even become friendly with them or receive their aid. For 776
example, one shaman told of wandering far in an unknown forest as he 787
dreamed, and of coming upon the spirits called *oreyu*, who have long hair wound in a mass, and who carry only one arrow with which they can kill a man. They were about to shoot him but he shouted "No, I am a shaman!" and they left him alone, gave him food and aided him to return. Only shamans can have such relations with these supernaturals. Tapirape laymen are afraid to dream.

The shaman is indispensable to Tapirape living, not only because he has 756
dealings with the spirit world, and through his wanderings enriches the 842
knowledge of men, but also because he is of value in many practical ways. Thus he controls the pregnancy of women. Pregnancy is known to relate to sexual intercourse, but conception comes only when a shaman brings a child to a woman. Thunder, and several types of birds, animals and fish, [825]
have "children," that is, spirits of children. The shaman brings one of these "spirits" to a woman, putting it inside her while she sleeps. A woman who wants a child can, for example, bring honey to a shaman. This will make [787]
him dream, and he will bring her a child. Similarly, a barren woman presumably "had quarrelled much with the shaman."

When Tapirape swim, while fishing and shooting large turtles in the 756
Tapirape River, their safety depends upon the shaman. In this section of 825
Brazil, rivers are full of alligators, *piranha* (carnivorous fish) and sting 751
rays, and according to Tapirape belief, large snakes lurk in deep pools. [481]
Before men may swim safely the shaman must tie the jaws of the alligators, strike the *piranha* across their teeth so they will not bite, and tie up the tails of the large snakes. When Tapirape go hunting, it is up to the [224]
shaman to tell them where packs of wild pigs will be found, or to lead them down to a good spot in the plains country.[23] Danger may lurk in all food; thus Tapirape often take new corn, fresh meat, or any food, to have danger "blown" out of it by the shaman.

The universe for the Tapirape is not finite or entirely known; it is 772
dangerous. Tales of culture heroes and experiences of shamans provide a 756
773

[23] When the Tapirape have made kills of wild pigs, which are "pets" of Thunder he will [821]
be angry and send a sudden rain or clouding of the sky. If a Tapirape sees an unexpected [776]
rainbow in the sky he will say, "The shaman has been successful against Thunder" (i.e., in finding game).

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



are called upon to fight Thunder. This, the important *Tapirapé* ceremony, 241 756
lasts for 4 days, and is the high point of shamanistic activity.

Kanawana, the Thunder, lives on distant Maratawa surrounded by 776
the souls of dead shamans and by the topũ (probably equivalent to the *Tupinamba* word, "tupan"), small anthropomorphic beings whose bodies are covered with white hair.

The topũ travel through space in their canoes (half gourds), the sound [821]
of which produces the noise of the storm. The arrows which the topũ shoot cause lightning. During the ceremony, the shamans, completely [781]
intoxicated by the tobacco and stimulated by the unceasing dancing and [276]
singing, fall into a trance (pl. 19, *top, right*) during which they travel [756]
to Thunder's house in order to fight him. Thunder sets the topũ against the shamans, who, wounded by the arrows of "Thunder's creatures," fall into unconsciousness.

## SHAMANISM

The *Tapirapé* can visualize the supernatural world through the reports 756
of the dreams of their shamans, whose power grows in proportion to 787
their ability to dream. A dream is a voyage, during which the soul frees [774]
itself of the body and travels through space. In these dreams the shamans travel to regions which are entirely unknown to the living, and in general are inhabited by spirits. With their powers, the shamans succeed in taming some of the spirits, who then become their familiar spirits. The power and prestige of the shaman (panẽé) depend on the number of his familiar spirits.

The *Tapirapé* speak of battles between shamans wherein each calls out 754
his familiar spirits against the other while dreaming. More often, a 756
shaman sets his familiar spirits upon laymen and kills them. A shaman may also kill his victim during a dream by throwing a malignant object, usually a piece of bone or a worm, into his body.

The victims of sorcery appeal to friendly shamans, who attempt to 754
cure them by extracting the malignant object by suction, massage, and [755]
blowing tobacco. When many deaths occur simultaneously and the 683
*Tapirapé* suspect a certain shaman of having caused them, they do not hesitate to kill him. One man recalled that during his lifetime 10 shamans suspected of sorcery had been killed. He himself had killed a shaman whom he suspected of having killed his brother. In spite of the constant 755
suspicion surrounding them, the shamans do not employ mechanical tech- 276
niques or sympathetic magic in sorcery.

The shamans make great use of tobacco, which is essential for healing and dreaming. They smoke it in large tubular clay pipes. Cures usually take place at dusk. The shaman squats by the patient's hammock and smokes for a long time, becoming intoxicated and blowing the smoke from the pipe over the patient's body. He then massages the patient,

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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755 [276] rubbing toward the extremities of his body. If he fails to extract the malignant object in this fashion, he sucks it out, swallows it, then vomits it up.

At one time, during an epidemic of fever, a shaman used a different method. He prepared a mixture of honey and water, and, after much smoking, spewed it out over the patients and on the houses where there were sick people.

756 [751] [789] Besides healing, the shamans must protect the people against dangerous spirits (ančunga); they call forth "children's spirits" without which there can be no conception; they prevent wild animals from harming the *Tapirapé* during great hunting or fishing expeditions; and they increase the number of peccaries in the woods. It is also believed that they divine the future in their dreams. [787]

The prestige of shamans is such among the *Tapirapé* that almost all leaders of communities as well as of ceremonial moiety groups and household heads are shamans. As shamans receive payment for successful cures, they accumulate many possessions which they redistribute at a yearly ceremonial. Liberality is essential to prestige in this society where avarice is particularly despised.

## MYTHOLOGY

773 *Tapirapé* myths fall into two categories: legends telling of the deeds of ancestral heroes, and tales of animals. In the latter, the tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) is noted for his shrewdness in his dealings with the other animals of the jungle. These stories follow the general *Tupi* pattern. [171]

Among the various *Tapirapé* heroes are Apũwenonu and Petura. The former descended from heaven and lived with the *Tapirapé*. He taught them to plant and harvest cotton, manioc, and maize. When he was old, Apũwenonu returned to heaven and changed himself into a star.

Petura stole fire from the buzzards and brought light to the *Tapirapé*, who until then had not seen day. It is also told of Petura that he stole hatchets and knives from the emu and gave them to the *Tapirapé*.

Txawanamũ is famous for a series of songs which tell of his adventures among the mythical ampúawa, enemies of the *Tapirapé*, who made him die a lingering death. Wančina, a great shaman, had his whole house, including his family and belongings, transported to heaven by Kanawana, the Thunder. Waré was another shaman who killed many dangerous forest spirits.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 Baldus, 1935, 1937; Bigorre, 1916, 1917; Métraux, 1927; Wagley, 1940 a, 1940 b, 1943 b.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



115 When the heavy rains of late December and January set in, we
123 were all more or less confined to the village as the rivers and streams
124 rose to flood the savanna. What had been brooks in the tropical
[132] forest became wide streams, difficult, and sometimes dangerous, to
[133] ford. It rained many hours each day. The Tapirapé women and children spent most of the time in their dwellings, and the men and older boys lounged in the men's house. Our house again became a meeting place. And as this was of course an opportune time for interviewing, I joined the men in their club or entertained visitors at home. I began to see more of Champukwi—first, in the men's house and then as he again became a regular visitor at our house. Now, he brought his new (and younger) wife with him. He liked to sit up with us late at night after the other Tapirapé visitors had retired to their dwellings or to the men's house for the night-long sings that are customary during the season of heavy rains. Under the light of our gasoline lamp, we again took up our study of Tapirapé culture. Not once did he mention his period of antagonism except to complain that the Tapirapé gossip too much.

Sometime late in January there began what might be considered the second phase of my relationship with Champukwi. Our friendship was no less intimate than before, but our conversations and more formal interviews were not now as frequent. During the next months, Champukwi became almost my assistant, an entrepreneur of
115 Tapirapé culture. He continued to provide invaluable information,
123 but when I became interested in a subject of which he knew little,
124 he would recommend that I talk to someone else. Though he directed
756 me to Urukumu on the subject of medicine men or shamans, Cham-
[754] pukwi himself related dreams he had heard other shamans tell. He
[683] explained that he did not want to become a shaman himself, for he had seen grieved relatives beat out the brains of Tapirapé shamans whom they suspected of causing a death by sorcery. He was not cer-
[782] tain, he said, whether such shamans had actually performed sorcery;
[775] but he reasoned that any shaman might come to such an end.
[776] Champukwi did have the frequent dreams that are indicative of one's powers to become a shaman and, in some of his dreams, he saw *anchunga*, the ghosts and supernaturals who are the aids of shamans. He had told only one or two of his kinsmen about this, and he did not want it to be known throughout the village lest there be pressure on him to train for shamanism.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



787 other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw
796 Thunder; he is big and his body is covered with white hair. He had
many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topi and many souls of
[?76] shamans near him. I did not talk but returned fast". He added later
[76] that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other-world; he would have died.

796 A few novices, and now and again a rare layman, wore the headdress and people marveled at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it.

796 The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown
786 phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days of the ceremony. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panteri grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a *pancé-iúnwèra*. Urukumu picked up the headdress. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him. The two young boys, as before, ran through the circle of houses at the end of the day's ceremony, but this time they carried both the rattles and the headdress. The participants, on regaining consciousness, returned singing to their houses.

796 On the fourth and last day of the ceremony, an additional ceremony followed the usual evening performance. As the ceremony ended, the two strong shamans walked out of the house to the dance ground, taking the rattles and the headdress. There they and several others re-enacted, but with less violence, the ceremony just completed in the dwelling house. Following this perfomance, all the men of the village gathered, facing north "toward the house of Thunder", and Panteri walked across the plaza away from the group, toward the north, shak-
[788] ing the rattles over his head. Returning to the group, he touched several men on the head with the rattles, much as a priest performs a blessing with a crucifix. He repeated this performance until finally all the men who had taken any part in the ceremony had received this "blessing". Women, then children, came forward to be touched with the rattles. Thus they were freed of danger from Thunder. After this, I was told, Thunder goes far away to his house until next year.

[533] That evening men sang the songs of the *ancúnga aiwiró*, the spirits
535 that come to live in the dance house after Thunder has gone. Late
796

114 urucú "stockings" are often applied, are one of the body parts
302 most frequently exposed to the attack of various troublesome in-
751 sects. The following objections, however, are in order: (1) as
body paint, although widespread in South America, urucú is used
[171] to cover the entire body only in a very few tribes and is usually
applied only to certain skin areas; (2) among the tribes with which
we are familiar, this staining material is not used every day, but
only on certain occasions; (3) on such occasions, the Indians do
not paint all members of the tribe with urucú, but only certain
persons; (4) there are [108:127] tribes who prefer to blacken the

Fig. 6. Design on a man's thigh.

skin with genipap juice rather than anoint it with the oily urucú, although they possess both staining materials in abundance. Such a preference would not be explained by the following sentence in Gabriel Soares de Sousa (215) about genipap: "This dye has the property of drying the yaws pustules of the Indians, and of anyone who uses it as a salve."

The supposition that body painting originally had a magical
302 purpose, which was forgotten by many tribes in the course of time,
789 would seem to me more adequate than any rationalistic explanation
[114] set forth by ethnocentric Europeans.

302 set forth by ethnocentric Europeans. Among the precautionary
789 measures taken by the killer of the Tapirapé shaman, listed by Wagley (4, 16-17 [Tr., in English at 4, 72]), there is also painting the entire body with genipap and the hair with urucú. According to the same author (ibid., 11 [Tr., in English at 4, 67]), a certain Tapirapé medicine man painted his chest and chin with urucú to represent the cauí of blood that drools from the mouth of forest spirits. [Ed., the remainder of p. 127, p. 128, and all but the last paragraph of p. 129 are omitted.]

000 [108:129] Krause (2, 214) writes that the Karajá, when they paint their bodies, usually reserve the color red for men and adolescent boys, and the black for boys and young girls. He adds (ibid.), "Only once did I see a woman painted wholly with red." I wish [108:130] to note in this connection, however, that as far as our trading fabrics are concerned, the Karajá in 1935 left the red ones exclusively to the women, while the men dressed in those of other colors, such as white or green. They might already have learned from the Whites that men do not wear red. A person like the
[291] Tapirapé Kamairahó, who had had less contact with so-called civilized people than the Karajá, hid his charms at that time under a woman's dress which had originally been red and which might be said to have remained red in spite of daily wear for weeks on end.

In view of the facts noted by Krause (ibid., 386) about the
101 northern Kayapó and by Von den Steinen (2, 184-188) about the
171 Indians of the upper Xingu basin, it may be said in summary that
302 the Tapirapé are quite sharply differentiated from their neighbors in facial and body painting, although certain similarities exist with the Karajá in torso painting, and with the Kayapó and Xingu Indians in the red "stockings." It is worth noting that such "stockings" were also used by the Tupinambá.

According to what I saw, the Tapirapé stick soft plumage
301 (avió, aviú) chiefly on the arms and legs of children. The girl
237 Ampitánia was often adorned in this way. Grownups, however, also use white down glued on the arm when wearing a certain
[881] mask (Photo. 70). At the initiation ceremony, the adolescent has white down glued on the forehead, arms, torso, and thighs, with the exception of the buttocks. The glue is a resin (ykyryva in

754 the head or to tie it up and carry it off. The one whose soul is thus
787 either incapacitated or imprisoned soon dies. A shaman may call upon
756 his familiar demonic spirits of the forest to deal with a chosen victim or may in his dreams shoot a victim's spirit with small arrows causing at times death and at times only boils. Still another method of attack is for the shaman to throw a fishbone (*ipirã kunya*) or gnawing worms (*uuáka* or *áwai*) into his victim's body causing illness and death.
[755] The treatment of illness consists of removing from the victim's body these malignant arrows, fishbones, and worms that are the cause of illness.

754 In illness and other misfortune, sorcery is always suspected by
756 the Tapirapé and some shaman is accordingly always believed responsible. Sorcery, however, is believed to be the action of shamans in dreams, and although such a negative statement can obviously not be substantiated, it seems never to be consciously practised. But there
[784] is, so far as the writer knows, no use of incantations or mechanical devices for the deliberate inducing of sympathetic magic.

683 All Tapirapé are thought, however, to die by sorcery and at each
761 death suspicion turns toward a shaman (12). At the death of a child
756 or woman of low status, suspicion may arise and then soon die down
[554] but when the deceased is a man of status, his brothers, sons, or sisters' sons become violent in their grief and may murder the shaman toward whom suspicion points. Sometimes, after a long series of deaths, suspicion is fixed upon one famous and strong shaman and the Tapirapé decide informally that he must be killed. In such cases the revenge-murder occurs within the first few days after a death when the relatives are "sad" (13). If the first depression of mourning wears off without violence to the shaman, the anger toward him passes and he is out of danger. Thus, after a man of rather high status had died both Urukumu and Wantanamu, *pancés* of sufficient power to be suspected of causing his death, both left the village, ostensibly on fishing trips, staying away until the brothers of the deceased had calmed down again.

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[753] (12) Informants readily admitted that people may be infected by others, as in the case of the common cold, which they recognize as a disease from whites but it is believed that a person who has a cold slowly gets well if no sorcery is working against him. Death is caused only by sorcery.

[192 152] (13) A Tapirapé uses the word "*iwutéralu*" to describe the condition of anger and sadness.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



veral weeks on the Araguaya. Frequently shamans, through their dreams, learn and then tell the Tapirapé where large bands of wild pigs can be found and advise them how to approach the band (21). 756 787 [224]

The cleansing of food may be accomplished by the shaman by tasting it or by blowing smoke or his breath over it. Several times each year these rites are performed over the first fruits of harvests to insure their safety before the people taste the crop. In December the first ears of the new maize are picked and presented to a strong shaman who then gives them to his wife to cook. At sundown of the day on which this is done the shaman walks to the central plaza followed by his wife, who carries the cooked maize and places it in a pile before him, ready for the ceremonies that will follow. In 1939, Panteri was the shaman who initiated this ceremony and he was joined by five other proved shamans. The people of the village gathered about this group of shamans who sat in a circle facing the maize. One by one the shamans took deep draughts from their burning pipes and blew the smoke over the maize. Then, one by one again, each pinched off a few grains from an ear and ate them. When the last had tasted the new maize, the ceremony was ended. The youngsters of the village then fell upon the pile of maize; the crop had been tasted by the shamans and found free from danger for the people. The next day maize was eaten in all houses. 276 756 796 241

A similar ceremony is performed in August or September with the first wild honey of the season, and again about January or February when new corn is ground to make the thick beverage kaui. I did not hear of such "tasting of first fruits" by shamans for other garden crops and informants were unable to remember any one occasion when shamans had found new maize or honey too dangerous for consumption by the people. [222]

Again, each year in the first months of the rainy season when the new crop of maize is threatened by the first heavy rains and electrical storms, Tapirapé shamans must "fight" against Thunder and his mi- 756 789

(21) Many such prophecies are found wanting, and several times I heard people speak of a shaman's prophecy as a "lie". Often prophecies are only made known to people after events have proved them true.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



756 nions in order to protect the gardens and even the people themselves
789 from his violence. This four-day ceremony is the culmination of shamanistic activity among the Tapirapé and its most exotic and violent manifestation (22).

## SOCIAL POSITION OF THE SHAMAN

554 The Tapirapé do not have chieftains with highly centralized autho-
622 rity. Instead one finds among them respected individuals who are described modernly by the Tapirapé with the Portuguese term "*capitão*". Such men of great prestige have in every instance gained the respect of their fellow tribesmen in one or more — usually at least two — of three ways.

622 First, an individual may be singled out by his parents, who must
554 themselves be people of some prestige for especial treatment as a *čirika-*
858 *kántu*, a favored child (23). Parents bestow upon such a child a series of important names which in themselves carry respect and he is taught with special care the myths, songs, dances, and manual techniques of the tribe. His parents may wait upon him, bringing him water to drink and to wash himself with and preparing special foods for him. Special care is taken in oiling and painting his body and elaborate decorations are made for him to wear during the annual harvest ceremonies, for the *čirikakántu* are the central figures in part of this ceremony. Again, his body decorations are more elaborate than those of an ordinary youth when he dances during the ceremony of reaching maturity (24).

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(22) See page 84 for a detailed treatment of Thunder as a supernatural and of the Thunder Ceremony.

[616 (23) I use the masculine pronoun, for most *čirikakántu* are boys, although
562] girls have been selected for this special treatment within the memory of my informants. Usually there are two mate "favored children" in the village, one from each moiety.

[114] (24) On this subject of chieftainship, I again disagree with Baldus. He reports a "chefe principal" and a "vice-chefe". He considers such offices hereditary, the oldest son of the chief becoming chief and the next oldest becoming vice-chief (op. cit. page 81). But I believe the impression of primogeniture was created only by the fact that important names and the position of *čirikakántu* were generally passed on by parents to their oldest child and the parents of outstanding importance

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



772
773 large framework into which all new knowledge can be fitted. And this
756 universe is dangerous. The shaman, by the use of his wisdom and insight, his familiarity with celestial powers, spirits and far off places, is the only
756 intermediary between men and supernaturals. Through him, the Tapirapé
789 attempt to control their hostile and unpredictable world. Without the shaman, as one informant said, "All Tapirapé would die."

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12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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those for group singing during the harvest ceremonies and the ceremony 533
of kawi (p. 176); those for the masked dancers during the dry season; and a very large number of songs specifically for the "Big Sing" (monikahô) during the latter part of the rainy season. During this period (approximately March through April), singing takes place throughout each night from sundown to sunrise. On these occasions, [66]
the singing leader and the men of one of the moieties introduce the verse of each song and the refrain is then taken up by the men of the other moiety and the women of the tribe. Women sing in a higher key than the men and, generally, a phrase behind the men. The songs of the masked dancers, each representing a supernatural being, differ stylistically from those used on other occasions in being sung in a falsetto tone, in a manner [171]
similar to that of the neighboring *Carajá*. Many such songs have been [177]
admittedly learned from the *Carajá*.

**Dancing.**—Both men and women dance as they sing. In general, the 535
*Tapirapé* dance bending slightly forward, stamping out the time of the music with one foot. Dancing differs greatly, however, according to the occasion. During the harvest ceremonies, men dance in a line, side by [241]
side, each man's wife dancing directly behind him. During the group singing of the "Big Sing," the men dance in moiety groups facing each other, and women dance behind the moiety group of their husbands. On one occasion during this time, men dance with women, side by side, with a curious skipping step.

**Games.**—Men's moieties run foot races against each other after the 526
communal work festival (p. 168); they race in a straight line across the village plaza. Wrestling takes place at one wet-season ceremony, and, now and again, throughout the year as sport. The *Tapirapé* explain, [171]
however, that the *Carajá* are better wrestlers and that it is more properly a *Carajá* sport. In wrestling, opponents stand face to face, grasping each other about the neck, and attempt to force or to trip the other to the ground. During one festival, men, one from each moiety at a time, compete by throwing blunt-headed spears at each other. Gambling games [525]
are unknown.

**Stimulants.**—Native tobacco, though used for leisure-time smoking, is 276
principally a stimulant and medicine. A *Tapirapé* will not travel without 755
a supply of tobacco to blow smoke over his tired body at the end of the day, in order to take out soreness and tiredness. Tobacco is necessary to shamans in all their activities. They blow tobacco smoke over the patient in curing (p. 177), and, to induce dreams and a trance, they swallow large gulps of smoke until they become intoxicated and nauseated. [751]
When people have seen ghosts, shamans fumigate them with tobacco 276
smoke, in order to drive away the ghost's influence. Shamans fumigate 756
new maize, the first honey of the season and, sometimes, fresh meat to drive out possible supernatural danger. This native tobacco is smoked [789]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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755 rubbing toward the extremities of his body. If he fails to extract the
[276] malignant object in this fashion, he sucks it out, swallows it, then vomits it up.

At one time, during an epidemic of fever, a shaman used a different method. He prepared a mixture of honey and water, and, after much smoking, spewed it out over the patients and on the houses where there were sick people.

756 Besides healing, the shamans must protect the people against dangerous
[75] spirits (ančunga); they call forth "children's spirits" without which there
[189] can be no conception; they prevent wild animals from harming the *Tapirapé* during great hunting or fishing expeditions; and they increase the
[757] number of peccaries in the woods. It is also believed that they divine the future in their dreams.

The prestige of shamans is such among the *Tapirapé* that almost all leaders of communities as well as of ceremonial moiety groups and household heads are shamans. As shamans receive payment for successful cures, they accumulate many possessions which they redistribute at a yearly ceremonial. Liberality is essential to prestige in this society where avarice is particularly despised.

## MYTHOLOGY

773 *Tapirapé* myths fall into two categories: legends telling of the deeds of ancestral heroes, and tales of animals. In the latter, the tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) is noted for his shrewdness in his dealings with the
[171] other animals of the jungle. These stories follow the general *Tupí* pattern.

Among the various *Tapirapé* heroes are Apüwenonu and Petura. The former descended from heaven and lived with the *Tapirapé*. He taught them to plant and harvest cotton, manioc, and maize. When he was old, Apüwenonu returned to heaven and changed himself into a star.

Petura stole fire from the buzzards and brought light to the *Tapirapé*, who until then had not seen day. It is also told of Petura that he stole hatchets and knives from the emu and gave them to the *Tapirapé*.

Txawanamü is famous for a series of songs which tell of his adventures among the mythical ampúawa, enemies of the *Tapirapé*, who made him die a lingering death. Wančina, a great shaman, had his whole house, including his family and belongings, transported to heaven by Kanawana, the Thunder. Waré was another shaman who killed many dangerous forest spirits.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 Baldus, 1935, 1937; Bigorne, 1916, 1917; Métraux, 1927; Wagley, 1940 a, 1940 b, 1943 b.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



776 Some of these demons of the forest are now "pets" of the Tapirapé, and are no longer dangerous to them. The comparatively harmless ancúnpa, in a sense domesticated by Tapirapé men, come at intervals throughout the year to live in the large central men's house. While an [535] ancúnpa is inhabiting this ceremonial house, Tapirapé men sing and [530] dance with masks representing the visiting spirit (7).

756 Knowledge of the supernatural world is gained chiefly through the 787 dream experiences of shamans or *pancé*, for among the Tapirapé shamanistic power derives from dreams and from powers revealed in them. [774] Dreams are believed to be journeys. The *iungá*, the soul, may free itself [528] from the *eté*, the body, in sleep, and move freely in time and space. Obviously anyone may dream but frequent dreaming is evidence of shamanistic power. Laymen who dream very much are afraid, for they do not belong in this supernatural world, or they believe that they should become shamans.

Campukwi, who was not a shaman, indicated this fear in telling me his dream experience. When he saw dangerous ancúnpa in his dream, he had no recourse but to run: "I am not a shaman. I was afraid. I ran. They would have killed me". Only shamans have the supernatural power to move freely in this dream-world of ghosts and demons. A shaman is never afraid in his dream travels, for ghosts are his friends and the power of a shaman grows in proportion as he fraternizes with the demonic spirits of the forest. After a dream-visit from a shaman, breeds of demonic spirits may become his familiars, obedient to his calls for aid. Turning himself into a bird or launching himself through the air in his "canoe" a half gourd, he travels to the villages of ghosts, to the houses of demonic spirits, or to such temporal places as the Brazilian settlements or Carajá villages on the Araguaya River. Then, too, time is no obstacle: in a sleep of a few minutes he may experience three or four days of dream adventure.

756 The dream experience of Ikanancowi, a powerful shaman who died 776 a few years before my visit, will illustrate these points. In his dream he 787 walked far to the shores of a large lake deep in the jungle. There he heard dogs barking and ran in the direction from which the noise came until he met several forest spirits of the breed called *manpi anká*. They

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[777] (7) The men's masked dance cult, kept as a secret from the women, is not [562] generally found among Tupi tribes. In this case it has obviously been borrowed from [797] the Tapirapé's neighbors, the Carajá.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



756 to hold him, he may run wild through the village destroying property and
796 endangering people. To bring him back, smoke must be blown over him
821 by a shaman. While he is unconscious, he dreams and travels, sometimes
776 [781] visiting the house of Thunder.

"I smoked much and then I smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun and it came
787 toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They came and they left. I saw
756 Thunder. It was small and came (to the house) in a small canoe. It was Thunder's
821 child (a *tapi*). It wore a small headdress of parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug.
I reached to pull out the lip plug but it left." [The shaman did not conquer the *tapi*
772 and he was shot down by an arrow while he was unconscious] . . . "all was dark.
776 I saw many suns. I travelled singing as I walked. I spent three days walking. I climbed
a large mountain on the other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes
up. I saw Kanawana. He was big and his body was covered with much hair. He had
many red parrot feathers. There were many *tapi* and many souls of shamans. I did
not talk but came back." [If he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have stayed
(died), but he was properly treated with tobacco smoke and returned to consciousness.]

775 Through shamans and legends of culture heroes, the Tapirapé know, too, of the multitude of "spirits" (*aechanga*) which populate the unseen world. These are of two general types: true spirits, disembodied souls of deceased Tapirapé;[19] and demons or malevolent beings of many classes.
[787] Shamans are accustomed to seeing true spirits in their dreams. These gen-
[756] erally inhabit abandoned village sites, where they re-live their earthly lives. When they die—the second death—they become frogs, deer, *paca* and doves. Thus the toad is the spirit of a chief; the dove and *paca* are spirits
[825] of men.[20] These ghosts cannot harm shamans who are accustomed to see-
[756] ing them, but sometimes the spirits attack and strike down defenseless laymen.[21] They also cluster around a man's bier to carry off the soul as soon as the body is buried.

There are infinite numbers of "spirits" of the individualized demoniac
776 class. Of these, some are "pets" which are not very dangerous, and which
[794] are represented by men in the mask dance cult.[22] Other species are very dangerous, but these are no longer seen by the layman. Formerly, these
773 were numerous, and killed many Tapirapé, but Ware, a culture hero and
776 powerful shaman, fought them and killed many. A man now points to the

[19] Speaking of Tupinambá, Métraux makes these same two categories of "supernatural beings" (*ayguara, agaia, ingaoga* and *anhanga*), *ibid.*, p. 51.

[171] [20] Animals which have, or are, spirits can be grouped together. These are tabu to some age
[82] and sex groups, in a complicated dietary system.
[262]

[21] Dogs can see spirits. When a dog howls, Tapirapé say, "He sees *anhanga* but we can't."

[22] At one time women may have been frightened by these "dangerous" spirits, but certainly at present everything in the men's cults is known to women, and they do not even pretend to be frightened.

The glue is a resin (ykyryva in
301 Tapirapé) used by both sexes to anoint the body and hair. Once
237 crushed, it is mixed with peanut oil (chany). [Ed., the last two
[314] paragraphs of p. 130 and all but the last paragraph of p. 131 are
[381] omitted.]

[108:131] Larger feather ornaments are used by the Tapirapé, as a rule, only on festive occasions. The Tapirapé Kanchovaní, however, when I invited him to come with me to the Araguaia, showed me the large red macaw feathers that he intended to wear on his head upon reaching the Karajá villages. These are the
[171] feathers prized most highly both in his own tribe and among the shore dwellers of the big river. I never saw any Tapirapé use them aside from such occasions. [Ed., the remainder of p. 131 and the first half of p. 132 are omitted.]

[108:132] The circular feather headdress is of the greatest
292 importance to the Tapirapé. Referring to its use in the Thunder
● 796 ceremony, Wagley writes (4, 33-34 [Tr., in English at 4, 89-90]): "... each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate
[776] headdress--the ankungitána. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer. Without exception all who
292 wore the ankungitána, even Panterí and Urukumú, showed genuine
781 fear and fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder. Before a man could put the headdress on, a shaman waved it slowly before
[756] his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific 'heat.' When Urukumú wore the ankungitána, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circuit of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid, and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panterí. Panterí likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song, and when
787 he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of
776 Thunder. Later, Panterí [108:133] related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: 'I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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Fig. 1

*Ankangiténa* — Ornamento de cabeça para a cerimônia do Trovão

*Ankangiténa* — Headdress for the Thunder Ceremony

[p. 42 is blank]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 2

Um jovem pagé, em estado de transe, quando realizava o circuito da aldeia durante a sessão diurna da cerimônia do Trovão. Está acompanhado por dois jovens prontos aampará-lo, se êle cair.

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A young shaman, in a tranced state, as he makes the village circuit during the day session of the Thunder Ceremony. He is accompanied by two young men ready to catch him if he should fall.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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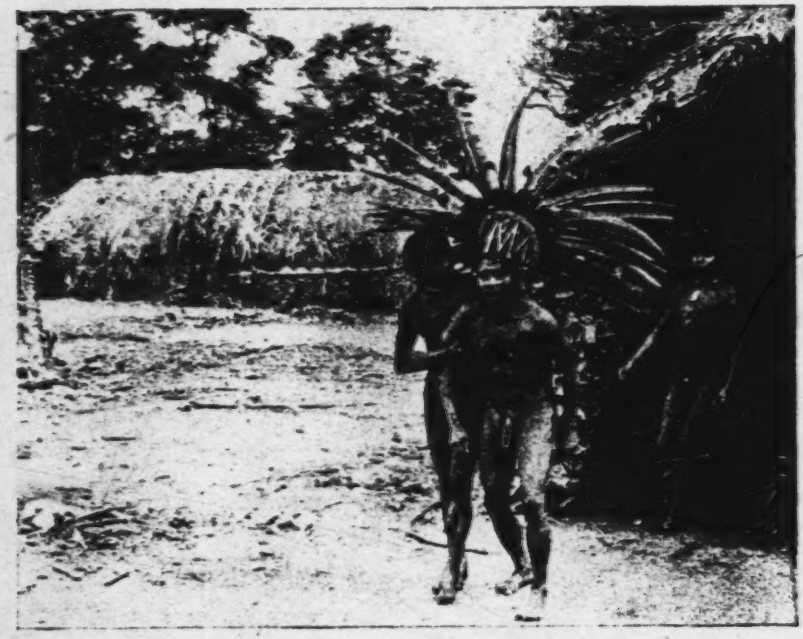

Fig. 3

Jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Está doente por engulir fumaça de tabaco e próximo a um estado de transe. Caiu antes de alcançar a segunda casa do circuito.

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Young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. He fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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Fig. 4

Outro jovem noviço no xamanismo, usando o perigoso ornamento cerimónial de cabeça. Também está doente por engulir fumaça de tabaco, e próximo a um estado de transe. Como o da fig. 3, caiu antes de alcançar a segunda casa do circuito.

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Another young novice shaman wearing the dangerous ceremonial headdress. He is ill too from swallowing tobacco smoke and near to a trance state. Like the other of fig. 3 he fell before reaching second house in the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 5

Kamairai (Veja Apêndice), um jovem pagé, vacilando na metade do circuito da aldeia.

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Kamairai (see Appendix), a young shaman, staggering half way around the village circle.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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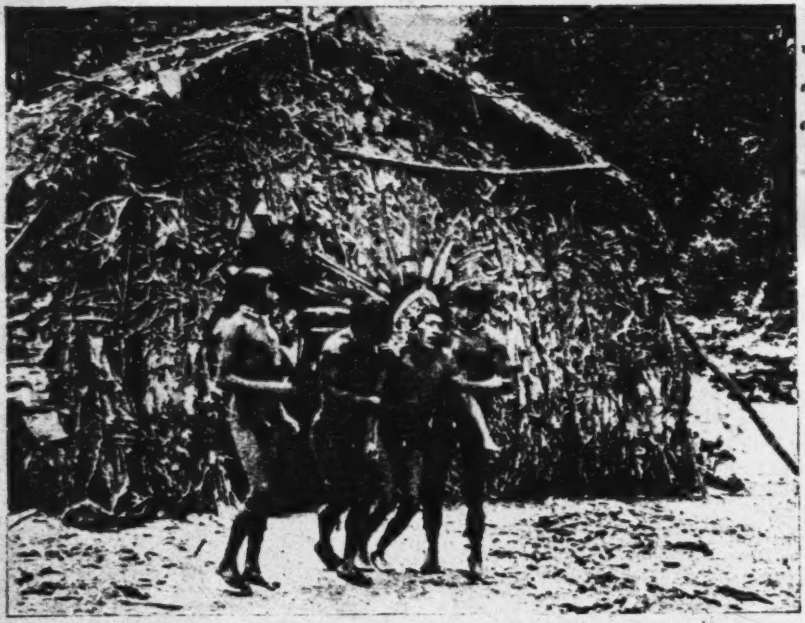

Fig. 6

De repente, ficou rigido e caiu para a frente, sendo agarrado pelos dois rapazes que o guiavam.

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Suddenly he stiffened and fell forward caught by the young men who had been leading him.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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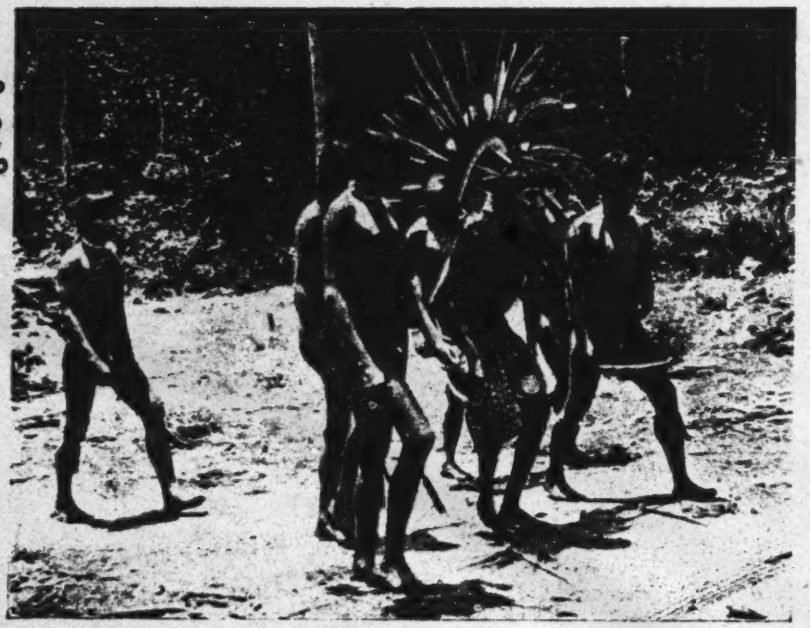

Fig. 7

O poderoso pagé Urukumú era seguido por numerosos jovens quando fez o circuito pela aldeia, usando o ornamento cerimonial de cabeça. Como decoração, usou um pedaço de fazenda vermelha, que lhe fôra presenteado pelo etnólogo.

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The powerful shaman, Urukumu, was followed by numerous young men when he made the village circuit wearing the ceremonial headdress. He wore a piece of red cotton cloth given him by the ethnologist as decoration.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 8

Êle era "forte", não necessitando de ajuda, porém, quando foi abatido pelos seres do Trovão, os jovens estavam próximos para ampará-lo na queda.

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He was "strong" and did not need aid but when he was struck by the beings of Thunder, the young men were nearby to catch him when he fell.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 9

Sempre que um pagé caia inconciente, os jovens que o acompanhavam lhe removiam ràpidamente o ornamento da cabeça e o levantavam nos ombros para carregá-lo através do circuito da aldeia. Nessa ocasião, a espôsa de Kamairaho estava preocupada com êle e veio apalpar-lhe a face.

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Whenever a shaman fell unconscious, the young men accompanying him quickly removed the headdress and raised him upon their shoulders to carry him through the village circle. On this occasion, Kamairaho's wife was worried about him and came to feel of his face.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Fig. 10

O corpo da maioria dos pagés ficava rigido, quando, em estado de inconciência, eram carregados pelo circuito da aldeia, de volta à casa em que se iniciara a cerimônia. Nesta fotografia, três rapazes carregam fàcilmente o corpo rigido de Panteri, um dos poderosos pagés, após, ter sido abatido pelos seres do Trovão.

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The bodies of most shamans were rigid in their unconscious state as they were being carried through the village circle back to the first house. In this picture, three young men easily carry the rigid body of Panteri, one of the powerful shamans, after he had been stricken by the beings of Thunder.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



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Fig. 11

Os mesmos rapazes, carregando Panteri.

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The same young men carrying Panteri.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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Fig. 12

Os dois pagés engolem fumaça de tabaco, preparando-se para a fase final da cerimônia do Trovão, em que livram o povo do perigo. A população da aldeia ainda não se reüniu. Cada homem tem o cachimbo na mão, e o jovem, à direita, está engulindo fumaça do cachimbo.

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The two shamans swallowing tobacco smoke in preparation for the final phase of the Thunder ceremony when they rid the people of danger. The village populace has not yet gathered. Each man holds his pipe in his hand and the young man on the right is gulping smoke from his pipe.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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## EXPLICAÇÃO DA FIG. 13

660 A — Casa situada a sudoeste, em que se realiza a fase vesperal (ocaso) da cerimônia.

B — Lugar de dansa, onde ocorre a fase final da cerimônia, ao fim do quarto dia.

C — Casa grande cerimonial dos homens.

→ Direção que segue o pagé, "no circuito da aldeia", na fase diurna da cerimônia.

:::::: Trilhas feitas especialmente para a cerimônia.

—||—||— Portas temporárias, abertas nas casas, para permitir o "circuito da aldeia".

—| |— Portas permanentes das casas.

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361
796 A — Dwelling situated at SW in which the evening phase (sunset) of the ceremony takes place.

B — Dance grounds, where the final phase of the ceremony takes place, at the end of the fourth day.

C — Men's ceremonial house.

→ Direction the shaman takes in his village circuit during the day time phase of the ceremony.

:::::: Path made especially for the ceremony.

—||—||— Temporary doors opened in each house to form the village circuit.

—| |— Permanent house doors.

[p. 54]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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PLANTA DA ALDEIA — MAP OF THE VILLAGE

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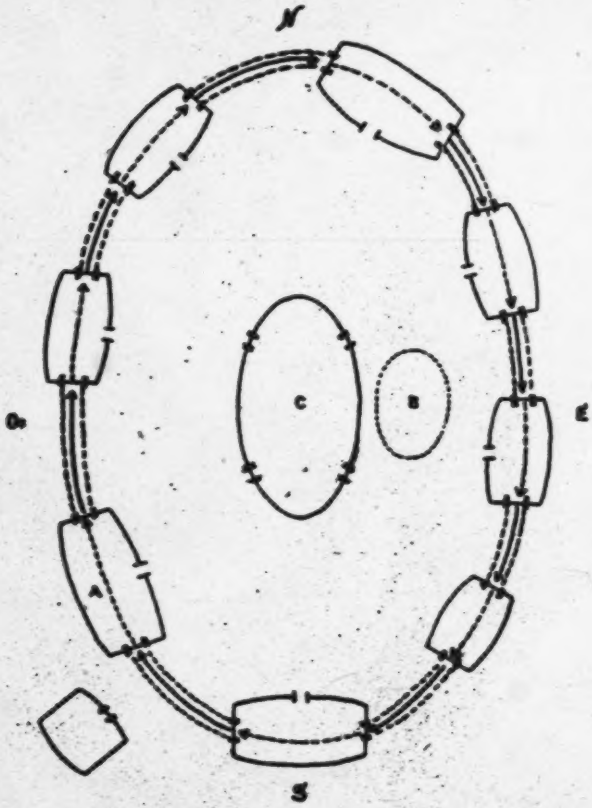


Fig. 13

Disposição das nove casas da aldeia, com as portas provisórias para o circuito da Cerimônia do Trovão.

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Arrangement of the nine dwellings of the village, with the temporary side doors opened to form the circuit for the Thunder ceremony.

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were tearing a bat out of a tree for food. These talked with Ikanancowi 756
and invited him to return to their village, which was situated upon the 776
lake. In the village he saw *periquitos* (Psittacidae) and many *socó* 787
(*Butorides* sp.), birds which they keep as pets. The *ančúnga* had several pots of *kaui* (8) and invited Ikanancowi to eat with them. He refused for he saw that their *kaui* was made from human blood. Ikanancowi watched one spirit drink of the *kaui* and saw him vomit blood immediately afterwards; the shaman saw a second spirit drink from another pot and immediately spurt blood from his anus. He saw the *munpi anká* vomit up their entrails and throw them upon the ground, but he soon saw that this was only a trick; they would not die, for they had more intestines. After this visit the *munpi anká* called Ikanancowi father and he called them his sons; he visited them in his dreams frequently and he had *munpi anká* near him always. When Ikanancowi danced and sang in [302
the annual shamanistic ceremony against Thunder (see page 84), he 796]
painted his chest and chin red with *urucu*, representing the *kaui* of blood which drools from the mouths of the *munpi anká* after they vomit and he called these spirits to his aid in his songs. Other shamans have had familiar spirits but none have had such dangerous spirits as the *munpi anká*: "people were very much afraid of Ikanancowi, for these *ančúnga* are very dangerous".

In another dream told to me a shaman met the forest spirits called *oréya*. These have long hair wound in a mass on top of their heads and they carry one arrow for the bows with which they kill men. The *oréya* were about to shoot the shaman, but when he shouted. "No, I am a shaman", they did not harm him. Instead they gave him food and helped him return through the deep forest to the village. Another shaman had *ančúnga anú awa* as his familiars. These forest demons have protruding eyes and sharp pointed chins. They kill Tapirapé by grabbing them from behind as they walk unsuspectingly through the forest, clapping their hands over the victim's mouth and driving their pointed chins into the back of his neck. A man caught by one of these *ancúnga* dies gurgling and staring, unable to speak; so, although found alive he may never explain what happened to him. A shaman with such dangerous familiars as these protects the laity by keeping his spirits under control.

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(8) *Kaui* is a thick soup-like drink prepared most usually from maize, [272]
sometimes from several kinds of manioc. It is never alcoholic among the Tapirapé.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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veral weeks on the Araguaya. Frequently shamans, through their dreams, learn and then tell the Tapirapé where large bands of wild pigs can be found and advise them how to approach the band (21). 756 787 [224]

The cleansing of food may be accomplished by the shaman by tasting it or by blowing smoke or his breath over it. Several times each year these rites are performed over the first fruits of harvests to insure their safety before the people taste the crop. In December the first ears of the new maize are picked and presented to a strong shaman who then gives them to his wife to cook. At sundown of the day on which this is done the shaman walks to the central plaza followed by his wife, who carries the cooked maize and places it in a pile before him, ready for the ceremonies that will follow. In 1939, Panteri was the shaman who initiated this ceremony and he was joined by five other proved shamans. The people of the village gathered about this group of shamans who sat in a circle facing the maize. One by one the shamans took deep draughts from their burning pipes and blew the smoke over the maize. Then, one by one again, each pinched off a few grains from an ear and ate them. When the last had tasted the new maize, the ceremony was ended. The youngsters of the village then fell upon the pile of maize; the crop had been tasted by the shamans and found free from danger for the people. The next day maize was eaten in all houses. 276 756 796 241

A similar ceremony is performed in August or September with the first wild honey of the season, and again about January or February when new corn is ground to make the thick beverage kaui. I did not hear of such "tasting of first fruits" by shamans for other garden crops and informants were unable to remember any one occasion when shamans had found new maize or honey too dangerous for consumption by the people. [222]

Again, each year in the first months of the rainy season when the new crop of maize is threatened by the first heavy rains and electrical storms, Tapirapé shamans must "fight" against Thunder and his mi- 756 789

(21) Many such prophecies are found wanting, and several times I heard people speak of a shaman's prophecy as a "lie". Often prophecies are only made known to people after events have proved them true.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



## THE THUNDER CEREMONY

[171] In common with many Tupi peoples the Tapirapé consider thunder 776 as a powerful supernatural. He is called *Kanawana* by the Tapirapé. [821] Kanawana lives in his house at Maratawa surrounded by his various [775] supernumeraries. He has with him the souls of deceased Tapirapé shamans [572] (*pančé-iúnwera*), messengers called *awampewa* that carry news to these *pančé iúnwera*, and finally, *topi* (28).

*Topi* are described as small anthropomorphic beings about the size of a man's hand. Their bodies are covered with downy white hair, and they wear European beads, little headdresses of parrot feathers, and lip plugs. They travel with great swiftness through the air small "canoes", which are only halves of gourds, and they carry with them red feathers and beads to use as arrows to shoot at Tapirapé. Sometimes *topi* are referred to as "pets" of Thunder and sometimes as his children; but in any case, they are many and do his bidding.

● 776 Each year in approximately late December and January, when 821 there are heavy thunder showers, lightning, and strong winds, the Tapirapé believe that Thunder is angry. The noise of the storm is the rumbling of his *topi's* canoes and the lightning is their speeding arrows. Once, when a strong wind ripped off part of the roof of a house, Tapirapé men were frightened because they knew that *pančé-iúnwera* sent by Thunder had caused the wind. At this time each year shamans "call Thunder" and match their powers against him. In frenzied intoxi- [766] cation from gulping tobacco smoke, constant singing and dancing, they fall into trances during which they travel to the house of Thunder. Shamans and the courageous laymen who take part in this ceremony are struck down by *topi's* arrows and fall writhing upon the ground. Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies against Thunder and his beings.

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(28) *Topi* is obviously the Tapirapé equivalent of *Tupan*, the word recorded as used by the Tupinambá and other coastal Tupi. Among the coastal Tupi *Tupan* was the supernatural being who cause the thunder and lightning. Tupan was so important that the early Catholic missionaries used the word for God. See Alfred Métraux's, 1928, *La Religion des Tupinambá*, pages 52-56. Paris. Note, however, that among the Tapirapé *topi* are merely creatures of Thunder.

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In January 1940 this ceremony was announced without warning 276
by Panteri, one of the two powerful shamans of the village. One morn- 533
ing very early while it was still night, he woke up, lighted his pipe 796
and began to swallow tobacco smoke as he would when performing a cure. Then he began to sing, accompanied by his wife who sang in a higher counterpuntal key. His song called Thunder to come to the village and announced that he would see *topi* and *pancé-iinuwera* the next day. He sang that "many Tapirapé would die" (29). By daybreak he had finished his song and all those who had waked to hear were asleep again. The village knew that Panteri had begun the ceremony by challenging Thunder and by noon on that day Urukumu, another powerful shaman, took up the song — swallowing smoke, vomiting, and singing accompanied by his wife. After an hour or more, Urukumu relaxed into his hammock and the song was taken up first by one and then by another shaman or novice to shamanism ; until sunset this singing continued.

At sunset shamans and novices came one by one to the dance ground in front of the ceremonial house and repeated the performances of swallowing smoke until intoxicated. In turn, then, each of these stood up with this wife, the two facing each other and about five feet apart, and sang together. By nightfall this cycle of singing in the plaza was ended. Thunder had been called and his creatures would appear in the village on the next day.

For the three following days during which the ceremonies con- 796
tinued, sunset always marked a distinct change in the activities. There seemed always to be two distinct phases of the ceremony — one for the daylight hours and the other for the twilight.

Early on the morning of the second day of the ceremonies that I witnessed, preparations were made for the daytime activities. In each of the nine dwellings a door was broken through each side wall at the point nearest to the neighboring house. Paths were then swept between the houses, leading from one of these new doors to another and so forming a circular path about the village and passing through each house. The inhabitants of the largest of the dwellings (*A* on the ac-

(29) To "die" in this ceremony is to fall in a trance from the effect of the topi's arrows. During this trance the soul leaves the body and travels to the house of Thunder.

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796 companying map of the village. (Fig. 13), which was to the southwest, moved their belongings back against the wall, clearing the house floor of their cooking hearths and taking down their hammocks. This house was to be the central point of the ceremonies to come.

276 796 About midday Panteri, in his house, began again to sing and gulp smoke from his pipe. After he had become ill and intoxicated, he came with his wife out of one of the new side doors of his house, "eating smoke" as he came. From this door the couple moved in a clockwise direction along the circular path until they came to the center of the next house. There they stopped, faced each other, and sang, Panteri punctuating his song with deep draughts from his pipe and vomiting. At each house they repeated this performance. When they reached their [534] own house again, Panteri took up two ceremonial rattles decorated with parrot feathers and the couple continued on a second round of the village houses. After making this circuit four times they stopped in their own house, where Panteri relaxed into his hammock. The rattles were left in the southwest house on the last circuit.

276 786 796 Urukumu and his wife then made four similar trips about the new circular path. After he had finished, a young shaman took up the ceremony, but he was not able to complete even one round without help. After singing in several houses he began to stagger as he walked and stumbled blindly into house posts; he was noticeably in a state of trance. Young men led him from house to house. Suddenly he [547] shrieked, his body stiffened, and he fell to the ground. His muscles quivered for a few moments and then his body became rigid. He had lost his battle. He had seen *topi* and been shot by their arrows, for he did not have the strength of Panteri or Urukumu. Several young men immediately raised him up on their shoulders and carried him through the remaining houses of the circuit, depositing him finally in the southwestern house. One of the powerful shamans was then called, and he massaged and blew smoke over the prostrate young shaman's body until life again appeared in it.

Throughout the remainder of the afternoon aspirants to shamanism and several other laymen took up the ceremony of calling Thunder by traveling the ceremonial circuit of the village. At one time there were three men moving with their wives over this circular route. Some never reached a trance state because "they did not know how to eat smoke" or because "*topi* did not hear their songs". Several novices

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"saw *topi*" and were struck down as the young shaman had been 147
earlier that day. One shaman novice, staggering blindly and vomiting 276
violently, tried to break away from the young men who were partially 786
supporting him. When they caught him, he fell immediately to the 796
ground. Finally, toward sundown, Panteri took up his song again. He still was "stronger than *topi*" and was able to perform his song without falling into a trance.

At sundown men began to gather in the house which had been 276
cleared. Some twenty men came to take part in this phase of the 533
ceremonies. The bulk of the village population was gathered inside the 796
house, crouched close against the walls, or outside looking through the doors.

The two powerful shamans, Urukumu and Panteri, stood in the middle of the floor facing each other. They lighted their long pipes and began to swallow smoke. At the back of the room were two young men with the ceremonial rattles that the shamans had used earlier. These young men were in positions of particular danger, for their rattles attracted the special attention of Thunder's creatures. In front of them Ikoriwantori, a young man noted for his singing, stood on a bench and began to sing the songs of Thunder; they played accompaniment for his songs on the rattles. A young boy sat behind them and [534]
beat time to the song with a hollow trunk of bamboo. Now and again young men standing against the walls took up a chorus with the solo singer. The shamans kept going to the young men with the rattles, offering them smoke to swallow from their pipes until they were unsteady on their feet. At times they were able to stay on their feet only when they were held up. They then began walking back and forth to the front of the house, shaking the rattles towards the roof threateningly, challenging *topi* and *pančé-iúnwera* to come.

Shamans now offered their pipes to their novices and to laymen. 276
The two shamans also soon began walking back and forth the length 796
of the house, first alone and then each taking a novice with him. One by one men joined the shamans as they moved up and down the house. By now all were thoroughly intoxicated and the atmosphere grew tense. All spewed out smoke until it fairly engulfed them as they moved vomiting and reeling about. Everyone took up a grunting [533]
chant of "Hew, hew!" Some carried mirrors and red parrot feathers [293]
as weapons against the *topi*. The two chief shamans carried machetes

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276 and at each end of the house they would stop, the group behind them,
796 and motion threateningly toward the roof, defying *topi* and *panté-tinwera* to come. During all this time the singing continued with its
[533] accompaniment of rattles and the hollow bamboo tube, except for intervals when some performer collapsed.

276 Suddenly Panteri stopped his marching back and forth, retired a
786 few steps, and pointed to the corner of the house. It was explained to
796 me that he had seen *panté-tinwera* sent by Thunder. He rushed to the far end of the house and pointed again: he saw a *topi*. He moved backwards in fright: then appeared to threaten, point, run in fright, and finally retreat, completely confused by numerous enemies.

Suddenly one young shaman broke away from the group and ran through the circle of the houses like a hunted animal, dodging about and staring with glazed eyes. He fell to the ground, rolling on his side and groaning. His body twitched and then became rigid. His wife, who had been standing among the spectators, rushed to his aid and dragged him out of the path of the group. She propped him up in a sitting position against her legs. Several others fell in this manner, struck down by the beings of Thunder and were dragged to the side-lines where someone blew smoke over them and massaged them. With this treatment he soon regained consciousness, yet they remained reclining upon the ground because they were "weak from the fight".

276 Finally, as it grew dark outside, Panteri, still leading those men
796 who had not been struck down, pointed directly over his head. Urukumu looked where Panteri had pointed, put his hands over the back of his neck, and ran quickly from side to side, dodging. "There are many *panté-tinwera* and many *topi* in the house", onde of the Indians told me. At this point all the men who were participating in the ceremony fell suddenly to the ground; only Panteri and Urukumu were strong enough to stand before the forces of Thunder. The wives of the fallen men came to their aid and other men fumigated and massaged them.

One by one, they came "to life". It was explained that "we die and tobacco brings back life. Without tobacco Thunder would kill us".

796 All men who had participated in the ceremony now returned to
[533] their own houses by way of the circuit path, stopping for a moment in each house to perform again the ceremonial singing. Two young boys brought this phase of the ceremony to an end by picking up the

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ceremonial rattles which had fallen to the ground and running with them around the whole circuit of the village. 796

The third and fourth days of the ceremony followed closely the pattern of this day, but there were some important variations. On the last two days a new danger was added, accounting for more violent seizures that occurred then. During these days each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate headdress — the *ankungitana*. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer (30). Without exception all who wore the headdress, even Panteri and Urukumu, fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder and genuine fear was shown by all those who wore it. 293 796 786

Before a man could put the headdress on his head, a shaman waved it slowly before his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific "heat." When Urukumu wore the *ankungitana*, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circle of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panteri. Panteri likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song and when he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Panteri related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: "I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (*a topi*). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus he would have vanquished the *topi*) but it left the house. Then all was dark. (He had not defeated the *topi* and it had consequently shot him with his arrow) I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days and I climbed a large mountain on the 787 796

(30) Red parrot feathers are "hot like fire", say the Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house. [821] [825] [753]

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787 other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw
796 Thunder; he is big and his body is covered with white hair. He had
[796] many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topi and many souls of
[796] shamans near him. I did not talk but returned fast". He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other-world; he would have died.

796 A few novices, and now and again a rare layman, wore the headdress and people marveled at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it.

796 The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown
786 phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days of the ceremony. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panteri grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a *pančé-lúnwera*. Urukumu picked up the headdress. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him. The two young boys, as before, ran through the circle of houses at the end of the day's ceremony, but this time they carried both the rattles and the headdress. The participants, on regaining consciousness, returned singing to their houses.

796 On the fourth and last day of the ceremony, an additional ceremony followed the usual evening performance. As the ceremony ended, the two strong shamans walked out of the house to the dance ground, taking the rattles and the headdress. There they and several others re-enacted, but with less violence, the ceremony just completed in the dwelling house. Following this perfomance, all the men of the village gathered, facing north "toward the house of Thunder", and Panteri walked across the plaza away from the group, toward the north, shak-
[788] ing the rattles over his head. Returning to the group, he touched several men on the head with the rattles, much as a priest performs a blessing with a crucifix. He repeated this performance until finally all the men who had taken any part in the ceremony had received this "blessing". Women, then children, came forward to be touched with the rattles. Thus they were freed of danger from Thunder. After this, I was told, Thunder goes far away to his house until next year.

[533] That evening men sang the songs of the *ančúnga aiwiró*, the spirits
535 that come to live in the dance house after Thunder has gone. Late
796

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that same evening the men danced single file over the circuit, starting 535
from the large house where the principal ceremonies had been held. As 796
they danced, they sang that Thunder had gone and all was safe again (31).

During the four-day period of the combat against Thunder and 833
his creatures sexual intercourse had been taboo; but on the night after 834
Thunder leaves "all Tapirapé will have intercourse with their wives and many women will become pregnant". Traditionally, women are freer with their favours for a few days after this ceremony. People, however, sometimes break the taboo against sexual intercourse during the period of Thunder's visit and so bring trouble on themselves and their tribe. Panteri reported : "I was weak when I returned from Thunder's house. Many mosquitos drank my blood on the road. This was because Tapirapé men were with their wives. I dreamed that night and saw many Tapirapé having intercourse and knew that Tapirapé would be bitten by many mosquitos when they called Thunder".

## CONCLUSIONS

It is apparent that in studying Tapirapé shamanism we are con- 171
cerned with patterns which are part of a deep-seated New World 756
shamanistic complex found widespread in both North and South America — from the Eskimo to the Ona and Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego. Among the Tupi-guarani peoples, however, shamanism has been an unusual factor in their cultural history. Dr. Alfred Métraux has shown that the numerous and distant migrations of Tupi-Guarani tribes in post-Columbian times were frequently instigated my powerful shamans (32).

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(31) During this serpent dance, one may steal of corn which are hanging from rafters in the houses through which they pass. Youngsters did steal some corn and women ran after them trying to get it back. There was now much gaiety [781] and laughter.

(32) "Seules la vénération et l'autorité dont ces magiciens bénéficiaient, peuvent expliquer la facilité avec laquelle des tribus entières ont consenti à abandonner leurs villages et leur territoire à la recherche d'un pays purement fabuleux" (in Alfred Métraux, 1931, "Les hommes-dieux chez les Chiriguano et dans l'Amérique du Sud", in *Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán*, T. II, p. 66).

See also the same author's: 1927, "Les migrations historiques des Tupy-Guarany" in *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, Nouvelle Série, T. XIX.

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171 In another study, Dr. Métraux emphasizes the extraordinary powers of
756 the Tupinambá shamans and states that among the coastal Tupi of Brazil shamans at times held great secular powers (33). Senhor Curt Nimuendaju writes that the basic organization of the Apapocúva-Guarani, before European contact, was the voluntary subordination to their shaman-chiefs and points out that the failure to recognize their power was the cause of repeated failures to unite the Guarani in "aldeamentos" (34). My own recent work among the Tupi-speaking Guajajara of the Rio Pindaré of Northeastern Brazil leads me to the opinion that, especially before European administrators gave them secular chiefs, Guajajara shamans excercized such strong religious and social controls over their people. The emphasis upon the role of the shaman in Tapirapé culture shows, therefore, a marked affinity with other Tupi-Guarani peoples.

## APPENDIX

756 A few added examples of individual overt reactions of persons during the Thunder ceremony may clarify and illustrate several points of the ceremony I have summarized below several from my field notebooks.

*Case of Kamairaho*

Kamairaho is a man of great prestige and has been a *pančé* for many years, although never a strong one. He says, "I have never seen many dangerous *ančúnga*: I dream and travel only on (the level of) the earth", explaining that he does not travel through the sky in this
756 dreams as do Pantert and Urukumu. Kamairaho did not take part in
781 the Thunder ceremony for the first two days, explaining that he was
796 afraid; he said he was too old and too weak to meet the dangerous *topi*. On the third day, however, he took part in the day phase, against the protestations of his wife who cried in fear for him. Each time he made the village circuit wearing the headdress of red parrot feathers, he fell hard and without completing his circuit. Once after a seizure and a hard

(33) Alfred Métraux. 1928. "La Religion des Tupinamba, et ses rapports avec celle des autres tribus Tupy-Guarany", p. 82, Paris.

(34) Curt Nimuendajú. 1914. "Die Sagen von der Erchaffung und Vernich der Welt als Grundlagen der Religion der Apapocúva-Guarany", *in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, T. 40, pp. 337-338, Berlin.

(35) Charles Wagley. 1943. "Notas sôbre aculturação entre os Guajajara" (portuguese translation from the unpublished original Brief notes on acculturation among the Guajajara) *in Boletim do Museu Nacional* (Rio de Janeiro), Nova Série, Antropologia N. 2.

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fall, he struggled to his feet and tried to run. The young men who 756
followed him seized him. Imformants explained that in such a state he 781
might have run wildly through the village, breaking property and 796
causing bodily harm to others, in the same way that young novice
shamans "run". Afterwards Kamairaho told me that he would never [761]
again take part in this ceremony because Thunder might trap his soul
during a visit to Thunder's house and cause his death.

*Case of Pančei*

Pančei is a young shaman who has been treating the sick for several years. He took part in all the ceremonies during the first two days. During the sundown phase of the third day, he touched the headdress, then being carried by Urukumu, screamed, fell backwards, and in falling, broke open his scalp against one of the house poles. Upon regaining consciousness an hour or so later, he said that he remembered nothing. All that he knew, he explained, was that he returned from a dreamtrip covered with blood.

*Case of Anawani*

Anawani is a layman, notably the laziest of the village and thus [581.
unmarried. He took part in only one sundown phase of the Thunder 589]
ceremony, openly admitting that he was afraid to continue. During that one session Anawani caught hold of Panteri several times as he moved back and forth with the group. Each time that he did this he fell at once to the ground, screaming. It was explained that to touch a powerful *pančé* during the process of the ceremony is dangerous; for the shaman attracts the arrows of *topi*.

*Case of Kanacipã*

Kanacipã is a novice and is considered a potentially powerful shaman. He vomited violently during each phase of the ceremony and during the sundown phases he staggered about bumping into house poles. When he was pressed by a group, he invariably fell to the ground. Several other men were seized thus when pressed by a group. During one of the sessions of the ceremony, it took about a half hour to bring
Kanacipã out of this seizure. His wife began the crying chant characte- [764
ristic of funerals while Urukumu massaged and fumigated him. She 533]
cried out that he was dead several times before she saw him returning to consciousness.

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*Case of Ipawungi*

756 781 796 Ipawungi, a young man of about twenty years of age, is a novice to shamanism. During one of his dreams, stimulated by "eating smoke" he saw *ančúnga* but was unable to identify which ones they were. During the Thunder ceremony, however, he decorated his body as did the *ančúnga* he had seen in his dream. He painted a cross with urucu [302] on his chest and wore feathers of the white vulture (urubú-rei — *Sarcoramphus papa*) down the sides of his arms. As a protective mea- [751] sure he carried a mirror with him during all ceremonies for, like ghosts of the dead, the beings of Thunder are frightened if they see their own image in a mirror. During one sundown session Ipawungi fell crying wildly, and scratching his body frantically from head to foot, as if the itching were unbearable, letting out blood-curdling screams. This behavior was seen several times during the ceremony in other persons. The [827] itching, informants told me, comes from many invisible fleas which jump from any dog on to the body of a person participating in the ceremony. [231] Dogs, therefore, are securely tied to house posts or to trees at the edge of the village during the four days of the Thunder ceremony but they, of course, escape now and again.

*Case of Campukwi*

Campukwi, a young man of about twenty-four years of age, says that he does not want to be a shaman because "Tapirapé have killed many shamans". He took part rather casually in several of the phases of the ceremony; he "ate smoke" and moved about with the group in the evening session when the creatures of Thunder were being called. At the end of the session, when the powerful shamans saw "many topi", he fell, struck down with the rest of the group. Campukwi's wife was not present but his sister came to his side to help him. She looked at him carefully and laughingly said that he was faking. She kicked him and left him instead of helping him to the sidelines. Campukwi stood up, laughed, and left the group.

Now and again through the ceremonies spectators made such observations concerning participants whose reactions seemed doubtful. Some participants did now and again pretend and people laughed at them. It was all taken in a spirit of fun.

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264 [92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of
574 various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets.
476 These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kãũũãõĩ, owing to
their small numbers, had joined the Ãvãinkĩ' to form a single group.
All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group.
[262] There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce
and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of kará [Tr.,
a kind of yam], peanut kãũĩ, etc. Before that, there was a great
431 distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom
574 he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such
[622] as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of
this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better
[177] use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay
264 the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted to-
476 gether, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they
574 [554] pleased. Kamairahõ, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk
123 of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother.
We called each other "Txankanépéra," and Ampitánya, his little
[597] adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Ané Txankané-
péra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other
groups also called me "Txankanépéra," and I called them by the name
of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

264 [93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that
574 there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots
and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The
535 plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the
[776] good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kãũihõ and
vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness,
132 the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season
with its "good shadows," summer.

574 They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they
● 796 also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tãtãupãũã of an
224 eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Ãvãinkĩ' had killed
264 with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting
476 the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group.
574 [462] In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts

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776 and in myth the sun is called Ancerika and the moon Tamparawa, both
821 names of people. According to the Tapirape, the moon is sister to the sun
773 and is married to Anchopeteri, a culture hero who was instrumental in
776 dividing all birds into two groups,[11] and who taught Tapirape how to
821 wrestle and sing many songs. Because of sexual misbehavior, Sun is said to have slapped Moon full in the face with his hand which was wet with black *genipa* dye, thus the marks on the face of the moon are explained.

Two large planets were formerly Tapirape culture bearers. Apuwenonu[12] (Venus) came down from the sky one night after having watched Anuntero, a Tapirape woman, for a long time, and lived with the Tapirape. At night he was a young man, husband of Anuntero, but by day he appeared to people as a decrepit old man. He taught Anuntero how to plant cotton and how to spin. He taught the Tapirape[13] how to plant their modern garden products, maize, manioc, *caru*, yams. Finally Apuwenonu returned to the sky, taking with him his earthly son by Anuntero who is called Imauawango (Jupiter). Today, the Tapirape point to these two planets, recounting their story and saying, "Apuwenonu is young at night when he is in the sky, but by day he is old again as he was when he left us."

Many other constellations are known, but of importance in story are
821 possibly only that called by the Tapirape "the jaguar,"[14] and the Pleiades.[15]
787 One shaman told me that he had travelled (in dreams) to visit this jaguar. He was "friendly" with it, he said, and if he should be killed, the jaguar of the sky would send many real jaguars to prey upon the Tapirape. "Men would be afraid to step into the forest at night." The jaguar had become one of his retinue of familiar powers which would aid him in struggles with other shamans.

821 The Pleiades are important calendrically. They are watched anxiously
805 and impatiently as the rains diminish, and their disappearance over the
●796 western horizon in May signals the end of the rains. This is the time for

[616] [561] [825] [11] At the present time men's moieties are divided into three age grades. Each age grade of each moiety carries the name of a bird: one being species of small *papagaio*, and the other species of white water birds. According to myth, these groups derived from similar divisions of the bird world in which Anchopeteri lived.

[171] [12] This is probably identical with Monan (or Maire-monan, according to Métraux), civilizing god of Tupinamba, who created earth, people, birds and animals, and finally taught the Tupinamba to distinguish useful plants. He was put to death by men, at which time he was transformed into a star "with two of his companions." Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 11.

[13] One text calls them Karajuntuwera (pre-Tapirape) at this time (see p. 254).

[171] [14] Ancient Guarani said that there was a very large tiger or dog which on certain occasions ate the sun and moon, causing an eclipse. Apapucuva-Guarani speak of a celestial jaguar; and the Chane from Chiriguano explain the eclipse in this same manner. Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 50.

[171] [15] "Les Pleiades paraissaient avoir été chez les Tupinama l'objet de croyances particulières. Ils avaient notamment la conviction qu'elles favorisaient la croissance du manioc." Métraux, Réligion des Tupinamba, p. 51.

9: Wagley 2-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



the largest ceremonial of the year which marks the beginning of the dry 805
season and the harvest. Similarly, the position of the Pleiades is noted to 821
date the many ceremonies of the heavy rainy period (November to April). [796]
One shaman had visited the Pleiades, and they, too, can be counted upon
as a familiar power. The Milky Way is often referred to as the "path of the [787]
shaman," it is a well-beaten road over which the shaman travels through
the sky in his dreams.

In common with many Tupi peoples, nothing in the realm of natural [171]
phenomena is as important to the Tapirape as thunder. Among most Tupi, 821
Tupan is a god or an ancestor identified with thunder. He causes the 776
rumbling of thunder and flashes of lightning. Among the Tapirape, however, Thunder[16] is a separate entity, a supernatural who has many "creatures" or *topii*. *T'opii* are described as small beings about a hand's length in
size, with white hairy down over their bodies, and wearing a small head- [177]
dress of red parrot feathers, European beads, and a lip plug. Small wax
dolls are made in imitation of them. They travel through the sky in small [532]
"canoes," especially when there are strong wind and electric storms, and
they carry red wild flowers with which they shoot Tapirape in the stomach.
These arrows are hot "like fire." Sometimes *topii* are called "pets" of
Thunder, and again they are referred to as his "children." In addition to [775]
*topii*, Thunder has other supernumeraries, the souls of dead shamans, who [756]
live in the house of Thunder, commonly thought to be near Maratawa on
the summit of a large mountain.

Each year when approaching rains bring heavy thunder storms, lightning and strong winds, Thunder sends forth his beings. The noise of the storm is caused by rumbling of *topii's* canoes, and flashes of lightning are
their speeding arrows. To protect the Tapirape, and also their gardens, 756
from the storm, shamans[17] "call Thunder," or "fight with *topii*." In a four- 796
day ceremony characterized by genuine fear, shamans gulp tobacco smoke
until they are ill and intoxicated, they sing "calling Thunder to come," and 821
chant until they "see" one or more *topii*, or souls of dead shamans,[18] fight 776
with them, and are struck down by their arrows. A shaman who fights a
*topii* tries to grab its small feather head-dress, take away its bow, or yank
out its lip plug, its most vulnerable feature.

Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies of fighting Thunder.
When a shaman is shot by *topii*, he falls screaming upon the ground, [781]
writhing and shaking, and then becomes unconscious. If men are not near

[16] Thunder referred to as Kanawana (direct translation) is said to be called Pururuka, his personal name.

[17] Laymen and neophytes who have sufficient courage may also participate.

[18] In conversation and in song, there is confusion between these beings. Although the above distinctions are definitely made, they are often referred to interchangeably. For example, a Tapirape may say, "*topii* cause lightning," or "Thunder is angry and makes lightning."

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



756 796 821 776 [781] to hold him, he may run wild through the village destroying property and endangering people. To bring him back, smoke must be blown over him by a shaman. While he is unconscious, he dreams and travels, sometimes visiting the house of Thunder.

787 756 821 772 776 "I smoked much and then I smoked again. I sang, I saw one large sun and it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They came and they left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came (to the house) in a small canoe. It was Thunder's chikl (a *topii*). It wore a small headdress of parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug but it left." [The shaman did not conquer the *topii* and he was shot down by an arrow while he was unconscious] . . . "all was dark. I saw many suns. I travelled singing as I walked. I spent three days walking. I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Kanawana. He was big and his body was covered with much hair. He had many red parrot feathers. There were many *topii* and many souls of shamans. I did not talk but came back." [If he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have stayed (died), but he was properly treated with tobacco smoke and returned to consciousness.]

775 Through shamans and legends of culture heroes, the Tapirape know, too, of the multitude of "spirits" (*anchunga*) which populate the unseen world. These are of two general types: true spirits, disembodied souls of deceased Tapirape;[19] and demons or malevolent beings of many classes. [787] Shamans are accustomed to seeing true spirits in their dreams. These gen- [756] erally inhabit abandoned village sites, where they re-live their earthly lives. When they die—the second death—they become frogs, deer, *pacu* and doves. Thus the toad is the spirit of a chief; the dove and *jacu* are spirits [825] of men.[20] These ghosts cannot harm shamans who are accustomed to see- [756] ing them, but sometimes the spirits attack and strike down defenseless laymen.[21] They also cluster around a man's bier to carry off the soul as soon as the body is buried.

776 There are infinite numbers of "spirits" of the individualized demoniac class. Of these, some are "pets" which are not very dangerous, and which [794] are represented by men in the mask dance cult.[22] Other species are very dangerous, but these are no longer seen by the layman. Formerly, these 773 were numerous, and killed many Tapirape, but Ware, a culture hero and 776 powerful shaman, fought them and killed many. A man now points to the

[19] Speaking of Tupinamba, Métraux makes these same two categories of "supernatural [171] beings" (*aygnan, agnin, ingange* and *anhanga*), *ibid.*, p. 51.

[20] Animals which have, or are, spirits can be grouped together. These are tabu to some age 825 and sex groups, in a complicated dietary system.

[21] Dogs can see spirits. When a dog howls, Tapirape say, "He sees *anchunga* but we can't." [262]

[22] At one time women may have been frightened by these "dangerous" spirits, but certainly at present everything in the men's cults is known to women, and they do not even pretend to be frightened.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 50 6



Ta 262 Te 262 168 "hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is (and was in the past) just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size. Ta 168 183 262 Population control among the Tapirapé seems no to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

Ta 161 168 182 [165] This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new disease for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid Te 161 168 182 [165] population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Te Ta 596 591 612 Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapé, on the other Ta 616 561 hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial moieties limited to men. Each moiety was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the Ta 476 264 579 616 [796] [538] Tapirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's moieties and age grades and the "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic production and distribution. The masked dances with impersonation of

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
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forest spirits performed by the men during the dry season were a function of the men's moieties. The "Feast Groups" met at intervals during the dry seasons at their traditional stations in the central plaza for ceremonial meals. At such times, as Herbert Baldus has shown, these "Feast Groups" functioned as a mechanism for food distribution in a season when more food was available than a family would normally consume. (7) The "Feast Groups" sometimes formed to collect honey and to hunt. The age grades of the men's moieties also frequently acted together economically; they organized work parties for clearing of large garden sites and they went out on large cooperative hunts after herds of wild pigs.

In aboriginal Tapirapé society ceremonial life and many important cooperative subsistence acticities were based upon this balanced set of associations. A Tapirapé village in order to assure adequate representation in the various age grades of the men's moieties as well as in the "Feast Groups" by necessity had to consist of about 200 people or more. A small village of fifty to a hundred people, for example, would not have provided sufficient number of males of the proper ages to allow the age graded moieties to carry out their ceremonials nor to organize their cooperative subsistence activities. Tapirapé village organization was therefore not conducive to a process of "splitting off" of groups from one village to form another. The size of Tapirapé villages was limited by their tecnological equipment within their tropical forest environment yet the social structure made the formation of numerous small villages difficult. In contrast, the less formalized social structure of the Tenetehara allowed for villages of varying size within the limits of their ecological adjustment. Extended family groups easily might break off from a larger village to form a new settlement fully able to carry out the cooperative economic activities and even ceremonials of the society. This process is constantly occurring in contemporary Tenetehara society. When tensions arise between extended families, one group simply splits off from the parent village to join another or to form a separate village without serious effects on the ceremonial or economic system. Tenetehara social structure offered a favorable condition for an expanding population after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected population.

Tapirapé social structure seems also to have been more vulnerable to disorganization in face of a rapid change in population size. Rapid depopulation after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected the normal functioning of their highly segmented and balanced social structure. By 1940, the lack of men had thrown the system of reciprocal and competitive activities of the men's age-graded moieties out of balance. There were not enough men of the "older" age-grade of either moiety nor of the young men "warrior" age-grade of one moiety to form functioning units to reciprocate in cooperative garden clearing and to participate in group hunts. Several of the "Feast Groups" had been disbanded for lack of numbers

(7) Baldus (1937) p. 88 ff.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



could come quietly to us at night to drink water, to ask for something to eat, and even to sleep in an extra hammock we had for visitors. His affairs were evidently extensive, for he once divided all of the adult women of the village into two categories—those "I know how to talk with" (i.e., to seduce) and those "I do not know how to talk with." There were many with whom he "could talk."

Unfortunately, by late November of 1939, I knew too much about Champukwi's affairs either for his comfort or for mine. His wife sometimes came to my house to ask if I knew where he had gone (I could generally guess), and once an irate husband even came to inquire of his whereabouts. His Don Juan activities had evidently increased. His friendship with me caused him trouble with other Tapirapé who were envious of the presents he received. The story was circulated that he had stolen a pair of scissors which, in fact, I had given to him. Moreover, several people caught colds, and he was accused of bringing the infection from Furo de Pedra (actually it was probably transmitted by the frontiersman who had helped transport us to the village in November). Champukwi sought revenge by cutting down one of the main supports of the men's house, which promptly caved in. No one died or was seriously injured and the destruction of the men's house was soon forgotten since it is normally rebuilt each year. However, people continued to criticize Champukwi, much of their criticism revolving around his relationship with me. There are no realms of esoteric secrets in Tapirapé culture (as there are in many cultures) that must not be revealed to an outsider; there is only the "secret" of the men from the women that the masked dancers are not supernatural beings but merely masquerading men, but I had been fully and openly brought into this "secret." I was, moreover, exceedingly careful in conversation never to refer to any bit of personal information that some informant, Champukwi or another, had told me. But rumors were rife in the small village—that I was angry and would soon leave (I was by then a valuable asset), that Champukwi told me lies about others, that I refused to give a bushknife to a household leader because Champukwi had urged me not to do so (I refused because I had already given him one bushknife), and the like.

Champukwi reacted moodily, often violently, to this situation. I could no longer count on his visits nor on our research interviews. He now visited us with a glum look on his face, and when he was

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

**Champukwi of the Village of the Tapir.**

Champukwi sketched for me the stories of Petura, the Tapirapé ancestral hero who stole fire from the King Vulture, daylight from the night owl, *genipa* (used for dye) from the monkeys, and other items for the Tapirapé. However, he persuaded Maeumi, an elder famous for his knowledge of mythology, to relate the details although he himself helped considerably to clarify for me the meaning of native phrases and to make the stories told by Maeumi more fully understandable. Champukwi also forewarned me of events that I might want to witness, events that without his warning I might have missed. Such were the wrestling matches which took place upon the return of a hunting party between those men who went on the hunt and those who remained at home. He told me of a particularly handsome basket a man had made, which I might want to add to my collection for the Brazilian National Museum. He came to tell me that a young woman in a neighboring house was in labor, thus enabling me to get a photograph of the newborn infant being washed in the stream, and he urged the men to celebrate for my benefit a ceremony which might easily have been omitted. Champukwi was no longer merely an informant. He became a participant in ethnographic research although, of course, he never thought of it in these terms. He seemed somehow to understand the anthropologist's task in studying his culture, and in the process he gained considerable objectivity about his own way of life.

Yet it must be said that Champukwi did not seem to discredit the norms, institutions, and beliefs of his own people. Although he saw Valentim and me walk safely down the path through the forest late at night, he steadfastly refused to do the same; for the path was a favorite haunt of the lonely ghosts of deceased Tapirapé who might harm the living. He reasoned that the *tori* were probably immune to this danger. When he was ill, he took the pills we urged upon him but he also called in the shaman. His curiosity about airplanes, automobiles, and "gigantic canoes" (passenger boats) which he saw pictured in the magazines we had brought with us, was great; but he boasted that the Tapirapé could walk farther and faster than any *tori* or even the Caraja (who are a canoe people). In fact, his interest in, and enthusiasm for, certain Tapirapé activities seemed to be heightened by our presence. Almost all Tapirapé ceremonials involve choral singing and Champukwi was a singing leader of one of the sections of the men's societies. He was always pleased when

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



Te 182 [796] [22]

of numbers. Ceremonials in 1940 had not been abandoned but they were performed in an attenuated and disheartened manner. There was little motivation to accumulate the meat, the forest fruits, and the garden products which important ceremonials require among the Tapirapé.

Te 476 796 596 182 Te [177]

Ceremonials and cooperative economic activities in Tenetehara society are organized by extended family and kin groups. Lack of numbers, of course, creates difficulties in carrying out ceremonials and in organizing economic activities but it does not have the effect of disorganizing the society. Cooperation of large extended families in gardening and in collecting babassu nuts and copaiba oil is still the general pattern among the Tenetehara. Tenetehara social structure was maleable to change. Adjustment to new circumstances after Luso-Brazilian contact must have been easier for the Tenetehara than for the Tapirapé.

Te Ta 161 182 183 105 571

This brief comparison of the cultural values and of those aspects of social structure of the Tenetehara and of the Tapirapé in terms of their effect upon population size and on population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact suggest several general hypotheses. First, the available information concerning the population size of these two tribes in aboriginal times indicates that the Tenetehara were much more numerous than the Tapirapé. Yet both tribes were tropical forest peoples with roughly similar technological equipment. It seems to the writer that this difference in population size between the two tribes was functionally related to ideological values and to social structure and not to differences in technology and environment. In other words, such differences in population can hardly be interpreted strictly in Malthusian terms. While population potentials are certainly limited by food supply, the level of technology, the application of medical knowledge, and other material factors, social institutions and culturally derived values are influential in determining trends in population size within the limits set by such "natural" factors.

Second, the social structure and the cultural values of any society are functionally related to a given population level. With change in population size, both the cultural values regarding population size and social structure must be adjusted. The Tapirapé concept of family size remained unchanged in face of modified conditions (i.e. higher death-rate caused by foreign diseases) with the result that the adult population was no longer replaced by births. A rapidly declining population disrupted Tapirapé socio-ceremonial organization and affected the internal system of production and distribution. The Tenetehara with a more maleable social structure than that of the Tapirapé were able to survive the initial impact of Luso-Brazilian contact until the protection of the Jesuits allowed them to make necessary adjustments to the new circumstances.

Te [797]

Te Ta 171 161 182 571

Finally, this comparison between the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara calls to mind other primitive societies whose social structure must have been functionally related to population level and to demographic trends in face of European civilization. In Brazil, the Ramkokamekra (Eastern Timbira) with their complex moiety system and the Apinayé with their kire marriage

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



276 756 by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

423 249 The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

272 [273] No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

## RELIGION

771 *Tapirapé* religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, ančunga (spirit or shadow).

775 The ančunga iünwera, human spirits or ghosts (aña or anhanga among the *Tupinamba*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

[825] Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls [756] of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

776 In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called ančunga, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Waré, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many ančunga, among whom were the awakú ankú, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mumplankú were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the [535] *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, [532] *bottom, right*).

**Rites.**—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people 796 are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (ančunga) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest [241] ceremonial (kaó) and the ceremony of kawi (a souplike beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

241 756 In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans

114
175 was the first time that these savages had seen civilized people, or, to use the popular term, Christians. It was God's will that savages and Christians should fraternize. Alfredo became a friend of the Tapirapé and brought to Conceição a group consisting of an elderly woman, her granddaughter of 11 or 12, and a few men. During the trip the men ran away. The girl was provided with clothes when she reached the mission."

On October 9, 1912, the Rio newspaper O Paiz transcribed
[13] from the fortnightly Goiás paper O Estado de Goyaz of September 15 of the same year an article entitled "Proteção aos Indios [Indian Protection Service]," according to which Dr. Francisco Mandacaré had visited a Tapirapé village located six and three-quarters leagues from the river of the same name and had returned "a Tapirapé woman and her son of 12" whom he had "rescued" in Conceição, where they were "enslaved" (Kissenberth 2, 36, 43). They were probably the grandmother and granddaughter brought by Mr. Alfredo and mentioned in the report of the Dominicans quoted above.

Speaking of the tribes of the Araguaia, Glass (139) says that in 1913, "the Government Inspector of the Indians of this region
[161] ascended the Tapirapé River and discovered about 1000 or 1500
[648] of this tribe still existing, but living forty miles away from the river for fear of the Carajás. He estimates that the Carajás, Tapirapés, Javahés, Cherentes [Sherente], Chavantes, and one or two other tribes around that district, number over 20,000 Indians" [cited in English].

In June, 1914, the French Dominicans, Domingos Carrerot, Sebastião Thomas, and Francisco Bigorre, visited the Tapirapé village located 50 kilometers from the river. They were led by the Indian Valadar, the son of a Karajá father and a Tapirapé mother. This guide had participated in Mr. Alfredo's expedition.

Ten years later, according to the Mensageiro do Santo
[113] Rosario of April, 1934, page 207, the "regular catechization" of
797 the [99:74] Tapirapé by the Dominicans had a "definitive start."
175 That means that the Fathers of Conceição do Araguaia have ascended the Tapirapé River to the port of São Domingos every two years or so since 1924, awaiting there the arrival of the Indians, alerted to their presence by the smoke rising from burned grassland. Sometimes they proceed on foot to the summer dwellings

175 of the tribe at Lake Tucunaré or some other location not too far
797 from the river. They remain with the Tapirapé for one or several days, distributing axes, bush knives, knives, scissors, tobacco, and other gifts, and fulfilling their religious duties.

Aside from them, missionaries of other creeds have attempted
114 and are still attempting to save the souls of the Tampiitáua in-
175 habitants. In 1923, the Baptist minister Benedito Propheta had
797 some slight contact with these Indians, but did not reach their village. What little he has to say about them in his book, with great verbosity, is too confused and erroneous to be of scientific value.

In August, 1930, the British missionary, Josiah Wilding, of the Evangelical Union of South America, accompanied by the North American traveler Miss Elizabeth Steen, paid a brief visit to Tampiitáua. In the following year, North American Adventists spent one night in the village. In 1932, the British expedition in search of the vanished Colonel Fawcett, which is described so enjoyably in Peter Fleming's book, met the Tapirapé at the port of São Domingos. This was a slight contact of the kind these Indians also had with a group of prospectors, hunters, and an official of the Indian Service. The movie-making group from São Paulo referred to in Pompílio's notes (301-304) spent one night with them in August, 1934, at Lake Tucunaré and did not push on to Tampiitáua. At the end of August, 1935, Madame Rayliane de la Falaise and her husband spent two days in that village. The statements made about the Tapirapé by this charming and elegant writer are, for the most part, sheer fantasy.

The first White since the expedition of Mr. Alfredo, that
797 is, since 1911, to live with the Tapirapé, not just for one or sev-
175 eral days but for weeks and months on end, was the British missionary F.C. Kegel of the Evangelical Union of South America, which is established at Macauba on Bananal Island. He stayed with them in August, September, and October of 1932, from July to November of 1933, from August to November of 1934, and from June to August of 1935. We spent this last period there together, he and I.

114 [99:75] The North American ethnographer, Dr. Charles
175 Wagley, stayed with these Indians from April to October, 1939,

114 and from December of the same year until May, 1940.
175 A few Tapirapé accompanied the Dominicans and Mr. Kegel to the Araguaia and stayed briefly in the settlements of the Fathers and of the Evangelical missionary.

Considering all the various contacts that the Tapirapé have 177 had with the Whites, it is clearly impossible to determine the in- •797 fluence of each one of them. True, I was able to identify certain melodies as having been imported by Reverend Kegel and to determine the origin of some beads, clothes, and iron tools. The source of the vague allusions to Jesus Christ, however, had already become undecipherable owing to the number and variety of catechists and other visitors who might have mentioned the subject. Iron tools had already been introduced by the Karajá long before the arrival of the rubber gatherers from Ceará. And non-autochthonous plants, such as certain varieties of the banana, have been cultivated by the Tapirapé from time immemorial. [164] Also, the diseases of European origin had already reached the Tupí tribe, probably through indirect contact with the Whites, that is to say, through other Indians.

If we look at the total influence of the Whites, both direct 177 and indirect, we may say that it has impoverished Tapirapé culture. The iron tools make it easier to farm and to manufacture various implements, but the need to replace them constantly makes the Indians who become used to them dependent on our civilization. No such consequence derived from the introduction of sugar cane and other plants, but these remain unessential in view of the successful cultivation of numerous autochthonous plants. It is worth noting, incidentally, that while iron tools have replaced previous implements made of other materials, they have not changed the traditional division of labor between the sexes. Nor do traits of European origin appear as fertilizing elements in other areas of the culture, such as ornamentation, house building, diet, industry, or the concept of the supernatural. Metal spoons are found along with shells and gourds, beads along with strung seeds; a piece of our clothing is worn with body painting; a pipe with an upright bowl, in the fashion of the Whites, is used alongside the simple smoking tube; Jesus Christ is identified with a figure who appears in their mythology as the owner of large pigs and iron implements, as "captain [chief]," husband, and father.

177 All those imports from us, living alongside the traditional traits, are no more than curiosities [99:76] in the minds of the Tapirapé, curiosities hardly more important to the functioning of their culture than one of their arrows or legends would be to the average European.

From what I was able to observe, Reverend Kegel usually
177 restricted himself to the teaching of songs and the administration
•797 of medicines. Owing to their sporadic quality and short duration, and especially to the difficulty of communicating through words, the encounters with the Dominicans and other visitors have enriched Tapirapé culture even less. Unfruitful, too, were the attempts to wield an influence through individuals who had been taken to the Araguaia by the missionaries and who knew more about the White way of life than those who had never left tribal territory. It is well known how easily many of the Brazilian Indians educated in our civilized centers have re-adjusted to and been re-absorbed by their native environment (cf. Baldus 7, 165, and Araujo Lima 134-135). Actually, I did not see any Tapirapé who had lived with the Whites long enough to experience the conflicts of the "marginal man" of Park, Stonequist, and other American sociologists.

The impoverishment of Tapirapé culture was induced large-
164 ly by the diseases of the Whites, but these were introduced only partly as a result of direct contact. It is probable that the neighboring Karajá, continually exposed to contagion as inhabitants of the Araguaia, frequently acted as transmitters. This at least may be assumed as regards the strange diseases which were introduced prior to direct contact with the Whites. As Wagley (2) masterfully
[114] pointed out, the catastrophic depopulation caused by the epidemics
[165] that raged around 1895 and 1900, and later ones as well, affected
[731] the social organization to such an extent that important traits of
[178] Tapirapé culture were modified or lost.

The Tapirapé often told me that in the old days their people
177 knew everything about such celestial phenomena as eclipses and
[821] about many other mythological subjects, and now know almost nothing. This may not be solely the result of the mortality caused
[731] by epidemics and by the bellicose attacks of neighboring Karajá
[726] and Kayapó. Some old people did survive. I can imagine the pressure exercised by the presence of our culture upon the minds

648 same feeling, the same fear of the Kananchahó, aroused even in
166 the inhabitants of this latter village a desire to abandon it and to settle under the protection of the Whites on Bananal Island. Rev-
● 797 erend Kegel told me that when he arrived at Porto Salvação in 1934 he was visited by Kamairahó who came to the river bank
166 especially to ask him to come back, to have large boats built,
648 and to take the entire tribe to Macauba. The reason for this request was fear of the Kayapó. It was assumed that they had killed 20 men and women from Tampiitáua who had not returned from a hunting trip. Mr. Kegel told the most influential man among the Tapirapé that it would be impossible to feed the whole tribe since there was no longer time to prepare plots on the land of the Evangelical Union.

When we heard the harrowing cry of the potoo during the
648 night of June 23, 1935, the Tapirapé took this as a sign that the
[825] Kayapó were coming. Four days later, at night, as I stretched out on my net beside Kamairahó's hammock, the Indian "bigwig" said, "I am afraid." I retorted, with the courteous arrogance proper to a "captain [chief]" of my rank, "I am here, and therefore you need not be afraid." A little later [102:124], Kamairahó inquired,
[123] on account of the Kayapó, whether I had with me the "little killer," as we used to call the revolver to differentiate it from the "big killer," or rifle. I told him that I always slept well armed, and he laughed happily.

At the nocturnal group dances, the men hold a heavy club or
[535] bush knife in their hands, and this is not just to mark time since
[411] during the day they find an arrow or bow adequate for that purpose.

On the evening of July 8, as I talked with Mr. Kegel in front of the little house beside the village which had been built for him and camarada Daniel, several men and women came running, one of the men holding a bush knife and another a club, and they told us excitedly that there were Kananchahó in the neighboring forest. Followed by an Indian, I proceeded immediately to the spot they had pointed out. We found nothing, and I calmed the Tapirapé by telling them that the Kananchahó were sleeping very far away. They returned in silence to their hammocks, and a middle-aged woman merely said, "They will come when the moon goes to sleep."

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291 welcome, this important man lay in his small hammock without
[513] the slightest intention of hiding his skin, which was occasionally illuminated by the wavering flames.

[105:89] The same was true with regard to all other clothing of similar provenience. Kamairahó also possessed a large piece of fabric which he used as a sort of cloak, but only during the day and not as frequently as the dress. Vuatanamy, another influential leader, wrapped himself during the hottest hours of the day in a heavy poncho, which was of such good quality that I tried to find out the name of the person who had given out such presents (cf. Photo. 58). Then the evil tongues told me that this Gaucho gar-
● [797] ment had belonged to a missionary, who lost it unwittingly with the full cooperation of Vuatanamy. The former owner may derive some consolation from the fact that his unintended beneficiary continued to sleep naked through mosquito bites and cold spells.

The shirts, vests, and trousers that I gave to some of the young men were also restricted to daytime use. The enthusiasm for this kind of ornament lasted only a few days. Then the law of the least effort prevailed, and the pieces were put away in a corner of the house. Incidentally, of all my gifts, the vests were the least valued. Their new owners noted signs of wear with obvious displeasure, and perhaps also felt that since the vests had no sleeves they were mere fragments of jackets and thus scorned by the Whites.

The aim of these Indians, however, was to be esteemed by the
648 Whites by conforming to their behavior. I do not mean to say that
177 this was the aim of every Tapirapé. There were some, however, who made it quite clear. There was, for example, Kamairá, the tallest and sturdiest man in Tampiitáua and a leader on certain occasions. Kamairá sometimes liked to use a rather dirty rag as a
[797] loincloth. This was the only loincloth I saw in the tribe, and its use was probably inspired by a desire to reach the ideal proclaimed by some missionary with highly modest sentiments.

177 Such propensities for adaptation, however, did not preclude the use of ornaments furnished by us, even when such objects had
291 never appeared on our own bodies. Thus, Vuatanamy wore a
301 multicolored cap (cf. Photo. 68); Kamanané, the song leader, liked to wear a piece of brightly colored cloth on his head; the
177 red and black cardboard wrapper of my soap contributed to the
301 mosaic of bird feathers that adorned a dance mask; and beads were

235 [113:198] I did not see any tamed animals in Tampiitaua. In my talks with the inhabitants, however, I gathered that, like Indians in general, they would have liked to have such animals, and that they had formerly owned various mammals and wild birds. The most important among these were the red-blue-and-green macaw (Ara chloroptera Gray, arana in Tapirapé), much rarer in the Araguaia basin than the blue-and-yellow macaw (Ara ararauna Lin., kaniné in Tapirapé), for the [113:199] former's red feathers are more highly prized as ornaments than the latter's blue and yellow ones. This is the case not only among the Tapirapé,
171 but also among the Karajá, and this is why shortly before my ar-
235 rival to the Araguaia a man of this tribe of canoemen had traded in a canoe, which at that time and in that area was worth from 50 to 100 milreis or one rifle, for the nestling of a red-blue-and-green macaw. At the time when the Karajá traded regularly with
439 the Tapirapé, these nestlings were one of the chief commodities of trade.

This trade, through which the Tupi tribe received iron articles
[412] in exchange for tamed macaws, urucú, hammocks, quartz tembetá,
[241] and other products of their industry, actually played a decisive role in their subsistence, owing especially to the importance of the iron tools in farming. In this respect, it was fortunate for the Tapirapé that they established direct contact with the Whites shortly after they broke relations with the Karajá. For the lack of iron tools among people who had never worked with stone axes would probably have led either to rash behavior in their "foreign relations," or to intratribal conflicts.

Thus, as far as the subsistence of the Tapirapé is concerned,
797 their most important relations with the Whites are their contacts with
[412] the Dominicans, which have occurred with some regularity every year or two since 1914 and which keep them supplied with the necessary tools. Actually, no real trading is involved in this case, since as a rule the Indians are not required to furnish any products of their industry in exchange for the materials, but only to pay attention to certain words and procedures peculiar to the Fathers. This
437 is not to say that they are ignorant of the concept of reciprocal trade
123 with the Whites. When I wanted to acquire an arrow for my collection, they not only knew how to set high prices, but also how to raise the value of the common object by calling it a "captain's

2: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1940
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Tapirape River. They have had only sporadic contact with Europeans. About 1909, the first Brazilians visited them in their village, and, each July or August since 1914, the Dominican priests meet them at a port on the Tapirape River and bring them presents—axes, hoes, salt, etc. Between 1930 and 1935, a Scotch Protestant missionary made three trips to the village, staying there two to three months at a stretch. During the dry season, the Tapirape regularly go down to the river for fishing and collecting turtle eggs and to wait in hope that the Dominican priests will come with a new supply of presents. There they sometimes meet trappers and hunters, and occasionally a Brazilian hunter will make the long trip to their village as an adventure, or—rarely— a Tapirape will go back with a missionary or hunter to the Araguaya—some 200 miles away—and return to the village loaded with presents and tall stories. These few contacts, the only ones which these people have had with Europeans, have nevertheless affected the Tapirape culture profoundly and in many ways. For lack of time, however, I shall describe only the effects resulting from the introduction of foreign diseases, which even antedated European contact, and the consequent wiping out of the great part of the Tapirape population.

In the memory of one Tapirape informant, there were five villages (about 1890), each of which must have contained well over two hundred people. The introduction of smallpox about 1895[3] caused one village to disband, since most of the inhabitants had died. About 1900, another European disease, probably influenza, caused a second village to break up through loss of people. Yellow fever must have taken its toll among the Tapirape at various times, as it did among the neighboring Caraja Indians, and, in 1920, the world-wide influenza epidemic came belatedly to the Araguaya and on to the Tapirape. In 1932, the survivors of a third village, depopulated by disease, joined the most southern village, Tampitawa, and, during my residence there in 1939, the survivors of a fourth village joined us. As a result of this wholesale depopulation from disease, there remained only one village

[3] Probably through the Caraja.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
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Indian venture to visit the Post. For almost three years, their only contact with Brazilian culture was via the Dominican priests and an occasional hunter who visited them upriver in their own village or at one of the ports along the Tapirapé River which they were accustomed to approach. For a few years, the Tapirapé lived in relative peace.

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648
[797]

In 1947, the year when Herbert Baldus again visited the Tapirapé, two events took place which were crucial in the further disorganization of their society. First, he encountered eight families of Brazilians at Porto Velho, half-way up the Tapirapé River, in an area which had always been traditional hunting and fishing territory of the Tapirapé. This was but the beginning of the steady occupation of the lands along the Tapirapé River by Brazilians; by 1953 it was estimated that 120 families were living along the river, and there were three cattle ranches at spots along the banks where the Indians often came to fish and hunt during the dry season. The vast and open *campos* along the Tapirapé River, which before 1940 simply teemed with game, now provided grazing lands for cattle. No longer was the contact of the Tapirapé with Brazilians sporadic and brief, but it had become continuous and frequent.

Secondly, it was in 1947 that the Tapirapé were attacked by the northern Kayapo as related by Baldus.[4] Four women were killed during the attack and two young women captured by the Kayapo, and the Tapirapé village was burned along with most of their belongings such as hammocks, utensils and tools. The entire Tapirapé group were driven by fear and hunger to the margins of the Tapirapé River where they depended upon a Brazilian rancher and the simple Brazilian frontiersmen for food. From 1947 until 1950, Tapirapé society as an organized unit might be said not to have existed; a group of families lived near a ranch on the Tapirapé River attempting to plant gardens in the narrow strip of forest along the river but they were mainly existing on what

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 142

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
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177 several had become excellent canoe-men. Small Tapirapé
[501] boys spent a large part of the day, as do Carajá boys, swimming in the nearby river. Thus, within about a decade, the Tapirapé had shifted from "foot Indians" (one of the criteria for Marginal Cultures, according to the *Handbook of South American Indians*[4]) to "canoe Indians" (a criterion for Tropical Forest Cultures according to the same source). Such criteria as the mode of transportation obviously have little historical depth and are thus of little value for classificatory purposes.

177 In 1940, the most important individuals in Tapirapé
756 society were the shamans or *pančes*; the tribe depended upon them for protection against dangerous supernaturals, cures for illness, and even bringing the spirits of children so that women would conceive. But in 1953 not one individual in the Tapirapé village would admit that he was a *pančе*. Opronunxui and Antonio Pereira, two Tapirapé men between 30 and 40 years of age, were said to be able to "cure" a little, but they had none of the formidable powers of the old *pančes*. "The *pančes* have ended," said the Tapirapé. As a result, they are today more vulnerable to the dangerous supernaturals, but they are also free from the deadly effects of sorcery which they believed the old shamans practiced and had caused their rapid population decline. In fact, the suspicion of shamans and the relatively frequent execution of those suspected of sorcery made shamanism such a dangerous occupation that no one wishes to take up that once honored profession.
[771] But without shamans Tapirapé religion has lost its central figures, and much of the old religious knowledge will be
[797] lost to Tapirapé culture. Without the full knowledge of their own religion, the Tapirapé are today more vulnerable to the teachings of missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, who are now active among them.

177 With so few members, Tapirapé culture is "passing through a narrow funnel" so to speak; in other words,

[4] Bulletin 143, Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. I, 1946; also see Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 678, 1949.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

# THE TAPIRAPÉ

By Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvão

## INTRODUCTION

Isolated from other *Tupi-Guaraní*-speaking people, the *Tapirapé* live 131
in Central Brazil, west of the Araguaya River and north of the Tapirapé
River, a western tributary flowing into the Araguaya near the northern
tip of the Island of Bananal (lat. 2° S., long. 52° W.). According to [173]
tradition, the *Tapirapé* lived for a time on the banks of the Araguaya and
Javahé Rivers with the *Carajá*. They quarreled, and the *Tapirapé* moved
west to their present territory (map 1, *No. 1;* see Volume 1, map 7).
At the beginning of last century, five *Tapirapé* villages formed a line [175]
stretching northward into *Cayapó* country beginning at a point a few [361]
miles back from the Tapirapé River about 150 miles from its mouth. The 648
*Tapirapé* have always been at war with the *Cayapó*, except for a brief
period. Each of these villages contained at least 200 individuals with a 161
total *Tapirapé* population of about 1,000. Since 1900, however, there
has been a terrific reduction of *Tapirapé* population.

In 1939, there was only one remaining *Tapirapé* village situated about
20 miles north of the Tapirapé River with a total population of 147 people.
This decline in population is basically due to disease (smallpox, respira- [164]
torial diseases, etc.) acquired either directly from Neo-Brazilians or from
the *Carajá*, who are continually in contact with Neo-Brazilians. *Tapirapé* [648]
groups have been also massacred on several occasions by both the *Carajá*
and *Cayapó*.

The *Tapirapé* have had but few contacts, however, with Neo-Brazilians. Except 648
for the demoralizing effect of depopulation, their culture has been little modified.
Although stories are told of Neo-Brazilian hunters visiting the *Tapirapé* in 1909, [177]
the first registered contact with them was in 1912. During that year, Señor Manda-
curú, leading an expedition of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service, visited the
village nearest the Tapirapé River. In 1914, the Dominican priests visited the 797
*Tapirapé*. From that date on, the Dominicans returned each year or so to a camp
on the Tapirapé River for 3 or 4 days at a time and were met by the *Tapirapé*, to
whom they distributed trade goods. About 1934, a Protestant missionary, Frederick
Kiegel, made several trips, staying 2 or 3 months in a *Tapirapé* village. In 1935,
the first trained ethnologist, Dr. Herbert Baldus, resided several months with the [114]
*Tapirapé*, and in 1939–40, Wagley spent 12 months with them making the study
on which this article is based.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the personal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Mariapawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let alone pronounce.

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the widespread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poisonous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm-thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversations that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
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123 the subject of conversation when listening to a strange language.)
[199] Then, of course, our presence was materially valuable—for the salt, knives, needles, beads, mirrors, and other presents we brought were greatly appreciated. However, within a very short time some of these people began to emerge as individuals. Awanchowa, a small boy of about 6, followed me about and literally haunted our little house, staring at our large bag of salt which he ate with the same relish children in other cultures eat sweets. Then there was Tanui, a woman of middle age (whose hair was cropped short indicating that a near relative had recently died) who often brought us presents of food.
123 Gradually most of the villagers emerged as distinctive personalities
115 and among them was Champukwi. I cannot remember when I first came to know him as an individual, but his name begins to appear regularly in my field notebooks about one month after our arrival. Soon, he became my best informant, and after a time, an inseparable companion.

116 In 1939 Champukwi must have been about 25 years of age. He
[141] was tall for a Tapirapé male, measuring perhaps about 5 feet 6 inches, strongly built but lean, and weighing, I should judge, about
[302] 150 lbs. Like all Tapirapé men he wore his hair in bangs across his forehead with a braided pigtail tied at the back of his neck. He was somewhat of a dandy, for his feet and the calves of his legs
[301] were painted bright red every evening with *rucu*. From time to time he painted an intricate design on his body, and he wore crocheted
[554] disc-like wrist ornaments of cotton string dyed red. He was obviously a man of some prestige among men of his age, for youths and younger men treated him with deference, always finding a seat for him on the bench that was built against one wall of our house.
● [797] I soon learned that he, too, had spent a short period at a mission
[191] station several years earlier and that he knew a few words of Portuguese. He was married and had a daughter about 2 years of age. His wife, hardly attractive according to my American tastes, appeared to be somewhat older than he, and was pregnant when we first met.

115 Champukwi seemed more patient than other Tapirapé with my at-
122 tempts to use his language and to seek information. He would repeat
[126] a word, a phrase, or a sentence several times so that I might write it down phonetically. He resorted to his meager Portuguese and even to mimicry to explain what was meant. His patience was of course

192 According to my Tapirapé informants, "today" is in, "tomorrow"
805 is ãntxeivé, "yesterday" is designated by the number antxepé, "one," and "day before yesterday" by mõkóimi, "two." [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the exact and numerical reference to a past event seldom goes farther back than mõkóimi, "day before yester-
[802] day," since as a rule they do not count to mãpit, "three," preferring to say vuaitépe, "much "(in quantity), or mõ (or mũ), "far away" (a word that designates great distance, in space as well as [93] time, and that is perhaps related to mõmbiri, "far away," in Montoya). Concerning the future, on the other hand, they frequently say ãntxeivé, "tomorrow," although they may be referring to a time later than the following day.

Since not only the computations of time but its direct denomina-
805 tions as well are invariably abstract, however, it is more convenient to the Tapirapé mentality to use mostly indirect designations by grounding the references to past and future times in concrete phenomena.
[821] Thus, they indicate the time of day by extending their hand in the direction of the place where the sun was or will be at the time in ques-
[171] tion. By what I saw, and also by what Krause (p. 339) mentions, the Karajá [Caraja] proceed in the same fashion.

If certain events took place several weeks or months earlier, the
[824] Tapirapé pinpoint them chronologically by showing with the hand the degree of development of certain plants at the times in question, for example, the height of maize or sugar cane. If several years
[856] have gone by, the Tapirapé narrator extends his hand to the height that a certain person had reached at that time. This person is usually the narrator himself, if his age enables him to do so. If he is about 50 years old and thus stopped growing dozens of years ago, but wishes to indicate an event that occurred five years earlier, he will use a child five years old or older.

805 It should be mentioned, finally, that the words kaém, "daybreak,"
823 and kanúk, "nightfall," are also used for purposes of orientation in
[192] geographical space, the former meaning "east" and the latter "west." Judging by the explanations given to me by the Tapirapé, the concepts of "north" and "south" are lacking among them.

[Ed., pp. 87-88 are not translated.]

000 [89] In Mühlmann (p. 344) we read: "In Polynesia, the new year was reckoned from the beginning of the fishing season, and since this period of time coincided with the appearance of the Pleiades above the horizon, a fruitful half-year, mata-li'i-i-nia, that is, 'Pleiades above,' was distinguished from an unfruitful or less fruitful half-year, mata-li'i-i-raro, that is, 'Pleiades below.' A Pleiadic year was also known in India."

2 It is also worth mentioning Métraux's observation (p. 51) that the Pleiades seem to have been the object of special beliefs among the Tupinambá, who were convinced, according to an unpublished manuscript by Thevet, that they fostered the growth of manioc, the staple of their diet. One of the most beautiful legends of the Taulipáng, a Karaíb [Carib] tribe of the Roroima, relates how the Pleiades came to the sky and also mentions their function as heralds of the rainy season that brings an abundance of food with the appearance of shoals of fish moving upstream to spawn (Koch-Grünberg, p. 13).

Among the Tapirapé, I did not find anything corresponding to
● 805 this Indian and Polynesian culture trait [Tr., the Tapirapé do lend importance to the Pleiades]. It is true that of all the events in the yearly cycle, the rainy season is of greatest interest to these Indians. They did not tell me anything about the Pleiades, however. The rainy season is to them the opposite of what it is to the Taulipáng, namely, not the time of well-being, but, in the words of the Tapirapé, the time of evil shadows, of baleful spirits. It is character-
[181] istic of the timid nature of these Tupí Indians that they lend greatest
[221] importance to the time of greatest distress, instead of centering their
[132] thoughts on the dry season, which is to them the pleasant time of abundant vegetable and animal foods and thus the time of health and pleasure in being alive. [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 89 and the first paragraph, as well as the first three sentences of the second paragraph, on p. 90 are omitted.]

[90] The Tapirapé could not tell me the number of days in the
821 lunar month, although they were familiar with the moon cycle and
192 called the new moon txãhi apát, "moon sleeps," or txãhi akantxím, "moon finished," and the full moon ãuvahó, ho being the augmentative suffix, and ãuva corresponding probably to the ũ, "lunar," listed by Montoya, and the yacy icáua, "full, fat moon," given by Stradelli. The first quarter, when the visible part is not yet very thick, is called

821 emekuantxíampanî, a word that refers to the thin, long tembetá
192 [Tr., lip plug] of the boys. To other stages of [91] visibility they gave the names itaxavãhãupíri, eviyik, and akaemerút, three terms whose meaning I was unable to determine and which must therefore be disregarded until further elucidated.

805 It became apparent that the Tapirapé are not in the habit of
192 reckoning time in terms of lunar months when I attempted to find out the duration they attribute to the span of time corresponding roughly to our year. They distinguished the following three periods: amína, "rain," the rainy season; amína akípaák, the end of the rainy season; and amína apám, "rain sleeps," the dry season. They attributed, still with some certainty, about five txãhi akantxím, "moon finished," to the first period, while their computations for the second period varied from one to five, and those for the "sleep of the rain" from three to eight. [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

Although they are not unfamiliar with the continuous alternation
[171] of day and night, the Brazilian Indians, to my knowledge, do not have words covering those two phases as a unit. The Tapirapé word ána merely designates the day from sunrise to sundown in contrast to the darkness of the night, and corresponds to ára in the above-cited Tupí dictionaries. For "night" the Tapirapé have the terms kanók (or kanúk), ípitún (or ípitúnã), and txãhi eni (or txãhi ãni), the first one designating nightfall or early evening, the second a dark, moon less [92] night, and the third a moonlit night or moonlight. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the first sentence of the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

It is not surprising that the concept of "midnight" is lacking among clockless people like the Tapirapé [Ed., the remainder of
114 the sentence is omitted]. The Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica
192 [Vocabulary of the Aboriginal Brazilian Language] lists the word
805 pigcarê with the translation, "the whole night, or throughout the night." I did not hear any similar term in Tapirapé, not even a word similar to pihá, another term for "night" listed by Montoya.

The Tapirapé word kaém, "daybreak," corresponds to coé in Montoya, coéma in the "Dicionário Brasiliano [Aboriginal Brazilian Dictionary]," coamutu in the Vocabulário na Lingua Brasílica, and coéma in Stradelli.

For "midday" the Tapirapé said atxavuapít. Montoya lists açayé, and the Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica, açajê. In Stradelli, the word "middle" is pytera.

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9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



716 and in myth the sun is called Ancerika and the moon Tamparawa, both
821 names of people. According to the Tapirape, the moon is sister to the sun
773 and is married to Anchopeteri, a culture hero who was instrumental in
776 dividing all birds into two groups,[11] and who taught Tapirape how to
821 wrestle and sing many songs. Because of sexual misbehavior, Sun is said to have slapped Moon full in the face with his hand which was wet with black *genipa* dye, thus the marks on the face of the moon are explained.

Two large planets were formerly Tapirape culture bearers. Apuwenonu[12] (Venus) came down from the sky one night after having watched Anuntero, a Tapirape woman, for a long time, and lived with the Tapirape. At night he was a young man, husband of Anuntero, but by day he appeared to people as a decrepit old man. He taught Anuntero how to plant cotton and how to spin. He taught the Tapirape[13] how to plant their modern garden products, maize, manioc, *cara*, yams. Finally Apuwenonu returned to the sky, taking with him his earthly son by Anuntero who is called Imauawango (Jupiter). Today, the Tapirape point to these two planets, recounting their story and saying, "Apuwenonu is young at night when he is in the sky, but by day he is old again as he was when he left us."

Many other constellations are known, but of importance in story are
821 possibly only that called by the Tapirape "the jaguar,"[14] and the Pleiades.[15]
787 One shaman told me that he had travelled (in dreams) to visit this jaguar. He was "friendly" with it, he said, and if he should be killed, the jaguar of the sky would send many real jaguars to prey upon the Tapirape. "Men would be afraid to step into the forest at night." The jaguar had become one of his retinue of familiar powers which would aid him in struggles with other shamans.

821 The Pleiades are important calendrically. They are watched anxiously
● 805 and impatiently as the rains diminish, and their disappearance over the
796 western horizon in May signals the end of the rains. This is the time for

[616] [861] [825] [11] At the present time men's moieties are divided into three age grades. Each age grade of each moiety carries the name of a bird: one being species of small *papagaio*, and the other species of white water birds. According to myth, these groups derived from similar divisions of the bird world in which Anchopeteri lived.

[171] [12] This is probably identical with Monan (or Maire-monan, according to Métraux), civilizing god of Tupinamba, who created earth, people, birds and animals, and finally taught the Tupinamba to distinguish useful plants. He was put to death by men, at which time he was transformed into a star "with two of his companions." Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 11.

[13] One text calls them Karajuetawera (pre-Tapirape) at this time (see p. 254).

[171] [14] Ancient Guarani said that there was a very large tiger or dog which on certain occasions ate the sun and moon, causing an eclipse. Apapocuva-Guarani speak of a celestial jaguar; and the Chane from Chiriguano explain the eclipse in this same manner. Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 50.

[171] [15] "Les Pleiades paraissaient avoir été chez les Tupinamba l'objet de croyances particulières. Ils avaient notamment la conviction qu'elles favorisaient la croissance du manioc." Métraux, Religion des Tupinamba, p. 51.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



the largest ceremonial of the year which marks the beginning of the dry 805
season and the harvest. Similarly, the position of the Pleiades is used to 821
date the many ceremonies of the heavy rainy period (November to April). [796]
One shaman had visited the Pleiades, and they, too, can be counted upon
as a familiar power. The Milky Way is often referred to as the "path of the [787]
shaman," it is a well-beaten road over which the shaman travels through
the sky in his dreams.

In common with many Tupi peoples, nothing in the realm of natural [171]
phenomena is as important to the Tapirape as thunder. Among most Tupi, 821
Tupan is a god or an ancestor identified with thunder. He causes the 776
rumbling of thunder and flashes of lightning. Among the Tapirape, how-
ever, Thunder[10] is a separate entity, a supernatural who has many "crea-
tures" or *topii*. *Topii* are described as small beings about a hand's length in
size, with white hairy down over their bodies, and wearing a small head- [177]
dress of red parrot feathers, European beads, and a lip plug. Small wax [532]
dolls are made in imitation of them. They travel through the sky in small
"canoes," especially when there are strong wind and electric storms, and
they carry red wild flowers with which they shoot Tapirape in the stomach.
These arrows are hot "like fire." Sometimes *topii* are called "pets" of
Thunder, and again they are referred to as his "children." In addition to [775]
*topii*, Thunder has other supernumeraries, the souls of dead shamans, who [756]
live in the house of Thunder, commonly thought to be near Maratawa on
the summit of a large mountain.

Each year when approaching rains bring heavy thunder storms, light-
ning and strong winds, Thunder sends forth his beings. The noise of the
storm is caused by rumbling of *topii's* canoes, and flashes of lightning are
their speeding arrows. To protect the Tapirape, and also their gardens, 756
from the storm, shamans[11] "call Thunder," or "fight with *topii*." In a four- 796
day ceremony characterized by genuine fear, shamans gulp tobacco smoke 821
until they are ill and intoxicated, they sing "calling Thunder to come," and 776
chant until they "see" one or more *topii*, or souls of dead shamans,[12] fight
with them, and are struck down by their arrows. A shaman who fights a
*topii* tries to grab its small feather head-dress, take away its bow, or yank
out its lip plug, its most vulnerable feature.

Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies of fighting Thunder.
When a shaman is shot by *topii*, he falls screaming upon the ground, [781]
writhing and shaking, and then becomes unconscious. If men are not near

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[10] Thunder referred to as Kanawanu (direct translation), is said to be called Pureroka, his personal name.

[11] Laymen and neophytes who have sufficient courage may also participate.

[12] In conversation and in song, there is confusion between these beings. Although the above distinctions are definitely made, they are often referred to interchangeably. For example, a Tapirape may say, "*topii* cause lightning," or "Thunder is angry and makes lightning."

4: Wagley E-5, (1939-1940) 1943
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755 In the midst of this process he stops several times to suck on the body of his patient and finally, with one awful heave, he spews all the accumulated material on the ground. He then searches in this mess for the intrusive object that has been causing the illness. Never once did I see a shaman show the intrusive object to observers. As one treatment a Tapirapé *pancé* usually repeats this process of "eating smoke", sucking, and vomiting several times. Sometimes, when a man of prestige is ill, two or even three shamans will cure side by side in this manner and the noise of violent vomiting resounds throughout the village.

One other method of curing was observed. During an epidemic of fever Panteri made a collective cure to drive fever out of the village and disinfect the people of the village against it. Two men were dispatched to collect wild honey; this was then mixed with water, making a weak honey mixture. Panteri, after first smoking for a time, went from house to house taking the honey mixture in his mouth and spraying it over the house and its occupants. He carefully sprayed and massaged the patients who had fever and removed the foreign substance from their bodies. For several hours he worked, spraying both the inside and outside of the houses, including the central ceremonial house of the men. It was explained that the honey alone did not have a therapeutic effect against fever but sprayed from the mouth of a *pancé* it drove away fevers.

755 795 828 Shamans also protect the Tapirapé against ghosts. All people who see ghosts faint from fright or from the white substance with which the ghost covers their body. Shamans were called to blow smoke over them and to massage this substance from their bodies. During one funeral dance the shaman Panteri "saw many ghosts" in the environs of the village, recognizing some as long-dead relatives of the deceased. By blowing tobacco smoke about and by going among the ghosts with a large mirror he drove them away before they did any harm.

756 842 82 Shamans are necessary in several other life situations other than illness. For instance, shamans are thought among the Tapirapé to control the pregnancy of women. While pregnancy is known to be related to sexual intercourse, conception is thought to take place only when a shaman "brings a child to a woman". Several species of birds,

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of fish, of insects, and several natural phenomena, especially thunder, have children: that is, they are thought to control "spirits of children" (20). A shaman steals, or more simply, takes spirits of children from these sources and brings them to a woman while she sleeps. Parents who wish children can bring presents to a *pancé* to "make him dream and bring a child to them". Most Tapirapé parents can identify the source of their children and the shaman who brought them. One father explained that he had taken honey to the *pancé* Urukumu, making him dream, and that Urukumu had then traveled to the house of Thunder and brought back a child to his wife. Another gave a present of fish to a shaman who brought back a child from the small fish called piau (*Leporinus* sp.); and yet another gave honey to a *pancé* who brought back a child from the horsefly (Tabanidae).

To the Tapirapé all good and likewise all evil can be laid at the door of the shaman. Consequently a phenomenon such as barrenness is always the fault of the shaman. A barren woman or a man with no children by his wife must have "quarrelled much with the *pancé*". For example, it was clear to Kamairaho that his failure to have children by the three wives with whom he had lived during his lifetime was due to the shaman: "They do not want me to have a child", he said. He had no suspicion concerning his own sterility, even though his present and third wife had had a daughter by her first husband; for according to Tapirapé belief, all men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are biological fathers of child, and Kamairaho was in this manner the "father" of several children.

The safety of Tapirapé men depends upon the power of their shaman during the period each October and November when they must swim while they fish and shoot turtles; for in this region of Brazil rivers are infested with alligators, sting rays (*Potamotrygon histrix*), and the carnivorous fish called piranha (Serrasalminae). The Tapirapé also believe that large snakes lurk in deep pools of the rivers ready to wrap themselves around men and pull them beneath the water. During the year men will not swim in deep water unless it is absolutely necessary

(20) Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, *jaré* (*Penelope* sp.), *jakaré* (*Psophia* sp.), fish as called *tukunare* (*Cichla ocellaris*), *pacú* (*Myleinae* sp.), and *piranha* (*Pygocentrus*), and *jakaré* (*Prochilodus* sp.), were listed as sources of "spirits of children".

177 All those imports from us, living alongside the traditional traits, are no more than curiosities [99:76] in the minds of the Tapirapé, curiosities hardly more important to the functioning of their culture than one of their arrows or legends would be to the average European.

From what I was able to observe, Reverend Kegel usually 177 restricted himself to the teaching of songs and the administration 797 of medicines. Owing to their sporadic quality and short duration, and especially to the difficulty of communicating through words, the encounters with the Dominicans and other visitors have enriched Tapirapé culture even less. Unfruitful, too, were the attempts to wield an influence through individuals who had been taken to the Araguaia by the missionaries and who knew more about the White way of life than those who had never left tribal territory. It is well known how easily many of the Brazilian Indians educated in our civilized centers have re-adjusted to and been re-absorbed by their native environment (cf. Baldus 7, 165, and Araujo Lima 134-136). Actually, I did not see any Tapirapé who had lived with the Whites long enough to experience the conflicts of the "marginal man" of Park, Stonequist, and other American sociologists.

The impoverishment of Tapirapé culture was induced large- 164 ly by the diseases of the Whites, but these were introduced only partly as a result of direct contact. It is probable that the neighboring Karajá, continually exposed to contagion as inhabitants of the Araguaia, frequently acted as transmitters. This at least may be assumed as regards the strange diseases which were introduced prior to direct contact with the Whites. As Wagley (2) masterfully [114] pointed out, the catastrophic depopulation caused by the epidemics [165] that raged around 1895 and 1900, and later ones as well, affected [731] the social organization to such an extent that important traits of [178] Tapirapé culture were modified or lost.

The Tapirapé often told me that in the old days their people 177 knew everything about such celestial phenomena as eclipses and [821] about many other mythological subjects, and now know almost nothing. This may not be solely the result of the mortality caused [731] by epidemics and by the bellicose attacks of neighboring Karajá [726] and Kayapó. Some old people did survive. I can imagine the pressure exercised by the presence of our culture upon the minds

787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a topī). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus Panterí vanquished the topī), but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panterí had not defeated the topī, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow). I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the
[821] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topī and many souls of shamans near
[775] [756] him. I did not talk but returned fast.' He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and
292 again a rare layman, wore the ankungitána, and people marveled
781 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panterí grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a panché-iúnwera. Urukumú picked up the ankungitána. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him."

825 I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of
[292] the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (ibid., Note 30) says in
[237] this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red
[821] feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told
[753] me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not
292 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated
285 by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. ibid., Fig. 1).
114 The figures in Wagley's work (ibid., Figs. 1-9) do not provide any details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the feathers. The frame (Photo. 15) that I acquired in Tampiitáua

756 One powerful shaman may have several demonic familiars and his
776 responsibility and prestige grow with their numbers and strength. Panteri,
787 perhaps the most powerful shaman living in 1940, had several breeds of familiars garnered from his dreams. He was, of course, accustomed to visiting the villages of ghosts and frequently saw and talked with ghosts in his nightly dreams. He had visited the *anapi ancúnga*, beings with huge penises with which they kill people by sodomy and by copulation. Panteri travelled once in his dreams over a high mountain ridge to the north of the Tapirapé country where he visited with the ghosts of the hostile Gê-speaking Kayapo. These enemy ghosts too became his familiars and he says that they will warn him if and when the living Kayapo plan to attack the Taparipé. Again, in one of his dreams, Panteri travelled two days through a thick forest through which no paths led. Suddenly he found himself at the mouth of the Tapirapé River where it runs into the Araguaya. Inside a near-by hill he visited *anacówa*, the large red parrot from which supernatural beings and the souls of dead shamans pluck their everlasting supply of red feathers for decoration (9).

[753] Panteri also visited the forest demons called *peropi awa*, who have the power to send fevers to the Tapirapé. About this visit to their "house" he related the following: "I saw many pets. They have periquitos, parrots, many pets... I had not seen them before. I saw there a paca. The paca was cold; it was shivering. The paca had fever [chills]. I knew that the Tapirapé would all have fever. I told many people that this would occur but there was nothing I could do about it". During his many dream travels Panteri has also visited Maratawa, the home of heroic ancestors and deseased shamans and he has looked down upon many Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya River.

756 There are certain of the shamans who are said to make frequent trips
787 to the sky in their "canoes" and to count powerful celestial phenomena
821 among their powers. The Milky Way was spoken of as the "Road of the *Pancé*". Once when comparing his powers with those of another shaman, a shaman told me that he dreamed only on earth level and so was not so powerful as the other who frequenty travelled in the sky. The other, he said, "had visited *é éco*, the Pleiades, and *kopia xawana*,

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(9) Ancestor heroes. Thunder as a supernatural, and souls of dead shamans are always described as having a plentiful supply of red feathers — something that a living Tapirapé envies.

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the Jaguar of the Skies". When this shaman dies, it is thought that many terrestrial jaguars, sent by the Jaguar of the Skies, will haunt the confines of the village. I was told, too, that when the powerful shaman Wantanam died the "sun was large and red with the blood of the shaman"; it was "hot" and "angry" because a shaman had died.

## SORCERY

The Tapirapé tell of great battles between strong shamans, each supported by his own retinue of powers. During my stay with the Tapirapé there were rumors of a possible combat between Urukumu and Panteri, the two strongest shamans. Many people believed that it would be caused by the death of a warm personal friend of Panteri through the suspected sorcery by Urukumu. One man even described how the thought that the combat would take place. "Panteri will smoke much tobaco (10) and then he will go to his hammock to sleep. He will go [in his dream] in his "canoe" to the top of a high mountain. From there he will look about until he sees [the soul of] Urukumu. From there Panteri will throw his *ankungitána* (11); will wrap itself around [the soul of] Urukumu, carrying him off into the sky". Now the various familiar powers of both shamans hasten to their aid; it was at this point that the narrator, visualizing the possible battle of powers, listed the powers that would come to the aid of each shaman. A shaman whose soul has thus been captured by another falls prey to chills and fevers and soon dies, with his last breath whispering in song that he leaves the earth and possibly even telling gaspingly the name of the shaman who caused his death. Both shamans involved in the rumored combat denied knowledge or intention to wage it.

As might be expected, the same methods said to be used by shamans against one another may also be used against the layman. Shamans are believed to steal souls that are wandering in dream journeys. The shaman may send his *ankungitána* to strike the soul of his victim over

(10) See page 72 for the use of tobacco in cures, as stimulants, to induce dreams, and for shamanistic ceremonies.

(11) The *ankungitána* is a ceremonial headdress made of three or four long tail feathers of a parrot and worn by the Tapirapé down the back tied to the short "pig tail" hairdress (See Fig. 1 on page 41).

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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## THE THUNDER CEREMONY

[171] 776 [821] [175] [156] In common with many Tupi peoples the Tapirapé consider thunder as a powerful supernatural. He is called *Kanawana* by the Tapirapé. Kanawana lives in his house at Maratawa surrounded by his various supernumeraries. He has with him the souls of deceased Tapirapé shamans (*pancč-iúnwera*), messengers called *awampewa* that carry news to these *pančé iúnwera*, and finally, *topi* (28).

*Topi* are described as small anthropomorphic beings about the size of a man's hand. Their bodies are covered with downy white hair, and they wear European beads, little headdresses of parrot feathers, and lip plugs. They travel with great swiftness through the air small "canoes", which are only halves of gourds, and they carry with them red feathers and beads to use as arrows to shoot at Tapirapé. Sometimes *topi* are referred to as "pets" of Thunder and sometimes as his children; but in any case, they are many and do his bidding.

796 821 Each year in approximately late December and January, when there are heavy thunder showers, lightning, and strong winds, the Tapirapé believe that Thunder is angry. The noise of the storm is the rumbling of his *topi's* canoes and the lightning is their speeding arrows. Once, when a strong wind ripped off part of the roof of a house, Tapirapé men were frightened because they knew that *pančé-iúnwera* sent by Thunder had caused the wind. At this time each year shamans "call Thunder" and match their powers against him. In frenzied intoxication from gulping tobacco smoke, constant singing and dancing, they [786] fall into trances during which they travel to the house of Thunder. Shamans and the courageous laymen who take part in this ceremony are struck down by *topi's* arrows and fall writhing upon the ground. Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies against Thunder and his beings.

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(28) *Topi* is obviously the Tapirapé equivalent of *Tupan*, the word recorded as used by the Tupinambá and other coastal Tupi. Among the coastal Tupi *Tupan* was the supernatural being who cause the thunder and lightning. Tupan was so important that the early Catholic missionaries used the word for God. See Alfred Métraux's, 1928, *La Religion des Tupinambá*, pages 52-56. Paris. Note, however, that among the Tapirapé *topi* are merely creatures of Thunder.

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ceremonial rattles which had fallen to the ground and running with them around the whole circuit of the village. 796

The third and fourth days of the ceremony followed closely the pattern of this day, but there were some important variations. On the last two days a new danger was added, accounting for more violent seizures that occurred then. During these days each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate headdress — the *ankungitanu*. This headdress enfuriates Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer (30). Without exception all who wore the headdress, even Panteri and Urukumu, fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder and genuine fear was shown by all those who wore it. 293 796 786

Before a man could put the headdress on his head, a shaman waved it slowly before his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific "heat." When Urukumu wore the *ankungitana*, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circle of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Panteri. Panteri likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song and when he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Panteri related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: "I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (*a topi*). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus he would have vanquished the *topi*) but it left the house. Then all was dark. (He had not defeated the *topi* and it had consequently shot him with his arrow) I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days and I climbed a large mountain on the 787 796

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(30) Red parrot feathers are "hot like fire", say the Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house. [821] [825] [753]

[Ed., pp. 87-88 are not translated.]

000 [89] In Mühlmann (p. 344) we read: "In Polynesia, the new year was reckoned from the beginning of the fishing season, and since this period of time coincided with the appearance of the Pleiades above the horizon, a fruitful half-year, mata-li'i-i-nia, that is, 'Pleiades above,' was distinguished from an unfruitful or less fruitful half-year, mata-li'i-i-raro, that is, 'Pleiades below.' A Pleiadic year was also known in India."

2 It is also worth mentioning Métraux's observation (p. 51) that the Pleiades seem to have been the object of special beliefs among the Tupinambá, who were convinced, according to an unpublished manuscript by Thevet, that they fostered the growth of manioc, the staple of their diet. One of the most beautiful legends of the Taulipáng, a Karaíb [Carib] tribe of the Roroima, relates how the Pleiades came to the sky and also mentions their function as heralds of the rainy season that brings an abundance of food with the appearance of shoals of fish moving upstream to spawn (Koch-Grünberg, p. 13).

Among the Tapirapé, I did not find anything corresponding to 805 this Indian and Polynesian culture trait [Tr., the Tapirapé do lend importance to the Pleiades]. It is true that of all the events in the yearly cycle, the rainy season is of greatest interest to these Indians. They did not tell me anything about the Pleiades, however. The rainy season is to them the opposite of what it is to the Taulipáng, namely, not the time of well-being, but, in the words of the Tapirapé, the time of evil shadows, of baleful spirits. It is character- [181] istic of the timid nature of these Tupí Indians that they lend greatest [221] importance to the time of greatest distress, instead of centering their [132] thoughts on the dry season, which is to them the pleasant time of abundant vegetable and animal foods and thus the time of health and pleasure in being alive. [Ed., the last two paragraphs on p. 89 and the first paragraph, as well as the first three sentences of the second paragraph, on p. 90 are omitted.]

[90] The Tapirapé could not tell me the number of days in the 821 lunar month, although they were familiar with the moon cycle and 192 called the new moon txãhi apát, "moon sleeps," or txãhi akantxím, "moon finished," and the full moon ãuvahó, ho being the augmentative suffix, and ãuva corresponding probably to the âu, "lunar," listed by Montoya, and the yacy icáua, "full, fat moon," given by Stradelli. The first quarter, when the visible part is not yet very thick, is called

821 emekuantxíampaní, a word that refers to the thin, long tembetá
142 [Tr., lip plug] of the boys. To other stages of [91] visibility they gave the names itaxavãhãupíri, eviyík, and akaemerút, three terms whose meaning I was unable to determine and which must therefore be disregarded until further elucidated.

805 It became apparent that the Tapirapé are not in the habit of
192 reckoning time in terms of lunar months when I attempted to find out the duration they attribute to the span of time corresponding roughly to our year. They distinguished the following three periods: amína, "rain," the rainy season; amína akípaák, the end of the rainy season; and amína apám, "rain sleeps," the dry season. They attributed, still with some certainty, about five txãhi akantxím, "moon finished," to the first period, while their computations for the second period varied from one to five, and those for the "sleep of the rain" from three to eight. [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

Although they are not unfamiliar with the continuous alternation
[171] of day and night, the Brazilian Indians, to my knowledge, do not have words covering those two phases as a unit. The Tapirapé word ána merely designates the day from sunrise to sundown in contrast to the darkness of the night, and corresponds to ára in the above-cited Tupí dictionaries. For "night" the Tapirapé have the terms kanók (or kanúk), ípítún (or ípítúnã), and txãhi eni (or txãhi ãni), the first one designating nightfall or early evening, the second a dark, moon less [92] night, and the third a moonlit night or moonlight. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph and the first sentence of the subsequent paragraph are omitted.]

It is not surprising that the concept of "midnight" is lacking among clockless people like the Tapirapé [Ed., the remainder of
114 the sentence is omitted]. The Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica
192 [Vocabulary of the Aboriginal Brazilian Language] lists the word
805 pigcarê with the translation, "the whole night, or throughout the night." I did not hear any similar term in Tapirapé, not even a word similar to píhá, another term for "night" listed by Montoya.

The Tapirapé word kaém, "daybreak," corresponds to coé in Montoya, coéma in the "Dicionário Brasiliano [Aboriginal Brazilian Dictionary]," coamutu in the Vocabulário na Lingua Brasílica, and coéma in Stradelli.

For "midday" the Tapirapé said atxavũapít. Montoya lists açayé, and the Vocabulário na Língua Brasílica, açajê. In Stradelli, the word "middle" is pytera.

192 805 According to my Tapirapé informants, "today" is in, "tomorrow" is ãntxeivé, "yesterday" is designated by the number antxepé, "one," and "day before yesterday" by mõkóimi, "two." [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the exact and numerical reference to a past event seldom goes farther back than mõkóimi, "day before yester-
[802] day," since as a rule they do not count to mãpit, "three," preferring to say vuaitépe, "much "(in quantity), or mõ (or mũ), "far away" (a word that designates great distance, in space as well as [93] time, and that is perhaps related to mõmbiri, "far away," in Montoya). Concerning the future, on the other hand, they frequently say ãntxeivé, "tomorrow," although they may be referring to a time later than the following day.

805 Since not only the computations of time but its direct denomina-tions as well are invariably abstract, however, it is more convenient to the Tapirapé mentality to use mostly indirect designations by grounding the references to past and future times in concrete phenomena.
[821] Thus, they indicate the time of day by extending their hand in the direction of the place where the sun was or will be at the time in ques-
[171] tion. By what I saw, and also by what Krause (p. 339) mentions, the Karajá [Caraja] proceed in the same fashion.

If certain events took place several weeks or months earlier, the
[824] Tapirapé pinpoint them chronologically by showing with the hand the degree of development of certain plants at the times in question, for example, the height of maize or sugar cane. If several years
[856] have gone by, the Tapirapé narrator extends his hand to the height that a certain person had reached at that time. This person is usually the narrator himself, if his age enables him to do so. If he is about 50 years old and thus stopped growing dozens of years ago, but wishes to indicate an event that occurred five years earlier, he will use a child five years old or older.

805 It should be mentioned, finally, that the words kaém, "daybreak,"
823 and kanúk, "nightfall," are also used for purposes of orientation in
[192] geographical space, the former meaning "east" and the latter "west." Judging by the explanations given to me by the Tapirapé, the concepts of "north" and "south" are lacking among them.

8: Baldus E-5 (1935, 1947) 1956 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



trary, I am good, and in order to demonstrate it, I embrace cordially a man on her side so that I don't need to embrace her. And I say to my English companion who at this moment joins me: "Certain research-workers who were killed by the Indians with whom they lived, as, for instance, Boggiani among the Chamakoko, were murdered only through fear." At that instant, as if he had understood my words, the man I have just embraced asks me if the Shavante really have killed the white man by the name of Father John and if they have murdered him with a club. I don't know from where the Tapirapé had received this information and if his question represented a reaction or only conversation. What I know is that the man couldn't have understood my comment about the murders through fear. 123 152

An hour later I see Kamairahó going to the brook carrying two calabash rattles which he had obtained from the Karajá neighbours, but never used. I follow him and ask him what he intends to do with the rattles. He explains that they are dirty and that he wants to clean them with water, and adds: "When you go away and I remain here, the rattles will go with you." He continues with a mournful face. Besides, everyone looks sad, and when I enter our hut, I am not received as usual with the friendly exclamation: "You arrive!" But, looking to this or that person, I immediately receive a polite smile. Even at night Kamairahó says to the Englishman that he is still afraid of me, and when my companion reassures him, confirming the jocose character of my threat, he is invited immediately by Kamairahó to eat bananas and by other inhabitants of the house to have kaul, a fermented drink, in payment for this consolation. Meanwhile Inamoréo, who had beaten his wife, has already gone peacefully to sleep with her in the hammock and explains later that he whipped her only with the arrow—which is not true. I invite Kamairahó for a dinner of deer. He eats well, but with a sad face complaining of a headache. He receives aspirin. [431] [576] [574] [543]

It is necessary to consider that the fear described above may have been caused less by the threat with the revolver than by the agitated manner with which I expressed my indignation and which contrasts with Tapirapé behaviour. Even Kamairahó's wife, who used to quarrel much, always pronounced insults in a monotonous voice and with apparent calm, quite different, for instance, from the Karajá women who shout without reserve. But it may be mentioned that the Tapirapé were also afraid of the Englishman when a woman had stolen a great quantity of kitchen oil from him, putting it in her hair, and when dogs of the village tore his towel to pieces. And my companion was less explosive than I!

Graver causes of fear are the Kayapó attacks. I have already mentioned that, on account of these, I was asked to sleep armed. When a rumour maker is talking about the approach of these Indians, all the village is immediately alarmed. And there are reasons for this, because in 1947, soon after my second visit to the Tapirapé, these warlike neighbours assaulted the village, plundered it, and burned it, killing and kidnapping women. 152 648

Fear was produced also by the eclipse of the moon on 15th of June, 1935. When at night I was awakened with the words "chahy vuy" "moon blood," all the people were dejected and the men were talking only in low tones. Really, the moon appears dark red like coagulated blood. Next day everybody was still preoccupied with the phenomenon, considering it a bad omen of carnage. 152 821

But while the eclipse was an uncommon cause of fear, there were other causes in every moment and in any place, for the Tapirapé lives surrounded by malevolent spirits. Here is the so-called "imaginary fear" regarding which Mira y López[9] observes that "even the bravest warriors, able to throw themselves 152 775

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



but lives and re-lives his life cycle as the cycle of the seasons. In the early 776
rains of October to January, Petura is a small boy. During the heavy rains 132
of January to March, he is an adolescent youth. He is a young warrior as the rains diminish in April to June, and as the year draws to its close for the Tapirape during the remaining dry months, Petura becomes old. Then as the year begins again with the first refreshing rains of October, he begins a new life cycle. This is the agricultural year for the Tapirape. They [221]
plant when he is young (October) and harvest as he matures (in May and June).

Petura was not the only hero who benefited the Tapirape. To the "home 773
of the gods" travelled Tomatociri and Mukwura II, other ancestor heroes, in search of their father Mukwura. There Mukwura gave his son, Tomatociri, the bow and arrow which he brought back to the Tapirape. There, [176]
too—and this is typical of Tapirape readjustment to newly-learned knowledge—the younger brother Mukwura II was given fire arms which he transmitted to his descendants, the Europeans or Tori.[9]

Shamans are equated with these ancestor heroes. If shamans die a non- 756
violent death, they go immediately to Maratawa where they live plenti- 775
fully supplied with food, tobacco, and all aids to the good life. If they die 772
violently, however (i.e., are suspected of sorcery and killed by the Tapirape) they go to another home of shamans in the west. This is the "home [821] ●
of the winds" where the heavy winds blowing from the southwest come during the late dry season. They are given an artificial face, and they stay here until they heal before going east to join their companions in Maratawa. Only shamans and culture heroes continue after life in the form that [776]
they had on earth.

It is chiefly through shamans that the Tapirape know of the sun, moon 756
and other heavenly bodies. A shaman had seen the sun "close by." The 821
sun, he said, is an old man with no hair on his head. He travels through the heavens wearing a large head-dress of red parrot feathers, and since red parrot feathers are "hot," the head-dress gives off heat. Each night, after limping through his daily orbit (for the "sky is rough" and the sun continually has thorns in his feet) he returns underground to the east to his house at Maratawa.[10] There he eats very little and in a short time sets out again. The morning after Wamanamu, a shaman, had died, several Tapirape saw that the sun was red; it was very "hot" and angry because a shaman had died.

As the sun is male, so the moon is female. Both are thought of as people, 821 776

[9] I was unable to get the original of this story before the obvious change was made to make it fit with new conditions. It is similar, however, to a Tupinamba story recorded by Thevet and quoted by Métraux (*ibid.*, p. 12), which tells of Arawete and Tamendonare, twin sons of Sumaray. [171]

[10] See Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 14, for Sipaia version.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



776 and in myth the sun is called Ancerika and the moon Tamparawa, both
821 names of people. According to the Tapirape, the moon is sister to the sun
773 and is married to Anchopeteri, a culture hero who was instrumental in
776 dividing all birds into two groups,[11] and who taught Tapirape how to
821 wrestle and sing many songs. Because of sexual misbehavior, Sun is said to have slapped Moon full in the face with his hand which was wet with black *genipa* dye, thus the marks on the face of the moon are explained.

Two large planets were formerly Tapirape culture bearers. Apuwenonu[12] (Venus) came down from the sky one night after having watched Anuntero, a Tapirape woman, for a long time, and lived with the Tapirape. At night he was a young man, husband of Anuntero, but by day he appeared to people as a decrepit old man. He taught Anuntero how to plant cotton and how to spin. He taught the Tapirape[13] how to plant their modern garden products, maize, manioc, *cara*, yams. Finally Apuwenonu returned to the sky, taking with him his earthly son by Anuntero who is called Imauswango (Jupiter). Today, the Tapirape point to these two planets, recounting their story and saying, "Apuwenonu is young at night when he is in the sky, but by day he is old again as he was when he left us."

Many other constellations are known, but of importance in story are
821 possibly only that called by the Tapirape "the jaguar,"[14] and the Pleiades.[15]
787 One shaman told me that he had travelled (in dreams) to visit this jaguar. He was "friendly" with it, he said, and if he should be killed, the jaguar of the sky would send many real jaguars to prey upon the Tapirape. "Men would be afraid to step into the forest at night." The jaguar had become one of his retinue of familiar powers which would aid him in struggles with other shamans.

821 The Pleiades are important calendrically. They are watched anxiously
805 and impatiently as the rains diminish, and their disappearance over the
796 western horizon in May signals the end of the rains. This is the time for

[616] [811] [825] [11] At the present time men's societies are divided into three age grades. Each age grade of each moiety carries the name of a bird: one being species of small *papagaio*, and the other species of white water birds. According to myth, these groups derived from similar divisions of the bird world in which Anchopeteri lived.

[171] [12] This is probably identical with Monan (or Maire-monan, according to Métraux), civilizing god of Tupinambá, who created earth, people, birds and animals, and finally taught the Tupinambá to distinguish useful plants. He was put to death by men, at which time he was transformed into a star "with two of his companions." Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 11.

[13] One text calls them Karajuntowera (pre-Tapirape) at this time (see p. 314).

[171] [14] Ancient Guarani said that there was a very large tiger or dog which on certain occasions ate the sun and moon, causing an eclipse. Apapocuva-Guarani speak of a celestial jaguar; and the Chaco from Chiriguano explain the eclipse in this same manner. Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 50.

[171] [15] "Les Pléiades paraissaient avoir été chez les Tupinamba l'objet de croyances particulières. Ils avaient notamment la conviction qu'elles favorisaient la croissance du manioc." Métraux, Religion des Tupinambá, p. 51.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



the largest ceremonial of the year which marks the beginning of the dry 805
season and the harvest. Similarly, the position of the Pleiades is noted to 821
date the many ceremonies of the heavy rainy period (November to April). [796]
One shaman had visited the Pleiades, and they, too, can be counted upon
as a familiar power. The Milky Way is often referred to as the "path of the [787]
shaman," it is a well-beaten road over which the shaman travels through
the sky in his dreams.

In common with many Tupi peoples, nothing in the realm of natural [171]
phenomena is as important to the Tapirapé as thunder. Among most Tupi, 821
Tupan is a god or an ancestor identified with thunder. He causes the 776
rumbling of thunder and flashes of lightning. Among the Tapirapé, however, Thunder[16] is a separate entity, a supernatural who has many "creatures" or *tupã*. *Tupã* are described as small beings about a hand's length in
size, with white hairy down over their bodies, and wearing a small head- [177]
dress of red parrot feathers, European beads, and a lip plug. Small wax
dolls are made in imitation of them. They travel through the sky in small [532]
"canoes," especially when there are strong wind and electric storms, and
they carry red wild flowers with which they shoot Tapirapé in the stomach.
These arrows are hot "like fire." Sometimes *tupã* are called "pets" of
Thunder, and again they are referred to as his "children." In addition to [775]
*tupã*, Thunder has other supernumeraries, the souls of dead shamans, who [756]
live in the house of Thunder, commonly thought to be near Maratawa on
the summit of a large mountain.

Each year when approaching rains bring heavy thunder storms, lightning and strong winds, Thunder sends forth his beings. The noise of the storm is caused by rumbling of *tupã's* canoes, and flashes of lightning are
their speeding arrows. To protect the Tapirapé, and also their gardens, 756
from the storm, shamans[17] "call Thunder," or "fight with *tupã*." In a four- 796
day ceremony characterized by genuine fear, shamans gulp tobacco smoke 821
until they are ill and intoxicated, they sing "calling Thunder to come," and
chant until they "see" one or more *tupã*, or souls of dead shamans,[18] fight 776
with them, and are struck down by their arrows. A shaman who fights a
*tupã* tries to grab its small feather head-dress, take away its bow, or yank
out its lip plug, its most vulnerable feature.

Violent behavior is the keynote of these ceremonies of fighting Thunder.
When a shaman is shot by *tupã*, he falls screaming upon the ground, [781]
writhing and shaking, and then becomes unconscious. If men are not near

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[16] Thunder referred to as Kanawana (direct translation) is said to be called Paranoka, his personal name.

[17] Laymen and neophytes who have sufficient courage may also participate.

[18] In conversation and in song, there is confusion between these beings. Although the above distinctions are definitely made, they are often referred to interchangeably. For example, a Tapirapé may say, "*tupã* cause lightning," or "Thunder is angry and makes lightning."

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



756 796 821 776 [781] to hold him, he may run wild through the village destroying property and endangering people. To bring him back, smoke must be blown over him by a shaman. While he is unconscious, he dreams and travels, sometimes visiting the house of Thunder.

787 756 821 772 776 "I smoked much and then I smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun and it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They came and they left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came (to the house) in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a *tupá*). It wore a small headdress of parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug but it left." [The shaman did not conquer the *tupá* and he was shot down by an arrow while he was unconscious] . . . "all was dark. I saw many suns. I travelled singing as I walked. I spent three days walking. I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Kanawana. He was big and his body was covered with much hair. He had many red parrot feathers. There were many *tupá* and many souls of shamans. I did not talk but came back." [If he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have stayed (died), but he was properly treated with tobacco smoke and returned to consciousness.]

775 Through shamans and legends of culture heroes, the Tapirapé know, too, of the multitude of "spirits" (*anehanga*) which populate the unseen world. These are of two general types: true spirits, disembodied souls of deceased Tapirapé;[19] and demons or malevolent beings of many classes. [787] Shamans are accustomed to seeing true spirits in their dreams. These gen- [756] erally inhabit abandoned village sites, where they re-live their earthly lives. When they die—the second death—they become frogs, deer, *pacu* and doves. Thus the toad is the spirit of a chief; the dove and *jacu* are spirits [825] of men.[20] These ghosts cannot harm shamans who are accustomed to see- [756] ing them, but sometimes the spirits attack and strike down defenseless laymen.[21] They also cluster around a man's bier to carry off the soul as soon as the body is buried.

776 There are infinite numbers of "spirits" of the individualized demoniac class. Of these, some are "pets" which are not very dangerous, and which [794] are represented by men in the mask dance cult.[22] Other species are very dangerous, but these are no longer seen by the layman. Formerly, these 773 were numerous, and killed many Tapirapé, but Ware, a culture hero and 776 powerful shaman, fought them and killed many. A man now points to the

[19] Speaking of Tupinambá, Métraux makes these same two categories of "supernatural beings" (*ayvaré, agaiá, ingangá* and *anhanga*), *ibid.*, p. 91.

[171] [20] Animals which have, or are, spirits can be grouped together. These are taboo to some age 825 and sex groups, in a complicated dietary system.

[260] [21] Dogs can see spirits. When a dog howls, Tapirapé say, "He sees *anehanga* but we can't."

[22] At one time women may have been frightened by these "dangerous" spirits, but certainly at present everything in the men's cults is known to women, and they do not even pretend to be frightened.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



A man now points to the
southwestern horizon and says, "Ware killed all spirits there; they are only 773
spirit souls now." (To the north and east, however, many demon spirits 776
are still alive and active.) Ware engaged in a constant battle of wits with [823]
the spirit world. He killed many of the dangerous variety by setting fire to
their stringy hair which trailed behind them, and he also killed off another group of beings which clubbed men to death and drank their blood.

Sometimes shamans (*pasche*) see malevolent beings in their dream 756
travels, and may even become friendly with them or receive their aid. For 776
example, one shaman told of wandering far in an unknown forest as he 787
dreamed, and of coming upon the spirits called *oreya*, who have long hair wound in a mass, and who carry only one arrow with which they can kill a man. They were about to shoot him but he shouted "No, I am a shaman!" and they left him alone, gave him food and asked him to return. Only shamans can have such relations with these supernaturals. Tapirape laymen are afraid to dream.

The shaman is indispensable to Tapirape living, not only because he has 756
dealings with the spirit world, and through his wanderings enriches the 842
knowledge of men, but also because he is of value in many practical ways. Thus he controls the pregnancy of women. Pregnancy is known to relate to sexual intercourse, but conception comes only when a shaman brings a child to a woman. Thunder, and several types of birds, animals and fish, [825]
have "children," that is, spirits of children. The shaman brings one of these "spirits" to a woman, putting it inside her while she sleeps. A woman who wants a child can, *for* example, bring honey to a shaman. This will make [787]
him dream, and he will bring her a child. Similarly, a barren woman presumably "had quarrelled much with the shaman."

When Tapirape swim, while fishing and shooting large turtles in the 756
Tapirape River, their safety depends upon the shaman. In this section of 825
Brazil, rivers are full of alligators, *piranha* (carnivorous fish) and sting 751
rays, and according to Tapirape belief, large snakes lurk in deep pools. [481]
Before men may swim safely the shaman must tie the jaws of the alligators, strike the *piranha* across their teeth so they will not bite, and tie up the tails of the large snakes. When Tapirape go hunting, it is up to the [224]
shaman to tell them where packs of wild pigs will be found, or to lead them down to a good spot in the plains country.[23] Danger may lurk in all food; thus Tapirape often take new corn, fresh meat, or any food, to have danger "blown" out of it by the shaman.

The universe for the Tapirape is not finite or entirely known; it is 772
dangerous. Tales of culture heroes and experiences of shamans provide a 756
773

[23] When the Tapirape have made kills of wild pigs, which are "pets" of Thunder he will [821]
be angry and send a sudden rain or clouding of the sky. If a Tapirape sees an unexpected [776]
rainbow in the sky he will say, "The shaman has been successful against Thunder" (i.e., in finding game).

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



are called upon to fight Thunder. This, the important *Tapirapé* ceremony, lasts for 4 days, and is the high point of shamanistic activity. 241 756

Kasawana, the Thunder, lives on distant Maratawa surrounded by the souls of dead shamans and by the topû (probably equivalent to the *Tupinamba* word, "tupan"), small anthropomorphic beings whose bodies are covered with white hair. 776

The topû travel through space in their canoes (half gourds), the sound of which produces the noise of the storm. The arrows which the topi shoot cause lightning. During the ceremony, the shamans, completely intoxicated by the tobacco and stimulated by the unceasing dancing and singing, fall into a trance (pl. 19, *top, right*) during which they travel to Thunder's house in order to fight him. Thunder sets the topû against the shamans, who, wounded by the arrows of "Thunder's creatures," fall into unconsciousness. [821] [781] [276] [756]

## SHAMANISM

The *Tapirapé* can visualize the supernatural world through the reports of the dreams of their shamans, whose power grows in proportion to their ability to dream. A dream is a voyage, during which the soul frees itself of the body and travels through space. In these dreams the shamans travel to regions which are entirely unknown to the living, and in general are inhabited by spirits. With their powers, the shamans succeed in taming some of the spirits, who then become their familiar spirits. The power and prestige of the shaman (pantê) depend on the number of his familiar spirits. 756 787 [774]

The *Tapirapé* speak of battles between shamans wherein each calls out his familiar spirits against the other while dreaming. More often, a shaman sets his familiar spirits upon laymen and kills them. A shaman may also kill his victim during a dream by throwing a malignant object, usually a piece of bone or a worm, into his body. 754 756

The victims of sorcery appeal to friendly shamans, who attempt to cure them by extracting the malignant object by suction, massage, and blowing tobacco. When many deaths occur simultaneously and the *Tapirapé* suspect a certain shaman of having caused them, they do not hesitate to kill him. One man recalled that during his lifetime 10 shamans suspected of sorcery had been killed. He himself had killed a shaman whom he suspected of having killed his brother. In spite of the constant suspicion surrounding them, the shamans do not employ mechanical techniques or sympathetic magic in sorcery. 754 [755] 683 755 276

The shamans make great use of tobacco, which is essential for healing and dreaming. They smoke it in large tubular clay pipes. Cures usually take place at dusk. The shaman squats by the patient's hammock and smokes for a long time, becoming intoxicated and blowing the smoke from the pipe over the patient's body. He then massages the patient,

114 the Caraja -- from the 'irewẽhẽ,' who, I take it, are the
173 Javahe, 'ijewehe' in Caraja. Near the Javahe village of
174 Imõnci I was shown a Tapirape cemetery. The Javahe tradition there is that they lived in the same village with the Tapirape, and I was shown the site" [cited in English].

Considering that the inhabitants of Tampiitsua bury the
174 dead inside the house in which they lived before death, it is
764 proper to inquire whether the Tapirapé also used this burial method when they were living with the Javahé, in which case the "cemetery" seen by Lipkind must have been the remnants of a village, or whether these representatives of the Tupí tribe proceeded in completely different fashion, performing, like the Karajá, the so-called "secondary burial," that is to say, burying the corpse in a cemetery, then exhuming the bones after the flesh had putrefied and laying them in large urns which were again buried at a common place.

Lipkind adds in the same letter: "You may be interested
114 to know that in the innermost Javahe villages there are some
144 distinctly Tapirape types, short stature, lighter coloring, face-
174 cast. My camarada Antonio Pereira, who was not aware of my preoccupation with Tapirape relations, noticed it and pointed out the resemblance" [cited in English]. [Ed., the last half of p. 124 and most of p. 125 are omitted.]

[98:125] To conclude, it may be said with Cunha Mattos
174 that the Tapirapé were on Bananal Island "occasionally," that is to say, that certain groups of their tribe were there transitorily and probably over 100 years ago. The presence of "Tapirapé types" among the Javahé may also be explained by the numerous Tapirapé women "imported" by the Karajá.

In any case, the inhabitants of Tampiitsua knew nothing
173 of ancestral migrations toward the east, such as those, for
823 example, of the Guaraní who kept searching for the [98:126] "land without evil" (cf. Nimuendajú 1 and Métraux 1 and 3). As far as I was able to ascertain, the Tapirapé were ignorant of the existence of the sea. They did not even recall being told about it by the Whites or by the Karajá. Apparently, there was no reference to the ocean in the tribal traditions either.

The Tapirapé knew of a great river to the west, however, which they called pananí-chingebó or chinghó. It is possible

823 [173] that they may have heard this word from Whites talking about the Xingu. As I was told in Tampiitsúa, no Tapirapé had seen that chingbó river except for one single youth "who was there once, about 20 years ago." I could not obtain any further information about the life or death of this traveler. It may be that he accompanied Valadar, the Karajá famed for his exploring journeys, who visited the Tapirapé in 1911 with Alfredo de Oliveira of Ceará. The Tapirapé Kamairahó indeed told me that Valadar had taken a few of them along when he made a trip to the Xingu at that time. It may be that only one of those Tapirapé actually got to see the great river, perhaps only that single youth of which they spoke to me in the village. Be that as it may, by what I know of the cultures of the upper Xingu tribes and that of the Tapirapé, it is unquestionable that the latter did not come to their present habitat from the west.

174

Everything indicates, in fact, that they have lived since the eighteenth century in the hinterland of the left bank of the Tapirapé, or in other words, in the northern part of this river basin. [Ed., the last paragraph, which concludes the section in Vol. 98, is omitted.]

## Chapter 3

### [99:63] Contact with the Whites

175 [648] Both Tapirapé and Karajá call the Whites torf. [Ed., the remainder of p. 63, p. 64, and most of p. 65 are omitted.]

[99:65] The contact of the Tapirapé with the Whites during the seventeenth century is neither more nor less uncertain than the identification of these Tupí Indians with the "Caatingas" and "Pirapés." We must assume, however, that White men visited the Tapirapé in their present habitat in the course of the following century. This is implied not only by the path of [99:66] the pioneers indicated by a dotted line on the eighteenth century map, but also by a reference cited by Ehrenreich (2, 88), according to which these Indians had contact with

192 805 According to my Tapirapé informants, "today" is in, "tomorrow" is ãntxeivé, "yesterday" is designated by the number antxepé, "one," and "day before yesterday" by mõkõimi, "two." [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the exact and numerical reference to a past event seldom goes farther back than mõkõimi, "day before yester- [902] day," since as a rule they do not count to mapit, "three," preferring to say vuaitépe, "much "(in quantity), or mõ (or mũ), "far away" (a word that designates great distance, in space as well as [93] time, and that is perhaps related to mõmbiri, "far away," in Montoya). Concerning the future, on the other hand, they frequently say ãntxeivé, "tomorrow," although they may be referring to a time later than the following day.

805 Since not only the computations of time but its direct denominations as well are invariably abstract, however, it is more convenient to the Tapirapé mentality to use mostly indirect designations by grounding the references to past and future times in concrete phenomena. [821] Thus, they indicate the time of day by extending their hand in the direction of the place where the sun was or will be at the time in ques- [171] tion. By what I saw, and also by what Krause (p. 339) mentions, the Karajá [Caraja] proceed in the same fashion.

If certain events took place several weeks or months earlier, the [824] Tapirapé pinpoint them chronologically by showing with the hand the degree of development of certain plants at the times in question, for example, the height of maize or sugar cane. If several years [854] have gone by, the Tapirapé narrator extends his hand to the height that a certain person had reached at that time. This person is usually the narrator himself, if his age enables him to do so. If he is about 50 years old and thus stopped growing dozens of years ago, but wishes to indicate an event that occurred five years earlier, he will use a child five years old or older.

805 It should be mentioned, finally, that the words kaém, "daybreak," 823 and kandk, "nightfall," are also used for purposes of orientation in [192] geographical space, the former meaning "east" and the latter "west." Judging by the explanations given to me by the Tapirapé, the concepts of "north" and "south" are lacking among them.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

# WORLD VIEW OF THE TAPIRAPE INDIANS

By Charles Wagley

101 The Tapirape live in Central Brazil north of the Tapirape River, a
[131] western affluent of the Araguaya River. They are a Tupi-speaking people
[197] isolated from other peoples speaking the same language. Culturally they are related more closely to the Tupi-speaking people of the coast than to those of the head waters of the Xingu River. The only peoples with whom they have had contacts within historic times are their northern neighbors, the Gês-speaking Northern Kayapo and the Carajá (including the Javahe branch) of the Araguaya. Because of hostility with both these neighboring
[448] peoples, the Tapirape have withdrawn farther from the Araguaya and have contacts at present with the Carajá only through occasional European visitors. Introduced disease, acquired from these visitors and earlier from
[161] the Carajá, have reduced the Tapirape from five large villages (originally more than two hundred per village) to one with less than 150 people. Con-
[177] tacts with Europeans, however, have been short and few, leaving the Tapirape aboriginal culture little changed.

According to Tapirape tradition, they came to their present home from
173 the north and east.[1] One group of them lived on the Araguaya and for a
● 823 time shared a common village with the Javahe branch of the Carajá. The Tapirape are traditionally interested in country to the east, not to the west.
[772] It is to the east that Maratawa, the "home of the gods," lies, and in this direction, too, is the home of two legendary peoples: the Wanchira, a cannibalistic tribe which ate a famous mythical ancestor of the Tapirape, and the "other Tapirape," speaking the same language and sharing the same culture. East of the Araguaya River there is said to be another large river and great mountains where various supernaturals live.

648 Formerly, Tapirape who were captives of the Carajá returned to tell of that country and people, and in modern times Tapirape have visited both Carajá and Kayapo, as well as various Brazilian settlements on the Ara-
[484] guaya. No foreign or hostile tribes prevent them from wandering westward into the open country toward the Xingu River, but it is a region of little interest to them, and they never travel far in this direction. Of the
823 Xingu River and people, they know only what Brazilian visitors have told

[1] According to Métraux, the Tapirape were known to have been on the Araguaya as early
114 as the 18th century. He believes the Tapirape to be fugitives from the coast of Brazil, probably
174 from the vicinity of Rio, possibly from the Tamoyo. Certainly they came from the east, but my material points to a migration from the northeast rather than from the southeast, as would be the case if migration had been from the forests of Rio. Métraux, Alfred, Migrations Historiques des Tupi-Guarani, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N.S.* 19, 24 (1927).

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



them. "Is it true," they ask, pointing westward, "that there is another Ara- 823
guaya (large river) there?"

The Tapirapé know well their traditional country—that territory north of the Tapirapé River to the River Preto, and west to the Araguaya. They know the plains country which borders the Tapirapé River and the tropical forest to the north where formerly their five villages stretched in a line [361] some fifty to seventy-five miles apart. At least once during a man's life it [574] was customary to visit all these villages, and before setting out he would acquaint himself with the rivers, hills, and good hunting places along the trail. At the present time, since the Tapirapé are a sedentary agricultural [241] people, depending upon large gardens of manioc, corn, yams, and bananas, [484] rather than upon hunting as the chief basis of their food supply, and since they have no trade, they do little travelling. The spatial limit of their direct experience is small.

Knowledge of the horizons beyond their direct experience—of far off 773
places and people, of the supernatural and spirit worlds, of the heavens, of the origins of peoples and things, comes to them only through stories of their legendary heroes, or through experiences of their shamans. Myths relate the creation, adventures, and travels of a series of ancestor culture heroes who took the form of civilizing gods.[2] Tapirapé shamans travel [756] widely in their dreams; they whisk off to far places—to the Araguaya, to [787] the heavens, to the home of Thunder (see p. 257)—in their "canoes" [415] (opened gourds used as eating utensils by the Tapirapé), or they may take the form of a bird as they travel in dreams. Since a Tapirapé has this great wealth of vicarious experience to draw upon, he never answers for himself [823] when asked of those realms beyond his knowledge. Instead he tells of the exploits of a legendary culture hero, or of the travels of a shaman "who has been there."

The Tapirapé are thus equipped with a wide range of second-hand ex- 772
perience. They have no concept of a closed or limited universe. New 823
knowledge either adds to, or fits into, their second-hand knowledge of a broad universe. Thus a Tapirapé youth, seeing for the first time the large rock formation at the mouth of the Tapirapé River, identified it as the place in which Panchai, a contemporary shaman, had seen the tremendous red parrots from which the supernaturals pluck feathers. Similarly, one travelling on the Araguaya recognized the large rapids below Santa Maria do Araguaya as those created by Kanwahu, a culture hero, to com-

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[2] Métraux, Alfred, La Religion des Tupinambas (1928), p. 7: "Pour les Tupinambas, comme pour la plupart des tribus sud-américaines, certaines personnages doués d'une puissance supérieure à celle du commun des magiciens ont été les artisans du monde tel qu'il se présente à leurs yeux, mais ils en ont été souvent moins les ordonateurs que les transformateurs. Je veux dire par là que, même s'ils ont créé le ciel, les astres, et la mer leur œuvre est toujours partielle et inachevée, ne s'achevant que postérieurement à la suite d'incidents divers."

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



823 memorate the spot where he had eaten plentifully of fish. The Tapirape
772 view of the world is an expanding one; the people are eager to acquire more knowledge, as is attested by their numerous questions about one's home and one's people, about the sea, the mountains, and distant places.

In point of time, the Tapirape consider the present as the third world.
773 Twice people were destroyed, once by flood and once by universal fire. Before these catastrophes, there were pre-Tapirape called Karanjuntuwera. These people lacked the many refinements which were later brought to the Tapirape by their culture heroes. They ate several varieties of wild seeds, they did not have maize, manioc or any modern garden plants, and they lacked the bow and arrow. The Tapirape are not certain whether the Karanjuntuwera lived before or after the flood, but when the great deluge came, one man and one woman climbed a small palm tree which grew as rapidly as the water rose, carrying them above the flood. After they had been there some time the man began to spear fish and snakes[3] which swarmed in the waters, using the long narrow palm leaves as spears. As he killed a fish or snake, the waters gradually diminished and finally ran back into the river-beds.

Four ancestors escaped the second destruction[4] of people—the universal fire. These ancestors took the form of birds: there were two *jacu* which were men, and one periquito and one *mutum*, both women.[5] These escaped underground and from the union of the two couples came "men" or *ampa awa*, as modern Tapirape call themselves.[6]

[101] "Culture heroes" were primarily instrumental in making the Tapirape
773 world what it is. When and in what order these heroes came is not stated.
776 Among them was Petura, a supernatural ancestor and great trickster. He stole fire from the vultures, day or dawn from the night owls, and *genipa*[7] from monkeys. These he brought as gifts to the Tapirape. Finally Petura
776 went far to the northeast "where the earth ends and water begins" to live
[775] in Maratawa,[8] the home of all Tapirape culture heroes, of shamans after
[756] death, and of the sun and the moon. There he lives today. He never dies,

[3] From these primordial flood snakes, say the Tapirape, descended their neighbors and enemies, the Canajé. "They (the snakes) had circles under their eyes" (the tribal face tattooing of Canajé).

[4] The sequence of fire and flood does not seem to be clear in legends. Two informants placed the fire before the flood. People during both epochs are spoken of as Karanjuntuwera.

[136] [5] *Jacu*: edible forest fowl, about the size of a large chicken, genus *Penelope*, several species. Periquito: *Pyrrhura violata*. *Mutum*: *Crax lecto*r.

[6] See Baldus, Herbert, Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira, pp. 207-210.

[7] *Genipa rubiacea* or *Genipa americana*: fruit from which black body dye is made.

[823] [8] Several informants described Maratawa as an island. To the Tapirape, the lighted sky is encircled by black sky and on all sides below the edges of the lighted sky "where the black sky begins", the earth ends and water begins. Thus earth is a large island surrounded by water on all sides. The Tapirape are quite willing to grant, however, that beyond this water may be another earth.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



A man now points to the
southwestern horizon and says, "Ware killed all spirits there; they are only 773
spirit souls now." (To the north and east, however, many demon spirits 776
are still alive and active.) Ware engaged in a constant battle of wits with [82]
the spirit world. He killed many of the dangerous variety by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed behind them, and he also killed off another group of beings which clubbed men to death and drank their blood.

Sometimes shamans (*pawche*) see malevolent beings in their dream 756
travels, and may even become friendly with them or receive their aid. For 776
example, one shaman told of wandering far in an unknown forest as he 787
dreamed, and of coming upon the spirits called *ovoya*, who have long hair wound in a mass, and who carry only one arrow with which they can kill a man. They were about to shoot him but he shouted "No, I am a shaman!" and they left him alone, gave him food and aided him to return. Only shamans can have such relations with these supernaturals. Tapirape laymen are afraid to dream.

The shaman is indispensable to Tapirape living, not only because he has 756
dealings with the spirit world, and through his wanderings enriches the 842
knowledge of men, but also because he is of value in many practical ways. Thus he controls the pregnancy of women. Pregnancy is known to relate to sexual intercourse, but conception comes only when a shaman brings a child to a woman. Thunder, and several types of birds, animals and fish, [825]
have "children," that is, spirits of children. The shaman brings one of these "spirits" to a woman, putting it inside her while she sleeps. A woman who wants a child can, for example, bring honey to a shaman. This will make [787]
him dream, and he will bring her a child. Similarly, a barren woman presumably "had quarrelled much with the shaman."

When Tapirape swim, while fishing and shooting large turtles in the 756
Tapirape River, their safety depends upon the shaman. In this section of 825
Brazil, rivers are full of alligators, *piranha* (carnivorous fish) and sting 751
rays, and according to Tapirape belief, large snakes lurk in deep pools. [481]
Before men may swim safely the shaman must tie the jaws of the alligators, strike the *piranha* across their teeth so they will not bite, and tie up the tails of the large snakes. When Tapirape go hunting, it is up to the [224]
shaman to tell them where packs of wild pigs will be found, or to lead them down to a good spot in the plains country.[19] Danger may lurk in all food; thus Tapirape often take new corn, fresh meat, or any food, to have danger "blown" out of it by the shaman.

The universe for the Tapirape is not finite or entirely known; it is 772
dangerous. Tales of culture heroes and experiences of shamans provide a 756
773

[19] When the Tapirape have made kills of wild pigs, which are "pets" of Thunder he will [821]
be angry and send a sudden rain or clouding of the sky. If a Tapirape sees an unexpected [776]
rainbow in the sky he will say, "The shaman has been successful against Thunder" (i.e., in finding game).

304 equipped with a row of embedded teeth, their points sticking out
413 of the outer, convex side of the piece. The opposite side[1] is com-
[237] pletely covered with a thick black layer of beeswax. The teeth are those of the so-called "dog-fish," aikyngapeva in Tapirapé, a scaly fresh-water fish of the Characinidae family, Hydrocyon subfamily, whose colloquial name alludes to its dog-like dentition (cf. Rodolfo von Ihering, 165). The 17 teeth of the scarifier I acquired in Tampiitsúa (Photo. 23) jut out three to six centimeters. This piece is eight centimeters long and measures five and a half centimeters at its broadest part.

304 According to information obtained from the Tapirapé, the
881 girls are tattooed during the rainy season following their first menstruation. The operation is carried out at nightfall, between January and March, when there is tall maize, plentiful game crowded together by the rising waters, and much merrymaking as a result of all this. The Indians tattoo their chin and cheeks (Fig. 1). The cheek tattoo reaches below the ear, so that a small part of it is covered by the hair. The crossing vertical
304 and horizontal incisions look like a fine meshed net. This
● 824 design is called kohova. The wounds are first rubbed with a kaauna leaf (káa, "plant"; una, "black, dark blue"). This leaf, previously squeezed into a turtle shell (chauvatí-ampekuera) full of water, is wet with its own juice mixed in
[386] water. It is the juice of kaauna that yields the indelible dark-blue tone of the tattooing. The leaf is held close to the wound for some time. Then, the Indians blow crushed cotton leaves
[278] with a pipe (amynichóha(u)va) onto the wounds. It may be that they do this to alleviate the pain, for the girls cry a great deal [107:115] throughout the operation, and the tattooed parts become terribly swollen (ivuvurá). As at

Fig. 1

302 the time of their first menstruation, the girls have so much urucú
881 in their hair that their coiffure, mixed with the greasy substance, looks like a sort of cap. They are not, however, painted with

[1] [of the scarification tool.—Analyst]

304 Like the ear perforation, that of the lower lip is restricted to members of the male sex among the inhabitants of Tampiitáua. According to them, it is also made by the mother with a bone [412] needle on the morning following the birth of her child. The 301 Tapirapé do not have a generic name for the objects inserted into the artificial lip opening, which vary with the age of the wearer. 237 When they want to refer to a lip ornament without specifying [192] which one, they merely say emekuana (emeguana, temekuana), or emekuanĩ if a small boy is concerned. Emé means "lower lip" (cheremé, "my lower lip"), kuana means "hole," and i is a diminutive (kuanĩ, "little hole"). The opening in a child's lip is indeed much smaller than in that of an adult such as Kamairá (Photo. 57). They insert a bone there until the time when the boy who is about to be initiated has his hair cut, and this bone grows along with its wearer (Photos. 3, 6, 25, 28, 61). Thus, a boy who was about five years old wore a wild-pig bone nine and a half centimeters long and from two to four millimeters wide, with a crosspiece about eight millimeters wide (Photo. 18). A boy of eight or ten had a deer bone 25 centimeters long and three to five [109:77] in diameter, with a crosspiece one centimeter wide (Photo. 17). Rhea bones were also used as boys' lip ornaments. The bone is introduced from the inside, so that the crosspiece remains inside the mouth to secure the ornament.

When a boy's hair is cut, a year before his initiation cere- [302] mony, the deer bone is replaced with the wooden plug worn by [881] the men (Photo. 19a). Some of those plugs contain the embedded tooth of a tapiti (Sylvilagus minensis, tampichĩ in Tapirapé) (Photo. 55). The plug with a tooth shown in Photograph 19a is about eight to ten millimeters in diameter and six millimeters along its full length, or in other words, four millimeters in the wooden section and two millimeters in the projecting part of the tooth. The piece that secures the plug is two centimeters wide. The plugs are made with the pointed excrescences found on the [324] trunks of a tree called tanchimoyva in Tapirapé. The one reproduced here (Photo. 19b) is 25 millimeters long and from 15 to 25 millimeters wide.

301 At the initiation ceremony, however, and only on that great 324 day, the boy wears an ornament that would qualify for the Tupi [881] name tembetá, from tembé, "lower lip," and itá, "stone." This

171
411 secured there with resin. It was previously placed near the fire to be straightened out while still hot. As a rule, however, the rod becomes straight in general orientation only and remains crooked in one or several places. An essentially agricultural tribe like the Tapirapé does not make weapons with the care expended on such work by a hunting tribe, such as the Bororo, for example. The heat of the fire also serves to harden the wood, which is sometimes dyed red or black.

The section of the cane shaft that encircles the rod is bound
[824] spirally with a narrow black strip of philodendron bark (vuamé)
[314] glued on with resin. This covering is from nine to 16 centimeters long and makes the shaft stronger.

The feathered part (pepá or "wing," pe meaning "path," "direction," "forward motion," and pa meaning "hand") is, on the average, from 16 to 25 centimeters long. Like the Karajá and the Kayapó, the Tapirapé fasten two feathers in opposition to each
[237] other at the extreme tip of the shaft. The feathers are usually those of macaws, hawks, or hoatzins. Their stems are tied to the shaft with cotton thread (inimá). The twisting of the feathers, which aims at spinning the arrow in flight, seldom covers a quarter of the shaft circumference and often does not even cover an eighth of it. The barbs of the feathers are crudely cut out
[439] with scissors acquired from the Whites, and the half that juts out is broader than the other half. The stem of the feather is slit at the tip and glued to the cane covered with resin. Both spiral bindings of cotton thread are fastened to the shaft with resin. The front one is of [112:55] blackened cotton, about six centimeters long, and holds small red and sometimes yellow macaw breast feathers whose barbs extend backward, that is to say, inside the feathering. The rear binding is of white cotton, about one and a half centimeters long, and serves not only to secure the thinner part of the feather stems, but also to strengthen the tip of the arrow. This tip has an oblique notch (vuatachimeakáua), more than half a centimeter deep, that receives the bow cord. The binding reaches up to this notch, and its third function seems to be that of a tribal marking, for aside from the parallel threads it bears two crossed ones which are, as Krause (2, 270) heard among the Karajá, characteristic of the Tapirapé.

123 437 [chief's] arrow." This "mercantilism" even operated in the area of "spiritual" (or "non-material") culture, for just as they had bartered dances and songs with the Karajá, they also demanded songs from me in exchange for theirs, and I had to teach them a song from my childhood, in which the fox is accused of having [533] stolen the goose ("Fuchs, du hast die Gans gestohlen") to learn from them a children's ballad dealing with a mouse.

When the Tapirapé bartered among themselves, I observed considerable haggling. [Ed., end of Vol. 113.]

## Chapter 9

### [114:185] The Diet

262 ●824 The last chapter referred to the importance of plants in the Tapirapé diet. First and foremost, there is manioc. Aside from fish, it is the only food mentioned in these Indians' description of [772] the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven lying above our visible one. The inhabitants of Tampiitáua call the roots of that Euphorbiacea by the generic name mandiaga. Ayrosa (4, 112) questions the Tupi origin of the word mandioca [manioc].

Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have both "wild manioc" [171] (Manihot utilissima Pohl) and "sweet manioc" (Manihot dulcis Pax.). They distinguish five varieties of the Manihot genus, while the number of varieties known to the ancient Tupi was even greater (cf. Soares de Sousa 187; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXVIII; Métraux 2, 65).

171 252 Like those Indians, the Tapirapé have two basic ways of preparing the manioc roots for consumption: (1) by placing them for a few days in water until they become soft, turning them into what they call mandiyvungna and what is called puba [manioc mash] by the neo-Brazilians; (2) by grating them without putting them through the water treatment [114:186] (cf. Staden q 2; Soares de Sousa 189 and 191; Simão de Vasconcellos, p. CXXIX; Claude d'Abbeville 304-305). Some of the varieties are prepared in either way, and others are prepared only in one way. The roots softened [251] in water are dried in the sun and pounded in the mortar, and the mashed substance is used in the manufacture of beiju [flat cakes] and cauí [a soup].

171 and cauí [a soup]. The fresh, grated manioc, after being dried
252 in the sun, put through the sifter, and roasted in a clay pot, yields the flour that goes into the making of certain dishes and that accompanies others by being tossed straight into the mouth with the hand. The Tupinambá had these three ways of consuming manioc, that is to say, the cake, the more or less fermented liquid varying in consistency between a porridge and a soup, and the flour which is added to other foods either in the pot or in the mouth (cf. Soares de Sousa 189 and 196; Simão de Vasconcellos, pp. LXXXV, CXXIX, and CXXX; and others).

Like the Tapirapé and many other tribes, those ancient inhabitants of the coast grated or pounded the manioc roots, dried them in the sun, ran the particles through a sifter, and roasted them in pots over the fire. The only notable difference in the procedures used in making the tubers edible was in the manner of wringing the grated mass of "wild manioc" to extract its poisonous juice. While Hans Staden (q 2) found the tipiti among the Tupinambá of the capitania [Tr., province] of São Vicente, and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (189) found it among the Tupinambá of Bahia, this press of braided palm leaves shaped like a tube or bag (cf. Baldus and Willems 219-220) was not mentioned by the French authors who visited Indians of the same name in other parts of Brazil in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (cf. Métraux 2, 104). Claude d'Abbeville (304) says specifically of the Tupinambá of Maranhão that "they take all the gratings from these roots and squeeze them with their hands..." [translated from French]. The
[174] use of the same procedure and the absence of tipiti among the Tapirapé are, therefore, corroborative of the assumption that these Indians came from Maranhão. [Ed., the remainder of p. 186, p. 187, and the first paragraph of p. 188 are omitted.]

[114:188] One variety of "sweet manioc" cultivated by the
262 Tapirapé, called vuaykyra, reaches more than 30 centimeters in
824 circumference and more than half a meter in length. I ate it frequently and with pleasure, boiled or roasted in the embers.

Other tubers that I tried among the Tapirapé, roasted in the
[252] same manner, were from the following plants: (1) a variety of sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas Lam., chetyka in Tapirapé), orange-colored inside and almost like pumpkin in taste; (2) purple cará (Dioscorea spec., urukú-ampaá in Tapirapé), purple inside, shaped

262 like a turnip, the size of a child's fist, and slightly more pungent
●824 in taste than the white cará with which we are familiar; (3) this
[177] same white cará, which was imported from the Whites as is shown by its Tapirapé name of mayrangkanakuera (mayra, "White man"; kaná, "cará"; kuera, "that was"), often 70 centimeters in circumference, half a meter in length, and tasteless; (4) a third Dioscoreacea, found wild in the forest and called kanachinga or "white cará" in Tapirapé because the tubers are white inside, which is shaped like a carrot, 20 centimeters around, 30 centimeters long, and as tasteless as mairangkanakuera; (5) a yam that reaches 60 centimeters in circumference and 35 in length (Alocasia spec., iampokumaé in Tapirapé), tastier than the various cará; (7) a smaller yam called uvanchaira in Tapirapé. It is a known fact that the sweet potato and the cará plants are autochthonous to America, while the yams are imported (cf. Hoehne 2, 187). The Tapirapé assert that they cultivated iampokumaé in remote times and remember having received uvanchaira from the Whites.

Hans Staden (v. 3) liked the sweet potato of the Tupinambá
171 and *wrote its name as jettiki*. *The Tupi term* was entered in the
824 vernacular as jetica (Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua
192 Portuguesa [Small Brazilian Dictionary of the Portuguese Language], 5th edition, 1944). Stradelli (500), in his Nheêngatu vocabulary, [114:189] listed iutyca as the word for "potato." Incidentally, the Tapirapé plant chetyka only in small quantities. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Aside from the tubers mentioned above, bananas are the vege-
262 table food of greatest importance to the Tapirapé. Like manioc, they are gathered by these Indians almost throughout the entire year. At the time of my visit in July, 1947, however, there were considerably fewer bananas and other foodstuffs in the village than in the months of June to August, 1935. In Chapter 2, it has al-
[192] ready been mentioned that the generic term chatá or tatá, with
[171] which the inhabitants of Tampiitáua designate the bananas they cultivate, resembles the Karajá word for this fruit. In Tampiitáua I ate the following varieties of this Musacea.

262 (1) A banana 30 centimeters long and from 15 to 20 centi-
824 meters in circumference, the largest one cultivated by the Tapirapé and for this reason called tatahó, that is, the generic term plus the augmentative. The neo-Brazilians of the Araguaia call it

262 "long banana." It is probably a variety of the banana da terra
●824 (Musa paradisiaca L., normalis subspec.). During my first stay with the Tapirapé, they ate it every day in large quantities. I, too, never tired of devouring the huge and extremely tasty fruits, with the result that my body acquired the same proportions as those of a horse that feeds on grass alone for months at a stretch.
252 The [114:190] Tapirapé gather these bananas when green and hang them inside the house until they become yellow and ripe. Then they expose them to the sun until they are black outside and turning brownish inside. To achieve this, they place them on wooden frameworks that are erected at the place where the bananas grew, or at some other place regarded as adequate. The Karajá,
[171] who also cultivate these large bananas, bury them too, and so did the Pêua (Takunhapeba) of the lower Xingu visited by Von den Steinen (1, 275). The Tapirapé like to eat these fruits when they are not only rotting, but also warm from the immediate action of the sun or from the sand warmed by its rays. They do not peel
264 them, but open the hard skin a little at one of the tips, put the tip between their lips, and slowly empty the skin by squeezing it with their fingers so that the soft and brownish pulp gradually penetrates into their mouths. In this respect I did not agree with the taste of the Indians, for I found these bananas a revolting thing when rotten and preferred to eat them while still yellow on the outside and pinkish-yellow on the inside, when they were already quite juicy.

(2) The white flesh of one of the larger bananas was not dry
262 824 either, and its sweet flavor was reminiscent of candy permeated with the scent used by a cheap barber, while its skin was pinkish-green. The Tapirapé name for this fruit is tatampiringó. Its length is equal to its circumference, that is to say, about 15 centimeters. My camarada called it "purple banana," asserting that among "civilized people" it reaches twice that circumference. It is probably Musa paradisiaca L., sapientum subspec., rubra var.

(3) The banana 15 centimeters long and ten centimeters in circumference, whose white and soft flesh had a mild flavor and whose green skin did not turn yellow, was probably the "São Tomé"
[252] banana. The Tapirapé hang it inside the house and call it inanchanynî.

(4) The banana called abîbakíngamaé by the Tapirapé is yellow both inside and out and similar in shape and flavor to the tatah banana, although a little smaller and drier.

262 (5) Another banana with highly "scented" flesh is also yel-
824 low both inside and out as indicated by its name, tatanchova. It is 15 centimeters long and 12 in circumference.

(6) Tatakyna is the name given in Tampiitáua to a green, medium-sized banana that tastes like a very dry potato when roasted in the embers.

[114:191] (7) The inhabitants of this village also cultivate the banana ouro (regia variety of the sapientum subspec.) which in their gardens reaches up to ten centimeters in length and eight in circumference. [Ed., the subsequent paragraph is omitted down to the last sentence.]

The scarcity of bananas noted by Krause [2, 241-242] among
[171] the Karajá reveals, in any case, a characteristic difference between these Indians and the Tapirapé. [Ed., the remainder of p. 191, pp. 192-193, and the first paragraph on p. 194 are omitted.]

[114:194] Although the same author [Nordenskiöld] (5,
114 29 and 76) assumes that in view of the similarity of the terms
171 mentioned earlier the Tapirapé became familiar with the banana
824 through the Karajá, we may note that on the extensive list of names used by South American Indians to designate the banana, which was published by Nordenskiöld along with a distribution map (ibid., 78-85 and Map IV), there is no term resembling chatá or tatá.

It is worth noting that the paankuá of the Tapirapé also plays
262 a certain role in their diet. In Tampiitáua, this "wild banana"
824 supplies not only leaves for the thatching of houses, but also seeds that the children eat roasted after removing the skin of the pip. The rather bland flavor is vaguely reminiscent of milk and wheat flour.

Among other wild plants used as food by the Tapirapé, the following should be mentioned.

The tree they call ampí, whose red fruits, shaped like cherries, ripen in October and taste like a sweet cherry.

The mangabeira (Hancornia speciosa Gomes, mangaua in Tapirapé), already described by Gabriel Soares de Sousa (210-211), whose yellow-green fruits, resembling small apples in shape and size, ripen in October. They are eaten raw, and without their skins they taste like a roasted apple. According to Hoehne (2, 227),

262 the mangaba [Tr., fruit of the mangabeira] is "the best wild fruit"
824 in the Paresi Range and in many other localities of Mato Grosso and the northeastern part of Brazil.

The palm tree called pinaua by the Tapirapé and macaba by my north-Brazilian camarada, with a nut, slightly larger than a cherry, that ripens in October or November. This nut is boiled
[252] until the flesh is softened and then rubbed on a strainer lying in a pot, so that the flesh is worked loose from the pit and falls into the pot where it is boiled in water. The end result is reminiscent of walnuts in flavor and is refreshing.

[114:195] The small nut of another tree, the tucuma palm or tucum-açu (Astrocaryun spec., chavana in Tapirapé) is prized for its oil content and is gathered in October.

The Tapirapé like to eat a kind of mushroom they call yvĩpé.

These Indians cultivate several other plants aside from those
243 mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Maize (Zea mays L.,
252 avandxí in Tapirapé) is harvested while still green, hung inside
262 the house to yellow, and then crushed and used to make porridge
824 or cauí. Its Tapirapé name corresponds to abati in Staden (c 2), auati in Léry (120), ubatim in Soares de Sousa (199), auatí in Stradelli (384), and abatí in Montoya (2, I, 357 and II, 10). [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The seeds of peanuts (Arachis spec., monovĩ in Tapirapé) are
244 pounded and then added to certain mushes, or else roasted, pounded,
252 and eaten in this way, or roasted and eaten without being subjected
262 to the pestle, or chewed and spit into the pot to ferment and turn
824 into cauí. [Ed., the remainder of p. 195, p. 196, and the first paragraph on p. 197 are omitted.]

[114:197] In the previous chapter, we mentioned that the
262 Tapirapé women participate in sowing and harvesting only peanuts,
824 maize, and cotton. The observation by the sixteenth century
[462] Portuguese author [Gabriel Soares de Sousa] that peanuts are "very
[241] hot when eaten excessively," and harmful in certain cases, seems to agree with the idea expressed by the Tapirapé custom that re-
[751] quires father and mother to abstain from this food during their child's first two years so as not to endanger his life.

The peanuts I saw in large quantities among the Tapirapé seem
137 to be a variety of Arachis nambyquarae. This species was found
17 by Kuhlmann in 1919 among the Nambikuara [Nambicuara] of
244

187 Pimenta Bueno in the state of Mato Grosso and described by Hoehne
171 (1, 21-22 and Table 190; 2). Like it, the Tapirapé monovĩ differs
244 from the "common peanut" (Arachis hypogaea) in its size, which is much larger, for its pod may reach seven centimeters in length and its seeds two or three centimeters. According to Hoehne (1, 22), each specimen of Arachis nambyquarae may yield from 50 to 100 pods. Owing to its oil content and abundance, the peanut is
262 of some importance in the Tapirapé diet and also was one of my favorite foods during my stay in Tampiitsua. Krause (2, 241-242, 358-359, and 387) does not mention this plant among the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó. A legend I heard in July, 1947, at the Karajá village of Santa Isabel, however, states that a civilizing hero of that tribe, the evening star, taught them to plant peanuts among other things.

Less important than peanuts to the Tapirapé were the large
244 flat beans [Tr., lima beans], slightly larger than those of Europe.
262 Only a few individuals cultivated them, planting them in small
824 quantities. Their Tapirapé name, kumanã, corresponds to comendá in Soares de Sousa (200) and cumandá in Montoya (2, II, 105v) and Staden (427). [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] The large Tapirapé bean seems to be a variety of [114:198] Phaseolus lunatus L. and thus to belong to the same species as the beans mentioned by Anchieta (Hoehne 2, 107), Thevet (ibid., 132), and Soares de
[252] Sousa (ibid., 211-213). In Tampiitsua, it is boiled in small earthenware pots. Then its green skin is removed. Underneath this skin, the bean is white. I ate it with great pleasure.

Smaller than these beans are the round yellow fruits of a leguminous shrub cultivated by the Tapirapé and called kumanã-yyyrã, "bean-shrub." The neo-Brazilians plant this shrub on Morro da Areia [Tr., a high outcrop hill on the Araguaia River] and other places in the region and give it the name anduzeiro. This name might lead us to assume that the plant belongs to the Cytisus cajanus Lin. species.

262 The Tapirapé use the fruits of certain Cucurbitaceae as recep-
824 tacles after removing the flesh, and they use those of another variety
252 in the same family to prepare a highly prized dish with the juice.
[485] This juice is heated, and as it begins to boil it is mixed in with pounded raw maize; the boiling mixture is stirred for ten minutes until it thickens. Sometimes they add crushed peanuts. In this

252 case, the addition is made before the juice begins to boil. The
262 fruit that supplies this juice reaches 35 centimeters in length, 30
●324 in circumference, and has a thick, hard shell. Its Tapirapé name is koruanchoa, choa (or chova) referring to the color yellow. The neo-Brazilians in the area know this fruit by the name cruá which, according to the Pequeno Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa, 5th edition, is synonymous with cruá, craná, and melão-caboclo (Sicana odorifera Naud.) [Tr., the camabanana]. In Stradelli's Nheêngatú vocabulary (438), curúua is "a kind of squash covered with protuberances." [Ed., a sentence is omitted.]

Kamairahó's small sugar-cane plantation lay close to
249 Tampiitáua in 1935. No other member of the tribe owned a plan-
263 tation of Saccharum officinarum L., and in 1947 I did not see any.
114 The sugar cane was used exclusively for sucking and was a recent
[177] import. Krause (2, 242) refutes Ehrenreich's statement that the
[171] Karajá planted sugar cane on sandbars, and says that what he saw was manioc and maize. He writes in reference to those Indians: "... I saw no sugar cane. If they had possessed it, they probably would not have been so eager for my sugar... " This conclusion is wrong. The fact that they sucked on sugar cane never kept the Tapirapé from asking for my *rapadura* [*Tr., raw brown sugar in lumps*].

These Indians make beiju (meijú or mãjú in their language),
252 sometimes with the tapioca extracted from manioc mash, as al-
262 ready mentioned, [114:199] and at other times with peanut or maize flour. According to Ayrosa (1, 54), the word "mbeiú or mbeyú of the Tupí-Guarani" is "equivalent to 'coil,' 'roll,' 'fold,' etc." The same author (ibid., 51-54) lists several varieties of this cake, which has been described by various authors. The Tapirapé beijú is similar in shape to the so-called beiju-açú, which is a large, thin disk roasted in a shallow earthen pan. It is not everyday food. During my stays in Tampiitáua, I saw it only once. This was on June 29, 1935, at the time of a festival of "masks." They placed a large pan full of these disks of manioc-mash tapioca, made by Anampí, the wife of Tanupanchoa, in the middle of the takana. This important man offered it to several of the people
171 present and apportioned it himself. I, too, got my share and liked
252 it. Hans Staden (q 2) mentions similar Tupinambá cakes made in the
262 same fashion with the same material and writes their name as byyw.
192

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



755 In the midst of this process he stops several times to suck on the body of his patient and finally, with one awful heave, he spews all the accumulated material on the ground. He then matches in this mess his the intrusive object that has been causing the illness. Never once did I see a shaman show the intrusive object to observers. As one treatment a Tapirapé *panié* usually repeats this process of "eating smoke", sucking, and vomiting several times. Sometimes, when a man of prestige is ill, two or even three shamans will cure side by side in this manner and the noise of violent vomiting resounds throughout the village.

One other method of curing was observed. During an epidemic of fever Panteri made a collective cure to drive fever out of the village and disinfect the people of the village against it. Two men were dispatched to collect wild honey; this was then mixed with water, making a weak honey mixture. Panteri, after first smoking for a time, went from house to house taking the honey mixture in his mouth and spraying it over the house and its occupants. He carefully sprayed and massaged the patients who had fever and removed the foreign substance from their bodies. For several hours he worked, spraying both the inside and outside of the houses, including the central ceremonial house of the men. It was explained that the honey alone did not have a therapeutic effect against fever but sprayed from the mouth of a *panié* it drove away fevers.

755 795 828 Shamans also protect the Tapirapé against ghosts. All people who see ghosts faint from fright or from the white substance with which the ghost covers their body. Shamans were called to blow smoke over them and to massage this substance from their bodies. During one funeral dance the shaman Panteri "saw many ghosts" in the environs of the village, recognizing some as long-dead relatives of the deceased. By blowing tobacco smoke about and by going among the ghosts with a large mirror he drove them away before they did any harm.

756 842 82 Shamans are necessary in several other life situations other than illness. For instance, shamans are thought among the Tapirapé to control the pregnancy of women. While pregnancy is known to be related to sexual intercourse, conception is thought to take place only when a shaman "brings a child to a woman". Several species of birds,

192 that all participants in the tãtfupũã [90] are called this. Nothing could point up the importance of the institution more effectively than this observation. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The word tãtã is used both by the Tapirapé and by the Karajá [Caraja] to designate cultivated bananas in general. It also means "fire" in their language, as in all Tupí-Guaraní tongues, and it differs from these only in its nasalization, an element which is peculiar to the Tapirapé language as a whole.

The word upũã means "everything eaten."

The word tatãupũã may mean that the fire went out, or that everything that was near the fire was eaten.

Every individual belongs to the same eating group through life. Sons belong to their father's group, daughters to their mother's.

The eating groups are not important to marriage; some of the men belong to the same group as their wives, while others belong to a different group.

[91] The principal chief, Kamairahó, was a Txankanépéra, while the second chief, Vũatamamĩ', was a Panaṽivũína. As I lived in Kamairahó's household and belonged, in a way, to his family, I also became a Txankanépéra, and they explained to me that as a consequence my own relatives, although absent, had also become Txankanépéra.

Within their group, all members regard one another as brothers and sisters.

Another aspect of the eating groups is important to social life, namely, at the common feasts people sit next to their group companions and are invariably associated with them, while they may never join them on other occasions. This institution thus creates a bond occasionally bringing together the inhabitants of different homes from birth to death.

At certain times the entire population of the village gathers together for the tãtfupũã, which at such times is not really a feast carried out to meet the obligations imposed by the consumption-group organization, but a veritable banquet.

On July 3, the time of the kãuihó, or "bad kãuĩ" (literally, "big kãuĩ" [Tr., a soup]), was drawing to a close. In the afternoon the chiefs gave all the occupants of their house peanut kãuĩ, which formerly was masticated only by chiefs' wives and not by other women. It was warm and so good that I ate my fill.

192 805 According to my Tapirapé informants, "today" is ĩn, "tomorrow" is ãntxeivé, "yesterday" is designated by the number antxepé, "one," and "day before yesterday" by mõkõimi, "two." [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the exact and numerical reference to a past event seldom goes farther back than mõkõimi, "day before yester-
[802] day," since as a rule they do not count to mãpit, "three," preferring to say vuaitépe, "much "(in quantity), or mo (or mũ), "far away" (a word that designates great distance, in space as well as [93] time, and that is perhaps related to mõmbiri, "far away," in Mondoya). Concerning the future, on the other hand, they frequently say ãntxeivé, "tomorrow," although they may be referring to a time later than the following day.

805 Since not only the computations of time but its direct denominations as well are invariably abstract, however, it is more convenient to the Tapirapé mentality to use mostly indirect designations by grounding the references to past and future times in concrete phenomena.
[821] Thus, they indicate the time of day by extending their hand in the direction of the place where the sun was or will be at the time in question. By what I saw, and also by what Krause (p. 339) mentions, the
[171] Karajá [Caraja] proceed in the same fashion.

If certain events took place several weeks or months earlier, the
•[824] *Tapirapé pinpoint them chronologically by showing with the hand* the degree of development of certain plants at the times in question, for example, the height of maize or sugar cane. If several years
[854] have gone by, the Tapirapé narrator extends his hand to the height that a certain person had reached at that time. This person is usually the narrator himself, if his age enables him to do so. If he is about 50 years old and thus stopped growing dozens of years ago, but wishes to indicate an event that occurred five years earlier, he will use a child five years old or older.

805 It should be mentioned, finally, that the words kaém, "daybreak,"
823 and kanúk, "nightfall," are also used for purposes of orientation in
[192] geographical space, the former meaning "east" and the latter "west." Judging by the explanations given to me by the Tapirapé, the concepts of "north" and "south" are lacking among them.

648 same feeling, the same fear of the Kananchahó, aroused even in
166 the inhabitants of this latter village a desire to abandon it and to settle under the protection of the Whites on Bananal Island. Rev-
797 erend Kegel told me that when he arrived at Porto Salvação in
166 1934 he was visited by Kamairahó who came to the river bank
648 especially to ask him to come back, to have large boats built, and to take the entire tribe to Macauba. The reason for this request was fear of the Kayapó. It was assumed that they had killed 20 men and women from Tampiitáua who had not returned from a hunting trip. Mr. Kegel told the most influential man among the Tapirapé that it would be impossible to feed the whole tribe since there was no longer time to prepare plots on the land of the Evangelical Union.

When we heard the harrowing cry of the potoo during the
648 night of June 23, 1935, the Tapirapé took this as a sign that the
[825] Kayapó were coming. Four days later, at night, as I stretched out on my net beside Kamairahó's hammock, the Indian "bigwig" said, "I am afraid." I retorted, with the courteous arrogance proper to a "captain [chief]" of my rank, "I am here, and therefore you need not be afraid." A little later [102:124], Kamairahó inquired,
[123] on account of the Kayapó, whether I had with me the "little killer," as we used to call the revolver to differentiate it from the "big killer," or rifle. I told him that I always slept well armed, and he laughed happily.

At the nocturnal group dances, the men hold a heavy club or
[535] bush knife in their hands, and this is not just to mark time since
[411] during the day they find an arrow or bow adequate for that purpose.

On the evening of July 8, as I talked with Mr. Kegel in front of the little house beside the village which had been built for him and camarada Daniel, several men and women came running, one of the men holding a bush knife and another a club, and they told us excitedly that there were Kananchahó in the neighboring forest. Followed by an Indian, I proceeded immediately to the spot they had pointed out. We found nothing, and I calmed the Tapirapé by telling them that the Kananchahó were sleeping very far away. They returned in silence to their hammocks, and a middle-aged woman merely said, "They will come when the moon goes to sleep."

291 folding the strip in half, the men fold a small part of it obliquely, and then fold the strip once more so that the triangle is placed exactly over it. The strip is not folded stiffly, since owing to its natural toughness it has a tendency to unfold. As a result of this tendency, the tip folded in this fashion remains securely held in the knot along with the other tip.

As a rule, a man will prepare a new sheath as he gets up in the morning. The prepuce is pushed through the funnel in such a way that it projects beyond the smaller opening and is tied all around like the end of a sausage, remaining erect. Thus, the funnel is worn upside-down, that is to say, with the smaller opening on top and the larger rim facing toward the front (cf. Photos. 5, 63, and 68).

As may be seen in these photographs, the yellow color of the inner-bark strip stands out clearly against the skin. In view of [832] this, a desire to attract the attention of the opposite sex may be involved in the use of the sheath. At the same time, it is also [834] possible that the men assign to the sheath the same purpose that, [171] according to Krause (2, 204), the Karajá assign to their penis cord, that is to say, that of concealing the glans from the eyes of women. There is no doubt, however, that both sheath and cord serve as 751 protection against crustaceans and insects, such as ticks, for example. We have known cases where these parasites fastened their proboscis [105:85] right at the opening of the urethra. The [825] Tapirapé make no distinctions among these various kinds of little creatures and call them all tantevoga. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Small boys do not protect their member. Just as the Karajá 291 [881] adolescents do not use the penis cord until their hair is cut for the [171] initiation, Tapirapé youths first use the sheath at the time of the haircut.

The importance of the penis sheath to the Tapirapé is perhaps [524] made evident by the fact that even the dolls made for fun were supplied with such sheaths (Photo. 77). [Ed., the last half of p. 85, p. 86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted.]

[105:87] The waist cord is called anchekuakuán or [283] chikoangkohâua in Tapirapé. It is made of cotton threads twisted [462] by the women on their thighs, but it is used solely by the men. The latter wear it so that it lies a good distance below the navel

302 covered, in addition, with a number of irregular lines, and so is the leg from the knee to the ankle, and sometimes the arm and forearm as well (Photos. 3, 4, 7, 8, 48, 67). The woman is not [841] painted during menstruation. [108:123] As soon as the blood stops flowing, however, the characteristic lines on the belly and thighs are renewed. Photograph 67 shows a girl of about 13 who has not yet menstruated, but who nevertheless wears the women's painting. [513] This is because she shares her sleeping hammock with a 20-year-old boy.

The chief genipap paintings used by the men are, with slight

Fig. 2. Vuangkané male body painting.

[825] variations, (1) vuangkané (Fig. 2), the name of a water bird, [Fig. 3 appears here] possibly a kingfisher (Ceryle spec.); (2) ipihaufua (Fig. 3), the name of a fish; (3) chankoaka (Fig. 4), the name of an anchinga, a spirit seen by a sorcerer--medicine man; (4) [101] kananchahó (Fig. 5), the name by which the northern Kayapó are known (cf. Ch. 4). It is doubtful that the name of this latter painting alludes to its origin. Krause (2, 386) found nothing similar [171] among the Kayapó. [Ed., the last sentence on p. 123 and the first paragraph of p. 124 are omitted.]

787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a topī). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus Panterí vanquished the topī), but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panterí had not defeated the topī, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow). I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the
[821] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topī and many souls of shamans near
[775] [756] him. I did not talk but returned fast." He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and
292 again a rare layman, wore the ankungitína, and people marveled
781 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panterí grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a panché-ifinwera. Urukumé picked up the ankungitína. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him."

825 I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of
[292] [237] the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (ibid., Note 30) says in this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red
[821] feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told
[753] me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not
292 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated
285 by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. ibid., Fig. 1).
114 The figures in Wagley's work (ibid., Figs. 1-9) do not provide any details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the feathers. The frame (Photo. 15) that I acquired in Tampiitsúa

231 interested would remain where it is. Also, I have already mentioned the enthusiastic battling of the chickens against roaches,
364 which they eat throughout the night. The reaction of the Tapirapé
[136] to this plague is to abandon the house and burn it. I never saw
[825] one of them go after the roaches and kill them one by one, which would be very easy owing to their numbers. Léry (159-160), in-
136 cidentally, had already observed this scourge among the Tupinambá
192 and apparently had not been familiar with it in Europe or on European ships, for he speaks of "bugs, called Arauers by the savages, which are no bigger than our crickets and which also come out at night in swarms around the fire, and if they find something they do not fail to nibble on it. Aside from what they get in this manner, they attack jerkins and shoes of morocco leather and eat the whole upper layer, so that people who own such articles find them all white and grazed in the morning when they get up. Also, when we left some chicken or other fowl cooked and poorly wrapped at night, these Arauers gnawed them to the bone, and there was nothing left on the following morning." [translated from French].

The word written arauers in the French spelling of the sixteenth century author tallies perfectly with the anavé, anaué, and araué with which the Tapirapé designate roaches.

To summarize the main comparative data in this chapter, we
171 may say the following. The Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá
[361] in the arrangement of their houses around a central plaza, in the
[342] erection of multifamily dwellings by collective labor, in the
[476] elongated-dome shape of these houses, in the house burials, and
[764] in the use of the sleeping hammock. They differ from the ancient
[712] coastal Tupi in not fortifying their village with fences and in
[345] possessing a central structure, that is, the takana, that stands in the center of the plaza. Among these cultural traits, the most typically Tupi are the elongated-dome shape, the house burial, and the sleeping hammock. The Tapirapé resemble the Karajá
[352] in the shape of the little bench, but differ in the Tupi name they give to this article of furniture, in the arrangement of the houses within the village, in the ground plan and shape of the dwellings, in the burial method, and in the use of the hammock. The
171 Tapirapé resemble the Kayapó in the layout [111:119] of houses
361 around a men's house, a layout which is also characteristic of

124 pictures is much larger than the original, while the opposite applies to most other animals. It is especially difficult to identify various kinds of fish which vary considerably in actual size.

I shall transcribe from Rodolpho von Ihering's book the
128 colloquial and scholarly names, while sometimes omitting that of the species. Most of the errors which I have probably committed in spite of this precaution will thus, I hope, easily be corrected by zoologists. It is well to call the attention of those who study
• [825] the geographic distribution of animals to the fact that the Tapirapé are not familiar with the species represented by R. von Ihering and omitted from the following list, for I showed them all the figures in the book. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

[Tr., the following list is summarized from the original text, and omissions have not been indicated. To avoid confusion, it should be emphasized that the first name listed is the Tapirapé term. Its translation is given in Portuguese when there is no English equivalent or it is uncertain, and in most cases the Brazilian term is of Tupi derivation.]

## MAMMALS

136 (1) anyrá -- bats in general. Not eaten.

262 (2) tatu -- hairy six banded armadillo (Euphractus sexcinctus). Eaten by men. [117:94] The Tapirapé were not familiar with the nine-banded armadillo (Dasypus novemcinctus) in Fig. 15.

(3) tamanua -- great anteater (Myrmecophaga jubata). Eaten.

(4) tamandué-beva -- small anteater (Tamandua tetradactylus). Eaten by men and youths, not by boys or women.

(5) chingó -- sloth (species of the Bradypodidae family). Not eaten. The Tapirapé word may arouse doubts, for it differs completely from the Tupi term mentioned by numerous authors.

(6) tapidjí -- tapiti (Tr., a small hare-like rodent) (Sylvilagus minensis). Eaten by grown men. R. von Ihering's Fig. 19.

(7) kuanohé -- rat (a species). They used this name for the wild rat (Axymycterus nasutus) in Fig. 20, as well as the coypu [117:96] (Myocastor coypus) in Fig. 22. Considering the great

since the information provided by such dreams is readily accepted, they organize collective fishing trips. Fish constitutes their main source of animal fat and calcium. The calcium comes from the bones, [120:55] crumbled into a strongly spiced sauce, their favorite breakfast food. This is a cold dish, but the flesh of the fish is eaten on the previous day, good and hot, and invariably accompanied by manioc flour. I caused general amazement when I ate small roasted fish for the first time in Tampiitaua, and did so without manioc flour. My friend Vuanomanchi said that fish without flour is bad, gesticulated and spat as though he were smelling bad odor, and wanted to get up and fetch some of his own flour. A woman who was eating seated by my side immediately offered me hers. Of all the pictures in the zoological book that I showed them, it was always those of fish that aroused the greatest interest. The majority of the masked dances I witnessed dealt with fish, and there is an unmasked dance in which most of the text of the song consists of the word ypirá. It was this generic term for fish that I also heard almost invariably when I asked for the cause of a disease. This did not mean, however, that eating fish had been harmful to the sick person, but that a fish bone had been shot into his body as a magic projectile by an evil sorcerer. They also say that all the spirits of the hills and of the waters eat fish, and do not mention any other food for these spirits. Furthermore, as already stated at the beginning of this chapter, fish, along with manioc, is the only food included in the Tapirapé description of the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven that lies above our visible one. They do not fail to add that in this case "very fat fish" are involved. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Concerning head lice, I wish to mention in passing the fact that I never found any on my own body during my stays among various tribes, in spite of the fact that much lousy hair came in contact with mine and that I did not take any special preventive measures. The same proved to be the case among other Whites who stayed with South American Indians. I also know of a blond young man on whose head lice of the Krabo [Craho] Indians settled without biting.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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went to the small brook to drink water after dark. She said that the ghost approached and struck her. A man walking in his garden after dark saw the ghost of a known person, some years dead. "It was white and his eyes had fallen out. He still had some flesh and he had urucú in his hair" (6). Yet another man also met a ghost which was "white with big holes instead of eyes". Ghosts of individuals who have been dead many years "have no flesh; they have only bones". The ghosts that appear to the living follow the pattern of the gradual disintegration of the body. 775

Ghosts gather around a new grave to carry away the soul at time of burial; so they are especially dangerous to people at the time of funerals. When a Tapirapé dies, men carry machetes and mirrors to the wake for protection against the ghosts. If ghosts see their reflections in mirrors, they are frightened away. 775 764

The principal encounters of the Tapirapé with ghosts are in dreams. Dreamers sometimes visit them in their villages and at times learn from them new ceremonial songs which they hear in the traditional Tapirapé ceremonials that the ghosts continue to carry on after they have left the village of the living. 775 767

After an indeterminate period the ghosts themselves die and their spirits then become changed into animals. The spirit of the dead ghost of a man of prestige may become a toad (*Pipa pipa*); that of a common man a dove. Among the other animals into which spirits of dead ghosts become changed are frogs, deer, paca (*Coniculus paca*). 775 825 [554]

Besides the ghosts there are an infinite number and many different species of *anciãnga* of the demonic class, all generally living at a great distance deep in the forest. It is fortunate that their dwellings are so distant, for these creatures are very dangerous, killing Tapirapé whenever possible. In legendary times these demonic beings were more numerous than at present and killed many Tapirapé, but Wará, a powerful shaman and legendary hero, engaged in a constant warfare of wits with them and succeeded in killing many of them. He destroyed the dangerous *awaká anká* by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed far behind them as they walked through the forest. He also killed the *manyi anká*, the beings that clubbed men to death and drank their blood. 776 [973]

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(6) The Tapirapé paint the hair of a corpse with a thick coat of urucú in preparation for burial. [302 764]

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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821
the Jaguar of the Skies". When this shaman dies, it is thought that 756
many terrestrial jaguars, sent by the Jaguar of the Skies, will haunt the 787
coulipes of the village. I was told, too, that when the powerful shaman [825]
Wantanam died the "sun was large and red with the blood of the shaman": it was "hot" and "angry" because a shaman had died.

## SORCERY

The Tapirapé tell of great battles between strong shamans, each 754
supported by his own retinue of powers. During my stay with the Tapi- 787
rapé there were rumors of a possible combat between Urukumu and 756
Panteri, the two strongest shamans. Many people believed that it would be caused by the death of a warm personal friend of Panteri through the suspected sorcery by Urukumu. One man even described how the thought that the combat would take place. "Panteri will smoke much tobacco (10) and then he will go to his hammock to sleep. He will [276]
go [in his dream] in his "canoe" to the top of a high mountain. From there he will look about until he sees [the soul of] Urukumu. From there Panteri will throw his *ankangitána* (11): will wrap itself around [the soul of] Urukumu, carrying him off into the sky". Now the various familiar powers of both shamans hasten to their aid; it was at this point that the narrator, visualizing the possible battle of powers, listed the powers that would come to the aid of each shaman. A shaman whose soul has thus been captured by another falls prey to chills and fevers and soon dies, with his last breath whispering in song that he leaves the earth and possibly even telling gaspingly the name of the shaman who caused his death. Both shamans involved in the rumored combat denied knowledge or intention to wage it.

As might be expected, the same methods said to be used by shamans against one another may also be used against the layman. Shamans are believed to steal souls that are wandering in dream journeys. The shaman may send his *ankangitána* to strike the soul of his victim over

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(10) See page 72 for the use of tobacco in cures, as stimulants, to induce dreams, and for shamanistic ceremonies.

(11) The *ankangitána* is a ceremonial headdress made of three or four long [956
tail feathers of a parrot and worn by the Tapirapé down the back tied to the short 295]
"pig tail" hairdress (See Fig. 1 on page 41).

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



of fish, of insects, and several natural phenomena, especially thunder, have children: that is, they are thought to control "spirits of children" (20). A shaman steals, or more simply, takes spirits of children from these sources and brings them to a woman while she sleeps. Parents who wish children can bring presents to a *pancé* to "make him dream and bring a child to them". Most Tapirapé parents can identify the source of their children and the shaman who brought them. One father explained that he had taken honey to the *pancé* Urukumu, making him dream, and that Urukumu had then traveled to the house of Thunder and brought back a child to his wife. Another gave a present of fish to a shaman who brought back a child from the small fish called piau (*Leporinus* sp.); and yet another gave honey to a *pancé* who brought back a child from the horsefly (Tabanidae).

To the Tapirapé all good and likewise all evil can be laid at the door of the shaman. Consequently a phenomenon such as barrenness is always the fault of the shaman. A barren woman or a man with no children by his wife must have "quarrelled much with the *pancé*". For example, it was clear to Kamairabo that his failure to have children by the three wives with whom he had lived during his lifetime was due to the shaman: "They do not want me to have a child", he said. He had no suspicion concerning his own sterility, even though his present and third wife had had a daughter by her first husband: for according to Tapirapé belief, all men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are biological fathers of child, and Kamairabo was in this manner the "father" of several children.

The safety of Tapirapé men depends upon the power of their shaman during the period each October and November when they must swim while they fish and shoot turtles: for in this region of Brazil rivers are infested with alligators, sting rays (*Potamotrygon histrix*), and the carnivorous fish called piranha (Serrasalminae). The Tapirapé also believe that large snakes lurk in deep pools of the rivers ready to wrap themselves around men and pull them beneath the water. During the year men will not swim in deep water unless it is absolutely necessary

(20) Thunder, eagle, sandstorm, wild pigs, jacú (*Penelope* sp.), jabuti (*Pseudemys* sp.), fish as called tubarana (Cichla ocellaris), pacú (*Myleinus* sp.), and piranha (*Pygocentrus*), and jabuti (*Pseudemydura* sp.), were listed as sources of "spirits of children".

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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225 and they will fish only in shallow clear rapids. When they must swim
+61 to catch turtles, a shaman guarantees their safety. A powerful shaman
756 dreams. He travels to the river, ties he jaws of the alligators with wires,
825 strikes the *piranha* across their teeth so they cannot bite, and ties up the large snakes into knots with their own tails.

756 The abundance of the food supply may also become the respon-
825 sibility of the shaman. Some powerful shamans have the ability to control the movements and the increase of the bands of pigs. These
[789] shamans visit in their dreams the "home of wild pigs" near the Tapi-
[103] rapé River on a hill called by them *Towaigawá* — Ringed tail of the coati (*Nasua* sp.). There the shaman has sexual intercourse with female pigs, causing large increase in the bands. Those pigs that run fastest and are hardest to kill are these "children of the *panié*". The
[976] shaman's control over the movement of bands of pigs comes through his control over the *ancúnga* called *ampukúga* — "crying spirits". Wild pigs are said to be "pets" of these spirits and follow them about.
[324] Shamans who are powerful enough capture these spirits and take them, followed by their pets, to an appointed place where Tapirapé men wait to kill the pigs. None of the living shamans was believed to be capable of these controls over the wild pigs and several of the Indians blamed the recent lack of success of hunting expeditions and the apparent scarcity of pigs on the declining power of the shamans.

756 The dream journeys of the shamans also give them the power of
787 prophecy, as was indicated by Panteri's vision of the fever in the village of the *peropi ówa*. Such dream experiences are not limited to the demonic world but sometimes occur in other earthly regions. The shaman may visit Carajá villages or Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya, where he sometimes learns facts of great interest or importance to his fellow-tribesmen. When Panteri visited the Brazilian settlements along the Araguaya River for the first time, he said that he recognized faces that he saw for he had been to these places many times in his dream. When I returned to the Tapirapé village after three months' absence, one shaman claimed to have prophecied my arrival to the day. He had traveled in his dream, he said, to the Araguaya River and had seen my canoe moving up the Tapirapé River. Another in the same way foresaw the arrival of a young Tapirapé who was returning from se-

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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ceremonial rattles which had fallen to the ground and running with them around the whole circuit of the village. 796

The third and fourth days of the ceremony followed closely the pattern of this day, but there were some important variations. On the last two days a new danger was added, accounting for more violent seizures that occurred then. During these days each man making the ceremonial circuit wore an elaborate headdress — the *ankangitana*. This headdress exhaustes Thunder and attracts his creatures to the wearer (30). Without exception all who wore the headdress, even Pantori and Urukumu, fell unconscious before the forces of Thunder and genuine fear was shown by all those who wore it. 293 796 786

Before a man could put the headdress on his head, a pajaman waved it slowly before his eyes. The shaman then placed the headdress on his head, blowing smoke through the feathers to take out some of the terrific "heat." When Urukumu wore the *ankangitana*, he began to weave and stumble before he left the first house of the circle. He then had to be led and supported by two young men. Before he had completed one circle of the village, he was seized by a trance that seemed even more violent than that of the younger men. His body was rigid and he was carried through the remaining circle of houses to the house at the southwest where he was treated by Pantori. Pantori likewise was defeated and fell when he wore the headdress. During his trance he sang snatches of a song and when he regained consciousness he said he had traveled to the house of Thunder. Later, Pantori related to me his experiences during his trance. His story, freely translated, was this: "I ate much smoke and then smoked again. I sang. I saw one large man; it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small men. They approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a *tupi*). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus he would have vanquished the *tupi*) but it left the house. Then all was dark. (He had not defeated the *tupi* and it had consequently shot him with his arrow) I saw many men. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days and I climbed a large mountain on the 797 796

(30) Red parrot feathers are "hot like fire", say the Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house. [821] [825] [753]

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



and in myth the sun is called Ancerika and the moon Tamparawa, both names of people. According to the Tapirape, the moon is sister to the sun and is married to Anchopetari, a culture hero who was instrumental in dividing all birds into two groups,[11] and who taught Tapirape how to wrestle and sing many songs. Because of sexual misbehavior, Sun is said to have slapped Moon full in the face with his hand which was wet with black *genipa* dye, thus the marks on the face of the moon are explained.

Two large planets were formerly Tapirape culture heroes. Apowenoma[12] (Venus) came down from the sky one night after having watched Anantero, a Tapirape woman, for a long time, and lived with the Tapirape. At night he was a young man, husband of Anantero, but by day he appeared to people as a decrepit old man. He taught Anantero how to plant cotton and how to spin. He taught the Tapirape[13] how to plant their modern garden products, maize, manioc, cane, yams. Finally Apowenoma returned to the sky, taking with him his earthly son by Anantero who is called Imaurwanga (Jupiter). Today, the Tapirape point to these two planets, recounting their story and saying, "Apowenoma is young at night when he is in the sky, but by day he is old again as he was when he left us."

Many other constellations are known, but of importance in story are possibly only that called by the Tapirape "the jaguar,"[14] and the Pleiades.[15] One shaman told me that he had travelled (in dreams) to visit this jaguar. He was "friendly" with it, he said, and if he should be killed, the jaguar of the sky would send many real jaguars to prey upon the Tapirape. "Men would be afraid to step into the forest at night." The jaguar had become one of his retinue of familiar powers which would aid him in struggles with other shamans.

The Pleiades are important calendrically. They are watched anxiously and impatiently as the rains diminish, and their disappearance over the western horizon in May signals the end of the rains. This is the time for

[11] In the present time men's societies are divided into three age grades. Each age grade of each society carries the name of a bird: one being species of small *papagaio*, and the other species of white water birds. According to myth, these groups derived from similar divisions of the bird world in which Anchopetari lived.

[12] This is probably identical with Maraca (or Maire-monan, according to Métraux), civilizing god of Tupinambas, who created earth, people, birds and animals, and finally taught the Tupinambas to distinguish morbid plants. He was put to death by men, at which time he was transformed into a star "with two of his companions." Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 11.

[13] One text calls them Kawaipowera (pre-Tapirape) at this time (see p. 314).

[14] Ancient Guarani said that there was a very large tiger or dog which ate certain mythical stars the sun and moon, causing an eclipse. Aguayo-Guarani speak of a celestial jaguar; and the Chaco Indian Chiriguano explain the eclipse in this same manner. Métraux, *ibid.*, p. 30.

[15] "Les Pléiades particulièrement avoit fait chez les Tupinambas l'objet de croyances particulières. Ils étaient nommées le coutelas qu'elles formaient la ceinture du monde." Métraux, *Religion des Tupinambas*, p. 31.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22



to hold him, he may run wild through the village destroying property and endangering people. To bring him back, smoke must be blown over him by a shaman. While he is unconscious, he dreams and travels, sometimes visiting the house of Thunder.

"I smoked much and then I smoked again. I sang. I saw one large sun and it came toward me and disappeared. I saw many small suns. They came and they left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came (to the house) in a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (*a tapé*). It wore a small headdress of parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug but it left." [The shaman did not conquer the *tapé* and he was shot down by an arrow while he was unconscious] . . . "all was dark. I saw many suns. I travelled singing as I walked. I spent three days walking. I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Kanawana. He was big and his body was covered with much hair. He had many red parrot feathers. There were many *tapé* and many souls of shamans. I did not talk but came back." [If he had touched Thunder's cattle he would have stayed (died), but he was properly treated with tobacco smoke and returned to consciousness.]

Through shamans and legends of culture heroes, the Tapirapé know, too, of the multitude of "spirits" (*anekango*) which populate the unseen world. These are of two general types: true spirits, disembodied souls of deceased Tapirapé;[19] and demons or malevolent beings of many classes. Shamans are accustomed to seeing true spirits in their dreams. These generally inhabit abandoned village sites, where they re-live their earthly lives. When they die—the second death—they become frogs, deer, *pacu* and doves. Thus the toad is the spirit of a chief; the dove and *pacu* are spirits of men.[20] These ghosts cannot harm shamans who are accustomed to seeing them, but sometimes the spirits attack and strike down defenseless laymen.[21] They also cluster around a man's bier to carry off the soul as soon as the body is buried.

There are infinite numbers of "spirits" of the individualized demonic class. Of these, some are "pets" which are not very dangerous, and which are represented by men in the mask dance cult.[22] Other species are very dangerous, but these are no longer seen by the layman. Formerly, these were numerous, and killed many Tapirapé, but Ware, a culture hero and powerful shaman, fought them and killed many. A man now points to the

[19] Speaking of Tupinambás, Métraux makes these same two categories of "supernatural beings" (*anyanan, apaim, ingatogo* and *anekango*). *Ibid.*, p. 51.

[20] Animals which have, or are, spirits can be grouped together. These are taboo to some age and sex groups, in a complicated dietary system.

[21] Dogs can see spirits. When a dog howls, Tapirapé say, "He sees *anekango* but we can't."

[22] At one time women may have been frightened by these "dangerous" spirits, but apparently as present everything in the men's cult is known to women, and they do not even pretend to be frightened.

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



A man now points to the
southwestern horizon and says, "Were killed all spirits there; they are only 773
spirit souls now." (To the north and east, however, many demon spirits 776
are still alive and active.) Were engaged in a constant battle of wits with [823]
the spirit world. He killed many of the dangerous variety by setting fire to
their stringy hair which trailed behind them, and he also killed off an-
other group of beings which clubbed men to death and drank their blood.

Sometimes shamans (*pawche*) see malevolent beings in their dream 756
travels, and may even become friendly with them or receive their aid. For 776
example, one shaman told of wandering far in an unknown forest as he 787
dreamed, and of coming upon the spirits called *ovoya*, who have long hair
wound in a mass, and who carry only one arrow with which they can
kill a man. They were about to shoot him but he shouted "No, I am a
shaman!" and they left him alone, gave him food and aided him to return.
Only shamans can have such relations with these supernaturals. Tapirapé
laymen are afraid to dream.

The shaman is indispensable to Tapirapé living, not only because he has 756
dealings with the spirit world, and through his wanderings enriches the 842
knowledge of men, but also because he is of value in many practical ways.
Thus he controls the pregnancy of women. Pregnancy is known to relate
to sexual intercourse, but conception comes only when a shaman brings a
child to a woman. Thunder, and several types of birds, animals and fish, [825]
have "children," that is, spirits of children. The shaman brings one of these
"spirits" to a woman, putting it inside her while she sleeps. A woman who
wants a child can, for example, bring honey to a shaman. This will make [787]
him dream, and he will bring her a child. Similarly, a barren woman pre-
sumably "had quarrelled much with the shaman."

When Tapirapé swim, while fishing and shooting large turtles in the 756
Tapirapé River, their safety depends upon the shaman. In this section of 825
Brazil, rivers are full of alligators, *piranha* (carnivorous fish) and sting 757
rays, and according to Tapirapé belief, large snakes lurk in deep pools. [481]
Before men may swim safely the shaman must tie the jaws of the alli-
gators, strike the *piranha* across their teeth so they will not bite, and tie up
the tails of the large snakes. When Tapirapé go hunting, it is up to the [224]
shaman to tell them where packs of wild pigs will be found, or to lead
them down to a good spot in the plains country.[19] Danger may lurk in all
food; thus Tapirapé often take new corn, fresh meat, or any food, to have
danger "blown" out of it by the shaman.

The universe for the Tapirapé is not finite or entirely known; it is 772
dangerous. Tales of culture heroes and experiences of shamans provide a 756
773

[19] When the Tapirapé have made bits of wild pigs, which are "pets" of Thunder he will [821]
be angry and send a sudden rain or clouding of the sky. If a Tapirapé sees an unexpected [776]
rainbow in the sky he will say, "The shaman has been successful against Thunder" (i.e., in
finding game).

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

## RELIGION

*Tapirapé* religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, anhanga (spirit or shadow).

The anhanga itowera, human spirits or ghosts (aña or anhanga among the *Tupinambá*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called anhanga, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Waré, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many anhanga, among whom were the awakú anká, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mumpiankú were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, *bottom, right*).

**Rites.**—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (anhanga) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest ceremonial (kaó) and the ceremony of kawi (a soupline beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



upon an expectant father. This same set of taboos now bothered him again. A series of foods, mainly meats and particularly venison, is prohibited to fathers of infants and to husbands of pregnant women. On two excursions to the savanna (which abounds with deer) Champukwi had eaten venison. Moreover, since the Tapirapé identified cattle with deer, and thus beef with venison, he had broken the taboo several additional times by partaking also of this forbidden meat. The rather scrawny condition of his 2-year-old daughter, he feared, resulted from his faults. Just after our return to the village in early November, his wife gave birth to a second daughter. She had a difficult delivery, and he remembered his transgressions. Several village gossips, without knowing anything about his misdeeds, had nevertheless accused him of this breach of taboo.

Champukwi's home life was not a happy one. He was frequently in conflict with his second wife, who had, indeed, considerable basis for complaint. She could not claim that he was a poor provider, for Champukwi was a good hunter and a diligent gardener. But he confided to me that he did not find her attractive, or at least not as attractive as other women in the village. Champukwi had a lusty sense of humor and enjoyed joking with Valentim and me. In this mood he told of his many extramarital affairs, which were in truth but slightly concealed. I would in any event have heard of these liaisons; he gave his paramours beads which everyone in the village knew I had given him as presents. This practice caused trouble for the women because their husbands could readily identify the source of the gifts. It also created trouble for Champukwi at home. His wife complained of his affairs and on one occasion, according to Champukwi, she attacked him, grabbing him by his pigtail and squeezing his exposed testicles until he fell helpless into a hammock. On other occasions, she retaliated in a manner more usual for a Tapirapé woman—she simply refused to carry drinking water from the creek, to cook food for him, and to allow him to sleep in the hammock which she and Champukwi shared. For a Tapirapé man to carry drinking water, to cook, or to sleep on a mat is considered ridiculously funny. In other circumstances, Champukwi would have had to seek recourse with a female relative. However, to do so would be tantamount to a public announcement of his marital difficulties; the whole village would have known, to their considerable merriment and jest. But having *two* friends in the village, Champukwi

* [i.e. non-Indian — Analyst]

142 outnumber their Indian ones. My meaning will be understood by looking, for example, at Iravuy (Photo. 62). There are Tapirapé with thin lips, there are others who show hardly any Mongoloid features, and there are some with light skins. We gave the girl Ehovytyngahe (Photo. 67) the name "Tori" owing to her lack of pigmentation, for this is the name given to us, the Whites, by the Karajá. [Ed., the remainder of p. 80 and the first half of p. 81 are omitted.]

[105:81] The difference between the Tapirapé and the Karajá, so clearly evident in terms of nature, is not apparent in the hair, which in both tribes, in contrast to the usually straight Indian hair, is sometimes slightly curly and often somewhat wavy (see Kamairá, Photo. 57, and the group, Photo. 28). This is most apparent when the hair is tousled, or when it is long and loose (cf. Photo. 2). [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

I did not see any white hair among the Tapirapé. It is, as a rule, unusual among Indians and appears only at a very advanced age. I did not find any bald heads either among the Tapirapé or among any of the other South American tribes I visited. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] Even bald spots seem to be unknown among the Tapirapé, if we may deduce this from the admiration they showed for the incipient baldness on my head, which they tactfully referred to as "small hair."

84 147 F. Krause (2, 185) says of the Karajá: "The Indians have a characteristic body odor. It is rather strong and unpleasant to us. It is hard to say, however, to what extent it is due to the oil [105:82] turning rancid on their skin and hair." Concerning this, I must say that in spite of my excellent sense of smell, I was never able to discern among the numerous Indian tribes I visited any characteristic racial odor such as the one I noticed, for example, in many African Negroes (but not all), that stench which Brazilians call catinga and which is reminiscent of rancid soap. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

[142] 826 Some Tapirapé, indeed, have a rather light skin. In this respect, however, most of them do not attain their own ideal of beauty, which is white, as white as the habitually covered skin of northern Europeans. The women never tired of feeling my arms when I pushed up my sleeves. They expressed in this fashion their

•826 admiration for the whiteness of my skin, not for its softness, for in this respect they could not be surpassed. My camarada Daniel, a northern Brazilian who was almost as dark as they were, did not attract as much attention. The skin tone they consider most attractive, however, must not seem to them as remote from their own color as it seems to us, for they characterized their own skin exactly as they did mine, with the terms chinga and typifnia, both of which mean "white." Whether these Tapirapé words differ in scope from our own term for "white," or whether the yearning for the ideal makes the Indians appear to themselves as lighter than they actually are, this is in any case a prime example of the possibility of broad differences in the conceptualization of such seemingly concrete phenomena and shows the researcher the desirability of comparing, whenever possible, his own observations with the information provided by the Indians.

M1 826 [196]

Other native peoples of South America also prefer white skins. Fritz Krause (2, 185) writes: "The ideal of the Karajá is the whitest skin possible; they prized my white complexion very highly, and they themselves wished to be quite white (cf. the role of white people in their myths)."

M1 826

In 1863, Simão de Vasconcellos (LX) wrote that the Indians of Brazil told the Portuguese their own ancestors had been "people of white complexion," and when they were asked why they had not remained white, they answered (LXI): "Let us make an experiment: exchange your clothing for ours, and go about naked in the sun and in the rain, as we do; and you will soon see that [105:83] you have turned from white to our own hue." Consequently, just as according to the words of the Tapirapé there is no difference between their color and mine, the Indians to whom Vasconcellos is referring clearly stated that they regarded their own skin as basically identical to that of the Portuguese.

Not only do forest Indians, such as the Tapirapé, and river Indians, such as the Karajá, prefer white complexions, but so do savanna Indians, such as the Toba. In the universal conflagration myth of this Chaco tribe, only one man survived the fire that destroyed the entire earth. "But there was no woman. Then they lowered down from the sky a woman tied to a rope, and they cut the rope from above when the woman was close to the earth. Because they cut it very close to the ground, she came out ugly, but

171 if they had cut the rope higher up, the woman would have come
•826 out beautiful, and then all Indians would be white and beautiful" (Lehmann-Nitsche 6, 195, 196). As we can see, "white" and "beautiful" are clearly equated in this myth.

826 Just as most Tapirapé do not fit their own ideal of beauty with regard to skin color, they do not fit it either with regard to stature, for while most of them are small, they like large men.

They also like a body where none of the parts provided by nature are missing, except for the hair, which is cut on specific
[302] occasions, and the body hair, which is carefully plucked. For this reason, namely, for esthetic motives, Chief Kamaiabó would not allow one of his incisors to be removed, although it was quite loose and the source of frequent complaints on his part.

Like most Brazilian Indians who do not yet live in close
291 and continuous contact with the Whites, the Tapirapé, both men
[171] and women, go altogether naked. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] And like most Indians in this country, the Tapirapé always go barefoot. The men merely wear the penis sheath and sometimes the waist cord.

When I asked the Tapirapé for the name of their penis
171 sheath, someone first told me the word nohó. This is the name
192 given to the penis in Karajá, but those Indians do not use a sheath. They tie the prepuce just over the glans with a cotton cord that they call noolakín (Krause 2, 204). Later I heard among the Tapirapé the word cherakuichivohúa to designate "my penis sheath," from cherakui, "my penis," and húa, which is related to the word for "leaf." [Ed., the first paragraph of p. 84 is omitted.]

291 [105:84] The penis sheath of the Tapirapé is made of a
[287] strip of inner bark, from one and a half to two centimeters wide, taken from the stalk of the central leaf of a palm called pinavó by these Indians and simply "palm tree" by the non-Indian population of the Araguaia. As a rule, each man possesses a number of these strips, hung in bundles and rolls on the walls of his hut.

To make the sheath, the strip is folded so that its tips nearly join. Then the tips are slipped together into the resulting knot.
[531] This produces a funnel with oblique walls, sometimes adorned with a few burns made with lightly applied live coals (Photo. 28). A special device prevents the funnel from opening too easily: before

171 Another occasion to cut the hair short is the death of a close
302 relative, when not only the males (cf. Photos. 51 and 52) but the
765 opposite sex as well (Photo. 64) are compelled to undergo this procedure. This custom is quite widespread in South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

902 Among the Tapirapé at the present time, the hair is cut with
[177] scissors received from the Whites. [Ed., the remainder of p. 107
[412] is omitted, which includes the beginning of the sentence finished at the top of p. 108.]

[107:108] . . . in 1614, Father Claude d'Abbeville (267)
302 wrote of the hair of the Tupinambá of Maranhão: "[Ed., two
171 sentences are omitted.] They [the women] are quite meticulous
515 about combing their hair and do not fail to wash it and rub it with oil and Roucou every morning" [translated from French]. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

Some Tapirapé comb their hair with great care, although they do not wash it as frequently as the Tupinambá women observed by Father Claude, or massage it as often with oil and urucú. They
[314] would no doubt anoint it more frequently if it were not for the scarcity of the raw material, a palm nut that grows only at certain times of year. This scarcity impelled an honest matron to steal from us our only bottle of oil, which we had brought to remedy the lack of fat in the diet. Instead of lining our stomachs, the entire liter of nutritious liquid ended up on the good woman's head. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 108 is omitted.]

[107:109] The Tapirapé also put urucú in their hair, but only
302 on special occasions. They apply it to boys on the festive day of
[881] initiation, to girls on the day when their first menstruation ends,
[764] and to the dead. It may have religious significance, but I cannot tell.

Aside from hair combing, delousing is a gesture of love. The
515 bugs caught end their existence between the teeth of the catcher,
593 who thus swallows the blood of his or her beloved. This tender duty is performed on a mutual basis by parents and children and by loving spouses. Girls show the greatest enthusiasm for this type of quest. It does happen, however, that an old man still delouses an already married son (cf. Photo. 56).

826 Not only do they avoid losing the blood stolen by lice and
261 mosquitoes by eating the culprits caught in the act, but they also

261
826 swallow the hair plucked from their own body. Indeed, like most
302 South American Indians, the Tapirapé have the custom of carefully plucking all the hair from their faces and bodies. They refer to this procedure as ekopaá. They remove body hair by covering it first with hot ashes and then plucking it out with their fingers. They likewise pluck out their whiskers exclusively with the fingers.
[413] To remove eyebrows and eyelashes, however, they use a special instrument consisting simply of the caryopsis of a certain grass plant [Tr., identified in a later, omitted passage as the fruit of Streptogyne crinita Beauv., according to F.C. Hoehne (3)] which is equipped with teeth forming hooks at acute angles. The Indian holds this pod between the right thumb and index finger, while holding the eyebrow or eyelashes of the person he is about to beautify with the corresponding fingers of the left hand. Then he places the little hooks against the stretched hair, pushing down. A few hairs are invariably caught in this natural implement and removed along with it. [Ed., the last half of p. 109, which includes a detailed description of the use of Streptogyne crinita Beauv. as an instrument for depilation, pp. 110-113, and the first two lines of p. 114 are omitted.]

304 [107:114] The Tapirapé apply scarification to men only.
[881] They first do this at the time when the boy who is to be initiated is given a haircut, that is to say, one year before the initiation ceremony. The procedure is repeated several times until marriage, and not infrequently it is carried out even after that. The Indians make vertical scratches on the skin of the arm between the shoulder and the elbow, and on the front part of the leg both on the thigh and between the knee and foot. The procedure is carried out by a mature man. Immediately afterward, the patient steps into the water to wash. It is extremely rare for inflammation
[827] to result. The aim of the procedure is to "give strength." According to Wagley (4, 17), the killer of a sorcerer--medicine man, in
751 order to protect himself and the rest of his tribe against any possible
114 danger, must, among other precautionary measures, "scratch his
304 chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dogfish, just as he did in the course of the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult" [Tr., given in English in 4, 72]. I obtained no such information while I was in Tampiitáua.

304 The scarifying tool has the same name as the scratches it
413 makes, namely, chainiíua. It is a triangular gourd fragment
[192]

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



in this respect. According to Champukwi's own report, he tried cachaça only once in Furo de Pedra and (quite normally) found it distasteful and unpleasant. Yet there were moments that were awkward at the time however humorous they seem in retrospect. One day when I bought several dozen oranges in the street, Champukwi calmly removed the trousers that had been provided for him and made a sack to carry home the oranges by tying up the legs. In Furo de Pedra, he often went nude in the house we had rented for our stay. Even the Brazilian woman who came to prepare our meals became more or less accustomed to his nakedness, but sometimes he forgot to dress before sallying forth into the street. The rural Brazilian diét, derived in large measure from native Indian foods, seemed to please Champukwi, but he could not be comfortable eating at the table. He preferred during meals to sit across the room on a low stool.

Champukwi's reaction to this rural form of Brazilian civilization was not childlike in any way. He in turn became an ethnologist. He wanted to see the gardens that provided the food for so many people (Furo de Pedra had hardly more than 400 people at that time). He was fascinated by the sewing machines with which he saw the women working. He attended the Catholic ceremonies held in the little chapel. He saw pairs of men and women dance face to face in semblance of an intimate embrace. About these and other strange customs he had many questions. But like the inquisitive anthropologist who had come to live in his village, his own curiosity sometimes became obtrusive. He peered into the homes of people and sometimes entered uninvited. And he followed the Brazilian women to their rather isolated bathing spot in the Araguaia River to discover if there were any anatomical differences between these women and those in his village. He even made sexual advances to Brazilian women, actions which, if he had known, were very dangerous in view of the jealous zeal with which Brazilian males protect the honor of their wives and daughters. On the whole, however, Champukwi became quite a favorite of the local Brazilians during his two week visit to Furo de Pedra. His Portuguese improved while he visited in their homes, and he collected simple presents, such as fish hooks, bottles, tin cans, and the like, to take home with him. Even during this short period away from the village, my work with him continued. He told me of antagonisms, gossip, and schisms in the

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4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



683 to avenge him, is generally not murdered (16). A strong shaman makes
[578] an effort to have a strong family group about him for protection. Intoxi-
[256] cants could not remember that murdered shamans had ever been avenged by their familiar spirits, although one man made the point that shamans were murdered only by persons under the influence of great anger or grief, for people normally are afraid of the familiars of shamans.
683 Special rites are observed by anyone who has murdered a shaman, to
783 protect him and the rest of the tribe against possible danger. On the day following the murder the *maréntzunkandra* must retire to his hammock and here eat of a white clay, *lwi činga*, and drink until he vomits of a
[327] brew made of boiling a man's leg ornament in water. Vomiting cleanses
[302] his body "of the blood of the shaman". The killer must paint his entire body black with *genipa* (*Genipa americana*) and put red urucu paint in his hair: he should also scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back
[591] with teeth of the dog fish, just as he did in the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult. Then, each year at the annual ceremony during the harvests in May and June, all who have killed shamans must drink of kauiú (17) until they vomit, so cleansing themselves of the shaman's blood for the period until the next harvest.

## DUTIES OF THE SHAMAN

276 Among the Tapirapé tobacco is a sacred plant necessary for curing and for all shamanistic activities; yet, while it is found widely near Tapirapé village and near their gardens, it is not strictly a cultivated plant. People know where a patch of tobacco grows and go there to pick it. Occasionally they transplant tobacco nearer to their houses or to their gardens but for the most part the patches seed themselves. When an

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[578 (16) When I left the Tapirapé in May, 1940, a grudge existed between two
621] men of high status because of the murder of a shaman. Kamairabo disliked, avoided, and criticized Kamairá because he had killed KanDwanj, Kamairabo's wife's father. The antagonism was never overt. When they met they treated each other formally and calmly. Other Tapirapé told me that Kamairabo's wife continually gossiped about the behavior of Kamairá's wife, "because her husband had killed Kanzowa's father".

[272 (17) A brew made of a few grains of maize and much water. It is believed
278] to be poisonous.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



when an
individual discovers a new patch of tobacco, he hastily builds a low 276
fence around it to inform others that it belongs to him. This native [422]
tobacco is smoked by laymen in short tubular pipes made of wood or clay and by shamans in long clay pipes, sometimes 30 centimeters long.

Tobacco is used for leisure-time smoking for pleasure: but its [517]
principal uses among the Tapirapé are as a stimulant and as a medicine. [278]
Each night after a long day's work or while traveling or hunting, Tapirapé men blow smoke over their tired legs, arms, and backs and sometimes men can be seen fumigating their tired wives or companions. They accompany the fumigation of their bodies with massage, rubbing their arms and legs toward the extremities. Tiredness and soreness are [953
considered extraneous substances acquired during the day through exer- 827]
cise and it is believed they may be massaged and fumigated from the body.

Treatment of the sick is the shaman's most common duty and the 955
use of tobacco is always a necessary prelude and accompaniment to [276]
this. Unless the illness is serious enough to warrant immediate treatment, shamans always cure in the late evening. A shaman comes to his patient, and squats near the patient's hammock, his first act is always to light his pipe. When the patient has a fever or has fallen unconscious from the sight of a ghost, the principal method of treatment is by massage. The shaman blows smoke over the entire body of the patient: then he blows smoke over his own hands, spits into them, and massages the patient slowly and firmly, always toward the extremities of the body. He shows that he is removing a foreign substance by a quick movement of his hands as he reaches the end of an arm or leg.

The more frequent method of curing, however, is by the extraction of a malignant object (18) by sucking. The shaman squats alongside the hammock of his patient and begins to "eat smoke" — swallow large gulps of tobacco smoke from his pipe. He forces the smoke with great intakes of breath deep down into his stomach: soon he becomes intoxicated and nauseated: he vomits violently and smoke spews from his stomach. He groans and clears his throat in the manner of a person gagging with nausea but unable to vomit. By sucking back what he vomits he accumulates saliva in his mouth (19).

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(18) Fishbones, worms, arrows which are injected into body by sorcery. [954]

(19) It hardly need be said that patients do not eat before curing in this manner, but prefer to cure with an empty stomach.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



*Case of Ipewangi*

756 981 796 Ipewangi, a young man of about twenty years of age, is a novice to shamanism. During one of his dreams, stimulated by "eating smoke" he saw anitinga but was unable to identify which ones they were. During the Thunder ceremony, however, he decorated his body as did the anitinga he had seen in his dream. He painted a cross with urucu [302] on his chest and wore feathers of the white vulture (urubú-ori — *Sarcoramphus papa*) down the sides of his arms. As a protective measure [751] he carried a mirror with him during all ceremonies for, like ghosts of the dead, the beings of Thunder are frightened if they see their own image in a mirror. During one sundown session Ipewangi fell crying wildly, and scratching his body frantically from head to foot, as if the itching were unbearable, letting out blood-curdling screams. This behavior was seen several times during the ceremony in other persons. The [327] itching, informants told me, comes from many invisible fleas which jump from any dog on to the body of a person participating in the ceremony. [231] Dogs, therefore, are securely tied to house posts or to trees at the edge of the village during the four days of the Thunder ceremony but they, of course, escape now and again.

*Case of Campukwi*

Campukwi, a young man of about twenty-four years of age, says that he does not want to be a shaman because "Tapirapé have killed many shamans". He took part rather casually in several of the phases of the ceremony: he "ate smoke" and moved about with the group in the evening session when the creatures of Thunder were being called. At the end of the session, when the powerful shamans saw "many tapi", he fell, struck down with the rest of the group. Campukwi's wife was not present but his sister came to his side to help him. She looked at him carefully and laughingly said that he was faking. She kicked him and left him instead of helping him to the sidelines. Campukwi stood up, laughed, and left the group.

Now and again through the ceremonies spectators made such observations concerning participants whose reactions seemed doubtful. Some participants did now and again pretend and people laughed at them. It was all taken in a spirit of fun.

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4: Wagley E-3 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



776 Some of these demons of the forest are now "pets" of the Tapirapé, and are no longer dangerous to them. The comparatively harmless *anciinga*, in a sense domesticated by Tapirapé men, come at intervals throughout the year to live in the large central men's house. While an [C32] *anciinga* is inhabiting this ceremonial house, Tapirapé men sing and [C33] dance with masks representing the visiting spirit (7).

756 Knowledge of the supernatural world is gained chiefly through the 787 dream experiences of shamans or *pané*, for among the Tapirapé shamanistic power derives from dreams and from powers revealed in them. [D75] Dreams are believed to be journeys. The *iangá*, the soul, may free itself [C28] from the *ení*, the body, in sleep, and move freely in time and space. Obviously anyone may dream but frequent dreaming is evidence of shamanistic power. Laymen who dream very much are afraid, for they do not belong in this supernatural world, or they believe that they should become shamans.

Campukwi, who was not a shaman, indicated this fear in telling me his dream experience. When he saw dangerous *anciinga* in his dream, he had no recourse but to run: "I am not a shaman. I was afraid. I ran. They would have killed me". Only shamans have the supernatural power to move freely in this dream-world of ghosts and demons. A shaman is never afraid in his dream travels, for ghosts are his friends and the power of a shaman grows in proportion as he fraternizes with the demonic spirits of the forest. After a dream-visit from a shaman, breeds of demonic spirits may become his familiars, obedient to his calls for aid. Turning himself into a bird or launching himself through the air in his "canoe" a half gourd, he travels to the villages of ghosts, to the houses of demonic spirits, or to such temporal places as the Brazilian settlements or Carajá villages on the Araguaya River. Then, too, time is no obstacle; in a sleep of a few minutes he may experience three or four days of dream adventure.

756 The dream experience of Ikanancowi, a powerful shaman who died 776 a few years before my visit, will illustrate these points. In his dream he 787 walked far to the shores of a large lake deep in the jungle. There he heard dogs barking and ran in the direction from which the noise came until he met several forest spirits of the breed called *manpi anká*. They

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[D77] (7) The men's masked dance cult, kept as a secret from the women, is not [C62] generally found among Tupi tribes. In this case it has obviously been borrowed from [799] the Tapirapé's neighbors, the Carajá.

4: Wagley E-5, (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



755 In the midst of this process he stops several times to suck on the body of his patient and finally, with one awful heave, he spews all the accumulated material on the ground. He then matches in this manner the intrusive object that has been causing the illness. Never once did I see a shaman show the intrusive object to observers. As one treatment a Tapirapé *pancé* usually repeats this process of "eating smoke", sucking, and vomiting several times. Sometimes, when a man of prestige is ill, two or even three shamans will cure side by side in this manner and the noise of violent vomiting resounds throughout the village.

One other method of curing was observed. During an epidemic of fever Panteri made a collective cure to drive fever out of the village and disinfect the people of the village against it. Two men were dispatched to collect wild honey; this was then mixed with water, making a weak honey mixture. Panteri, after first smoking for a time, went from house to house taking the honey mixture in his mouth and spraying it over the house and its occupants. He carefully sprayed and massaged the patients who had fever and removed the foreign substance from their bodies. For several hours he worked, spraying both the inside and outside of the houses, including the central ceremonial house of the men. It was explained that the honey alone did not have a therapeutic effect against fever but sprayed from the mouth of a *pancé* it drove away fevers.

755 775 828 Shamans also protect the Tapirapé against ghosts. All people who see ghosts faint from fright or from the white substance with which the ghost covers their body. Shamans were called to blow smoke over them and to massage this substance from their bodies. During one funeral dance the shaman Panteri "saw many ghosts" in the environs of the village, recognizing some as long-dead relatives of the deceased. By blowing tobacco smoke about and by going among the ghosts with a large mirror he drove them away before they did any harm.

756 842 82 Shamans are necessary in several other life situations other than illness. For instance, shamans are thought among the Tapirapé to control the pregnancy of women. While pregnancy is known to be related to sexual intercourse, conception is thought to take place only when a shaman "brings a child to a woman". Several species of birds,

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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756 on the contrary, they were described as "good wives", and one of them was remembered as small and particularly attractive.

756 Certain people regardless of sex are early recognized as future
828 shamans because of their natural inclination to dream. Several infor-
[736] mants, for example, told me that a young boy, an orphan, and therefore badly cared for, would certainly be a powerful shaman. He turned and talked in his sleep and had been known to cry during a nightmare. He remembered few of his dreams but did tell of seeing the spirit of his mother, and described an evil spirit which he met during a dream. One of the present powerful shamans is said to have been such a youngster with a predilection for dreaming. Such youngsters are nervous and sensitive; yet no distinct personality traits were observed among adult
756 shamans. Shamans are frequently emaciated and thin, attributable
[218] perhaps to their constant use of tobacco and the resulting nausea, and one shaman, now dead, was described by informants as a nervous ascetic interested only in the supernatural world.

276 Persons lacking this predilection for dreaming, but with aspirations
756 to shamanism, may solicit dreams. Each year during the days of the
787 dry season all young men who aspire to shamanism, even those who have shown potentialities during boyhood, gather each evening in the central plaza of the village to seek dreams. A novice sits upon the ground near a *pané*, his mentor, and swallows smoke from his mentor's pipe until violent vomiting occurs. When the novices are too ill to hold the pipe, the shaman holds it for them, forcing them to continue "eating smoke". Generally the neophytes fall backwards unconscious and ill from the smoke; during this state they may dream. In any case, when they regain their senses, the pipe is again placed in their mouth until they fall backwards ill and unconscious once more. The process may be repeated several times over a period of two or three hours. Later, when the novice retires to his hammock for the night, he may expect a dream.

756 Such sessions occur each night during the few weeks before the Thunder ceremony and a serious novice should attend all sessions.
[934] During this period he refrains from sexual intercourse because it will hinder his dreaming; he also refrains from bathing and so becomes
[515] grimey. He must not eat of those animals which "walk at night", such
[262] as the jaboti tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) and the monkey, because he must be friendly with all creatures he may meet in his nocturnal dream travels. He should eat manioc flour, yams, pepper, and such bland

in this respect. According to Champukwi's own report, he tried cachaça only once in Furo de Pedra and (quite normally) found it distasteful and unpleasant. Yet there were moments that were awkward at the time however humorous they seem in retrospect. One day when I bought several dozen oranges in the street, Champukwi calmly removed the trousers that had been provided for him and made a sack to carry home the oranges by tying up the legs. In Furo de Pedra, he often went nude in the house we had rented for our stay. Even the Brazilian woman who came to prepare our meals became more or less accustomed to his nakedness, but sometimes he forgot to dress before sallying forth into the street. The rural Brazilian diet, derived in large measure from native Indian foods, seemed to please Champukwi, but he could not be comfortable eating at the table. He preferred during meals to sit across the room on a low stool.

Champukwi's reaction to this rural form of Brazilian civilization was not childlike in any way. He in turn became an ethnologist. He wanted to see the gardens that provided the food for so many people (Furo de Pedra had hardly more than 400 people at that time). He was fascinated by the sewing machines with which he saw the women working. He attended the Catholic ceremonies held in the little chapel. He saw pairs of men and women dance face to face in semblance of an intimate embrace. About these and other strange customs he had many questions. But like the inquisitive anthropologist who had come to live in his village, his own curiosity sometimes became obtrusive. He peered into the homes of people and sometimes entered uninvited. And he followed the Brazilian women to their rather isolated bathing spot in the Araguaia River to discover if there were any anatomical differences between these women and those in his village. He even made sexual advances to Brazilian women, actions which, if he had known, were very dangerous in view of the jealous zeal with which Brazilian males protect the honor of their wives and daughters. On the whole, however, Champukwi became quite a favorite of the local Brazilians during his two week visit to Furo de Pedra. His Portuguese improved while he visited in their homes, and he collected simple presents, such as fish hooks, bottles, tin cans, and the like, to take home with him. Even during this short period away from the village, my work with him continued. He told me of antagonisms, gossip, and schisms in the

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

**Champukwi of the Village of the Tapirapé**

Champukwi sketched for me the stories of Petura, the Tapirapé ancestral hero who stole fire from the King Vulture, daylight from the night owl, *genipa* (used for dye) from the monkeys, and other items for the Tapirapé. However, he persuaded Macumi, an elder famous for his knowledge of mythology, to relate the details although he himself helped considerably to clarify for me the meaning of native phrases and to make the stories told by Macumi more fully understandable. Champukwi also forewarned me of events that I might want to witness, events that without his warning I might have missed. Such were the wrestling matches which took place upon the return of a hunting party between those men who went on the hunt and those who remained at home. He told me of a particularly handsome basket a man had made, which I might want to add to my collection for the Brazilian National Museum. He came to tell me that a young woman in a neighboring house was in labor, thus enabling me to get a photograph of the newborn infant being washed in the stream, and he urged the men to celebrate for my benefit a ceremony which might easily have been omitted. Champukwi was no longer merely an informant. He became a participant in ethnographic research although, of course, he never thought of it in these terms. He seemed somehow to understand the anthropologist's task in studying his culture, and in the process he gained considerable objectivity about his own way of life.

Yet it must be said that Champukwi did not seem to discredit the norms, institutions, and beliefs of his own people. Although he saw Valentim and me walk safely down the path through the forest late at night, he steadfastly refused to do the same; for the path was a favorite haunt of the lonely ghosts of deceased Tapirapé who might harm the living. He reasoned that the *tori* were probably immune to this danger. When he was ill, he took the pills we urged upon him but he also called in the shaman. His curiosity about airplanes, automobiles, and "gigantic canoes" (passenger boats) which he saw pictured in the magazines we had brought with us, was great; but he boasted that the Tapirapé could walk farther and faster than any *tori* or even the Caraja (who are a canoe people). In fact, his interest in, and enthusiasm for, certain Tapirapé activities seemed to be heightened by our presence. Almost all Tapirapé ceremonials involve choral singing and Champukwi was a singing leader of one of the sections of the men's societies. He was always pleased when

648 When I stretched out in my hammock, Kamaizahó, who was
125 already lying in his hammock with his wife, smiled at me as usual and greeted me courteously with the customary "papanekú (you have come)." I asserted, no less decorously, "Him, hm, ẽ, ẽ." He went on, still smiling, "Kananchahó around. Kananchahó coming. I'm afraid." Although he did not seem particularly scared in spite of this statement, I calmed him with a few words as I had done with the others, and he immediately laughed, changed the subject, and jested with his wife.

648 Later, it became evident that the presence of Kayapó in the
609 neighboring forest had been invented by Anavanf, a somewhat foolish youth of about 17. On the following morning he confessed that he had lied. He probably wanted to make himself important. The general readiness to believe him shows the state of mind of the Tapirapé toward their feared neighbors. Incidentally, on the day when Kamaizahó showed me the smoke pillars of the "Ampanef" to the southwest, he showed me a similar display by the Kayapó to the north.

The non-material defenses show that the Kananchahó are regarded as the Number One enemy. Although the Karajá are also feared, only the northern neighbors, by what I was able to observe, are the object of parodies, violently abusive songs, and mocking pantomimes. On June 24, the Tapirapé, in a weeping tone, sang
[533] a seemingly obscene chant about the Kananchahó, which aroused
● 831 endless laughter. It was sung in the men's house, where other
[522] youths gave a ludicrous impersonation of those enemies, emitting
[596] their would-be tribal cry, running and jumping crazily hither and yon, gesticulating with angry excitement, and hitting the house stakes with their clubs. At the same time, in front of the house,
[535] other men accompanied by the women and children danced and sang the kaó, the danced song that derives its warlike character not only from the weapons in the hands of the warriors and from their serious look, but also from the powerful rhythm of stamping feet and the menacing quality of the guttural sounds.

536 [102:125] While all this pertains to night performances, an-
726 other spectacle took place two days later in daylight. It was a dramatization of the supposed Kayapó attack on the 20 Tapirapé who had failed to return from the hunt during the previous year. Six youths, holding on to each other in friendly fashion two by two,

291 folding the strip in half, the men fold a small part of it obliquely, and then fold the strip once more so that the triangle is placed exactly over it. The strip is not folded stiffly, since owing to its natural toughness it has a tendency to unfold. As a result of this tendency, the tip folded in this fashion remains securely held in the knot along with the other tip.

As a rule, a man will prepare a new sheath as he gets up in the morning. The prepuce is pushed through the funnel in such a way that it projects beyond the smaller opening and is tied all around like the end of a sausage, remaining erect. Thus, the funnel is worn upside-down, that is to say, with the smaller opening on top and the larger rim facing toward the front (cf. Photos. 5, 63, and 66).

As may be seen in these photographs, the yellow color of the inner-bark strip stands out clearly against the skin. In view of [832] this, a desire to attract the attention of the opposite sex may be involved in the use of the sheath. At the same time, it is also [834] possible that the men assign to the sheath the same purpose that, [171] according to Krause (2, 204), the Karajá assign to their penis cord, that is to say, that of concealing the glans from the eyes of women. There is no doubt, however, that both sheath and cord serve as 751 protection against crustaceans and insects, such as ticks, for example. We have known cases where these parasites fastened their proboscis [105:85] right at the opening of the urethra. The [825] Tapirapé make no distinctions among these various kinds of little creatures and call them all tantevoga. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

Small boys do not protect their member. Just as the Karajá 291 adolescents do not use the penis cord until their hair is cut for the [881] initiation, Tapirapé youths first use the sheath at the time of the [171] haircut.

The importance of the penis sheath to the Tapirapé is perhaps [524] made evident by the fact that even the dolls made for fun were supplied with such sheaths (Photo. 77). [Ed., the last half of p. 85, p. 86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted.]

[105:87] The waist cord is called anchekuakuán or [283] chikoangkohána in Tapirapé. It is made of cotton threads twisted [462] by the women on their thighs, but it is used solely by the men. The latter wear it so that it lies a good distance below the navel

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171 According to Francisco S.G.Schaden (30), the fathers in this
846 locality, accompanied by their wives, visit the new mother on the Sunday following the birth and must not refuse a draught of spirits at the time of this so-called Kindchenkaffee, for otherwise it is said that the newborn child would be unable to urinate. We see, therefore, that in this case the child's well-being hinges on the behavior of its parents' friends.

Among certain South American tribes, the father is not per-
[224] mitted to go hunting during the first few days following the birth (cf. Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 136). I was told that the Tapirapé goes hunting at this time and is even accompanied by his wife as soon as she is able to come.

Wagley and Galvão (3, 172) assert that Tapirapé parents must
853 abstain from sexual relations until the child is "weaned." They
933 may intend this word to refer to the time when the child begins to
[114] take other foods aside from its mother's milk, for the latter is taken, whenever possible, for two or three years or even longer. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The Tapirapé seem to believe in magic conception, although
842 they know that pregnancy results from sexual relations. On March 31, 1942, Dr. Wagley told me the following story: once, at the beginning of his stay in Tampiitaua, he suddenly heard, "Here comes Dotoí." He knew that this was the name which the women and children of the village used to call me, adding the diminutive i to the title by which the camarada Daniel addressed me [Tr., in Brazilian pronunciation, "Doctor" sounds like doutô]. Wagley, surprised, [123:55] turned around and saw coming toward him not the colleague from São Paulo but a Tapirapé boy. "Where is Dotoí?" he asked. They pointed to the boy. "But Dotoí is far away," he objected. Then they told him that the boy was also called Dotoí because he was the son of the Dotoí from São Paulo. And as proof of this kinship they showed the ethnologist that the boy, like his distant progenitor, had no tembetá orifice in his lower lip as did other Tapirapé boys of his age. In a dry scientific work such as this, it is idle to conjecture what Wagley thought about me then and whether he compared the skin color of Dotoí II with that of the other other children. It is enough to say that he is my friend and the most understanding North American I know. Naturally, he did not fail to notice that the boy's age tallied roughly with the number

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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During the four-day period of the combat against Thunder and 833
his creatures sexual intercourse had been taboo; but on the night after 834
Thunder leaves "all Tapirapé will have intercourse with their wives and many women will become pregnant". Traditionally, women are freer with their favours for a few days after this ceremony. People, however, sometimes break the taboo against sexual intercourse during the period of Thunder's visit and so bring trouble on themselves and their tribe. Panteri reported: "I was weak when I returned from Thunder's house. Many mosquitos drank my blood on the road. This was because Tapirapé men were with their wives. I dreamed that night and saw many Tapirapé having intercourse and knew that Tapirapé would be bitten by many mosquitos when they called Thunder".

## CONCLUSIONS

It is apparent that in studying Tapirapé shamanism we are con- 171
cerned with patterns which are part of a deep-seated New World 756
shamanistic complex found widespread in both North and South America — from the Eskimo to the Ona and Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego. Among the Tupi-guarani peoples, however, shamanism has been an unusual factor in their cultural history. Dr. Alfred Métraux has shown that the numerous and distant migrations of Tupi-Guarani tribes in post-Columbian times were frequently instigated my powerful shamans (32).

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(31) During this serpent dance, one may steal of corn which are hanging from rafters in the houses through which they pass. Youngsters did steal some corn and women run after them trying to get it back. There was now much gaiety and laughter. [781]

(32) "Seules la vénération et l'autorité dont ces magiciens bénéficiaient, peuvent expliquer la facilité avec laquelle des tribus entières ont consenti à abandonner leurs villages et leur territoire à la recherche d'un pays purement fabuleux" (in Alfred Métraux. 1931. "Les hommes-dieux chez les Chiriguano et dans l'Amérique du Sud", *in Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán*. T. II. p. 66).

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516 directly upon the ground. Actually, the manner of sitting is
562 one of the cultural traits in which the sexes are radically differentiated among the Tapirapé. A woman, when she is not sitting in her hammock, sits on the ground without previously covering it, and only exceptionally does she sit on a tree trunk beside her husband (cf. Photo. 58). She always hides her sexual organs, [834] however, either by covering them with the hand or with a leg folded against the body while the other leg is stretched out (Photo. 59) or by crossing her legs (Photos. 11 and 32). When she wields the pestle and kneels to hold the mortar between her knees, this object hides, up to a point, her sexual organs (Baldus 7, Fig. 31). The men usually sit with open legs and cover the ground with a mat (Photo. 53) or a piece of cloth (Photo. 63), when they do not squat (Photo. 39) or sit on a tree trunk (Photo. 61). When several of them sit on the same trunk, they prefer to press close together rather than to leave space between them. When eating at home, the husband eases himself into the net while the woman sits before him on the floor. [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

171 The Tapirapé resemble the majority of Brazilian tribes in not
354 having any special implements to light up their houses, but merely relying at night on the weak flames of their fires for the purpose.

I did not witness the making of fire among the Tapirapé, for
372 they never allowed it to go out and carried burning sticks with
171 them on their journeys. In Wagley's collection at the National Museum [Rio de Janeiro], however, there are fire drills to indicate that this tribe, whenever necessary, makes fire by the process used in all [111:116] Brazilian tribes and already described and reproduced in Hans Staden's woodcuts (p 3), that is to say, by twirling between the open hands a rod resting perpendicularly on a piece of wood.

To kindle the fire, the Tapirapé use fans which are made, as in a number of Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 101), of plaited palm leaves. The Tupinambá also had fans for this purpose, as is shown in one of Staden's woodcuts (t 1).

When the inhabitants of Tampiitaua leave the house at night
[514] to answer the calls of nature, they light their way with a burning stick which they wave about constantly to prevent the fire from dying out. Adalbert, Prince of Prussia (679), when he traveled in

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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756 on the contrary, they were described as "good wives", and one of them was remembered as small and particularly attractive.

756 828 [736] Certain people regardless of sex are early recognized as future shamans because of their natural inclination to dream. Several informants, for example, told me that a young boy, an orphan, and therefore badly cared for, would certainly be a powerful shaman. He turned and talked in his sleep and had been known to cry during a nightmare. He remembered few of his dreams but did tell of seeing the spirit of his mother, and described an evil spirit which he met during a dream. One of the present powerful shamans is said to have been such a youngster with a predilection for dreaming. Such youngsters are nervous and sensitive: yet no distinct personality traits were observed among adult 756 shamans. Shamans are frequently emaciated and thin, attributable [278] perhaps to their constant use of tobacco and the resulting nausea, and one shaman, now dead, was described by informants as a nervous ascetic interested only in the supernatural world.

276 756 787 Persons lacking this predilection for dreaming, but with aspirations to shamanism, may solicit dreams. Each year during the days of the dry season all young men who aspire to shamanism, even those who have shown potentialities during boyhood, gather each evening in the central plaza of the village to seek dreams. A novice sits upon the ground near a *panié*, his mentor, and swallows smoke from his mentor's pipe until violent vomiting occurs. When the novices are too ill to hold the pipe, the shaman holds it for them, forcing them to continue "eating smoke". Generally the neophites fall backwards unconscious and ill from the smoke: during this state they may dream. In any case, when they regain their senses, the pipe is again placed in their mouth until they fall backwards ill and unconscious once more. The process may be repeated several times over a period of two or three hours. Later, when the novice retires to his hammock for the night, he may expect a dream.

756 Such sessions occur each night during the few weeks before the Thunder ceremony and a serious novice should attend all sessions. [934] During this period he refrains from sexual intercourse because it will hinder his dreaming: he also refrains from bathing and so becomes [518] grimey. He must not eat of those animals which "walk at night", such [262] as the jaboti tortoise (*Testudo tabulata*) and the monkey, because he must be friendly with all creatures he may meet in his nocturnal dream travels. He should eat manioc flour, yams, pepper, and such bland

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13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few 177
months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of [197]
Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and [91]
verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these 114
youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals 123
we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," [621]
the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses [361]
arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were [592]
each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the per- [551]
sonal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Maria-
pawungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let 114
alone pronounce. [122]

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study [197]
intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the wide-
spread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least
passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms
of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed
explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which [241]
manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops
were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poison- [462]
ous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I [252]
watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture [323]
their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm- [285]
thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building [462]
was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly [345]
became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and [291]
the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude [834]
women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never
to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also [302]
to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed
their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on
their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many [126]
other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes
and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather 123
pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our
antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversa-
tions that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales
of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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of fish, of insects, and several natural phenomena, especially thunder, have children: that is, they are thought to control "spirits of children" (20). A shaman steals, or more simply, takes spirits of children from these sources and brings them to a woman while she sleeps. Parents who wish children can bring presents to a *pancé* to "make him dream and bring a child to them". Most Tapirapé parents can identify the source of their children and the shaman who brought them. One father explained that he had taken honey to the *pancé* Urukumu, making him dream, and that Urukumu had then traveled to the house of Thunder and brought back a child to his wife. Another gave a present of fish to a shaman who brought back a child from the small fish called piau (*Leporinus* sp.); and yet another gave honey to a *pancé* who brought back a child from the horsefly (Tabanidae). 756 82 842

To the Tapirapé all good and likewise all evil can be laid at the door of the shaman. Consequently a phenomenon such as barrenness is always the fault of the shaman. A barren woman or a man with no children by his wife must have "quarrelled much with the *pancé*". For example, it was clear to Kamairaho that his failure to have children by the three wives with whom he had lived during his lifetime was due to the shaman: "They do not want me to have a child", he said. He had no suspicion concerning his own sterility, even though his present and third wife had had a daughter by her first husband; for according to Tapirapé belief, all men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are biological fathers of child, and Kamairaho was in this manner the "father" of several children. 756 842 [837]

The safety of Tapirapé men depends upon the power of their shaman during the period each October and November when they must swim while they fish and shoot turtles; for in this region of Brazil rivers are infested with alligators, sting rays (*Potamotrygon histrix*), and the carnivorous fish called piranha (Serrasalminae). The Tapirapé also believe that large snakes lurk in deep pools of the rivers ready to wrap themselves around men and pull them beneath the water. During the year men will not swim in deep water unless it is absolutely necessary 225 756 481 825

(20) Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, jacú (*Penelope* sp.), jakamí (*Psophia* sp.), fish as called *tukunare* (*Cichla ocellaris*), pacú (*Mylinae* sp.), and *piranha* (*Pygocentrus*), and *jakari* (*Prochilodus* sp.), were listed as sources of "spirits of children".

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



586 Until the first child is born, marriage bonds are rather weak, but hence-
[837] forth the marriage is comparatively stable. There are, however, frequent
[684] cases of adultery, and a guilty woman who is found out is thrashed by her husband. When a marriage is dissolved, the man leaves the house, which is considered the wife's property, although built by him.

768 Upon a man's death, his widow remains in the house. After about 2
[837] months of free sexual relations, she chooses a new husband.

**Death.**—The *Tapirapé* believe that death is brought about by sorcery
761 and never by natural causes. Frequently, when the relatives of the
[682] deceased enjoyed sufficient prestige, they kill the shaman whom they
[754] suspect.

As soon as it is certain that the sick man will die, mourning begins in
763 the form of a wailing dirge by both men and women. The men dance around the hammock of the dying or dead man, while the women remain seated on the ground. Burial takes place on the day after death. The
764 corpse is stretched out on the hammock. Its feet and head are decorated with urucú dye, and its face is painted black with genipa. The grave is dug in the dead man's house under the place where his hammock was usually hung. The body is buried in the hammock, which is set up in the grave between two poles. All contact with the earth is avoided. Personal possessions of the deceased are buried with him, except that all feather ornaments and bows and arrows are burned.

Five days after the funeral, the relatives walk in file to the ceremonial
765 hut, where they leave the spirit of the dead man. The wailing goes on for many days, sometimes months, and always takes place at sunset. Close-cropped hair is a token of mourning for both sexes.

## ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 **Art.**—Obvious esthetic pleasure is derived from skillfully done basket-
531 work; a good workman will destroy a basket which is not turning out well, even though it would serve as a receptacle. Great use is made of highly colored feathers; feathers are both tied and stuck with rosin and wax on to the object to be decorated. Elaborate geometric designs are painted on children's bodies with genipa. The incise work on gourds is also especially striking.

534 **Musical instruments.**—Gourd rattles are frequently used to keep time to singing. No sacred powers are attributed to rattles. During the shamanistic ceremony (p. 177), a bamboo trunk is pounded against the ground in time to the music.

533 **Music.**—By far the most important *Tapirapé* pastime is singing. A man with a good voice and a large repertoire of songs is much admired by the community. All ceremonies are, basically, singing festivals. Each ceremony during the year has a large set of specific songs: those to be sung by the shaman during the shamanistic "battle with Thunder" (p. 177);

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



Tapirapé village which he would have hesitated to relate on home grounds. He told me of adulterous affairs in process and of the growing determination among one group of kinsmen to assassinate Urukumu, the powerful medicine man, because they suspected him of performing death-dealing sorcery.

After two weeks in Furo de Pedra, I found that it would be necessary for Valentim Gomes and me to go to Rio de Janeiro. It was not possible for Champukwi to accompany us and so I arranged for two Brazilian frontiersmen to return him to a point on the Tapirapé River from which he could easily hike to his village in a day. Valentim and I then began our slow trip up the Araguaia River to the motor road and thence to Rio de Janeiro. Two months later, rid of malaria and with a new stock of supplies, we returned to spend the long rainy months from November until the end of May in the Village of the Tapirs. Champukwi was there to welcome us, and he came each day to help repair and enlarge our house. We easily fell into our former friendly relationship, now strengthened by the experience in common of the trip to Furo de Pedra and by the feeling which many anthropologists have shared with the people of their communities—that anyone who returns is an "old friend."

My return to the village that November marked, in a sense, the end of what might be called the first phase of my relationship with Champukwi as friend and as anthropological informant. During the course of at least 200 hours of conversation (many of which may be methodologically dignified as interviews), I had learned much about Champukwi as a person as well as about Tapirapé culture. I knew that as a small boy he had come from Fish Village, where his parents had died, to live in the Village of the Tapirs. He had lived with his father's younger brother, Kamaira, who was the leader of a large household. He even confided to me his boyhood name; Tapirapé change their names several times during their lifetimes and mention of a person's first childhood name, generally that of a fish, an animal, or simply descriptive of some personal characteristic, causes laughter among the audience and considerable embarrassment to the individual. I knew that Champukwi had been married before he took his current wife, and that his first wife had died in childbirth. He revealed that her kinsmen had gossiped that her death was caused by his lack of respect for the food taboos imposed

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



upon an expectant father. This same set of taboos now bothered him again. A series of foods, mainly meats and particularly venison, is prohibited to fathers of infants and to husbands of pregnant women. On two excursions to the savanna (which abounds with deer) Champukwi had eaten venison. Moreover, since the Tapirapé identified cattle with deer, and thus beef with venison, he had broken the taboo several additional times by partaking also of this forbidden meat. The rather scrawny conditon of his 2-year-old daughter, he feared, resulted from his faults. Just after our return to the village in early November, his wife gave birth to a second daughter. She had a difficult delivery, and he remembered his transgressions. Several village gossips, without knowing anything about his misdeeds, had nevertheless accused him of this breach of taboo.

Champukwi's home life was not a happy one. He was frequently in conflict with his second wife, who had, indeed, considerable basis for complaint. She could not claim that he was a poor provider, for Champukwi was a good hunter and a diligent gardener. But he confided to me that he did not find her attractive, or at least not as attractive as other women in the village. Champukwi had a lusty sense of humor and enjoyed joking with Valentim and me. In this mood he told of his many extramarital affairs, which were in truth but slightly concealed. I would in any event have heard of these liaisons; he gave his paramours beads which everyone in the village knew I had given him as presents. This practice caused trouble for the women because their husbands could readily identify the source of the gifts. It also created trouble for Champukwi at home. His wife complained of his affairs and on one occasion, according to Champukwi, she attacked him, grabbing him by his pigtail and squeezing his exposed testicles until he fell helpless into a hammock. On other occasions, she retaliated in a manner more usual for a Tapirapé woman—she simply refused to carry drinking water from the creek, to cook food for him, and to allow him to sleep in the hammock which she and Champukwi shared. For a Tapirapé man to carry drinking water, to cook, or to sleep on a mat is considered ridiculously funny. In other circumstances, Champukwi would have had to seek recourse with a female relative. However, to do so would be tantamount to a public announcement of his marital difficulties; the whole village would have known, to their considerable merriment and jest. But having *tori*[1] friends in the village, Champukwi

[1] [i.e. non-Indian -- Analyst]

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



115 could come quietly to us at night to drink water, to ask for some-
593 thing to eat, and even to sleep in an extra hammock we had for
[837] visitors. His affairs were evidently extensive, for he once divided all of the adult women of the village into two categories—those "I know how to talk with" (i.e., to seduce) and those "I do not know how to talk with." There were many with whom he "could talk."

115 Unfortunately, by late November of 1939, I knew too much about
123 Champukwi's affairs either for his comfort or for mine. His wife
578 sometimes came to my house to ask if I knew where he had gone
[837] (I could generally guess), and once an irate husband even came to inquire of his whereabouts. His Don Juan activities had evidently increased. His friendship with me caused him trouble with other Tapirapé who were envious of the presents he received. The story was circulated that he had stolen a pair of scissors which, in fact,
[164] I had given to him. Moreover, several people caught colds, and he was accused of bringing the infection from Furo de Pedra (actually it was probably transmitted by the frontiersman who had helped transport us to the village in November). Champukwi sought
[345] revenge by cutting down one of the main supports of the men's
[358] house, which promptly caved in. No one died or was seriously injured and the destruction of the men's house was soon forgotten since it is normally rebuilt each year. However, people continued to criticize Champukwi, much of their criticism revolving around his
[984] relationship with me. There are no realms of esoteric secrets in Tapi-
[562] rapé culture (as there are in many cultures) that must not be re-
[196] vealed to an outsider; there is only the "secret" of the men from the women that the masked dancers are not supernatural beings but merely masquerading men, but I had been fully and openly brought into this "secret." I was, moreover, exceedingly careful in conversation never to refer to any bit of personal information that some
[203] informant, Champukwi or another, had told me. But rumors were rife in the small village—that I was angry and would soon leave (I was by then a valuable asset), that Champukwi told me lies about others, that I refused to give a bushknife to a household leader because Champukwi had urged me not to do so (I refused because I had already given him one bushknife), and the like.

115 Champukwi reacted moodily, often violently, to this situation. I
123 could no longer count on his visits nor on our research interviews. He now visited us with a glum look on his face, and when he was

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



115
not at once offered coffee, he left offended. But the very next day he [123]
might return, gay and joking, yet without his former patience for
teaching or explaining Tapirapé culture. Once he returned tired from
a hunting trip, and, irritated by his wife, he beat her with the flat [593]
side of his bushknife and marched off in anger, thoughtfully taking
the family hammock and a basket of manioc flour, to sleep four 115
nights in the forest near his garden. Soon afterwards, he left his 578
wife to take the wife of a younger man. This did not become a [837]
major scandal in the village. After some tense yet calm words be- [591]
tween the two men, it seemed clear that the young woman preferred [627]
Champukwi and the abandoned husband peacefully moved into the
men's house. Champukwi's former wife and their two young daugh- [586]
ters continued to live with her relatives as is the Tapirapé rule. But [602]
the switch of spouses caused tension between Champukwi and his
former wife's kinsmen, and between Champukwi and the abandoned
husband's kinsmen; and, to multiply his woes, he now had a new
set of in-laws to satisfy. For about a month thereafter I rarely saw [123]
Champukwi; he obviously avoided our house. When we met in the
village or in the men's house, he simply said that he was busy re-
pairing his house or hunting.

Discussing emotions with someone from a culture as widely dif- 115
ferent as Tapirapé is from my own was difficult, and the language 123
barrier was still a real one. Although my Tapirapé vocabulary was 154
increasing, it was hardly adequate to probe deeply into emotional [122]
responses; nor was Champukwi given to introspection. I shall prob-
ably never fully understand Champukwi's temporary rejection of me,
but the cause was probably both sociological and psychological.
First, his apparent influence with me and our close friendship had [578]
created antagonism on the part of other villagers. By rejecting the
outsider, he now hoped to reinstate himself in his own society. A [558]
second, deeper and more personal reason, contributed to his rejec-
tion of me; he had told me too much about himself, and feared that
he had lost face in the process. Also, it was obvious that I was grow-
ing less dependent upon him for knowledge as my facility with the
language improved and my information about the culture grew. Fi-
nally, the rejection was not one-sided. Now additional informants
were desirable for my research. Also, if I remember correctly (it is
not stated in my notebooks), I was annoyed by Champukwi's neg-
lect and disappointed by his lack of loyalty.

302 covered, in addition, with a number of irregular lines, and so is the leg from the knee to the ankle, and sometimes the arm and forearm as well (Photos. 3, 4, 7, 8, 48, 67). The woman is not [841] painted during menstruation. [108:123] As soon as the blood stops flowing, however, the characteristic lines on the belly and thighs are renewed. Photograph 67 shows a girl of about 13 who has not yet menstruated, but who nevertheless wears the women's painting. [513] This is because she shares her sleeping hammock with a 20-year-old boy.

The chief genipap paintings used by the men are, with slight

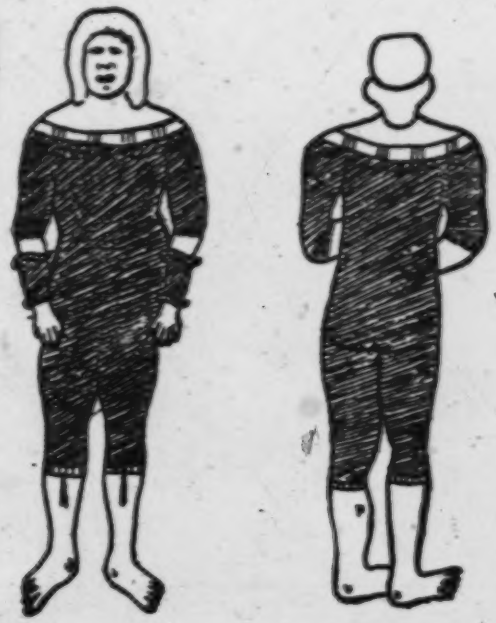

Fig. 2. Vuangkané male body painting.

[825] variations, (1) vuangkané (Fig. 2), the name of a water bird, [Fig. 3 appears here] possibly a kingfisher (Ceryle spec.); (2) ipihauáua (Fig. 3); the name of a fish; (3) chankoaka (Fig. 4), the name of an anchinga, a spirit seen by a sorcerer--medicine man; (4) [101] kananchahó (Fig. 5), the name by which the northern Kayapó are known (cf. Ch. 4). It is doubtful that the name of this latter painting alludes to its origin. Krause (2, 386) found nothing similar [171] among the Kayapó. [Ed., the last sentence on p. 123 and the first paragraph of p. 124 are omitted.]

114 slept with his wife in the same net, this also being the custom
171 among the Tapirapé with certain exceptions, couples in the region
513 of the Xingu headwaters, according to Herrmann Meyer's diary (1, 64), sleep separately in nets set up one above the other. [Ed., a sentence is omitted.] Like the Tapirapé, the Tupinambá, according to Léry (276), took their nets along when they went hunting and fishing, hanging them from trees when it was time to sleep.

171 The Tapirapé custom of swinging the hammock was also
516 found among Indians of the eastern Bolivian forest. Each of the following words by Richard N. Wegner (1, 70) about the Siriono may be applied to many inhabitants of Tampiitaua: [111:113] "Both naked Siriono lay in short hammocks. Only the buttocks and the head more or less fitted in. The right foot was balanced on the cord that held up the net, while the left leg, which hung out even in sleep, kept the net swinging throughout the night."

352 The menstruation net is a peculiarity of Tapirapé culture.
513 Certain hammocks have an opening at the spot where the woman's
●841 buttocks lie. As a rule, these nets are also used at other times. In house d, however, the couple consisting of Techipy and Manchiró slept with Marekantú, their three-year-old daughter, in the same net, and also possessed a menstruation hammock. The latter, however, was used by Manchiró only at the time for which it was intended, and this is why I left it blank in Figure 8. I have never heard of the existence of menstruating nets in other cultures. It is possible, of course, that they may exist among other peoples and go unnoticed by explorers.

231 The net in house c, which I left blank on the same figure, was tiny because it belonged to a small dog. It was the bed of a "dog child," in the words of the Tapirapé.

171 In their use of the hammock, these Indians differ from their
513 eastern, northern, and probably also their southern neighbors.
352 The Karajá and Kayapó sleep on the ground (cf. Krause 2, 198 and 373), and the same must be assumed of the Rio das Mortes Chavante, among whom many mats have been found, but to my knowledge no sleeping hammocks.

114 The small bench was an article of which only one specimen
171 existed in Tampiitaua. We read in Métraux (2, 63): "No cultural
352

171 According to Francisco S.G.Schaden (30), the fathers in this
846 locality, accompanied by their wives, visit the new mother on the Sunday following the birth and must not refuse a draught of spirits at the time of this so-called Kindchenkaffee, for otherwise it is said that the newborn child would be unable to urinate. We see, therefore, that in this case the child's well-being hinges on the behavior of its parents' friends.

Among certain South American tribes, the father is not per-
[224] mitted to go hunting during the first few days following the birth (cf. Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 136). I was told that the Tapirapé goes hunting at this time and is even accompanied by his wife as soon as she is able to come.

853 Wagley and Galvão (3, 172) assert that Tapirapé parents must
933 abstain from sexual relations until the child is "weaned." They
[114] may intend this word to refer to the time when the child begins to take other foods aside from its mother's milk, for the latter is taken, whenever possible, for two or three years or even longer. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The Tapirapé seem to believe in magic conception, although
• 842 they know that pregnancy results from sexual relations. On March 31, 1942, Dr. Wagley told me the following story: once, at the beginning of his stay in Tampiitaua, he suddenly heard, "Here comes Dotoí." He knew that this was the name which the women and children of the village used to call me, adding the diminutive i to the title by which the camarada Daniel addressed me [Tr., in Brazilian pronunciation, "Doctor" sounds like doutô]. Wagley, surprised, [123:55] turned around and saw coming toward him not the colleague from São Paulo but a Tapirapé boy. "Where is Dotoí?" he asked. They pointed to the boy. "But Dotoí is far away," he objected. Then they told him that the boy was also called Dotoí because he was the son of the Dotoí from São Paulo. And as proof of this kinship they showed the ethnologist that the boy, like his distant progenitor, had no tembetá orifice in his lower lip as did other Tapirapé boys of his age. In a dry scientific work such as this, it is idle to conjecture what Wagley thought about me then and whether he compared the skin color of Dotoí II with that of the other children. It is enough to say that he is my friend and the most understanding North American I know. Naturally, he did not fail to notice that the boy's age tallied roughly with the number

842 of years that had elapsed since my stay in Tampiitaua. He also noted that Vuanomanchi was playing the part of the boy's father. And Vuanomanchi had been my close friend in 1935.

A few weeks later, Wagley learned that the "child's spirit" is brought to the woman by a good shaman in the course of the journeys he is wont to make in his dreams. The Tapirapé were familiar with my capacity to "dream from Tampiitaua to São Paulo," that is, to make that long trip while my body was asleep in a hammock in Kamairahó's house. They did not doubt that I [123] was a great shaman. Obviously, therefore, they considered me capable of bringing children's spirits. The fact that I was regarded as the carrier of the spirit of Vuanomanchi's son must have been, first and foremost, an acknowledgement of the ties of sympathy between this Indian and myself.

Contrary to some other Indians, such as the Guaikuru described 845 by Sánchez Labrador (II, 30), who kill newborn twins, the Tapirapé 842 like such dual births. Husbands and wives in this Tupi tribe eat [171] linked bananas in order to give birth to twins, preferably of opposite sex. They call both the twins and those double bananas apekunia, and this term is also used when there are three bananas within one skin. Kamairahó said with reference to such a triple banana that it consisted of one boy and two girls. The Tapirapé had never heard of a triple human birth.

In view of their behavior toward twins, it might be assumed 171 that the vagrant life of the Guaikuru led them to infanticide, while 847 the Tapirapé, as farmers tied to the soil, like to have several children and save all those who are born. The way of life of those hunting and herding Indians of the Paraguay basin contributed to their custom of killing some of the newborn babies. On the other 847 hand, it seems that the Tapirapé do not allow every child to live, either. According to what I was told, they think that it is bad for a couple to have more than three children and more than two of the same sex, and hence kill those who are in excess of these numbers. Wagley and Galvão (3, 172) confirm this, adding that the child who is to be killed is buried in a hole dug for the afterbirth inside the 162 house. As was shown in Chapter 5, in Tampiitaua in 1935 there was only one couple with three children who were issue of that same marriage, and none with more. The children were a boy [123:56]

4: Wagley E-5, (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



755 In the midst of this process he stops several times to suck on the body of his patient and finally, with one awful heave, he spews all the accumulated material on the ground. He then searches in this mess for the intrusive object that has been causing the illness. Never once did I see a shaman show the intrusive object to observers. As one treatment a Tapirapé *pančé* usually repeats this process of "eating smoke", sucking, and vomiting several times. Sometimes, when a man of prestige is ill, two or even three shamans will cure side by side in this manner and the noise of violent vomiting resounds throughout the village.

One other method of curing was observed. During an epidemic of fever Panteri made a collective cure to drive fever out of the village and disinfect the people of the village against it. Two men were dispatched to collect wild honey; this was then mixed with water, making a weak honey mixture. Panteri, after first smoking for a time, went from house to house taking the honey mixture in his mouth and spraying it over the house and its occupants. He carefully sprayed and massaged the patients who had fever and removed the foreign substance from their bodies. For several hours he worked, spraying both the inside and outside of the houses, including the central ceremonial house of the men. It was explained that the honey alone did not have a [824] therapeutic effect against fever but sprayed from the mouth of a *pančé* it drove away fevers.

755 795 828 Shamans also protect the Tapirapé against ghosts. All people who see ghosts faint from fright or from the white substance with which the ghost covers their body. Shamans were called to blow smoke over them and to massage this substance from their bodies. During one funeral dance the shaman Panteri "saw many ghosts" in the environs of the village, recognizing some as long-dead relatives of the deceased. By blowing tobacco smoke about and by going among the ghosts with a large mirror he drove them away before they did any harm.

756 842 82 Shamans are necessary in several other life situations other than illness. For instance, shamans are thought among the Tapirapé to control the pregnancy of women. While pregnancy is known to be related to sexual intercourse, conception is thought to take place only when a shaman "brings a child to a woman". Several species of birds,

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



of fish, of insects, and several natural phenomena, especially thunder, have children: that is, they are thought to control "spirits of children" (20). A shaman steals, or more simply, takes spirits of children from these sources and brings them to a woman while she sleeps. Parents who wish children can bring presents to a *pancé* to "make him dream and bring a child to them". Most Tapirapé parents can identify the source of their children and the shaman who brought them. One father explained that he had taken honey to the *pancé* Urukumu, making him dream, and that Urukumu had then traveled to the house of Thunder and brought back a child to his wife. Another gave a present of fish to a shaman who brought back a child from the small fish called piau (*Leporinus* sp.); and yet another gave honey to a *pancé* who brought back a child from the horsefly (Tabanidae). 756 82 842

To the Tapirapé all good and likewise all evil can be laid at the door of the shaman. Consequently a phenomenon such as barrenness is always the fault of the shaman. A barren woman or a man with no children by his wife must have "quarrelled much with the *pancé*". For example, it was clear to Kamairaho that his failure to have children by the three wives with whom he had lived during his lifetime was due to the shaman: "They do not want me to have a child", he said. He had no suspicion concerning his own sterility, even though his present and third wife had had a daughter by her first husband; for according to Tapirapé belief, all men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are biological fathers of child, and Kamairaho was in this manner the "father" of several children. 756 842 [837]

The safety of Tapirapé men depends upon the power of their shaman during the period each October and November when they must swim while they fish and shoot turtles; for in this region of Brazil rivers are infested with alligators, sting rays (*Potamotrygon histrix*), and the carnivorous fish called piranha (Serrasalminae). The Tapirapé also believe that large snakes lurk in deep pools of the rivers ready to wrap themselves around men and pull them beneath the water. During the year men will not swim in deep water unless it is absolutely necessary 225 756 481 825

(20) Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, jacú (*Penelope* sp.), jaboti (*Peophila* sp.), fish as called tukunare (Cichla ocellaris), pacú (*Myletes* sp.), and piranha (*Pygocentrus*), and jakari (*Prochilodus* sp.), were listed as sources of "spirits of children".

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940SP22 Tapirapé SP22



A man now points to the
southwestern horizon and says, "Ware killed all spirits there; they are only 773
spirit souls now." (To the north and east, however, many demon spirits 776
are still alive and active.) Ware engaged in a constant battle of wits with [823]
the spirit world. He killed many of the dangerous variety by setting fire to their stringy hair which trailed behind them, and he also killed off another group of beings which clubbed men to death and drank their blood.

Sometimes shamans (*panche*) see malevolent beings in their dream 756
travels, and may even become friendly with them or receive their aid. For 776
example, one shaman told of wandering far in an unknown forest as he 787
dreamed, and of coming upon the spirits called *oreya*, who have long hair wound in a mass, and who carry only one arrow with which they can kill a man. They were about to shoot him but he shouted "No, I am a shaman!" and they left him alone, gave him food and aided him to return. Only shamans can have such relations with these supernaturals. Tapirape laymen are afraid to dream.

The shaman is indispensable to Tapirape living, not only because he has 756
dealings with the spirit world, and through his wanderings enriches the 842
knowledge of men, but also because he is of value in many practical ways. Thus he controls the pregnancy of women. Pregnancy is known to relate to sexual intercourse, but conception comes only when a shaman brings a child to a woman. Thunder, and several types of birds, animals and fish, [825]
have "children," that is, spirits of children. The shaman brings one of these "spirits" to a woman, putting it inside her while she sleeps. A woman who wants a child can, for example, bring honey to a shaman. This will make [787]
him dream, and he will bring her a child. Similarly, a barren woman presumably "had quarrelled much with the shaman."

When Tapirape swim, while fishing and shooting large turtles in the 756
Tapirape River, their safety depends upon the shaman. In this section of 825
Brazil, rivers are full of alligators, *piranha* (carnivorous fish) and sting 751
rays, and according to Tapirape belief, large snakes lurk in deep pools. [481]
Before men may swim safely the shaman must tie the jaws of the alligators, strike the *piranha* across their teeth so they will not bite, and tie up the tails of the large snakes. When Tapirape go hunting, it is up to the [224]
shaman to tell them where packs of wild pigs will be found, or to lead them down to a good spot in the plains country.[23] Danger may lurk in all food; thus Tapirape often take new corn, fresh meat, or any food, to have danger "blown" out of it by the shaman.

The universe for the Tapirape is not finite or entirely known; it is 772
dangerous. Tales of culture heroes and experiences of shamans provide 756
773

[23] When the Tapirape have made kills of wild pigs, which are "pets" of Thunder he will [821]
be angry and send a sudden rain or clouding of the sky. If a Tapirape sees an unexpected [776]
rainbow in the sky he will say, "The shaman has been successful against Thunder" (i.e., in finding game).

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



abnormalities. Since there is a low incidence of twins and since in several known cases "abnormal" children have been allowed to live, infanticide has had little or no effect upon Tenetehara population trends. The Tenetehara tell of one or two formulas thought to produce abortion. The long taboos imposed on both parents during the pregnancy of the mother and during the early infancy of the child are a source of irritation and discomfort which would seem to tend to discourage large families. But, in general, there is little planned effort among the Tenetehara to limit family size. Men seem proud of several children; women are eager to bear children and they will leave a husband whom they believe to be sterile.

In contrast, the Tapirapé value small families. They take specific steps to limit their families and have explicit ideas as to maximum family size. Not only do the Tapirapé bury twins at birth as do the Tenetehara (and for similar reasons) but they believe that a woman should not have more than three live children. (5) In addition, the three children of a woman should not be of the same sex. In other words, if a woman has two living daughters and her third child is also a girl, it is usually buried at birth. Similarly, if she has two male children and her third is a male, infanticide is in order. Furthermore, all men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers to her child. More than two co-fathers leads to complications. All co-fathers are expected to observe taboos on sexual relations and on the eating of certain meats during the pregnancy of the woman and the early infancy of the child. If there are three, four, or more co—fathers one of them is certain to break these taboos thus endangering the health of the infant; consequently the woman is urged to bury the child. (6)

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12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
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115 124 Tapirapé village which he would have hesitated to relate on home
[837] grounds. He told me of adulterous affairs in process and of the
[578] growing determination among one group of kinsmen to assassinate
[682] Urukumu, the powerful medicine man, because they suspected him
[756] of performing death-dealing sorcery.
[754]

After two weeks in Furo de Pedra, I found that it would be
122 necessary for Valentim Gomes and me to go to Rio de Janeiro. It was not possible for Champukwi to accompany us and so I arranged for two Brazilian frontiersmen to return him to a point on the Tapirapé River from which he could easily hike to his village in a day. Valentim and I then began our slow trip up the Araguaia River to the motor road and thence to Rio de Janeiro. Two months
[132] later, rid of malaria and with a new stock of supplies, we returned to spend the long rainy months from November until the end of
[115] May in the Village of the Tapirs. Champukwi was there to wel-
[123] come us, and he came each day to help repair and enlarge our house.
[309] We easily fell into our former friendly relationship, now strengthened by the experience in common of the trip to Furo de Pedra and by the feeling which many anthropologists have shared with the people of their communities—that anyone who returns is an "old friend."

115 My return to the village that November marked, in a sense, the
123 end of what might be called the first phase of my relationship with Champukwi as friend and as anthropological informant. During the course of at least 200 hours of conversation (many of which may be methodologically dignified as interviews), I had learned much about Champukwi as a person as well as about Tapirapé culture. I knew that as a small boy he had come from Fish Village, where his parents had died, to live in the Village of the Tapirs. He had lived with his father's younger brother, Kamaira, who was the leader
[553] of a large household. He even confided to me his boyhood name;
[551] Tapirapé change their names several times during their lifetimes
[522] and mention of a person's first childhood name, generally that of a fish, an animal, or simply descriptive of some personal characteristic, causes laughter among the audience and considerable embar-
[165] rassment to the individual. I knew that Champukwi had been married before he took his current wife, and that his first wife had died
[843] in childbirth. He revealed that her kinsmen had gossiped that her death was caused by his lack of respect for the food taboos imposed

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upon an expectant father. This same set of taboos now bothered him again. A series of foods, mainly meats and particularly venison, is prohibited to fathers of infants and to husbands of pregnant women. On two excursions to the savanna (which abounds with deer) Champukwi had eaten venison. Moreover, since the Tapirapé identified cattle with deer, and thus beef with venison, he had broken the taboo several additional times by partaking also of this forbidden meat. The rather scrawny conditon of his 2-year-old daughter, he feared, resulted from his faults. Just after our return to the village in early November, his wife gave birth to a second daughter. She had a difficult delivery, and he remembered his transgressions. Several village gossips, without knowing anything about his misdeeds, had nevertheless accused him of this breach of taboo.

Champukwi's home life was not a happy one. He was frequently in conflict with his second wife, who had, indeed, considerable basis for complaint. She could not claim that he was a poor provider, for Champukwi was a good hunter and a diligent gardener. But he confided to me that he did not find her attractive, or at least not as attractive as other women in the village. Champukwi had a lusty sense of humor and enjoyed joking with Valentim and me. In this mood he told of his many extramarital affairs, which were in truth but slightly concealed. I would in any event have heard of these liaisons; he gave his paramours beads which everyone in the village knew I had given him as presents. This practice caused trouble for the women because their husbands could readily identify the source of the gifts. It also created trouble for Champukwi at home. His wife complained of his affairs and on one occasion, according to Champukwi, she attacked him, grabbing him by his pigtail and squeezing his exposed testicles until he fell helpless into a hammock. On other occasions, she retaliated in a manner more usual for a Tapirapé woman—she simply refused to carry drinking water from the creek, to cook food for him, and to allow him to sleep in the hammock which she and Champukwi shared. For a Tapirapé man to carry drinking water, to cook, or to sleep on a mat is considered ridiculously funny. In other circumstances, Champukwi would have had to seek recourse with a female relative. However, to do so would be tantamount to a public announcement of his marital difficulties; the whole village would have known, to their considerable merriment and jest. But having *tori*[1] friends in the village, Champukwi

[1] [i.e. non-Indian -- Analyst]

171 Yves d'Evreux (110) for the Tupinambá, and by Koch-Grünberg
276 (1, I, 128) for the Káua of the upper Aiari. They could not inhale the smoke as I did. Every time they tried, they began to cough violently. My smoke-swallowing demonstrations, when I released the smoke only after having talked and drunk some water, aroused respectful admiration, but no one dared to emulate me. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, two purposes for smoking tobacco can be clearly distinguished: one that is simply recreative and one
[755] that is medicinal. As a medicine, the smoke is blown over painful areas of the body or over the entire body of the patient. A Bakairi told Karl von den Steinen (II, 347) that on the upper Xingu there are two varieties of tobacco, the one smoked for pleasure being much milder than the medicinal one.

To summarize, we may say that the Tapirapé resemble the Tupinambá in the term they use to designate tobacco, in their manner of swallowing smoke, and in the fact that among them only the men smoke. They differ from these Indians, from the Xingu Indians, and from other Tupi tribes in not smoking cigars. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua resemble the northern Karajá and Kayapó in their use of the jequitibá-fruit pipe; they differ from those tribes in their words for tobacco and pipe, and from the Karajá in the fact that only the men smoke in Tampiitaua. [Ed., end of Vol. 122.]

[123:53] Chapter 11

## The Life Cycle of the Individual

### Birth

192 In Tapirapé, aán means "I fall" and "I am born" [Ed., the remainder of the sentence and the remainder of the paragraph are omitted.]

[123] I did not have the opportunity to witness a birth among the
[115] Tapirapé, and I can only relay the information given to me by
844 Reverend Kegel and by the Indians. Childbirth takes place inside the house. While the future father remains in his hammock, the women assist the woman in labor, who is either lying in another hammock with her legs drawn up or supported by horizontal wooden

844 poles. A large pot full of water is placed nearby to wash the mother and child. If the confinement is difficult, a woman presses the mother's belly until the child comes out. The baby is received in the arms of another woman who waits beneath the mother. The umbilical cord is severed with a cane shiver, and the afterbirth is buried. Both father and mother abstain from any food for one day. Both stay in their nets "until the loss of blood 846 ceases, that is, often for several days." There are no food absten- [843] tions for the future parents prior to the birth. For about two years 262 after the birth of the child, the parents give up peanuts and 784 bananas. In addition, the father frequently abstains from those animal foods that are never eaten by the woman, especially tapir, marsh deer, rhea, and alligator, until the child is almost six years [756] old. Only if he is a shaman may he eat of everything. The wife of a shaman, however, does not share this privilege.

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842 of years that had elapsed since my stay in Tampiitaua. He also noted that Vuanomanchi was playing the part of the boy's father. And Vuanomanchi had been my close friend in 1935.

A few weeks later, Wagley learned that the "child's spirit" is brought to the woman by a good shaman in the course of the journeys he is wont to make in his dreams. The Tapirapé were familiar with my capacity to "dream from Tampiitaua to São Paulo," that is, to make that long trip while my body was asleep in a hammock in Kamairahó's house. They did not doubt that I [123] was a great shaman. Obviously, therefore, they considered me capable of bringing children's spirits. The fact that I was regarded as the carrier of the spirit of Vuanomanchi's son must have been, first and foremost, an acknowledgement of the ties of sympathy between this Indian and myself.

845 Contrary to some other Indians, such as the Guaikuru described 842 by Sánchez Labrador (II, 30), who kill newborn twins, the Tapirapé [171] like such dual births. Husbands and wives in this Tupi tribe eat linked bananas in order to give birth to twins, preferably of opposite sex. They call both the twins and those double bananas apekunia, and this term is also used when there are three bananas within one skin. Kamairahó said with reference to such a triple banana that it consisted of one boy and two girls. The Tapirapé had never heard of a triple human birth.

In view of their behavior toward twins, it might be assumed 171 that the vagrant life of the Guaikuru led them to infanticide, while 847 the Tapirapé, as farmers tied to the soil, like to have several children and save all those who are born. The way of life of those hunting and herding Indians of the Paraguay basin contributed to their custom of killing some of the newborn babies. On the other 847 hand, it seems that the Tapirapé do not allow every child to live, either. According to what I was told, they think that it is bad for a couple to have more than three children and more than two of the same sex, and hence kill those who are in excess of these numbers. Wagley and Galvão (3, 172) confirm this, adding that the child who is to be killed is buried in a hole dug for the afterbirth inside the house. As was shown in Chapter 5, in Tampiitaua in 1935 there was 162 only one couple with three children who were issue of that same marriage, and none with more. The children were a boy [123:56]

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844 poles. A large pot full of water is placed nearby to wash the mother and child. If the confinement is difficult, a woman presses the mother's belly until the child comes out. The baby is received in the arms of another woman who waits beneath the mother. The umbilical cord is severed with a cane shiver, and the afterbirth is buried. Both father and mother abstain from any food for one day. Both stay in their nets "until the loss of blood 846 ceases, that is, often for several days." There are no food absten- [843] tions for the future parents prior to the birth. For about two years 262 after the birth of the child, the parents give up peanuts and 784 bananas. In addition, the father frequently abstains from those animal foods that are never eaten by the woman, especially tapir, marsh deer, rhea, and alligator, until the child is almost six years [756] old. Only if he is a shaman may he eat of everything. The wife of a shaman, however, does not share this privilege.

The Tapirapé believe that the child will die if these absten- [761] tions are not observed. They say that in this case death would not be caused by an evil sorcerer, as they usually believe, but by the food that should not be consumed and that turns evil when it is eaten. And they add that in such cases the Whites have many medicines that might save the child, while the Tapirapé do not have any, and so among them the child would be lost. [123:54] When I offered them deer meat, which is coveted by all Tampiitaua men (perhaps because it is a type of game that, although abundant, is seldom killed without firearms), it was not accepted by the fathers of one-year-old children. Even Urukumy who, as a shaman, could have eaten the meat, was careful to pass it on to someone else after courteously accepting it from me.

The abstention from bananas and peanuts is impressive when we consider the important role played by these foods in the Tapirapé [165] diet. It is possible that the high mortality among children during the first two years of life may have led to such onerous rules. [755] Actually, these Indians assert that their Karajá neighbors and the Whites eat of anything when their child is ill, while Tapirapé parents, in such cases, subsist exclusively on mahioc flour and maize and manioc cauí, even when the child is older than six.

The behavior of Indian parents toward the newborn recalls to 171 some extent a custom of the colonists of São Bonifácio, in the state 946 of Santa Catarina, who come for the most part from Westphalia.

171 According to Francisco S.G.Schaden (30), the fathers in this
●846 locality, accompanied by their wives, visit the new mother on the Sunday following the birth and must not refuse a draught of spirits at the time of this so-called Kindchenkaffee, for otherwise it is said that the newborn child would be unable to urinate. We see, therefore, that in this case the child's well-being hinges on the behavior of its parents' friends.

Among certain South American tribes, the father is not per-
[224] mitted to go hunting during the first few days following the birth (cf. Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 136). I was told that the Tapirapé goes hunting at this time and is even accompanied by his wife as soon as she is able to come.

853 Wagley and Galvão (3, 172) assert that Tapirapé parents must
833 abstain from sexual relations until the child is "weaned." They
[114] may intend this word to refer to the time when the child begins to take other foods aside from its mother's milk, for the latter is taken, whenever possible, for two or three years or even longer. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The Tapirapé seem to believe in magic conception, although
842 they know that pregnancy results from sexual relations. On March 31, 1942, Dr. Wagley told me the following story: once, at the beginning of his stay in Tampiitaua, he suddenly heard, "Here comes Dotoí." He knew that this was the name which the women and children of the village used to call me, adding the diminutive i to the title by which the camarada Daniel addressed me [Tr., in Brazilian pronunciation, "Doctor" sounds like doutô]. Wagley, surprised, [123:55] turned around and saw coming toward him not the colleague from São Paulo but a Tapirapé boy. "Where is Dotoí?" he asked. They pointed to the boy. "But Dotoí is far away," he objected. Then they told him that the boy was also called Dotoí because he was the son of the Dotoí from São Paulo. And as proof of this kinship they showed the ethnologist that the boy, like his distant progenitor, had no tembetá orifice in his lower lip as did other Tapirapé boys of his age. In a dry scientific work such as this, it is idle to conjecture what Wagley thought about me then and whether he compared the skin color of Dotoí II with that of the other other children. It is enough to say that he is my friend and the most understanding North American I know. Naturally, he did not fail to notice that the boy's age tallied roughly with the number

162 of about four, a girl of about 11, and another girl of less than a year. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

171/ 846 We see, therefore, that the Tapirapé resemble the Karajá and Kayapó, as well as Indians of the upper Xingu basin, the Tupinambá, and other Tupi tribes, in practicing the couvade. [Ed., end of Vol. 123.]

553 [192] [124:139] In Tapirapé, herang means "name" and corresponds to the word héra cited by Montoya (2, II, 154) and céra by Stradelli (413). The inhabitants of Tampiitaua told me that, among them, it is the mother who gives the newborn baby a name and who [304] perforates the lower lip and ear lobes of a boy with a bone pin at dawn of the day following birth. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

551 No two or more Tapirapé ever bear the same name at the same time. I was able to discover the meaning of only a few. Animal names prevail among the women. In 1935 there was a woman over 40 years old whose name was Purangkeí, that is, "little electric eel." Another, about 35 years old, was called Tamanuaí, or "great anteater" with [124:140] the addition of the diminutive i, and an old woman of about 45 had the name Anampaí, anampá being a fresh-water eel. A girl of 11 was called Chauevuyra, that is, "fresh-water ray," and another girl of six Tanchahó, the name of the white-lipped peccary. In 1947 there was a year-old girl whose name, Kaí, is that of the capuchin monkey. Among the men, I only found one in 1935 whose name I could identify with that of an animal, and it was a generic name, Vuyraí, "little bird," a somewhat humorous appellation in view of the man s thick, robust body. Other translatable names, aside from those of animals, are Kanuana, belonging to an eight-year-old girl, meaning "thunder" and "gourd rattle," and the names of two boys I knew in 1947, who were two and four years old, respectively, Yvytí, "wind," and Ekonomíchinga, "white boy."

171/ 551 According to Gabriel Soares de Sousa (370), the Tupinambá bore the names of "animals, fish, birds, trees, foods, weapons and various other things," according to Staden (r 1) of "forest animals," and according to Vicente de Salvador (41) of "animals, plants, or whatever chances to come before their eyes."

000 This last author also notes about those Indians that "... they do not regard killing as prowess unless they break heads, even

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



upon an expectant father. This same set of taboos now bothered him again. A series of foods, mainly meats and particularly venison, is prohibited to fathers of infants and to husbands of pregnant women. On two excursions to the savanna (which abounds with deer) Champukwi had eaten venison. Moreover, since the Tapirapé identified cattle with deer, and thus beef with venison, he had broken the taboo several additional times by partaking also of this forbidden meat. The rather scrawny conditon of his 2-year-old daughter, he feared, resulted from his faults. Just after our return to the village in early November, his wife gave birth to a second daughter. She had a difficult delivery, and he remembered his transgressions. Several village gossips, without knowing anything about his misdeeds, had nevertheless accused him of this breach of taboo.

Champukwi's home life was not a happy one. He was frequently in conflict with his second wife, who had, indeed, considerable basis for complaint. She could not claim that he was a poor provider, for Champukwi was a good hunter and a diligent gardener. But he confided to me that he did not find her attractive, or at least not as attractive as other women in the village. Champukwi had a lusty sense of humor and enjoyed joking with Valentim and me. In this mood he told of his many extramarital affairs, which were in truth but slightly concealed. I would in any event have heard of these liaisons; he gave his paramours beads which everyone in the village knew I had given him as presents. This practice caused trouble for the women because their husbands could readily identify the source of the gifts. It also created trouble for Champukwi at home. His wife complained of his affairs and on one occasion, according to Champukwi, she attacked him, grabbing him by his pigtail and squeezing his exposed testicles until he fell helpless into a hammock. On other occasions, she retaliated in a manner more usual for a Tapirapé woman—she simply refused to carry drinking water from the creek, to cook food for him, and to allow him to sleep in the hammock which she and Champukwi shared. For a Tapirapé man to carry drinking water, to cook, or to sleep on a mat is considered ridiculously funny. In other circumstances, Champukwi would have had to seek recourse with a female relative. However, to do so would be tantamount to a public announcement of his marital difficulties; the whole village would have known, to their considerable merriment and jest. But having *tori* friends in the village, Champukwi

[i.e. non-Indian -- Analyst]

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

**Champukwi of the Village of the Tapir.**

Champukwi sketched for me the stories of Petura, the Tapirapé ancestral hero who stole fire from the King Vulture, daylight from the night owl, *genipa* (used for dye) from the monkeys, and other items for the Tapirapé. However, he persuaded Maeumi, an elder famous for his knowledge of mythology, to relate the details although he himself helped considerably to clarify for me the meaning of native phrases and to make the stories told by Maeumi more fully understandable. Champukwi also forewarned me of events that I might want to witness, events that without his warning I might have missed. Such were the wrestling matches which took place upon the return of a hunting party between those men who went on the hunt and those who remained at home. He told me of a particularly handsome basket a man had made, which I might want to add to my collection for the Brazilian National Museum. He came to tell me that a young woman in a neighboring house was in labor, thus enabling me to get a photograph of the newborn infant being washed in the stream, and he urged the men to celebrate for my benefit a ceremony which might easily have been omitted. Champukwi was no longer merely an informant. He became a participant in ethnographic research although, of course, he never thought of it in these terms. He seemed somehow to understand the anthropologist's task in studying his culture, and in the process he gained considerable objectivity about his own way of life.

Yet it must be said that Champukwi did not seem to discredit the norms, institutions, and beliefs of his own people. Although he saw Valentim and me walk safely down the path through the forest late at night, he steadfastly refused to do the same; for the path was a favorite haunt of the lonely ghosts of deceased Tapirapé who might harm the living. He reasoned that the *tori* were probably immune to this danger. When he was ill, he took the pills we urged upon him but he also called in the shaman. His curiosity about airplanes, automobiles, and "gigantic canoes" (passenger boats) which he saw pictured in the magazines we had brought with us, was great; but he boasted that the Tapirapé could walk farther and faster than any *tori* or even the Caraja (who are a canoe people). In fact, his interest in, and enthusiasm for, certain Tapirapé activities seemed to be heightened by our presence. Almost all Tapirapé ceremonials involve choral singing and Champukwi was a singing leader of one of the sections of the men's societies. He was always pleased when

842 of years that had elapsed since my stay in Tampiitaua. He also noted that Vuanomanchi was playing the part of the boy's father. And Vuanomanchi had been my close friend in 1935.

A few weeks later, Wagley learned that the "child's spirit" is brought to the woman by a good shaman in the course of the journeys he is wont to make in his dreams. The Tapirapé were familiar with my capacity to "dream from Tampiitaua to São Paulo," that is, to make that long trip while my body was asleep in a hammock in Kamairahó's house. They did not doubt that I [123] was a great shaman. Obviously, therefore, they considered me capable of bringing children's spirits. The fact that I was regarded as the carrier of the spirit of Vuanomanchi's son must have been, first and foremost, an acknowledgement of the ties of sympathy between this Indian and myself.

845 Contrary to some other Indians, such as the Guaikuru described by Sánchez Labrador (II, 30), who kill newborn twins, the Tapirapé 842 like such dual births. Husbands and wives in this Tupi tribe eat [171] linked bananas in order to give birth to twins, preferably of opposite sex. They call both the twins and those double bananas apekunia, and this term is also used when there are three bananas within one skin. Kamairahó said with reference to such a triple banana that it consisted of one boy and two girls. The Tapirapé had never heard of a triple human birth.

In view of their behavior toward twins, it might be assumed 171 that the vagrant life of the Guaikuru led them to infanticide, while 847 the Tapirapé, as farmers tied to the soil, like to have several children and save all those who are born. The way of life of those hunting and herding Indians of the Paraguay basin contributed to their custom of killing some of the newborn babies. On the other 847 hand, it seems that the Tapirapé do not allow every child to live, either. According to what I was told, they think that it is bad for a couple to have more than three children and more than two of the same sex, and hence kill those who are in excess of these numbers. Wagley and Galvão (3, 172) confirm this, adding that the child who is to be killed is buried in a hole dug for the afterbirth inside the 162 house. As was shown in Chapter 5, in Tampiitaua in 1935 there was only one couple with three children who were issue of that same marriage, and none with more. The children were a boy [123:56]

162 What strikes us in the above table is, on the one hand, the small number of children in relation to adults (18 individuals through 15 years of age and 41 over 15 years of age), and, on the other hand, [165] the brevity of the life span (only ten individuals were over 30). Only one man and one woman were slightly over 40.

According to the reports that I received in October, 1947, from [115] Mr. Valentim Gomes, the man in charge of the Indian post Heloisa Alberto Torres, and from Father M. H. Lelong at Conceição do Araguaia, the numerical ratios listed above underwent modifications [726] caused by the Kaiapó [Cayapo] attack on Tampiltáua at the end of August, in the course of which three women were killed and two women and one boy were abducted. Of the 59 individuals examined, therefore, there remained 31 males and 22 females.

[847] Aside from illness, the custom of killing newborn children under certain circumstances contributes to the decimation of the tribe.

Of the changes in Tapirapé culture which occurred since my first 178 visit 12 years ago, I wish to mention primarily the scarcity of 262 vegetable foods. The literature on these peaceful and industrious 241 Tupi Indians contains numerous references to their large plots. I may add that in the quantity and variety of their garden produce they outstripped not only the neighboring tribes but also the frontier people. In 1935, in the months of June to August, I found the village provided abundantly with the most delicious bananas, five varieties of manioc and numerous other tubers, beans, peanuts, and maize. In 1947, at the same time of year, I found almost nothing of the sort as I went through all the houses. It had become difficult to obtain a few bananas, a little cará [Tr., a variety of yam], or manioc cake. The general deficiency showed even in the size of the peanuts, for the length of their pods and seeds had decreased by nearly half, apparently owing to the quality of the soil in the new gardens. Naturally, such [574] a change in the food situation affects the tribal behavior pattern, restraining, for example, the formerly unlimited Tapirapé hospitality.

It is true that this may also have resulted in part from contact 177 with the neighboring Whites who have settled on the Tapirapé River [648] over the past few years. As a rule, these frontiersmen either have nothing to offer or sell their surplus to buy salt and clothes. Their 177 body is undernourished, but their culture compels them to clothe it. 291 Thus, instead of satisfying the appetites of their Indian visitors, they

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 50



by Bento Maciel Parente in 1616 made war upon the Tenetehara. Epidemics, which raged in the early 17th century among the Indian populations of northeast Brazil, certainly reached the Tenetehara. From time to time smallpox, measles, and other diseases have taken a heavy toll among these Indians. The impact of the dominant culture upon the Tenetehara was more intense than it has been upon the Tapirapé. In addition to differences in the nature of the contact continuum, factors inherent in the society and the culture of the two tribes were responsible for the reaction of these societies to Luso-Brazilian contact and for the population trends which followed. Since the Tenetehara and the Tapirapé have historically related cultures sharing many patterns and institutions common to most Tupi speaking tribes, a comparison of the two societies and cultures should allow us to determine the variables responsible for their contrasting reactions.

The subsistence methods of the tribes were in aboriginal times basically similar. Both were tropical forest horticulturalists depending upon hunting, fishing, and forest fruits to supplement their diet. For fishing, the Tenetehara had an advantage since their villages were normally situated near rivers and streams while the Tapirapé villages were located inland many kilometers from the river. In hunting, the Tapirapé had the advantage of nearby open plains country where hunting was more productive than in the tropical forest. Neither tribe had a land problem: the nearest village of the Karajá, who were Tapirapé neighbors, was at least two hundred kilometers away and the Timbira neighbors of the Tenetehara were savanna people offering no competition for forest land. Both tribes during aboriginal times had sufficient territory to move their villages every five or six years when suitable garden sites near their villages had been used up by the slash-and-burn system of horticulture. The two tribes inhabited similar physical environments and they had approximately the same technological equipment to cope with it. Their technology and their subsistence methods must have limited the maximum population of any one village and there are indications that approximately two hundred people was the average village size for both groups. On the other hand, a lack of territory evidently did not enforce a limitation on the number of villages for the tribe. Yet while the Tapirapé tell of only five villages in aboriginal times many times that number are reported by early observers for the Tenetehara. Although specific data is not available, it seems that in aboriginal times Tapirapé population was relatively small and stable while the Tenetehara population was at least twice as large and probably expanding.

This difference in population level between the two tribes in aboriginal times was related to the population policies held by the two groups as well as to differences in social structure of the groups concerned. These cultural values relating to population level are explicit in attitudes toward family size and in positive actions to limit families. Among the Tenetehara infanticide is indicated only in the case of the birth of twins since they are believed to be the result of sexual relations between the mother and a dangerous supernatural and in the case of infants with certain supernaturally caused

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506



abnormalities. Since there is a low incidence of twins and since in several known cases "abnormal" children have been allowed to live, infanticide has had little or no effect upon Tenetehara population trends. The Tenetehara tell of one or two formulas thought to produce abortion. The long taboos imposed on both parents during the pregnancy of the mother and during the early infancy of the child are a source of irritation and discomfort which would seem to tend to discourage large families. But, in general, there is little planned effort among the Tenetehara to limit family size. Men seem proud of several children; women are eager to bear children and they will leave a husband whom they believe to be sterile.

Te 847 [845] Te [843] Te 842 [168] [586]

In contrast, the Tapirapé value small families. They take specific steps to limit their families and have explicit ideas as to maximum family size. Not only do the Tapirapé bury twins at birth as do the Tenetehara (and for similar reasons) but they believe that a woman should not have more than three live children. (5) In addition, the three children of a woman should not be of the same sex. In other words, if a woman has two living daughters and her third child is also a girl, it is usually buried at birth. Similarly, if she has two male children and her third is a male, infanticide is in order. Furthermore, all men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers to her child. More than two co-fathers leads to complications. All co-fathers are expected to observe taboos on sexual relations and on the eating of certain meats during the pregnancy of the woman and the early infancy of the child. If there are three, four, or more co—fathers one of them is certain to break these taboos thus endangering the health of the infant; consequently the woman is urged to bury the child. (6)

Ta 168 842 847 [845] Ta 168 351 847 [843]

On an overt level, the Tapirapé justify these checks on population by saying, "We do not want thin children" or "They would be hungry". They enlarge upon such statements by adding that it is difficult for a father to supply a large family with meat from hunting. In aboriginal times, manioc was plentiful and no one lacked the tubers with which to manufacture flour but meat was especially scarce during the rainy season when the forest is partially flooded and the paths to the savanna country are impassable. In addition, a complex set of food taboos make the job of supplying meat for a family more difficult. Children before adolescence are allowed to eat only specific meats and women are prohibited others. When a Tapirapé says "I am hungry" he generally means by implication:

Ta 168 842 Ta 262

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12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



601 **Kinship.**—Kinship is more important in furthering solidarity among
[182] the *Tapirapé* than either the moieties or the feast groups. *Tapirapé* kin-
[611] ship is bilateral, its chief principle being that all cousins, whether cross- or parallel-cousins, no matter how distant, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of people calling each other siblings are also called siblings. Mother's sisters are called mother, and father's brothers, father. Mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, a man's brothers' children are considered his sons and daughters, and a woman's sisters' children are her children. Children of a man's sisters or a woman's brothers are given special terms.

[621] The wide inclusiveness of kinship affiliation makes it possible for an
[178] individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers—and in former days many people in other villages—by terms of close relationship.

554 An older man of some prestige gathers around him by adoption as many
581 "daughters" or as many of his wife's "daughters" as possible. By the
597 marriage of these "daughters," he attracts a group of younger men within
592 his household who contribute constantly to his larder through the hunt and garden activities. At present, only three of the nine houses in the village were formed in this way, but reduced numbers, we were told, forced various combinations of relatives to share a household.

## LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth.**—Although aware that pregnancy is brought about by sexual intercourse, the *Tapirapé* believe that conception takes place when a shaman, serving as intermediary, brings a "child spirit" to the woman. Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, and various fish and insects are supposed to contain child spirits.

843 When the woman is certain that she is pregnant, she tells her husband. They both paint their bodies with genipa and cover their hair with urucú. During the first few days of pregnancy, no restraints are imposed upon the child's parents, but as birth approaches, all sexual contact must cease.
[851] All men who have sexual relations with a woman during her pregnancy are considered fathers of the future child, together with the real father.

844 At childbirth the woman is assisted by her mother and sister and by two male relatives. The husband retires to his hammock and is forbidden to partake of any liquid refreshment.

847 Infanticide is practiced because it is considered bad to have more than three children, or two children of the same sex. The fourth child, or third of the same sex, of one mother is buried in a hole dug inside the residence for the afterbirth.

852 On the day after birth, a male child has his lower lip perforated. Until
304 the child is weaned, the parents must refrain from sexual relations and
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844 At childbirth the woman is assisted by her mother and sister and by two male relatives. The husband retires to his hammock and is forbidden to partake of any liquid refreshment.

847 Infanticide is practiced because it is considered bad to have more than three children, or two children of the same sex. The fourth child, or third of the same sex, of one mother is buried in a hole dug inside the residence for the afterbirth.

852 On the day after birth, a male child has his lower lip perforated. Until
304 the child is weaned, the parents must refrain from sexual relations and
851 must not eat salt, sugar, honey, or the meat of various animals and forest
262 fowls. Both boys and girls also are restricted in their meat diet. A son

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



601 **Kinship.**—Kinship is more important in furthering solidarity among
[182] the *Tapirapé* than either the moieties or the feast groups. *Tapirapé* kin-
[611] ship is bilateral, its chief principle being that all cousins, whether cross- or parallel-cousins, no matter how distant, are considered brothers and sisters. Children of people calling each other siblings are also called siblings. Mother's sisters are called mother, and father's brothers, father. Mother's brothers and father's sisters are distinguished by special terms. Similarly, a man's brothers' children are considered his sons and daughters, and a woman's sisters' children are her children. Children of a man's sisters or a woman's brothers are given special terms.

[621] The wide inclusiveness of kinship affiliation makes it possible for an
[178] individual to call the majority of his fellow villagers—and in former days many people in other villages—by terms of close relationship.

554 An older man of some prestige gathers around him by adoption as many
581 "daughters" or as many of his wife's "daughters" as possible. By the
597 marriage of these "daughters," he attracts a group of younger men within
592 his household who contribute constantly to his larder through the hunt and garden activities. At present, only three of the nine houses in the village were formed in this way, but reduced numbers, we were told, forced various combinations of relatives to share a household.

## LIFE CYCLE

842 **Childbirth.**—Although aware that pregnancy is brought about by sexual intercourse, the *Tapirapé* believe that conception takes place when a shaman, serving as intermediary, brings a "child spirit" to the woman. Thunder, night, monkeys, wild pigs, and various fish and insects are supposed to contain child spirits.

843 When the woman is certain that she is pregnant, she tells her husband. They both paint their bodies with genipa and cover their hair with urucú. During the first few days of pregnancy, no restraints are imposed upon the child's parents, but as birth approaches, all sexual contact must cease.
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852 On the day after birth, a male child has his lower lip perforated. Until
304 the child is weaned, the parents must refrain from sexual relations and
851 must not eat salt, sugar, honey, or the meat of various animals and forest
262 fowls. Both boys and girls also are restricted in their meat diet. A son

171 252 writes: "The natives eat these cotton seeds crushed and then boiled into a mush which they call mingau."

At the time of my stays among the Tapirapé, the monoví-
272 kauí was the kind most frequently used and the one I myself took most often. I confess that I liked this drink so much and developed such nostalgia for it that in 1947, when I again met the people whose hammocks had hung beside mine 12 years earlier, the first wish I expressed was this, "Monoví-kauí." It is worth noting
114 that Gabriel Soares de Sousa (203), in describing the use of the
171 peanut among the Tupinambá, does not mention it in connection
272 with the preparation of a liquid. The same applies to squash, incidentally, of which, according to the sixteenth century Portuguese author (ibid., 201), "there are ten or 12 varieties" called gerumús by the Tupinambá of Bahia. The Tapirapé drink made
272 with crumbled squash is called kuruá-kauí. Kuruá may not be
[137] one of the "varieties" of "gerumús" known in Bahia, but like them, in any case, it belongs to the edible Cucurbitaceae.

The vegetable substances used in preparing the various kinds
[462] of Tapirapé kauí are crumbled or mashed by the women in three different ways, namely, between the hands, in the mortar, and between the teeth. Squash and bananas go between the hands; maize and manioc, the latter previously soaked in water and then sun-dried, go into the mortar; while maize, manioc, peanuts, and cotton seeds are chewed. In the Tapirapé language, amatykú
[192] means "I chew," and andjahák, "I pound." [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 257, p. 258, and the first paragraph on p. 259 are omitted.]

[115:259] The custom of turning a food into mush by chewing
252 it is used by the Tapirapé not only to make cauí, but for the two
[757] following purposes: they chew peanuts to make a paste with which they anoint their bodies when they have been made ill by spoiled manioc, and they chew certain foods and give the mush to nursing
•[853] children. These children are also given true cauí. It is to be supposed that observing the already considerable saccharification that takes place in chewing led the Indians to apply this procedure to the preparation of their favorite food. [Ed., the last paragraph on p. 259 and p. 260, which concludes the section in Vol. 115, are omitted.]

[116:55] Like the Tupinambá, the Tapirapé have three stages
272 in the preparation of their masticated-fermented drink: (1) they

171 According to Francisco S.G.Schaden (30), the fathers in this
846 locality, accompanied by their wives, visit the new mother on the Sunday following the birth and must not refuse a draught of spirits at the time of this so-called Kindchenkaffee, for otherwise it is said that the newborn child would be unable to urinate. We see, therefore, that in this case the child's well-being hinges on the behavior of its parents' friends.

Among certain South American tribes, the father is not per-
[224] mitted to go hunting during the first few days following the birth (cf. Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 136). I was told that the Tapirapé goes hunting at this time and is even accompanied by his wife as soon as she is able to come.

●853 Wagley and Galvão (3, 172) assert that Tapirapé parents must
933 abstain from sexual relations until the child is "weaned." They
[114] may intend this word to refer to the time when the child begins to take other foods aside from its mother s milk, for the latter is taken, whenever possible, for two or three years or even longer. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The Tapirapé seem to believe in magic conception, although
842 they know that pregnancy results from sexual relations. On March 31, 1942, Dr. Wagley told me the following story: once, at the beginning of his stay in Tampiitaua, he suddenly heard, "Here comes Dotoí." He knew that this was the name which the women and children of the village used to call me, adding the diminutive i to the title by which the camarada Daniel addressed me [Tr., in Brazilian pronunciation, "Doctor" sounds like doutô]. Wagley, surprised, [123:55] turned around and saw coming toward him not the colleague from São Paulo but a Tapirapé boy. "Where is Dotoí?" he asked. They pointed to the boy. "But Dotoí is far away," he objected. Then they told him that the boy was also called Dotoí because he was the son of the Dotoí from São Paulo. And as proof of this kinship they showed the ethnologist that the boy, like his distant progenitor, had no tembetá orifice in his lower lip as did other Tapirapé boys of his age. In a dry scientific work such as this, it is idle to conjecture what Wagley thought about me then and whether he compared the skin color of Dotoí II with that of the other other children. It is enough to say that he is my friend and the most understanding North American I know. Naturally, he did not fail to notice that the boy's age tallied roughly with the number

855 respected by the latter through abstentions to which they submit
[784] for the child's sake over a long period of time, and not only when
the child is sick. The period of physical contact also lasts longer
853 than among us. Although the statement of Father Vicente de
[114] Salvador (37), according to which certain Tupinambá mothers
[171] nursed their children "seven or eight years" is exaggerated, we
may assume that the same thing occurred among those Tupi as we
observed among the Tapirapé and numerous other Brazilian tribes,
that is to say, a child who already plays and runs about with other
children without adult supervision and who still nurses at his mother's
[171] breast. According to Lipkind (2, 187), Karajá children sleep with
513 their mother until they stop nursing. In Tampiitaua, I found one
boy and one girl, each a year old, two girls of three years, and
one girl of four years who slept with both parents in the same net
in 1935, and two girls of one year who did so in 1947. In 1935,
I found one girl of a few months, one girl of less than a year, one
girl a little over a year, and one boy of three who slept with their
mother, and in 1947 I found one boy of one year, one boy of two,
and one boy of four who did the same. I found one girl and one
boy of four and one girl of six who slept with their father in 1935
(the mother slept in an adjoining hammock with a smaller child)
and one boy of two who did so in 1947. In that same year, a girl
of about 10 slept with her father, a man of 35, while his wife,
about seven months pregnant, who was not the girl's mother, slept
in the next hammock. And in 1935, a boy of six slept with his
mother's older sister while the mother slept in another house with
her husband, who was not the boy's father.

The Tapirapé adorn the children with special care. I showed
301 in Chapter 6 (Photo. 13) how even before the birth they make
854 tamankuá for a child's ankles. When he is born, they proceed to
adorn him with the traditional ornaments of the tribe, [127:233]
and in addition they hang beads obtained from the Whites around his
neck. Like everything else they may give him, these beads are
[422] acknowledged henceforth as the child's property. A museum collec-
tor may sometimes have difficulty obtaining an object owned ex-
clusively by a child not yet old enough to understand his wish.

I was moved when I saw a Tapirapé mother attempt to protect
854 her weeks-old baby against the strong noon sun while crossing the
village plaza. She held it close against her abdomen and ran bent

291 (cf. Photos. 5, 25, 69). This may corroborate the conjecture of
[114] the evolutionist Von den Steinen (2, 192) that the waist cord for-
[174] merly had the function of the penis sheath. Among present-day
Tapirapé this cord may be regarded, along with the tembetá, as
[482] a prerogative of the males. It is rarely used to carry [105:88]
[412] things. Occasionally they will hang a comb from it, or in recent
times a pair of scissors as well.

Dr. Charles Wagley told me that in 1939 he found straps for
114 carrying children that were worn by the Tapirapé women over the
● 854 shoulder and across the chest. In 1937, Dominican missionaries
177 had gone up the Tapirapé River with large quantities of fabrics.
The straps were made of those fabrics. It is interesting to note
that in 1935 there were no such objects in existence. It is inter-
esting because it would have been possible to carry the children
in small hammocks. Furthermore, I had given away many pieces
of cloth which could have been used as straps for carrying children.
[171] Such straps not only are used by the neighboring Kayapó (Krause,
2, 394) but are also a typical cultural trait of the Tupí Indians.
[Ed., two sentences are omitted.] It is worth noting, however,
that straps for carrying children are not used by the eastern neigh-
bors of the Tapirapé, that is to say, the Karajá (Krause 2, 276
and Plates 12, 37, and 42).

In the case of the Tapirapé, it was apparently the numerous
pieces of fabric brought by the Dominicans in 1937 that played a
decisive role in the introduction of straps for carrying children. In
291 1935, all the fabrics and cloth articles coming from our factories
177 had a merely decorative function among those Indians. The men
[562] alone used them, since most adornments are prerogatives of their
[301] sex and such impressive ornaments as those made of feathers and
claws are worn only by them. Kamairahó, the most important
chief, liked best of all to wear a red dress which his wife had re-
ceived as a gift. Thus, the aim the giver had in mind, probably
inspired by catechizing hopes, was missed entirely for the lady
remained altogether naked while her husband was covered down to
177 the knees and below. It is worth noting, however, that in the even-
29 ing, when Kamairahó retired, he would undress and carefully fold
513 the garment. Thus, at an hour when every protection against the
mosquitoes and the cold would have seemed to me exceedingly

855 respected by the latter through abstentions to which they submit
[784] for the child's sake over a long period of time, and not only when the child is sick. The period of physical contact also lasts longer
853 than among us. Although the statement of Father Vicente de
[114] Salvador (37), according to which certain Tupinambá mothers
[171] nursed their children "seven or eight years" is exaggerated, we may assume that the same thing occurred among those Tupi as we observed among the Tapirapé and numerous other Brazilian tribes, that is to say, a child who already plays and runs about with other children without adult supervision and who still nurses at his mother's
[171] breast. According to Lipkind (2, 187), Karajá children sleep with their mother until they stop nursing. In Tampiitaua, I found one
513 boy and one girl, each a year old, two girls of three years, and one girl of four years who slept with both parents in the same net in 1935, and two girls of one year who did so in 1947. In 1935, I found one girl of a few months, one girl of less than a year, one girl a little over a year, and one boy of three who slept with their mother, and in 1947 I found one boy of one year, one boy of two, and one boy of four who did the same. I found one girl and one boy of four and one girl of six who slept with their father in 1935 (the mother slept in an adjoining hammock with a smaller child) and one boy of two who did so in 1947. In that same year, a girl of about 10 slept with her father, a man of 35, while his wife, about seven months pregnant, who was not the girl s mother, slept in the next hammock. And in 1935, a boy of six slept with his mother's older sister while the mother slept in another house with her husband, who was not the boy's father.

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854 her weeks-old baby against the strong noon sun while crossing the village plaza. She held it close against her abdomen and ran bent

854 over so that the child lay in the shadow of the woman's nude body. Only when she reached the house did the mother hold herself erect and take the child in her arms again.

171 As a rule, when carried, the Tampiitaua child rides on the hip
859 of the adult, who holds him with the hand. We also saw this among the Karajá (cf. also Krause 2, 276). I did not observe in either tribe the use of straps for carrying children, which I dealt with in some detail in Chapter 6. Although Tupinambá women, according to Fernão Cardim (170), carried their children "wrapped in hammock strips," they held them in the Tapirapé fashion, "like gypsies, straddling the hip." And just as among the inhabitants of Tampiitaua, so also among the ancient eastern Tupi, according to Vicente de Salvador (37), fathers as well as mothers carried the children in their arms.

171 Referring to the Taulipáng, Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 147) notes
861 that it is extremely rare for parents to speak harshly to their child or to spank him, and adds, "I never saw corrective punishment." This could be said of nearly all Brazilian tribes, and especially of the Tapirapé. Fernão Cardim (170) notes of the Tupinambá that they did not subject their children to "punishments of any sort." Among the Karajá, according to Lipkind (2, 187), "sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children" [cited in English]. Tapirapé parents usually laugh at a crying child, unless he is sick.

736 In Tampiitaua in 1935, I found nine children under ten who had neither father nor mother, six of whom were boys, namely, one of three years, three of five years, and two of eight years, and three girls between six and eight. Among the latter, one hung her net beside that of her father's brother, and another had hers in her stepmother's home. One of the five-year-old boys hung his net beside that of his father's sister. I found no close relatives for the other six orphans. The fate of the youngest one, the boy of three, was not an enviable one. He served as the village plaything, and he was the victim of everyone's moods, good and bad. He was dirty and sad. The older orphans, however, were not in such a lamentable state and were not distinguishable in behavior [127:234] from other children of the same age. According to Wagley and Galvão (4, 76), in the Tupi tribe of the Tenetehara (Guajajara) of Maranhão, only

177 301 the favorite ornament of both sexes, of adults as well as children (cf. Photos. 3, 4, 5, 8, and many others).

The Tapirapé showed the same love for those beads as did the 301 Karajá, wanting always the smallest and whitest ones (cf. Photo. [171] 2) and showing intense dislike for those of other colors and those made of clear [105:90] glass. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the beads I saw were used merely as necklaces. It is true that these Indians are also very fond of deck- [855] ing out their children in these ornaments, and the larger the number of beads at the neck of a girl, the more beautiful she seems in everyone's eyes. People often borrow beads from each other to enhance this sort of beauty, and not only do married couples use their beads in turn, but this is also done between parents and children and between friends belonging to different families.

Beads were the object of the only theft between two Tapirapé [674] committed during my stay at Tampiitáua. When Maeyma was deserted by his wife and hung his hammock next to that of Taipá, a matronly widow, she appeared on the following morning with beads around her neck. [Ed., the last sentence, which concludes the section in Vol. 105, is omitted; there is no section in Vol. 106.]

[107:107] Tapirapé of both sexes usually wear their hair cut 302 straight across the forehead just above the eyes, so that it cannot fall across the face (Photos. 3 and 28). They do allow it to grow on the sides and in the back, however. Some of the men, women, and children sometimes part their hair anywhere on the forehead, thus partly baring it (Photos. 59, 61, and 63). The hair reaches shoulder length in the back, and this occurs more frequently among the women than among the men (Photos. 4, 67, and 69). The latter sometimes hold it with a strip of inner bark tied around the head (Photos. 4 and 5) or gather it into a pigtail (Photos. 1, 4, and 7), while the women and children always wear it loose. The hair 171 of some boys seems to have been cut at several lengths (Photos. 2 302 and 8), as described by Krause (2, 209 and Fig. 37) for Karajá boys. It may be said that, as a rule, there are many similarities between Tapirapé and Karajá hair styles. In both tribes also, the hair of boys [856] is cut all over to half a centimeter when they are about ten years old, except for a narrow strip of hair three centimeters long that surrounds the head like a crown (cf. Krause, ibid. and Plate 43, Fig. 2).

171
173 Catarina, Xokleng [Shokleng] or Aveikoma [Aweikoma], studied
551 by Henry (50). [Ed., end of Vol. 124.]

[127:231] CHILDHOOD

171 Father Fernão Cardim (310) wrote of the Tupinambá: "There
855 is nothing parents love more than their own children, and he who does something for the children can obtain anything from the parents." Roughly, this sentence could be applied to nearly all Brazilian tribes and to the Tapirapé among them. This love is
855 manifested in the understanding with which the adults treat the children. An Indian father would never answer his child's question with: "This is grownup stuff you can't understand," thus destroying, in the fashion of certain White fathers, the trust with which the child seeks out his most learned friend. The Indian father does not speak to the child with an air of superiority, and consequently there is no chasm between them, such as frequently separates children from adults among us.

In fact, a Tapirapé will show patience toward a child even before he reaches the age of asking for explanations. I shall never forget the attitude of Vuanomanchí when a small child seated in his lap urinated on his bare legs. No fuss! This worthy family man did not even get up. He took a piece of straw from the ground and pushed down the liquid with it. He neither scrubbed nor washed himself. He uttered no word and made no motion that might disturb the child.

[127:232] Nor shall I forget the behavior of Maeyma during the illness of his little girl. Several women were weeping around the girl's hammock, and Maeyma was the only man who was crying. Seated in his hammock, he covered his face with his hands and sobbed. He seemed to have lost weight during the short period of
[262] his child's illness. As befits a mindful father, he ate nothing during
[755] this time except for a little maize cauí and manioc flour. On the following day, when the girl seemed to have improved, Maeyma, lying in the hammock held her like something breakable, and when he moved his hands he did so gingerly.

784 In the Tapirapé tribe, as in many others, the intimate and con-
855 tinuous connection between child and parents is acknowledged and

855 respected by the latter through abstentions to which they submit
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192 According to my Tapirapé informants, "today" is in, "tomorrow"
805 is ãntxeivé, "yesterday" is designated by the number antxepé, "one," and "day before yesterday" by mõkóimi, "two." [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

Among the Tapirapé, the exact and numerical reference to a past event seldom goes farther back than mõkóimi, "day before yester-
[802] day," since as a rule they do not count to mãpit, "three," preferring to say vuaitépe, "much "(in quantity), or mõ (or mũ), "far away" (a word that designates great distance, in space as well as [93] time, and that is perhaps related to mõmbiri, "far away," in Montoya). Concerning the future, on the other hand, they frequently say ãntxeivé, "tomorrow," although they may be referring to a time later than the following day.

805 Since not only the computations of time but its direct denomina-tions as well are invariably abstract, however, it is more convenient to the Tapirapé mentality to use mostly indirect designations by grounding the references to past and future times in concrete phenomena.
[821] Thus, they indicate the time of day by extending their hand in the direction of the place where the sun was or will be at the time in ques-
[171] tion. By what I saw, and also by what Krause (p. 339) mentions, the Karajá [Caraja] proceed in the same fashion.

If certain events took place several weeks or months earlier, the
[824] Tapirapé pinpoint them chronologically by showing with the hand the degree of development of certain plants at the times in question, for example, the height of maize or sugar cane. If several years
[856] have gone by, the Tapirapé narrator extends his hand to the height that a certain person had reached at that time. This person is usually the narrator himself, if his age enables him to do so. If he is about 50 years old and thus stopped growing dozens of years ago, but wishes to indicate an event that occurred five years earlier, he will use a child five years old or older.

805 It should be mentioned, finally, that the words kaém, "daybreak,"
823 and kanúk, "nightfall," are also used for purposes of orientation in
[192] geographical space, the former meaning "east" and the latter "west." Judging by the explanations given to me by the Tapirapé, the concepts of "north" and "south" are lacking among them.

101 [16] The Tapirapé Indians live in central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a left tributary of the Araguaia located in the extreme south of the state of Pará. They speak a dialect of Tupi-Guarani, the most widespread aboriginal tongue in Brazil. In spite of a great decline in their population, they still possess a rich cultural tradition which is peculiar to them and which distinguishes them [173] from other tribes. Their customs and traditions are transmitted orally with great care from generation to generation. One of the most 881 interesting among them is the ceremony in which the youth assumes the status of a grown man. This change in status is marked by nearly all peoples. Among us, when a young man reaches the age of 21, he can vote, marry, sign documents, etc.; among many primitive groups, the youth proves that he has become an adult by undergoing torture or achieving success in the hunt.

Among the Tapirapé, this tradition is observed with a festival [302] of song and dance called "hair-tying," for henceforth the young man will wear his hair tied at the back of the neck in adult fashion. For 858 several years before the ceremony, the boy keeps his body painted [302] black with genipap, wears his hair cropped close to the head--"like a monkey," in the words of the Tapirapé-- is subjected to food restrictions, and has his arms and legs scarified until they bleed so he [304] [856] will "grow strong." When he reaches 14 or 15 years of age, his family decides that the time has come for him to become an adult.

881 At the close of the rainy season, the time of harvesting and [221] thus of plenty for the tribe, the "hair-tying" ceremony is carried out. For months beforehand, the youth allows his hair to grow until it comes [302] down to his shoulders. Meanwhile, mother and aunts weave threads [462] (cords) to adorn him, while father and uncles collect feathers with [283] which they make elaborate ornaments. All Tapirapé youths become [237] adults through this rite; the sons of important men, however, and [554] those who were "favorite sons" (the Tapirapé elect certain children to preferential treatment) are much more richly attired than the others. The ceremony is costly to the family, and much time is needed beforehand to gather the necessary materials--macaw tail feathers, short [237] feathers of the blue macaw and parrot, breast fluff of wild ducks, cotton threads for the ornaments, and beads. All these items are [556] [435] valuable to the Tapirapé, who gauge their own wealth in these terms.

171 children raised under the German authoritarianism of the turn of
858 the century did not seem as "grownup." The attitude of the Indian child, [127:235] however, is determined not only by the freedom he enjoys along with many neo-Brazilian children, but also by two other factors which make him more like the adults: (1) among the
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[421] individual property which he and he alone may dispose of as he wishes.

We have already alluded above to the strict respect shown for
857 the child's property. As far as work is concerned, it may be said
968 that the Tapirapé children learn adult work through play. The boy
422 of three already has a small bow and arrow, the size of which corresponds to his size. The girl of three already has a small sifter, the size of which corresponds to her size. Thus, the two of them go fishing like a grownup couple, with the little man shooting the fish and the little woman gathering them in the sifter. Naturally, the size of the fish is also in proportion to the size of the fishermen. When they return home, they put the little fish in the embers and roast them. Then they eat them, thus showing that a Tapirapé of three already knows how to take care of himself. As the boy and girl grow, so do the bow and sifter, until they become a man's bow and a woman s sifter when their owners reach puberty. This applies to all the implements used by these Indians, namely, clubs, baskets, pestles, spindles, and other utensils. This, however, does not mean that prior to puberty the boys participate in the economic life to the same extent as the girls, who often, while the boys loaf, help their mothers from a tender age according to their strength and to the capacities of their years and thus constitute an increasingly productive element.

857 Naturally, Tapirapé children imitate grownups in areas other than work. They soon learn the so-called automatic smile that
[201] characterizes those Indians, a certain coquettishness, and what stirs most vividly the soul of their tribe, that is, dances and songs. I saw boys from four to seven years old making dance masks for themselves with wild-banana leaves, put them on their heads, and then dance and sing in a manner corresponding to the type of mask used. In the Karajá village of Santa Isabel, I witnessed similar scenes in 1947.

264 476 only by their respective owners. I do not know, however, whether [622] the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the prepara- [651] tion of the principal chief's garden.)

The ãntaiva of the Anantxá were the chief Tanupantxóa and [624] Vuĭraí, and those of the Vuirantxinió were the chief Kamairá and the sorcerer--medicine man Maninohó.

476 In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were 857 called Vuanankóra, Vuirantxína, and Vuĭrantxinoí. The last one is now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tãnãvé or Anantxá belong [611] to the first one, and the sons of the Vuirantxinió to the second one. The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were Vuirantxinió. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work- [881] group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution, [462] for "the women and girls stay home when the men do collective work."

[98] They say that each apatxirũ group has its specific ornament 301 for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I 476 was not with the Tapirapé. The Tãnãvé wear three large red macaw 535 feathers hanging from the head onto the back. The Anantxá also wear 237 three large macaw feathers in the same fashion, but two are from the blue and yellow macaw and only the middle one is red; in addition, they wear on their arms the white breast fluff of the king vulture. The Vuirantxinió are not differentiated from the Tãnãvé. The Vuanankóra wear smaller red feathers from the tail of the macaw, hanging from the head onto the back. The Vuirantxína are similarly adorned and also wear macaw fluff on their arms.

192 Concerning the word apatxirũ, Curt Nimuendajú wrote me as follows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word apatxirũ is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is omitted.]

476 [99] On July 30, Kamairahó invited me to go with him to the [123] apatxirũ. On the previous day, Chief Tanupantxóa had already begun the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working

6: Baldus--18 E-5 (1935, 1947) 1948 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

Plate 6.

857
501

Fig. 11. Tapirapé children playing on the beach at Pôrto Velho.

736 male orphans are neglected. In Tampiitaua in 1947, I found a single child under ten without father or mother. He was a boy of about two years. He was captured by the Kayapó when they [726] attacked the village shortly after my visit. The fact that he was the only child to be abducted at the time may help to define the position of orphans under four years of age.

858 554 In contrast to these insufficiently protected children, we found among the Tapirapé a figure who differed from the usual child in being treated with far greater attention and pampering. In 1935 Ampitania was the "favorite child." This girl of four or five was indeed the little princess of Tampiitaua. She was always gentle and polite, and constantly disclosed new charms. She was far more ornamented than other children, wearing white fluff glued to her body and several bead necklaces, aside from the cotton ornaments painted with urucú. She stayed alternately with the two most important men in the village, spending one day and one night with Kamairahó and his wife, and the following day and night with Vuatanamy and wife. She lived, therefore, in the two largest houses and with the leaders who were, to some extent, [621] rivals. She thus held, undoubtedly, a unifying function. Kamairahó made a point of telling me repeatedly that she was descended from "captains," thus calling my attention to the girl's "blue blood." Incidentally, he himself also seems to have been a "favorite child" (cf. Wagley 4, 23).

The institution of the "favorite child" also exists among the [171] Karajá, according to my inquiry of 1935 (cf. Baldus 7, 83) and confirmed years later by Lipkind (2, 186). These Indians of the Araguaia have a special term for such children, whom they call ioló.

171 858 Among the Tapirapé, as among all other South American tribes I visited, I observed the behavior of children among themselves and in relation to adults, which differs markedly from the behavior of the children I knew in Germany. These seemed, so to speak, much more "childish" than the Indian children and many neo-Brazilian children. They had less interest in the adult world because it was much less accessible to them than it is to the children of the Brazilian forests and cities. Because they did not talk to adults on an equal footing, as children here so commonly do, the

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865 Bananal, of Tampiitaua, and of many other Brazilian Indian communities, what Fernão Cardim (175) wrote with reference to the Tupinambá: "...the boys are cheerful and given to frolic and play with much gentleness and friendship, for among them no evil words are heard, no [127:236] indecencies, nor do they call their fathers and mothers names, and rarely do they disagree as they play, or quarrel about anything, hit each other, or do battle..." Modern authors also speak of the pleasant children they found among South American Indians (cf., for example, Koch-Grünberg 2, III, 147). Small children of both sexes, up to
192 about five years of age, are called antaí in Tapirapé. In
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● 858 entry: "Taína, 'child.' Name applied to both sexes during the
171 first years of life, until they begin to walk and talk, are given a name, and begin to specialize in their respective tasks, at which point the boy becomes curumi and girl cunhantai." Aside from these terms, the Tapirapé use ampyki for the small boy and pityngí for the little girl. Yves d'Evreux (86), dealing with the age "levels" among the Tupinambá of Maranhão, writes as follows: "The first level, assumed to be common to males and females as they come out of their mother's womb, is called Peitan..." [translated from French]. In Montoya we read (2, 384): "A girl, or a boy up to age three, Mitang" [translated from Spanish].

From about six to around 12, that is, until the girl's first menstruation and the beginning of the boy's puberty, the Tapirapé call the former kutantaí and the latter ekonomî. Montoya (2, I, 383 and 377) gives Cuña taî for a "girl up to 10 years" and Cunumí for a "youth."

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



756 789 zions in order to protect the gardens and even the people themselves from his violence. This four-day ceremony is the culmination of shamanistic activity among the Tapirapé and its most exotic and violent manifestation (22).

## SOCIAL POSITION OF THE SHAMAN

554 622 The Tapirapé do not have chieftains with highly centralized authority. Instead one finds among them respected individuals who are described modernly by the Tapirapé with the Portuguese term "*capitão*". Such men of great prestige have in every instance gained the respect of their fellow tribesmen in one or more — usually at least two — of three ways.

622 554 858 First, an individual may be singled out by his parents, who must themselves be people of some prestige for especial treatment as a *čirikakántu*, a favored child (23). Parents bestow upon such a child a series of important names which in themselves carry respect and he is taught with special care the myths, songs, dances, and manual techniques of the tribe. His parents may wait upon him, bringing him water to drink and to wash himself with and preparing special foods for him. Special care is taken in oiling and painting his body and elaborate decorations are made for him to wear during the annual harvest ceremonies, for the *čirikakántu* are the central figures in part of this ceremony. Again, his body decorations are more elaborate than those of an ordinary youth when he dances during the ceremony of reaching maturity (24).

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(22) See page 84 for a detailed treatment of Thunder as a supernatural and of the Thunder Ceremony.

[616 562] (23) I use the masculine pronoun, for most *čirikakántu* are boys, although girls have been selected for this special treatment within the memory of my informants. Usually there are two more "favored children" in the village, one from each moiety.

[014] (24) On this subject of chieftainship, I again disagree with Baldus. He reports a "chefe principal" and a "vice-chefe". He considers such offices hereditary, the oldest son of the chief becoming chief and the next oldest becoming vice-chief (op. cit. page 81). But I believe the impression of primogeniture was created only by the fact that important names and the position of *čirikakántu* were generally passed on by parents to their oldest child and the parents of outstanding importance

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



Secondly, an individual may gain respect through being chosen as a leader of the warrior-age group of his ceremonial moiety. His companions may select him as their "walking leader" — *antá dwa* — or as their "song leader" — *amumíká dwa* — because of his special abilities in hunting, gardening, manual technique, singing, or dancing. It frequently happens that these chosen leaders were *ciríkakóuto* when they were children, for the special treatment and educational advantages given such children develop qualities of leadership. 554 561 622 [856]

The third and most important road to prestige lies in shamanism. It has been shown that the Tapirapé depend upon their shamans to control the dangerous spirit world, to remove danger from first fruits, to predict the future, to bring spirits of children to their parents, and to cure the ill. In all life situations where chance or the unpredictable figure the Tapirapé depend markedly upon their shamans. Thus the greatest prestige which Tapirapé culture offers accrues to the shaman (25). This prestige is reflected in the concepts of a separate afterlife for shamans and in the identification of ancestral culture heroes as shamans. Informants telling of Petura, the bringer of such phenomena as fire and daylight to the Tapirapé, and of Ware, who killed so many dangerous *anónga*, frequently referred to them as "great shamans". While a Tapirapé layman becomes a disembodied soul at death, the afterlife of a shaman is but a continuation of his present life under ideal circumstances. His soul goes to Maratawa (26), the home of the culture heroes. This home of the privileged dead lies far to the north- 555 622 756 775 [773]

were the ones who generally produced *ciríkakóuto*. The man whom Baldus reported as "chefe principal", carried an important name, had been a favored child, had been a "song-leader" of his with, and was currently a shaman of some power, and I believe held his position because of these things and had not inherited it. Wantomum, whom Baldus mentions as "vice-chefe", had also before his death in 1940, been a shaman and a "walking leader". [114]

(25) The unusual importance of the shaman to the Tapirapé was well put by one of my informants: "Without our *pawé*, all we Tapirapé die".

(26) If a shaman meets death by murder, his trip to Maratawa is delayed. He goes temporarily to another "home of shamans" in the west until his wounds are healed; only then does he go to Maratawa. If his skull has been crushed by a club, a new cranium of metal is made for him at this temporary residence. A "metal" cranium is obviously an introduced concept yet informants were not able to explain of what material the new cranium might have been made before metal was known to the Tapirapé.

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Among the Tapirapé, this tradition is observed with a festival [302] of song and dance called "hair-tying," for henceforth the young man will wear his hair tied at the back of the neck in adult fashion. For 858 several years before the ceremony, the boy keeps his body painted [302] black with genipap, wears his hair cropped close to the head--"like a monkey," in the words of the Tapirapé-- is subjected to food restrictions, [304] and has his arms and legs scarified until they bleed so he [856] will "grow strong." When he reaches 14 or 15 years of age, his family decides that the time has come for him to become an adult.

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12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



A son

and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite child, being given special attention and education and being highly decorated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life. 554 858

**Puberty.**—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong. 882 [302] [301]

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, *top, left*). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance. [302] 881 [292]

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of women. [302] [582]

**Marriage.**—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antagonism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage marriage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people. 621 [578] [582] [574]

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule. 582

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him. [161] [182] [178] [591]

854 over so that the child lay in the shadow of the woman's nude body. Only when she reached the house did the mother hold herself erect and take the child in her arms again.

171 As a rule, when carried, the Tampiitaua child rides on the hip
854 of the adult, who holds him with the hand. We also saw this among the Karajá (cf. also Krause 2, 276). I did not observe in either tribe the use of straps for carrying children, which I dealt with in some detail in Chapter 6. Although Tupinambá women, according to Fernão Cardim (130), carried their children "wrapped in hammock strips," they held them in the Tapirapé fashion, "like gypsies, straddling the hip." And just as among the inhabitants of Tampiitaua, so also among the ancient eastern Tupi, according to Vicente de Salvador (37), fathers as well as mothers carried the children in their arms.

Referring to the Taulipáng, Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 147) notes
171 that it is extremely rare for parents to speak harshly to their child
861 or to spank him, and adds, "I never saw corrective punishment." This could be said of nearly all Brazilian tribes, and especially of the Tapirapé. Fernão Cardim (170) notes of the Tupinambá that they did not subject their children to "punishments of any sort." Among the Karajá, according to Lipkind (2, 187), "sometimes ridicule is used as a sanction against particularly recalcitrant children" [cited in English]. Tapirapé parents usually laugh at a crying child, unless he is sick.

In Tampiitaua in 1935, I found nine children under ten who
736 had neither father nor mother, six of whom were boys, namely, one of three years, three of five years, and two of eight years, and three girls between six and eight. Among the latter, one hung her net beside that of her father's brother, and another had hers in her stepmother's home. One of the five-year-old boys hung his net beside that of his father's sister. I found no close relatives for the other six orphans. The fate of the youngest one, the boy of three, was not an enviable one. He served as the village plaything, and he was the victim of everyone's moods, good and bad. He was dirty and sad. The older orphans, however, were not in such a lamentable state and were not distinguishable in behavior [127:234] from other children of the same age. According to Wagley and Galvão (4, 76), in the Tupi tribe of the Tenetehara (Guajajara) of Maranhão, only

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3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



with so few people holding the status positions of aboriginal Tapirapé society much specialized knowledge will be lost. This is true of shamanism, as explained above, and it is true of the weaving of baskets for which Tapirapé men were justly famous before 1940. In 1953, only two men of the tribe knew the art of basket making. In aboriginal times, it was a technique which men learned after adolescence (Tapirapé boys were not expected to learn the manly arts), and with the death of so many older men and the disintegration of Tapirapé society, few young men were able to study. Both of the young men who did learn produced baskets which in 1940 would have been considered distinctly inferior and few of the young men in 1953 showed an inclination to learn the art. Like many other aspects of the culture, Tapirapé basketry will probably be a "lost art" within a generation. 177 177 285 [868] [883]

Before 1940, one of the striking aspects of Tapirapé culture recorded by both Baldus and myself was the complex set of rules governing food taboos. According to aboriginal Tapirapé culture, women and children are forbidden to eat venison as well as many other specific meats. Nowadays the Tapirapé frequently have beef, which they receive by trade from the Brazilian around the Indian post. As might be suspected, beef is equated with venison and it is taboo to Tapirapé women. Likewise, Tapirapé men who are the fathers of small children may eat neither venison nor beef. One Tapirapé male explained that "Even when we were hungry our women would not eat beef." But in view of their experience with other cultures (i. e., Carajá and Brazilian), such taboos are growing weaker. Hidden from their husbands, several Tapirapé women tested beef for the first time when offered it by the wife of the Indian officer, and several females have taken to eating it (and even venison) at the Indian Post pleading that their secret be kept from their husbands. And one Tapirapé male, the father of an infant, argued while eating venison that the taboo was not a logical one. Food taboos are still kept but 177 262 [439] [784]

291 folding the strip in half, the men fold a small part of it obliquely, and then fold the strip once more so that the triangle is placed exactly over it. The strip is not folded stiffly, since owing to its natural toughness it has a tendency to unfold. As a result of this tendency, the tip folded in this fashion remains securely held in the knot along with the other tip.

As a rule, a man will prepare a new sheath as he gets up in the morning. The prepuce is pushed through the funnel in such a way that it projects beyond the smaller opening and is tied all around like the end of a sausage, remaining erect. Thus, the funnel is worn upside-down, that is to say, with the smaller opening on top and the larger rim facing toward the front (cf. Photos. 5, 63, and 68).

As may be seen in these photographs, the yellow color of the inner-bark strip stands out clearly against the skin. In view of [832] this, a desire to attract the attention of the opposite sex may be involved in the use of the sheath. At the same time, it is also [834] possible that the men assign to the sheath the same purpose that, [171] according to Krause (2, 204), the Karajá assign to their penis cord, that is to say, that of concealing the glans from the eyes of women. There is no doubt, however, that both sheath and cord serve as 751 protection against crustaceans and insects, such as ticks, for example. We have known cases where these parasites fastened their proboscis [105:85] right at the opening of the urethra. The [825] Tapirapé make no distinctions among these various kinds of little creatures and call them all tantevoga. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

291 Small boys do not protect their member. Just as the Karajá [881] adolescents do not use the penis cord until their hair is cut for the [171] initiation, Tapirapé youths first use the sheath at the time of the haircut.

The importance of the penis sheath to the Tapirapé is perhaps [524] made evident by the fact that even the dolls made for fun were supplied with such sheaths (Photo. 77). [Ed., the last half of p. 85, p. 86, and all but the last paragraph of p. 87 are omitted.]

[105:87] The waist cord is called anchekuakuán or [283] chikoangkohâua in Tapirapé. It is made of cotton threads twisted [462] by the women on their thighs, but it is used solely by the men. The latter wear it so that it lies a good distance below the navel

171 Another occasion to cut the hair short is the death of a close
302 relative, when not only the males (cf. Photos. 51 and 52) but the
765 opposite sex as well (Photo. 64) are compelled to undergo this procedure. This custom is quite widespread in South America. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

302 Among the Tapirapé at the present time, the hair is cut with
[177] scissors received from the Whites. [Ed., the remainder of p. 107
[412] is omitted, which includes the beginning of the sentence finished at the top of p. 108.]

[107:108] . . . in 1614, Father Claude d'Abbeville (267)
302 wrote of the hair of the Tupinambá of Maranhão: "[Ed., two
171 sentences are omitted.] They [the women] are quite meticulous
515 about combing their hair and do not fail to wash it and rub it with oil and Roucou every morning" [translated from French]. [Ed., three paragraphs are omitted.]

Some Tapirapé comb their hair with great care, although they do not wash it as frequently as the Tupinambá women observed by Father Claude, or massage it as often with oil and urucú. They
[314] would no doubt anoint it more frequently if it were not for the scarcity of the raw material, a palm nut that grows only at certain times of year. This scarcity impelled an honest matron to steal from us our only bottle of oil, which we had brought to remedy the lack of fat in the diet. Instead of lining our stomachs, the entire liter of nutritious liquid ended up on the good woman's head. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 108 is omitted.]

302 [107:109] The Tapirapé also put urucú in their hair, but only on special occasions. They apply it to boys on the festive day of
● [881] initiation, to girls on the day when their first menstruation ends,
[764] and to the dead. It may have religious significance, but I cannot tell.

515 Aside from hair combing, delousing is a gesture of love. The
593 bugs caught end their existence between the teeth of the catcher, who thus swallows the blood of his or her beloved. This tender duty is performed on a mutual basis by parents and children and by loving spouses. Girls show the greatest enthusiasm for this type of quest. It does happen, however, that an old man still delouses an already married son (cf. Photo. 55).

826 Not only do they avoid losing the blood stolen by lice and
261 mosquitoes by eating the culprits caught in the act, but they also

261 826 swallow the hair plucked from their own body. Indeed, like most South American Indians, the Tapirapé have the custom of carefully plucking all the hair from their faces and bodies. They refer to this procedure as ekopaá. They remove body hair by covering it first with hot ashes and then plucking it out with their fingers. They likewise pluck out their whiskers exclusively with the fingers. To remove eyebrows and eyelashes, however, they use a special instrument consisting simply of the caryopsis of a certain grass plant [Tr., identified in a later, omitted passage as the fruit of Streptogyne crinita Beauv., according to F.C. Hoehne (3)] which is equipped with teeth forming hooks at acute angles. The Indian holds this pod between the right thumb and index finger, while holding the eyebrow or eyelashes of the person he is about to beautify with the corresponding fingers of the left hand. Then he places the little hooks against the stretched hair, pushing down. A few hairs are invariably caught in this natural implement and removed along with it. [Ed., the last half of p. 109, which includes a detailed description of the use of Streptogyne crinita Beauv. as an instrument for depilation, pp. 110-113, and the first two lines of p. 114 are omitted.]

302 [413]

[107:114] The Tapirapé apply scarification to men only. They first do this at the time when the boy who is to be initiated is given a haircut, that is to say, one year before the initiation ceremony. The procedure is repeated several times until marriage, and not infrequently it is carried out even after that. The Indians make vertical scratches on the skin of the arm between the shoulder and the elbow, and on the front part of the leg both on the thigh and between the knee and foot. The procedure is carried out by a mature man. Immediately afterward, the patient steps into the water to wash. It is extremely rare for inflammation to result. The aim of the procedure is to "give strength." According to Wagley (4, 17), the killer of a sorcerer--medicine man, in order to protect himself and the rest of his tribe against any possible danger, must, among other precautionary measures, "scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back with teeth of the dogfish, just as he did in the course of the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult" [Tr., given in English in 4, 72]. I obtained no such information while I was in Tampiitsua.

304 [881] [827] 751 114 304

The scarifying tool has the same name as the scratches it makes, namely, chainiśua. It is a triangular gourd fragment

304 413 [192]

304 equipped with a row of embedded teeth, their points sticking out
413 of the outer, convex side of the piece. The opposite side[1] is com-
[237] pletely covered with a thick black layer of beeswax. The teeth are those of the so-called "dog-fish," aikyngapeva in Tapirapé, a scaly fresh-water fish of the Characinidae family, Hydrocyon subfamily, whose colloquial name alludes to its dog-like dentition (cf. Rodolfo von Ihering, 165). The 17 teeth of the scarifier I acquired in Tampiitáua (Photo. 23) jut out three to six centimeters. This piece is eight centimeters long and measures five and a half centimeters at its broadest part.

According to information obtained from the Tapirapé, the
304 girls are tattooed during the rainy season following their first
● 981 menstruation. The operation is carried out at nightfall, between January and March, when there is tall maize, plentiful game crowded together by the rising waters, and much merrymaking as a result of all this. The Indians tattoo their chin and cheeks (Fig. 1). The cheek tattoo reaches below the ear, so that a small part of it is covered by the hair. The crossing vertical
304 and horizontal incisions look like a fine-meshed net. This
824 design is called kohova. The wounds are first rubbed with a kaauna leaf (káa, "plant"; una, "black, dark blue"). This leaf, previously squeezed into a turtle shell (chauvatí-ampekuera) full of water, is wet with its own juice mixed in
[386] water. It is the juice of kaauna that yields the indelible dark-blue tone of the tattooing. The leaf is held close to the wound for some time. Then, the Indians blow crushed cotton leaves
[278] with a pipe (amynichó-ha(u)va) onto the wounds. It may be that they do this to alleviate the pain, for the girls cry a great deal [107:115] throughout the operation, and the tattooed parts become terribly swollen (ivuvurá). As at

Fig. 1

302 the time of their first menstruation, the girls have so much urucú
981 in their hair that their coiffure, mixed with the greasy substance, looks like a sort of cap. They are not, however, painted with

[1] [of the scarification tool.—Analyst]

302 genipap. They have given up for keeps the tamankurá or cotton
●881 ornaments they wore in childhood. Some of them change names,
[553] if they did not already do so at the time of their first menstruation. They eat nothing but green-maize cauí [a soup]. Both men and women sing the kaó, a kind of national anthem. When the whole ceremony is over, the girl is painted with the genipap stripes characteristic of women.

304 The tattooing is done by certain mature men. They need not
412 be sorcerer--medicine men, but some of them are, like Urukumy for example (Photo. 53). The aim of the tattooing is to differentiate the women from the girls. The small knife used to make the incisions (Photo. 22) is called voamé. It consists of a fragment of
[237] rodent incisor embedded in a small piece of thin cane wrapped in a narrow strip of philodendron inner bark. This strip strengthens
[314] the small rod, which was previously covered with resin to provide a better hold. The tooth fragment in the knife reproduced here (Photo. 22) consists of that part of a paca (kanoanó) incisor nearest to
[237] the gum, and thus not of its cutting section. The edge was created by scraping the fragment with a knife. Sometimes the fragment is also taken from the tooth of an agouti (akutí, ankuchí), another rodent that, like the paca, belongs to the Caviidae family.

304 Krause (2, 404) writes of Tapirapé tattooing: "Tattooing exists
114 among married women; they cut vertical lines in their chins, and a line that goes down obliquely from either side of the mouth." As we can see, this does not quite agree with the tattooing I observed. And the drawings published by Krause (ibid., Fig. 262), although they disagree with the description above by the same author in showing several oblique lines originating at the corners of the lips, rather than just one, still do not resemble the crossed horizontal and vertical lines that I saw on the faces of Tapirapé women. [Ed., the last paragraph of p. 115, pp. 116-119 which include several pages of comparative data on scarification, and all but the last paragraph on p. 120 are omitted.]

304 107:120] To summarize, we may say that the special character
171 of female tattooing differentiates the Tapirapé from all neighboring tribes about which anything is known in this connection. The data
[114] of Herrmann Meyer about the Aravine and their tattooing, which are given in Chapter 4 of this work, are not sufficient to be taken into account in studying this topic. It should be pointed out further

302 [108:124] [Fig. 4 appears here.] I have sometimes seen Tapirapé men whose painting merely consisted of a series of handprints scattered all over the body. They called this vaipapé, a word [192] which may be derived from vaitepe, "many," and pa, "hand."

The Tapirapé often blacken their hands with genipap or outline their mouths with it. In the vuangkané painting (Fig. 2), the man also has a black border around the mouth. This decora- [171] tion is also used by the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Fig. 48a). [108: 125] The genipap design on the inside of a man's thigh (Fig. 6) [584] was drawn by his lover at the outset of their relationship. They call it anampaí and maintain that it is a "fish." They also draw

Fig. 3. Ipihauáua male body painting.

it on the arms.

While the above-mentioned male paintings are worn by the 302 men from their initiation up to the time when they no longer ●881 participate in daytime dances, boys have their entire bodies blackened with genipap for a whole year preceding the day of their

302 initiation. [Fig. 5 appears here.] I noted the same custom
881 among the Karajá. According to Reverend Kegel's observations,
[171] the Tapirapé boy who is about to be initiated bears a genipap design on the day of the ceremony, which consists of two parallel lines with dots between them, stretching from the corners of the mouth to the ears, from the root of the nose to its tip, from the chin cavity to the Adam's apple, from the shoulder to the elbow on the front and back surface of each arm, and from each side of the chest in duplicate down to a little above the knees, with a matching design on [108:126] the back. The tips of these last

Fig. 4. Chankoaka male body painting.

eight pairs of parallel lines with dots between them are connected by two bands of the same design, one running across the shoulders and the other around the thighs.

On this occasion, the urucú paste was applied not only to the boy's hair, but also to his cotton bracelets and knee bands, as well
302 as to the lower part of his legs and to his feet. Such red "stockings"

302 are a characteristic decoration of the men (Photo. 68). I never saw a Tapirapé woman painted with urucú. [Fig. 6 appears here.] Only a few girls sometimes wore urucú designs on their bodies, for example, Kanuana, a pampered eight-year-old girl (Photo. 9).
[531] The girls' cotton ornaments are also dyed with this staining ma-
[881] terial, which also serves, incidentally, to plaster a girl's hair on
[462] the day when her first menstruation ends.

As a rule, the women paint not only other members of the female sex, but also their sons, lovers, and husbands. I once saw a man painting a little girl, however.

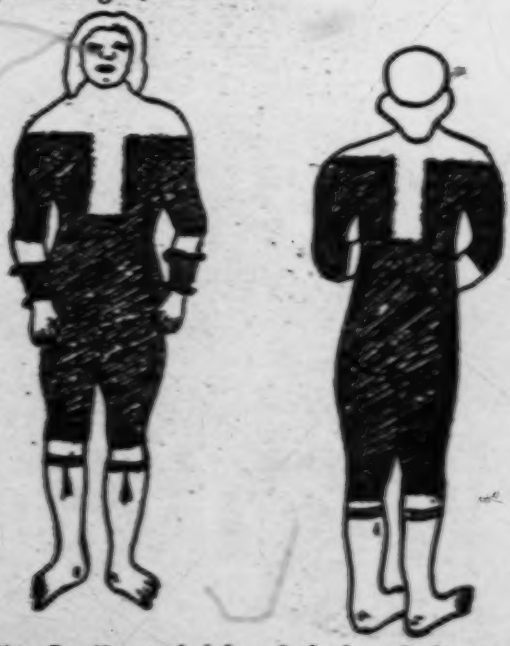

Fig. 5. Kananchahó male body painting.

Genipap paintings, as well as those done with urucú, are applied simply with the hands, that is to say, without any implement (Photo. 7 and 8).

There are authors who regard the application of urucú on the
114 skin as a protection against the rays of the sun and against insect
302 bites. Experiments proved that one of the properties of urucú is its
751 failure to absorb solar heat in any but very modest amounts. The feet and lower part of the legs, that is to say, the places where

302 set forth by ethnocentric Europeans. Among the precautionary
789 measures taken by the killer of the Tapirapé shaman, listed by Wagley (4, 16-17 [Tr., in English at 4, 72]), there is also painting the entire body with genipap and the hair with urucú. According to the same author (ibid., 11 [Tr., in English at 4, 67]), a certain Tapirapé medicine man painted his chest and chin with urucú to represent the cauí of blood that drools from the mouth of forest spirits. [Ed., the remainder of p. 127, p. 128, and all but the last paragraph of p. 129 are omitted.]

000 [108:129] Krause (2, 214) writes that the Karajá, when they paint their bodies, usually reserve the color red for men and adolescent boys, and the black for boys and young girls. He adds (ibid.), "Only once did I see a woman painted wholly with red." I wish [108:130] to note in this connection, however, that as far as our trading fabrics are concerned, the Karajá in 1935 left the red ones exclusively to the women, while the men dressed in those of other colors, such as white or green. They might already have learned from the Whites that men do not wear red. A person like the
[291] Tapirapé Kamairahó, who had had less contact with so-called civilized people than the Karajá, hid his charms at that time under a woman's dress which had originally been red and which might be said to have remained red in spite of daily wear for weeks on end.

In view of the facts noted by Krause (ibid., 386) about the
101 northern Kayapó and by Von den Steinen (2, 184-188) about the
171 Indians of the upper Xingu basin, it may be said in summary that
302 the Tapirapé are quite sharply differentiated from their neighbors in facial and body painting, although certain similarities exist with the Karajá in torso painting, and with the Kayapó and Xingu Indians in the red "stockings." It is worth noting that such "stockings" were also used by the Tupinambá.

According to what I saw, the Tapirapé stick soft plumage
301 (avió, aviú) chiefly on the arms and legs of children. The girl
237 Ampitúnia was often adorned in this way. Grownups, however, also use white down glued on the arm when wearing a certain
[881] mask (Photo. 70). At the initiation ceremony, the adolescent has white down glued on the forehead, arms, torso, and thighs, with the exception of the buttocks. The glue is a resin (ykyrya in

292 pairs are joined into a knot after having been twined once around
285 every strip. Their starting point at the other end of the band was also a knot, so that the band displays 28 knots at each end. The strings are cut three or four centimeters beyond the knot, except for the strings involved in the four outermost knots on each side. These strings extend about 30 [108:135] centimeters beyond the knots on one side, and slightly over 11 centimeters on the other side. These strings are twisted into a cord in groups of four, while the other strings are not joined in any way along the three or four centimeters that extend beyond the knots. The strips, when they retain their natural curvature, leave an empty space within their folded ends. The large tail feathers of the red macaw are inserted in this opening to complete the impressive ornament. They are kept in an internode of thick cane when not in use.
292 The frame specimen described and reproduced above was the only one I found in Tampiitáua. It was in Maninchó's possession. I
[114] have not found any reference in the literature to such objects among
[171] the Karajá, the Kayapó, or any other Indians. Nor do I know whether anything like the Tapirapé head "edifice" reproduced by Wagley is to be found in any other tribe.

Reverend Kegel described to me the circular occipital head-
292 dress he saw at the initiation ceremony as a wooden disk about 15
•881 centimeters in diameter and two centimeters thick, blackened with
237 genipap, and bearing three concentric circles of feathers laid out in a radiating pattern. The inner circle consisted of scalloped, dark-green duck feathers, the middle one of white jabiru feathers, and the outer one of red macaw tail feathers. The hair of the boy who was being initiated was gathered into a pigtail and drawn through a hole in the center of the disk. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 135 and the first paragraph of p. 136 are omitted.]

[108:136] I saw a large semicircular wooden disk with small
532 holes in the center hanging from the wall of the men's house in Tampiitáua. The Tapirapé showed me that those holes were meant for the eyes and that the disk, when covered with a mosaic of feathers and a crown of macaw feathers, was used as a dance mask (Photo. 70). Unfortunately, however, I did not have an opportunity
171 to find out the specific function of this mask, which is as distinct
532 from other Tapirapé masks as it is from those of the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 20) and which bears no resemblance to the masks

532 of wood, plaited and woven material found by Von den Steinen
[171] (2, Figs. 94-118) among the Xingu tribes.

The cylindrical masks of the Tapirapé are also adorned with feathers (Photo. 72). In the daytime dances of these Indians, some
301 of the male participants wear one or several red macaw tail feathers vertically on the occiput (Photo. 5). On such occasions they also wore the ear ornament (Photo. 21), which I acquired in Tampiitúna and which I shall now describe. Two strings, twisted
[283] counter-clockwise and consisting of two threads spun clockwise, are tied to a cotton cord twisted clockwise and consisting of two strings twisted counter-clockwise and made up in turn of two threads spun clockwise. The first two strings mentioned are each folded in the middle and placed on the rope in such a way that on one side there is a loop, and on the other the two free-swinging ends. These ends are slipped through the loop and stretched to make a knot. Each end, after being slipped through a perforated palm nut,
[237] is attached to three or four tail feathers of the green oropendola (Ostinops viridis), which are yellow with black spots and up to nine centimeters long. The feathers are tied by the lower, denuded part of the stem, which is folded up at the tip for the purpose. When the cord is worn across the forehead and tied on the occiput, the
[386] feathers fall over the ears. All the threads are dyed with genipap. [Ed., the last two lines of p. 136 and the first paragraph of p. 137 are omitted.]

[108:137] According to Reverend Kegel, the Tapirapé adoles-
301 cent at the initiation ceremony wears around his neck two cotton
• 881 strips, three centimeters wide, which hang down in front to below the knees and in the back to below the calves. These strips end in tassels, and under the tassel is a palm-nut shell, its opening facing downward, surrounded with small breast feathers of the red macaw. On each arm the boy wears a cotton cord from which hang five of these shells with the same little red feathers.

To summarize: the Tapirapé feather ornaments are not only
171 distinct from those of the Karajá, Javahé, and Kayapó visited by
301 Krause (2, passim), from those of the inhabitants of the upper Xingu basin (Von den Steinen 2, 328), the Bororo (Colbacchini and Albisetti, passim), the Tupí tribe of the Urubu (Lopes 2, passim), and the Tupinambá (Métraux 2, 130-148), but also much less numerous and varied than the featherwork in any of these tribes.

171 This scarcity may be one of the consequences of the great epi-
301 demics, since the dead are buried with all their feather ornaments.
[182] In addition, the Tapirapé, as cultivators and forest Indians, have
[164] fewer opportunities to obtain the raw materials for these ornaments than the more game-oriented tribes who live close to rivers and to other areas rich in bird life.

485 Like the ancient Tupinambá (Léry 159), the Tapirapé keep the large macaw feathers in internodes of thick cane (vuanantú). [Ed., the last sentence on p. 137, which concludes the section in Vol. 108, is omitted.]

[109:75] I found a single specimen of a crown of jaguar claws
237 in Tampiitúa (Photo. 16). It belonged to Maninohó, who used
292 it only for certain daytime dances (Photo. 4). Its name was simply chauvuanohó pyampé, "jaguar claw." It consisted of a wooden ring that reached one centimeter in width and 20 centimeters in diameter, wrapped in cotton thread blackened with genipap and charcoal. Not only does this thread keep the ring closed, but it also holds 14 jaguar claws, all of which are set pointing in the same direction. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

301 The use of flowers as a head ornament is unusual among South American Indians. I observed it only once in Tampiitúa. Iravuy, a married man 26 years old, returned once from the forest with a bunch of flowers in his hand. On entering the village, he met Ampitúnia on the path and gave her the flowers. This girl, who was four or five years old, immediately tied them to her hair. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

304 Male Tapirapé have pierced ears. I was told that among them it is the mother who [109:76] makes these perforations in the early hours of the day following the birth of her child. She does this with the bone needle used in the manufacture of the cotton ornaments called tamankuú. Small pieces of tucum wood [Tr., Bactris setosa) or thin cane are placed in the holes, and for initiates
301 these pieces may reach two centimeters in length. [Ed., the re-
881 mainder of the paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

To summarize, it may be said that as far as ear ornaments and
171 their attendant cultural traits are concerned, the Tapirapé differ
301 considerably not only from all their neighbors about whom anything is known in this connection, but from the ancient Tupinambá as well.

304 Like the ear perforation, that of the lower lip is restricted to members of the male sex among the inhabitants of Tampiitíua. According to them, it is also made by the mother with a bone [412] needle on the morning following the birth of her child. The 301 Tapirapé do not have a generic name for the objects inserted into 237 the artificial lip opening, which vary with the age of the wearer. When they want to refer to a lip ornament without specifying [192] which one, they merely say emekuana (emeguana, temekuana), or emekuanî if a small boy is concerned. Emé means "lower lip" (cheremé, "my lower lip"), kuana means "hole," and i is a diminutive (kuanî, "little hole"). The opening in a child's lip is indeed much smaller than in that of an adult such as Kamairá (Photo. 57). They insert a bone there until the time when the boy who is about to be initiated has his hair cut, and this bone grows along with its wearer (Photos. 3, 6, 25, 28, 61). Thus, a boy who was about five years old wore a wild-pig bone nine and a half centimeters long and from two to four millimeters wide, with a crosspiece about eight millimeters wide (Photo. 18). A boy of eight or ten had a deer bone 25 centimeters long and three to five [109:77] in diameter, with a crosspiece one centimeter wide (Photo. 17). Rhea bones were also used as boys' lip ornaments. The bone is introduced from the inside, so that the crosspiece remains inside the mouth to secure the ornament.

When a boy's hair is cut, a year before his initiation cere- [302] mony, the deer bone is replaced with the wooden plug worn by [881] the men (Photo. 19a). Some of those plugs contain the embedded tooth of a tapiti (Sylvilagus minensis, tampichî in Tapirapé) (Photo. 55). The plug with a tooth shown in Photograph 19a is about eight to ten millimeters in diameter and six millimeters along its full length, or in other words, four millimeters in the wooden section and two millimeters in the projecting part of the tooth. The piece that secures the plug is two centimeters wide. [824] The plugs are made with the pointed excrescences found on the trunks of a tree called tanchimoyva in Tapirapé. The one reproduced here (Photo. 19b) is 25 millimeters long and from 15 to 25 millimeters wide.

301 At the initiation ceremony, however, and only on that great 324 day, the boy wears an ornament that would qualify for the Tupi [881] name tembetá, from tembé, "lower lip," and itá, "stone." This

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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683 to avenge him, is generally not murdered (16). A strong shaman makes
[593] an effort to have a strong family group about him for protection. Informants could not remember that murdered shamans had ever been avenged by their familiar spirits, although one man made the point that shamans were murdered only by persons under the influence of great anger or grief, for people normally are afraid of the familiars of shamans.
683 Special rites are observed by anyone who has murdered a shaman, to
783 protect him and the rest of the tribe against possible danger. On the day following the murder the *marántzunhandra* must retire to his hammock and have eat of a white clay, *lui činga*, and drink until he vomits of a
[327] brew made of boiling a man's leg ornament in water. Vomiting cleanses
[302] his body "of the blood of the shaman". The killer must paint his entire body black with *genipa* (*Genipa americana*) and put red urucu paint in his hair; he should also scratch his chest, arms, thighs, and back
[601] with teeth of the dog fish, just as he did in the ceremony he had performed as a young boy to make himself a strong adult. Then, each year at the annual ceremony during the harvests in May and June, all who have killed shamans must drink of kauió (17) until they vomit, so cleansing themselves of the shaman's blood for the period until the next harvest.

## DUTIES OF THE SHAMAN

276 Among the Tapirapé tobacco is a sacred plant necessary for curing and for all shamanistic activities; yet, while it is found widely near Tapirapé village and near their gardens, it is not strictly a cultivated plant. People know where a patch of tobacco grows and go there to pick it. Occasionally they transplant tobacco nearer to their houses or to their gardens but for the most part the patches seed themselves. When an

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[598 (16) When I left the Tapirapé in May, 1940, a grudge existed between two
[621] men of high status because of the murder of a shaman. Kamaiurahe disliked, avoided, and criticized Kamaiká because he had killed Kaulwanj, Kamaiurahe's wife's father. The antagonism was never overt. When they met they treated each other formally and coldly. Other Tapirapé told me that Kamaiurahe's wife continually gossiped about the behavior of Kamaiká's wife, "because her husband had killed Kamaiurahe's father".

[272 (17) A brew made of a few grains of maize and much water. It is believed
279 to be poisonous.

264 476 only by their respective owners. I do not know, however, whether [623] the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the prepara- [651] tion of the principal chief's garden.)

The ãnzaiva of the Anantxí were the chief Tanupantxóa and [8.24] Vuíraí, and those of the Vuiranxiniõ were the chief Kamairá and the sorcerer--medicine man Maninohõ.

476 In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three 857 groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were called Vuananhóra, Vuirantxína, and Vuirantxinoí. The last one is now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tãnãvé or Anantxí belong [641] to the first one, and the sons of the Vuirantxiniõ to the second one. The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were Vuiranxiniõ. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work- [881] group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution, [442] for "the women and girls stay home when the men do collective work."

[98] They say that each apatxirõ group has its specific ornament 801 for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I 476 was not with the Tapirapé. The Tãnãvé wear three large red macaw 535 feathers hanging from the head onto the back. The Anantxí also wear 237 three large macaw feathers in the same fashion, but two are from the blue and yellow macaw and only the middle one is red; in addition, they wear on their arms the white breast fluff of the king vulture. The Vuirantxiniõ are not differentiated from the Tãnãvé. The Vuananhóra wear smaller red feathers from the tail of the macaw, hanging from the head onto the back. The Vuirantxína are similarly adorned and also wear macaw fluff on their arms.

Concerning the word apatxirõ, Curt Nimuendajú wrote me as fol- 192 lows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word apatxirõ is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is omitted.]

47% [99] On July 30, Kamairahõ invited me to go with him to the [123] apatxirõ. On the previous day, Chief Tanupantxóa had already begun the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working

101 [16] The Tapirapé Indians live in central Brazil north of the Tapirapé River, a left tributary of the Araguaia located in the extreme south of the state of Pará. They speak a dialect of Tupi-Guarani, the most widespread aboriginal tongue in Brazil. In spite of a great decline in their population, they still possess a rich cultural tradition which is peculiar to them and which distinguishes them [173] from other tribes. Their customs and traditions are transmitted orally with great care from generation to generation. One of the most 861 interesting among them is the ceremony in which the youth assumes the status of a grown man. This change in status is marked by nearly all peoples. Among us, when a young man reaches the age of 21, he can vote, marry, sign documents, etc.; among many primitive groups, the youth proves that he has become an adult by undergoing torture or achieving success in the hunt.

Among the Tapirapé, this tradition is observed with a festival [902] of song and dance called "hair-tying," for henceforth the young man will wear his hair tied at the back of the neck in adult fashion. For 858 several years before the ceremony, the boy keeps his body painted [302] black with genipap, wears his hair cropped close to the head--"like a monkey," in the words of the Tapirapé-- is subjected to food restrictions, and has his arms and legs scarified until they bleed so he [304] [856] will "grow strong." When he reaches 14 or 15 years of age, his family decides that the time has come for him to become an adult.

881 At the close of the rainy season, the time of harvesting and [221] that of plenty for the tribe, the "hair-tying" ceremony is carried out. For months beforehand, the youth allows his hair to grow until it comes [302] down to his shoulders. Meanwhile, mother and aunts weave threads [462] (cords) to adorn him, while father and uncles collect feathers with [283] [237] which they make elaborate ornaments. All Tapirapé youths become adults through this rite; the sons of important men, however, and [554] those who were "favorite sons" (the Tapirapé elect certain children to preferential treatment) are much more richly attired than the others. The ceremony is costly to the family, and much time is needed beforehand to gather the necessary materials--macaw tail feathers, short [237] feathers of the blue macaw and parrot, breast fluff of wild ducks, cotton threads for the ornaments, and beads. All these items are [556] [435] valuable to the Tapirapé, who gauge their own wealth in these terms.

881 On the eve of the ritual, the preparations begin. The youth's
[302] body is painted black with genipap. On his face, a black line is drawn under the mouth and a circle under the eyes, which are elongated with a line at the corners. The father or uncles put the last
[346] touches on a large diadem. At dawn on the day of the ceremony, the youth is led to the large ceremonial house built in the center of the Tapirapé village, and his hair is set to support the large
[292] [237] ankungitana (diadem) made of numerous macaw, parrot, and duck feathers fastened to a base of muriti palm and hard wood and weighing about five kilograms. The hair is trimmed and tied into a roll
[302] on the nape of the neck with a cord at least five meters long, to provide a base for the fastening of the large diadem. The lower lip
[301] is adorned with a ceremonial quartz tembetá [Tr., cylindrical plug].

The ceremony itself begins late in the morning. For 24 hours
[535] the youth dances continually, surrounded by his fellow tribesmen and accompanied by the songs and dances of men and women. He dances ill at ease, for he is soon tired by the weight and discomfort of the ornaments. Tapirapé tradition explains this ritual as a test of en-
773 881 durance for the young men. According to one legend, a Tapirapé ancestor called Xavanamu and his son Makanci were captured by an enemy tribe. Xavanamu was eaten, and his son was forced to dance under the weight of a large diadem and the numerous ornaments that covered his body. At the end of a long day of dancing, Makanci, who had retained his strength, managed to flee and disappeared into the woods followed closely by his foes. He vanished on reaching a large hollow trunk. Nowadays, Tapirapé youths wear ornaments similar to those left behind by their ancestor.

In 1941, when we witnessed the "hair-tying" of the youth
881 Kancinampiõ, several Tapirapé predicted that he would cry "for he would become very tired during the night," but the boy stood up valiantly to the test. It is in another way, however, that men recall their initiation. One of them said, "When I danced, I was more beautiful than at any other time." It is true that at no other time of life does the individual get so much attention and make such a show with such rich ornaments. And this during adolescence!

Thus, the Tapirapé turn this ceremony into an opportunity for fun, which their men recall more or less in the same manner as our youths recall their first ball.

11: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1945 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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[Facing p. 16]

Tapirapé Indian in the Coming-of-age Dance.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

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PLATE 19.—Tapirapé ceremonies and house construction. *Top, left:* Youth in preparation for puberty ceremony. The large, heavy chiffon of macaw feathers will be supported by the lock of hair wrapped in cotton cord. *Top, right:* Shaman wearing dangerous ceremonial headdress during Thunder ceremony. He is intoxicated by tobacco and in a trance state. *Bottom, left:* Construction of men's house. *Bottom, right:* Dance masks representing the "Crying Spirit," one of many forest spirits who are said to come to stay for a time in the men's ceremonial house. (Courtesy Charles Wagley.)

[p. 170 A]

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



A son

and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite 554
child, being given special attention and education and being highly decor- 858
ated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life.

**Puberty.**—When a boy is about 12 years old, he ties his prepuce over 882
the glans penis. His hair is cropped close to his head, and his entire body [302]
is painted black with genipa. He substitutes a short mother-of-pearl lip [301]
plug for the long bone one worn by young boys. During this time, the boy must sleep in the men's house. His arms and legs are scratched from time to time deep enough to draw blood, so that he will grow strong.

When he is about 14 years old, his hair is allowed to grow and is tied [302]
at the nape of his neck. His hair is not cut for a year or two in preparation 881
for his puberty ceremony, which is considered the most important event in a man's life. On the appointed day, the boy is richly ornamented, the [292]
main ornament being a large diadem principally of red macaw feathers set in a heavy block of wood (pl. 19, *top, left*). This diadem is supported by the hair and weighs well over 10 pounds. For 24 hours the boy is forced to dance continually under the weight of excessive decoration to prove his endurance.

During a girl's first three menstrual cycles, a geometric pattern is traced [302]
with genipa on her body. During this time, she must refrain from sexual relations. There is no special puberty ceremony for girls. Girls are [582]
usually already married at puberty, especially at present with the lack of women.

**Marriage.**—Formerly there was some intervillage antagonism, and 621
people preferred to marry within their own village. Despite such antag- [578]
onism and the fact that villages were 2 to 3 days' walk apart, considerable [582]
intervillage visiting occurred, and genealogies show that intervillage mar- [574]
riage was not rare. Today, with refugees from all villages in the one village, antagonisms and local village patriotism exist only in the memory of older people.

Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at 582
least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule.

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage [161]
rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there [182]
are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are [178]
also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where [591]
his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22



115 He was always pleased when
123 we came to listen, particularly if we made the motions of joining in.
[526] He was an excellent wrestler in Tapirapé style, in which each opponent takes a firm grip on the pigtail of the other and attempts to throw him to the ground by tripping. Our wrestling match was brief although I was much taller than he; and his match with Valentim Gomes, who outweighed him by more than forty pounds, was
[186] a draw. Unlike so many who get a glimpse at a seemingly "superior" cultural world, Champukwi never became dissatisfied with his own way of life.

122 In June of 1940, my period of residence among the Tapirapé
123 Indians ended. The waters on the savanna which had to be crossed
[101] afoot to get to the Tapirapé River where our canoe was moored had not completely receded. Many Tapirapé friends, among them Champukwi, offered to carry our baggage, made lighter after a final dis-
122 tribution of gifts, down to the river. The night before our departure
123 a festival with the usual songfest was held to celebrate the final phase
●881 of a ceremony during which a youth, this time the nephew of Kamiraho, became a man. Some Brazilian tribes make this occasion
[171] an ordeal by such means as applying a frame of stinging wasps to
[301] the body of the novice, but it is characteristic of the Tapirapé that
[302] the "ordeal" consists only of decorating the youth with a headdress of magnificent red macaw feathers, painting his body elaborately, and making him the center of dancing and singing—although the youth must himself dance continuously for a day and a night. Cham-
122 pukwi led the singing most of the night, but at dawn he came to
123 our house to supervise the packing of our belongings into the basket-like cases made of palm which are used for carrying loads of any kind. He divided the baggage among the younger men. Even some of the older household leaders decided to accompany us but they, of course, did not carry anything. Our trip was slow because everyone was tired after the all-night festival and because of the water through
[501] which we had to wade. At one point, rafts had to be made to trans-
[481] port our baggage across a still-swollen stream. Since the Tapirapé do not swim—or, like Champukwi, they swim but poorly—it was the job of the *tori* to swim and push the rafts. I had the honor of swimming across the stream, pushing the respected chieftain, Kamiraho. (How he got back, I shall never know.) After a day and a half, we reached the landing on the Tapirapé River, and the next

It should be pointed out further
304 171 882 that tattooing as a badge of the marriageable girl is found in South America not only in such widely separated regions as Guiana and Paraguay, but also among tribes belonging to such distinct linguistic families as the Karaib [Carib] and the Tupí. [Ed., end of Vol. 107.]

[108:121] Body painting is widely used among the Tapirapé. 302 386 In this respect, however, there are differences dictated by sex, age, and the particular individual involved. The colors used are: black, obtained from the juice of the genipap (chenipáa in Tapirapé), the fruit of a tree of the Rubiaceae family (Genipa americana, Lin.); and red extracted from the pulp of urucú, the fruit of a shrub of the Bixaceae family (Bixa orellana, Lin.). [192] The Tapirapé, too, call it urukú, lending the vowel a sound that lies between u and a closed o. The manufacture of the paste derived from this fruit is not as simple as the obtention of genipap juice and will be described in Chapter 10 [Tr., apparently not published].

The genipap is simply chewed, as Staden (v. 3) related of the [171] Tupinambá, and the juice is left in a gourd. Among the Tapirapé, [462] both men and women do this work, allowing the juice to run directly from their mouths into the container. The liquid is clear, like water, and turns black upon drying. The juice can only be used as a dye when the fruit is almost ripe, at the time when it stops growing, for the staining quality vanishes when the rind turns brownish and the pulp grows soft. This dye, according to Staden 302 (ibid.) and [108:122] Soares de Sousa (215), lasts for nine days on the skin and cannot be washed off before then. I must say, however, that on my skin it did not endure more than two or three days.

Among the women, body painting with genipap was so widespread that the absence of this painting gave me almost the same feeling as I get when I see a "civilized" lady in a negligee at the wrong hour. The design uniformly used by all members of the female sex, with the exception of children and old women, is completely different from the [Fig. 2 appears here] various types of body painting displayed by the men. It is called ioképaí, while [192] kuantiana is the generic term for all designs, including those on plaited objects, gourds, etc. Straight lines stretch down obliquely from between the breasts to the belly and thighs. The latter are

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22



A son

and sometimes a daughter of important people may be treated as a favorite child, being given special attention and education and being highly decorated during various ceremonies in which such children are central figures. Treatment as a "favorite child" brings prestige throughout one's whole life. 554 858

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Men marry immediately after the initiation rites, and the women, at least in modern times, at any time after the age of 7 or 8 years. People do not marry cousins who are called "brother" and "sister" of close connection, but marriage with those of distant relationship is not infrequent. Monogamy is the absolute rule. 582

Because the population has declined and men outnumber women, marriage rules have been somewhat altered. All women have husbands, and there are now about 10 young men waiting for 7- or 8-year old girls. There are also marriages between men and very young pre-adolescent girls; these are brought about because the men are greatly dependent on the women's work. In such cases, the husband goes to live in his wife's house, where his mother-in-law helps the girl work for him. [161] [182] [178] [591]

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22



with so few people holding the status positions of aboriginal Tapirapé society much specialised knowledge will be lost. This is true of shamanism, as explained above, and it is true of the weaving of baskets for which Tapirapé men were justly famous before 1940. In 1953, only two men of the tribe knew the art of basket making. In aboriginal times, it was a technique which men learned after adolescence (Tapirapé boys were not expected to learn the manly arts), and with the death of so many older men and the disintegration of Tapirapé society, few young men were able to study. Both of the young men who did learn produced baskets which in 1940 would have been considered distinctly inferior and few of the young men in 1953 showed an inclination to learn the art. Like many other aspects of the culture, Tapirapé basketry will probably be a "lost art" within a generation. 177 177 285 [868] [883]

Before 1940, one of the striking aspects of Tapirapé culture recorded by both Baldus and myself was the complex set of rules governing food taboos. According to aboriginal Tapirapé culture, women and children are forbidden to eat venison as well as many other specific meats. Nowadays the Tapirapé frequently have beef, which they receive by trade from the Brazilian around the Indian post. As might be suspected, beef is equated with venison and it is taboo to Tapirapé women. Likewise, Tapirapé men who are the fathers of small children may eat neither venison nor beef. One Tapirapé male explained that "Even when we were hungry our women would not eat beef." But in view of their experience with other cultures (i. e., Carajá and Brazilian), such taboos are growing weaker. Hidden from their husbands, several Tapirapé women tested beef for the first time when offered it by the wife of the Indian officer, and several females have taken to eating it (and even venison) at the Indian Post pleading that their secret be kept from their husbands. And one Tapirapé male, the father of an infant, argued while eating venison that the taboo was not a logical one. Food taboos are still kept but 177 262 [439] [784]

264 The pots were soon emptied. Then the women and girls came,
462 picked them up, and took them home. The men followed. The
476 Anantxí walked first, with the Vuirantxinió behind them and the
Tãnãvé last. They kept this order, and sent me back to the rear when
[123] I stepped--not unintentionally--in the midst of the Vuirantxinió.

[109] As soon as the village was in sight, things began to move.
535 The men ran straight to the takína and paired up for the dance. The
women and girls showed no interest in this and for the most part had
already gone to their huts.

The dancing pairs stood in a dense cluster in front of the entrance. In each pair, as was customary, one of the men held his arm across the other's shoulders, while his companion held his arm across the other's hips. Both held a club, bush knife, or bow in the other hand. In the midst of the group stood the leading pair, Tampantxóa and Vuĩraí, the ãntaĩva of the Anantxí. The Anantxí had now mixed with the Vuirantxinió. Of the Tãnãvé, only Kamairahó, Urukumĩ', and I had come. We stayed nearby as onlookers.

First, the men danced for a while on the same spot. As usual, they pawed the ground, all at the same time and always with the same foot, alternating from right to left, keeping their knees slightly bent and the middle part of the body slightly bent forward. Then the leading pair gradually moved away from the spot. They danced with small steps out of the takína. The others followed in the same fashion. They all moved, one pair after the other, slowly, toward the house of Vuãtanamĩ', singing with sounds and shouts rather than words.

When they reached the house of the second leader, the procession broke up. They did not scatter, however, but remained close to-
526 gether. [110] The race began. It is called ãhẽuĩ, which means "I
• 883 run." The adolescents, who were in their initiation year and hence had their faces and bodies completely blackened with genipap, ran two at a time in a straight line across the dance plaza to the back of Kamairahó's house. Actually, there was no spot to be reached first by the winner, and there was no applause from the spectators. It might almost be said that there was no winner. As a rule, indeed, the
[156] desire to be singled out or to single out someone is not manifested by these Indians and is probably even regarded by them as a danger to the harmony of the community. These races seemed to be merely runs to be made as fast as possible across the plaza to convince the boys themselves of their own ability. As soon as the two runners reached

Ta 526 Kamairahó's house, they renewed their mutual holds and smiled
883 graciously at each other (1).

Ta Ti [171] Ti 526

1. In a letter of February 20, 1936, Curt Nimuendajú wrote to me about the Timbira, a Gê tribe: "The Timbira also have a paired race across the village plaza (which is 300 meters in diameter). It is usually held following a more important ceremony. It is called ka-kaipda (ka, 'village plaza,' and kaipda, 'across')."

Ta 526 Later, some of the men also took part in the test, even the "old hunter" Kantxovanf. When darkness fell, they all went home. Only a dozen pairs had run altogether, for they had started out when the sun had already sunk behind the forest.

Ta 476 [535] [526] [111] On the following afternoon there was another apatxirí at a different spot. The participants were so few that there was no dancing or racing. Two days later, a bigger apatxirí was held with all the features, this time to the northwest of the village. Thus, apatxirí are held on different days and at different places. Not all the men take part. Some work for themselves in their gardens, and others stay home. [Ed., Plates 1-26 are omitted since they concern tribes other than the Tapirapé.]

*883
884 At the time that follows planting the young man must work in the gardens, and henceforth he will participate in the hunt, thus proving his ability to marry and support a family.

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At the time that follows planting the young man must work in the gardens, and henceforth he will participate in the hunt, thus proving his ability to marry and support a family.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22



meats as jacu, cuati (*Nasua* sp.), peccary, mutum (*Crax* sp.), and chicken; of other foods he must eat sparingly or not at all. The novices are "tired" and "thin"; many do not continue after the first few nights because they "are lazy" or because "they are afraid". Campukwi, my informant, did not continue because he did not like the dirt, the nausea from tobacco, the lack of food, and the sexual continence. 756 [262]

Other novices, more successful and more persistent, do dream. At first they see smoky forms of ghosts and sometimes forest demons; they as yet do not know how to talk with such spirits. Usually, the first season or two during which a young man seeks dreams, he may expect mild dreams. After several seasons the novice may see dangerous forest demons in his unconscious states and he may talk with ghosts. Traditionally, young Tapirapé shamans become wild and uncontrollable when they have their first dangerous dreams. They are reported sometimes to stand up suddenly from their induced unconscious state and run wildly through the village, sometimes killing chickens, dogs, and parrots, or breaking pottery. Although no novices "ran" in this way during the 1940 training period, an informant described the state of a young shaman who "ran" several years ago. "He jumped up." He shouted and ran through the village. He carried a club in his hand (usually weapons are placed well out of reach). He killed two chickens and broke through the side of a house. He killed his brother's dog. All the women and children ran from the village, afraid. Finally, Maeumi grabbed him but he was strong and he hit Maeumi with a club and blood ran down Maeumi's face. Many men came and held him and Urukumu (his mentor) blew smoke over him", thus bringing him back to his senses. He had seen dangerous spirits and "was afraid", informants told me. This reaction is common for those who show potentialities toward shamanism. 756 787

The mere fact that young shaman has several dangerous dreams does not make him a proved shaman. He must take part in the "fight" against the beings of Thunder, and by the side of his mentor he may attempt cures. If successful, he may be called now and again by people for cures. With a reputation for several cures and with continual dreaming, during which he has supernatural encounters, he builds up his reputation as a shaman over a period of many years. Pasteri and Urukumu were about fifty years old when I visited them; informants gave no indication that their power was expected to decline with old age. 756 [886]